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...what else did we do?

we had various things going on ...

that's it

And of course you get to hear
the sound of your own voice...

I'm gonna be free ...

Sociophonology of Received Pronunciation

Native and Non-Native Environments

Miroslav Ježek

MASARYK
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

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1 INTRODUCTION

The present publication aims to offer an analysis of varieties of Received Pronunciation (RP): the prestige accent in England and, to a lesser extent, in the other parts of the UK. RP is an accent that keeps changing just like other accents do. Even such a stable unit as the Royal Family, arguably the most prominent users of RP, change their realisations of particular sounds (cf. Upton 2000b: 44). For several reasons these changes are often not reflected in transcription models of the accent. Among other things, this publication discusses recent innovations in RP and the degree of their acceptability as RP sounds reflected in the model, too. Since English is the most common second language (Crystal 2005: 420), this work also tries to identify the roles this accent fulfils both in the native as well as the non-native environments.

While there are several substantial differences in the understanding of RP, the source of inspiration remains the same: a year-long stay abroad at Leeds University (2006–7), where I had the opportunity to work with Clive Upton (now Emeritus Professor), whose RP model is presented and, to a certain degree, tested here. Upton's model, which has been restricted to the native market so far, is in some important details markedly different from the other models (as details Chapter 3). Equally important was the chance to listen to the enormous variety of accents and, crucially, to realise that RP in the form presented outside the native world seems to be rather rare, and that it is not a necessity to speak RP if a person wants to defend their status in the academic world.

It has already been mentioned that RP is subject to constant change. Yet the model present in ELT publications has displayed very little change since the establishment of RP more than a hundred years ago. The model thus needs to be dusted in order to offer a more accurate picture of the accent. It is hoped that

this work will contribute towards achieving this: it will raise awareness of the variability existing even in such a standardised accent as RP and it will update the model ridding it of certain variants that carry negative connotations in native ears.

As far as sociolinguistic research is concerned, for an academic based in the Czech Republic RP presents the unquestionable advantage of being the accent with which Czech English language professionals are in daily contact. It is, naturally, an accent of utmost importance to non-native learners of English as well. There are also practical advantages linked with this accent: any research dealing with regional accents and local communities would require a stay abroad along with a detailed acquaintance with the community and the social stratification of its members.

1.1 Varieties of RP

The term 'Received Pronunciation' has been in existence for almost a hundred years. Since it is the single most important term that runs throughout this work, close attention must be paid to a most complex task of defining what the label 'RP' actually represents.

While there are linguists who still trust the label and use it with various modifications, there are also linguists who have decided to drop it in favour of a new one, which in their opinion reflects the reality more adequately.

Trad-RP

The first variety of RP is seen as old-fashioned, outdated, posh, and redolent of privileged upbringing. Various labels attached to this variety are: 'trad-RP' (Upton 2008: 239–40), 'U-RP' (Wells 1982: 279), 'Refined RP' (Cruttenden 1994: 80), 'marked RP' (Honey 1991: 38), and 'conservative RP' (Gimson 1980:77). Unsurprisingly, Upton's 'trad' is shortened 'traditional'. Wells's 'U-RP' refers to the upper classes that this variety is typically associated with. Cruttenden finds his own label very fitting because it has 'positive overtones for some people and negative overtones for others' (1994: 80). Honey's 'marked RP' means that 'this accent is associated not so much with and "educated" voice as with a "cultured" voice'; the voice 'seems to assert a claim to a special degree of social privilege' (1991: 38–9). It seems clear that the number of speakers that use this accent is declining.

RP

A more modern and relaxed variety of RP also has a number of adjectives attached to it, although Upton refuses to use any adjective and calls this variety just 'RP' since it can 'legitimately lay claim to the RP label without qualification' (Upton 2000a: 76). Others insist on a qualifying adjective and call this accent: 'mainstream RP' (Wells 1982: 279), 'unmarked RP' (Honey 1991: 38), and 'General RP' (Gimson 1980: 77, Cruttenden 1994: 80). Honey claims that his 'unmarked RP suggests a fairly high degree of educatedness, although the social class of its speaker need not be very exalted' (1991: 38). It is supposed that this explanation holds true for all the labels in this group.

Near-RP

This variety is identical with the RP norms in all but one or two aspects. These might be regional or social. Wells calls this variety 'Near-RP'; it 'refers to any accent which, while not falling within the definition of RP, nevertheless includes very little in the way of regionalisms which would enable the provenance of the speaker to be localised within England'. Wells adds that this voice 'will be perceived as [...] "educated", "well-spoken", "middle-class" ' (1982: 297). Cruttenden (1994: 80–1) calls this accent 'Regional RP'. While the definition offered by Wells allows for certain regional variables to be part of this accent, it omits other variables that are essentially social rather than regional (e.g. the glottal stop, as is argued in 3.2.2.1). Finally, Gimson (1980: 77) calls this accent 'Advanced RP': an accent of upper-class young speakers that permit more variability.

On top of the three varieties above, there are several singular varieties that linguists distinguish. Firstly, there is 'Adoptive RP' (Wells 1982: 283–4), which is 'a variety of RP spoken by adults who did not speak RP as children'. As the accent was acquired later in life, it meticulously avoids a number of features that modern RP allows (e.g. intrusive /r/ and the glottal stop in certain environments). Secondly, Wells also distinguishes 'quasi-RP': it is an accent that corresponds with 'Adoptive RP', but 'certain allophones are selected for their supposed clarity or carefulness rather than for their appropriateness to RP' (1982: 285). In my view, this label refers to a rather slavish attempt to imitate RP.

An interesting and an original take on the varieties of RP can be found in Fabricius (2000: 29–30), who makes the distinction between c[onstructed]-RP and n[ative] RP. The former is an abstract model that people come across in various teaching materials while n-RP is the variety they naturally adopt as an accent-in-use.

Labels with no mention of RP

There are some linguists who refuse to use the abbreviation 'RP' and they have adopted a different label instead to avoid any negative connotations that RP may carry. Roach et al. (2011: v) adopts the label 'BBC English' since it is 'the pronunciation of professional speakers employed by the BBC as newsreaders and announcers on BBC1 and BBC2 television, the World Service and BBC Radio 3 and 4'. While the link with the BBC and RP may seem considerably strong (cf. Hannisdal 2007), the label, however, may turn out to be rather inappropriate now that the BBC employs many speakers with regional features in their accents (Wells 2008: xix).

Most interestingly, Cruttenden in his latest edition of *Gimson's Pronunciation of English* has decided to drop the label 'RP' altogether in favour of 'GB', which stands for 'General British'. He explains such a radical change as follows:

> [d]espite the fact that I and other phoneticians have sought to describe changes in RP to make it a modern and more flexible standard, many, particularly in the media, have persisted in presenting an image of RP as outdated and becoming even more than ever the speech only of the "posh" few in the south-east of England. For this reason I have dropped the name RP and now consider myself to be describing General British or GB. (2014: xvi-xvii)

For a full discussion of why GB seems more appropriate than RP, see Cruttenden (2014: 80–2). While he admittedly has a point, there are reasons to think that his abandonment of RP is somewhat infelicitous. Firstly, 'GB' generally connotes above all Great Britain, of course. Secondly, there are many speakers in Scotland, who are British, but their model accent is far removed from what is found south of the border. In this respect, it is worth pointing out that McMahon (2002: 69) uses the label SSBE (Southern Standard British English), thereby making the point that 'GB' is far too inclusive.

Further, Cruttenden (2014: 81) also distinguishes 'CGB' (Conspicuous General British) and 'RGB' (Regional General British): the former roughly corresponds with traditional RP, while the latter is Near-RP (as discussed above). Since RGB 'reflects regional rather than class variation [...] we should talk of RGBs in the plural' (2014: 81).

Yet another label is found in Mees and Collins (2013: 3–4), who, strangely enough, do retain 'RP' when they speak of 'Traditional Received Pronunciation', but they come up with 'NRP' (standing for 'non-regional pronunciation') for its modern and more relaxed variety. This label (NRP) is clever, but as much because it makes use of 'RP' as for any other reason. The advantages of breaking

the axiom of non-localisability of RP are discussed elsewhere (4.2.1.7); it suffices to say here that a label that drops 'RP' in such a confusing way as this 'NRP' is not likely to ever acquire enough support to catch on among academics.

Having considered all of the possibilities, I have decided to stick with the label 'RP' and only add descriptive adjectives where necessary. I use 'modern' to refer to the mainstream variety of the prestige accent and 'traditional' to refer to the variety redolent of social class and privileged upbringing. As Upton (personal communication) puts it, it is acceptable to 'stick with good old "RP" and try to educate people in the fact that, as a living accent, it changes, and [it] doesn't have to be stuck in the past or be relevant of class.'

The other labels have been rejected for the following reasons. First, SSBE is far too regional (exclusive) and it does not say anything about the other parts of the country. Surely, there is a prestige accent in the other regions as well. Second, GB is too inclusive and it strongly evokes Great Britain rather than General British. Third, the BBC accent is especially unsuitable in the non-native environment since it creates the myth that the BBC employs RP speakers only. Moreover, it implies that the BBC is active in the establishment of the accent (it is 'their' accent), but the media hardly ever perform the role of trend-setters—they very often merely follow trends set elsewhere (cf. Bell 1984). Last, NRP is unacceptable since it retains the old label RP although the two words stand for something completely different. I deem it very confusing.

1.2 Thesis Outline

Chapter 2 provides a detailed account of the history of prestige accents including RP in England. It offers a solid diachronic foundation that enables a more accurate synchronic perspective. Crucially, it shows that RP has always demonstrated a surprising amount of variability, despite attempts to deny or even stop it.

Chapter 3 draws on the previous chapter insofar as it deals with prestige accents from a purely theoretical perspective: it introduces the key linguistic notions that determine, accompany and influence the processes of standardisation and prescription. These notions are then applied directly to RP.

In Chapter 4 is discussed the phonology of RP; where applicable, different variants of a particular phoneme are presented. Moreover, a number of socially stratified phenomena are discussed in connection with particular phonemes even though they do not belong to RP (e.g. /h/-dropping). Being social, these phenomena are closely related to the issues of prestige, thereby providing further insight into the matters of standardisation, prescription and popular attitudes towards linguistic forms with social values.

Chapter 5 introduces the practical study, providing details about the methodology (the website and the questionnaire placed thereon) as well as the key aspects of the survey: samples, respondents, and selected variables.

Chapter 6 reports and interprets the results of the survey with the focus placed upon the key aspects mentioned in Chapter 4 (above). It also details gathered data and how it is assessed and evaluated.

Chapter 7 compares the latest editions of three existing pronunciation dictionaries: *Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation for Current English* (Upton et al. 2003), *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* (3rd ed., Wells 2008), and *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary* (18th ed., Roach et al. 2011). It is examined to what extent the three dictionaries reflect modern changes and innovations in RP (especially the studied variables).

Finally, conclusions are drawn in relation to the research hypotheses put forward in the Introduction (below).

1.3 Research Hypotheses

The practical part of this publication aims to confirm or refute the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1

In view of RP, it is expected that there are several differences between CZ and EN sets of respondents.

The first one regards the notion of RP and how it is mentally constructed; i.e. which (socio)linguistic categories influence the decision-making process whether a particular accent is RP or not (though the question can hardly be approached in terms of binary opposites; as details 5.4.2.1).

Secondly, it is hypothesised that EN respondents should prove to allow more variability in RP than CZ respondents, which should be reflected in higher overall RP scores they award. There are two reasons that support this hypothesis: EN respondents have easier access to modern transcriptions of RP in OUP publications and they naturally have a much closer and more intense contact with the linguistic environment surrounding RP.

Furthermore, it is expected that there are substantial differences between S EN and N EN respondents. Only such differences can justify the inclusion of short BATH as an RP sound (e.g. Upton et al. 2003).

Hypothesis 2

Although the updated model of RP is discussed in its entirety, five variables have been selected for closer inspection. It is hypothesised that they can be considered RP in both environments (i.e. CZ and EN) since English linguists seem to agree that they belong to RP and Czech learners as non-native learners generally accept the model created in England.

Hypothesis 3

It is expected that the model of RP presented by Upton turns out to be beneficial to non-native learners since Upton et al. (2003: xii) claims that it is universal, i.e. beneficial to both native and non-native users.

Nevertheless, two of the five variables under investigation (the glottal stop and FOOT/GOOSE fronting) are not included in Upton's model. Should they be added to it providing they meet little resistance from the respondents? Further, are there, metaphorically speaking, any more changes and innovations behind the RP door waiting for it to open?

2 THE RISE OF A STANDARD

Accent and dialect differences have always existed; they are likely to be intrinsic characteristics of any live language. One of the first instances where such differences are mentioned can be found in the Bible, and nothing less than a human life is at stake:

> And the Gileadites took the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites: and it was so, that when those Ephraimites which were escaped said, Let me go over; that the men of Gilead said unto him, Art thou an Ephraimite? If he said, Nay; Then said they unto him, Say now Shibboleth: and he said Sibboleth: for he could not frame to pronounce it right. Then they took him, and slew him at the passages of Jordan: and there fell at that time of the Ephraimites forty and two thousand. (Judges 12: 5–6, King James version)

Forty two thousand people lost their lives since they were not able to pronounce one single sound; namely the initial letter in the word 'shibboleth'. The Ephraimites gave themselves away by not being able to utter /ʃ/. Their dialect lacked this sound and they only came up with /s/. In the course of time this story enriched the English lexicon with the word 'shibboleth', still in use to indicate a word (or a custom) that distinguishes one group of people from another.

2.1 Old English

Old English dialect differences are described in considerable detail for example in Baugh and Cable (2012) and Crystal (2005). The latter identifies four Old English dialects: Kentish, Northumbrian, Mercian, and West Saxon (2005: 34). These

enjoyed various amounts of prestige throughout the period, which is testified by the origin of the documents that have survived till the present day. For instance the majority of texts in Northumbrian date back to the 8th century, i.e. before the Vikings plundered this region and destroyed the well-known monasteries in Jarrow, Iona, and Lindisfarne. Similarly, the West Saxon dialect is represented mainly by texts from the period of King Alfred the Great (871–899) and later—the years when this kingdom was in the ascendancy. What evidence, however, is there of accent differences and potential standards of pronunciation?

Naturally, the period in question did not have any standardised spelling, which would appear a few centuries later with the advent of printing. What people living in this period used was some kind of a phonetic spelling system where 'an Old English word would be spelled on the basis of how it sounded to the writer, who would instinctively follow his own pronunciation and assign the closest letters he could find' (Crystal 2005: 41). Thus there were no fewer than three spellings for the modern word 'merry' (Crystal 2005: 37): *merry* (open-close front vowel, south-east of England), *myrry* (close front vowel with heavy lip-rounding, London), and *murry* (back vowel with heavy lip-rounding, south-west of England).

Evidence for asserting the existence of a pronunciation standard in the Old English period is only indirect. It is based on the uniformitarian principle, as defined by Labov (1972: 275): 'the forces operating to produce linguistic change today are of the same kind and order of magnitude as those which operated in the past five or ten thousand years'. Hence we may presume that the dialects from those areas which happened to be dominant in a given period carried about them some amount of social prestige, much as those which happen to be prominent today tend to be popularly looked upon as more prestigious than others. Further, since the overwhelming majority of writings that have survived to this day come from scribes/monks, one can also suppose that the hierarchy of monasteries (or even the hierarchy of scribes within one monastery) dictated which forms were taken as those worth following. Because of the aforementioned phonetic spelling system, it is not unlikely that these written forms then should have made an impact on the pronunciation as well.

2.2 Middle English

The Middle English period is characterised by the dominance of French, which established itself as the dominant language after the Norman Conquest in 1066. It took no less than three and a half centuries before the English monarch could communicate with ease in the English language: it was Henry V, who reigned from 1413 to 1422 (Churchill 2005 [1956]: 404).

The dominant presence of French brought about something very unusual: all varieties of English at that time were viewed as mere dialects, and they were equally undesirable in the upper echelons of the society. Mugglestone (1995: 8) maintains that 'all dialects in Middle English assumed an equality they were never after to attain'. Dialect differences are famously present in a very well-known tale from Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, namely the *Reeve's Tale*. This tale depicts two Cambridge men called Alleyn and John, who speak in a pronounced northern accent. They are very clever and finally outwit Simkin, the miller, who speaks in a southern accent. Interestingly enough, the tale reverses the usual presumptions (albeit formed later on) about these two dialects: speakers of a northern accent are the more sophisticated ones.

The situation was, however, to change and the first writers on orthography and orthoepy knew exactly where the fashionable and prestigious forms were. Before attention is turned to them, it is worth pointing out that the 14th century provides one of the earliest records of the North-South divide. While the students and the miller from the tale apparently had no problem understanding each other, there is *Polychronicon*, a book by a monk called Ranulph Higden, where one can find that 'all the speech of the Northumbrians, and especially at York, is so harsh, piercing, and grating, and formless, that we Southern men can hardly understand such speech' (modern translation, qtd. in Crystal 2005: 216). Higden offers a shrewd observation as to the origin of the difference between the North and the South: he believes the dialect in the North is a product of the considerable distance from the King and his court as well as of the fact that all the noble cities and profitable harbours happen to be in the South.

Indeed, the growing dominance of London as the major cultural, political, and economic centre coupled with the two existing universities in Oxford and Cambridge made the South East a particularly influential region. Setting the standard was imminent and the need grew even bigger with the invention of printing.

Although the first book (William Caxton's *The Recuyell of The Historyes of Troy*) was published in 1476, it took many decades before the effects of printing on the development of a standard variety became visible. It is now hard to imagine the situation in which Caxton found himself when setting up his printing business in London—a hotchpotch of spelling forms from various regions of England and foreign countries as well, large inconsistencies even within a single scribe, and obviously no body of authority to turn to for linguistic advice. To make matters worse, Caxton happened to live in an extremely turbulent era in terms of language change and variation: the period of the Great Vowel Shift (a basic description of the phenomenon can be found in Wells 1982: 184–8). As we know from recent sociolinguistic research (Chambers and Trudgill: 1998: 163–4) language change proceeds at a different pace at various stages and takes time before it enters the entire lexicon of one individual, let alone a group of speakers. It is also

clear that some geographical areas must have been the innovators while in other areas the Great Vowel Shift has not been completed even after more than five hundred years (the existence of *town* pronounced as [tu:n] in Newcastle, cf. *Toon Army* as a label for Newcastle United FC supporters). Yet Caxton and his successors did succeed in setting a spelling standard. Crucially though for the present thesis, by doing so they paved the way to a growing unease about the spoken varieties of English. I fully concur with Crystal who maintains that

> only after English was written down in a standardized form, and began to be taught in schools, did observers start to reflect about it, study it, and express their worries over how best to pronounce it, at which point the notion of a standard took on a spoken dimension. (2005: 225)

2.3 Early Modern English

Most of the writers who dealt with pronunciation matters in this era were largely concerned with them as a by-product of their major interest: they wanted to reform the spelling system. A case in point is John Hart, whose most influential book is *Orthographie* (1569). It advocates a radically new spelling system based on a one-to-one relationship between the sounds and the symbols that represent them. He classifies the sounds of English, describes their manner and place of articulation and describes London as the home of the best accent. The same opinion can be found in George Puttenham's *The Art of English Poesie*, in which the author defines the locus of the best pronunciation as follows: 'ye shall take the usuall speech of the Court and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx myles' (1589: 121, qtd. in Beal 2004a: 169). Puttenham also adds a social dimension to his description of the noblest accent: it is present in the speech of 'men civill and graciously behavoured and bred' (1589: 121, qtd. in Beal 2004a: 169). Neither Hart nor Puttenham actually recommended particular sounds to be adopted since they presumed that by mere mingling with those who possessed them one would acquire the desired mode of speech. Therefore, they did not blame those from provinces for speaking the way they did as their regional speech was not a mark of their inferiority or ignorance; provincials simply happened to live far from London and its environs.

The 17th century is characterised by continuous interest in English pronunciation. The prevailing opinion maintained that the best pronunciation was to be found in the capital and among those who were educated (Oxford and Cambridge universities, e.g. in Coles 1674, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 14). While the emerging standard was perceptible, in the 17th century it was in no way as mercilessly and viciously propagated as it would be in the following ones. Occasionally

though, one can see a creeping sentiment of the things to come. Owen Price, the schoolmaster, insists in his work called *The Vocal Organ* (1665) that he 'has not been guided by our vulgar pronunciation, but that of London and our Universities, where the language is purely spoken' (qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 14). The problematic notion is, of course, the word 'vulgar'—so often used up until now to condemn nonstandard variants and their users alike. Likewise, Dobson (1957: 309) pays attention to the works of Christopher Cooper, who in his treatise called *The English Teacher* (1687) labels certain forms as 'barbarous', and claims that speakers should avoid them. However, Sheldon (1938: 198) notes that Cooper's 'barbarous' variants are not associated with any region or class. Beal (2004a: 170) insists that 'no 17th century grammarian advises his reader to avoid this or that pronunciation because it is heard only among the lower classes. It is clear that the feeling had not yet grown up that pronunciation was a class shibboleth'.

The 17th century still describes (rather than prescribes) a localised variety of spoken English. The 18th century seeks 'instead to *codify* a non-localized supra-regional standard, and thus to displace the linguistic diversities of accent that currently pertained' (my italics, Mugglestone 1995: 16).

2.4 Modern English: the 18th century

The 18th century brought about numerous changes in the society, most of which were connected with the Industrial Revolution causing 'decisive reorganisation of the society' (Williams 1976: 61). Perkin (1969: 176) claims that one of 'the most profound and far reaching consequences of the Industrial Revolution [was] the birth of a new class society'. Since language is inseparable from its users, it hardly comes as a surprise that the 18th century also altered dramatically the way the English viewed their own language.

The market for good pronunciation was created in the course of the 18th century for several reasons. The main one is undoubtedly 'the suddenly well-to-do bourgeois [who] were trying to rise above their stations' (Sheldon 1938: 201). Beal (2008a: 23) expresses a similar view when she talks of 'a socially-aspiring middle-class, who suffered from [...] linguistic insecurity [and] created a demand for explicit guides to "correct" usage in both grammar and pronunciation'; elsewhere (2004a: 170), she also lists other factors that helped to promote the idea: the rise of provincial towns and cities (especially in the North of England, Scotland, and Ireland), the consequences of the Act of Union (1707), and the expansion of education.

In 1712 Jonathan Swift sends a letter to the leader of the then government. The letter is called *A proposal for correcting, improving and ascertaining the English tongue* and presents arguably the first outburst of criticism of such outspokenness.

> My LORD; I do here, in the Name of all the Learned and Polite Persons of the Nation, complain to your LORDSHIP, as *First Minister*, that our Language is extremely imperfect; that its daily Improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily Corruptions; that the Pretenders to polish and refine it, have chiefly multiplied Abuses and Absurdities; and, that in many Instances, it offends against every Part of Grammar. (qtd. in Bolton 1966: 108)

Swift's torrent of abuse deals with grammar in particular and the rest of the text reveals that 'imperfect' pronunciation did not trouble him at all. Fixing the spoken word was still a thing of the future. The linguists of the first half of the 18th century were, however, not totally ignorant of speech 'imperfections' of their time. James Greenwood, the grammarian and schoolmaster, admits it would be useful to have a pronunciation standard along with a grammatical one. However, he also shrewdly observes the complexity of the task: 'I cannot dissemble my unwillingness to say anything at all on this head [orthoepy]; first, because of the irregular and wrong Pronunciation of the Letters and Words, which if one should go about to mend, would be a business of great Labour and Trouble, as well as Fruitless and Unsuccessful' (1711, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 22).

Samuel Johnson, the famous lexicographer, also dealt with the matters of pronunciation when preparing his masterpiece *A Dictionary of the English Language*. In 1747 he published *The Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language*, in which he promised to provide a work 'by which the pronunciation of our language may be fixed, and its attainment facilitated'. In the *Dictionary* itself, published eight years later, pronunciation is nevertheless largely neglected because, as Johnson humbly admits in the Preface, 'sounds are too volatile and subtile for legal restraints; to enchain syllables, and to lash the wind, are equally the undertakings of pride, unwilling to measure its desires by its strength' (qtd. in Bolton 1966: 152).

Thomas Sheridan, a student of Swift's, wonders in the preface to his *General Dictionary of the English Language* 'whether many important advantages would not be accrue both to the present age, and to prosperity, if the English language were ascertained, and reduced to a fixed and permanent standard' (1780:B1). Earlier, he observed that 'almost every country in England has its peculiar dialect' and insisted that 'one [...] preference, this is the court dialect, as the court is the source of fashions of all kinds. All the other dialects, are sure marks, either of a provincial, rustic, pedantic or mechanical education, and therefore have some degree of disgrace annexed to them' (1761: 29–30, qtd. in Beal 2004a: 172). The major difference between Sheridan (and his contemporaries) and orthoepists of the previous century was clearly the fact that the latter were 'content to locate the "best" speech, [whilst Sheridan] deliberately set out to define and "fix" an explicit standard' (Beal 2004a: 171). The framing ideology for Sheridan was that of social ambition as the dominant social force (Mugglestone 1995: 19). William

Johnston, in his *Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary*, offers help to those 'many who labour under the disadvantages of a wrong pronunciation [and who] are so sensible of these things, as to have earnest desires to acquire a right one' (1764: v, qtd in Mugglestone 1995: 39).

While people in the 17th century had to overcome only geographical barriers, orthoepists in the 18th century erected social barriers as well, even though their proclaimed aim was exactly the opposite (as shown below). To speak a regional accent in the 17th century was a matter of misfortune; in the next century it would become a matter of abhorrence. Gone were the sentiments about 'too volatile' sounds and 'lashing the wind'. The main task Sheridan's era faced was to suppress all variability within what they perceived to be the standard accent: '[n] o evil so great can befall any language, as a perpetual fluctuation both in point of spelling and pronouncing' (Sheridan 1786: v, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 24). Sheridan explains what his objective is by claiming he wants to

> fix such a standard of pronunciation, by means of visible marks, that it may be in the power of every one, to acquire an accurate manner of uttering every word in the English tongue, by applying to that standard. In order to do this, the author of this scheme proposes to publish a Dictionary, in which the true pronunciation, of all the words in our tongue, shall be pointed out by visible and accurate marks. (1761: 29–30, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 33)

2.4.1 Pronouncing Dictionaries: Sheridan and Walker

The most common way of publishing advice on 'proper' pronunciation was a pronouncing dictionary. Sheridan's was the first comprehensive one, but by far the most successful one (reprinted over 100 times by 1904; Beal 2004a: 129) was *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* by John Walker, which was first published in 1791. Such was the impact that

> by the end of the nineteenth century, John Walker [...] had almost become a household name, so that manuals of etiquette could refer to those obsessed with linguistic propriety as trying to "out-Walker Walker". [...] He had in effect become one of the icons of the age, commonly referred to as "Elocution Walker", just as Johnson had come to be labelled "Dictionary Johnson" in the public mind. (Mugglestone 1995: 41)

Walker introduced a different concept of the prestige accent. As has been noted above, orthoepists of the previous two centuries attempted to merely locate the 'best' accent, their counterparts towards the end of the 18th century endeavoured to fix it, and this was to be achieved by means of providing a non-

localisable model of speech. It was an important step towards the establishment of RP. Orthoepists like Walker were undoubtedly buoyed by the success prescriptive grammarians had achieved. Double negatives and double comparatives were 'gradually eliminated from [...] the public discourses over the whole country, though their use could and did continue in the localized norms of speech' (Mugglestone 1995: 26). Likewise, the national standard of spelling had emerged, which suppressed the enormous variability that had existed before. The likes of Walker and Sheridan faced an uphill struggle, though, when they set out to codify the spoken word in a similar way. Not that they did not realise how much more difficult their task was. For instance, Walker (1791: vi) concedes that 'a degree of versatility seems involved in the very nature of language', but it did not make their determination wither away; on the contrary, they only took it as an impetus to intensify their effort.

Mugglestone (1995:26) stresses the fact that the natural state of humans (including pronunciation, of course) was evidently not good enough for the 18th century. Nature needed to be reformed by art and reason because, as Alexander Bicknell insists in his book called *Grammatical Wreath,* 'nature leaves us in a rude and uncultivated form [and] it is our business to polish and refine ourselves. Nature gives the organs, it is ours to acquire the skilful performance upon them' (1796; qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 26). This appeal for linguistic refinement is in many ways similar to the one in operation today (cf. Beal 2008a); there was, however, an added dimension to it in the 18th century. It was not in the interest of only individuals to refine their pronunciation. It was an issue of national honour. English orthoepists of the period in all likelihood casted envious glances over the English Channel to L'Académie Française—an institution that had been in operation for about 150 years and whose job was to purify the French language and to prevent any impurities from entering it. In spite of the fact that the calls for establishing such an institution in England fell on deaf ears, the state of profound anxiety over their 'correct' pronunciation seems to have remained with the English ever since.

A ready answer to the question why it was Walker's *Dictionary* that enjoyed such an unprecedented amount of fame and recognition is that it filled the void in the market in a much better way than the others: it was easy-to-use, comprehensive, authoritative, and, above all, Walker turned out to possess some prophetic skills when it came to rival variants. Most of the variants he chose out of two (or even more) competing ones were those which eventually prevailed. Despite the *Dictionary* being so popular, I would attribute this achievement to Walker's good nose for innovations rather than to the success of the *Dictionary* already in circulation. Beal (2004a: 132) voices the same opinion when she dismisses Ellis's (1869: 624) complaint about the fact that Walker described and prescribed the accent of a society he did not belong to, thereby being insufficiently acquainted with its

speech. She, in fact, directly links Walker's success with the fact that he was 'on the fringe of "polite" society and loosely connected to the networks of the powerful and influential [...] which made him, according to social network theory, most likely to be an innovator' (cf. Milroy 1987).

Walker's *Dictionary* has been discussed ever since the early days of philology as an academic discipline. The bone of contention is the reliability of the information in the dictionary. Some linguists maintain that the prescriptive nature of the work prevented the author from observing the real state of things around him. Holmberg (1964: 10) makes a general claim about orthoepists of the 18th century: 'they were sometimes more anxious to teach what they believed was correct than to record the pronunciation they actually heard or used'. Ellis, the first dialectologist, expresses the same opinion: he talks of Walker and Sheridan as 'those word-pedlars, those letter-drivers, those stiff-necked pedantic philosophical, miserably informed, and therefore supremely certain, self-confident and self-conceited orthographers' (1869: vol. I, 155). On the other hand, there are linguists (such as Wyld, 1936: 183) who believe that Walker 'must be placed with the most reliable and informing writers of his class'. Beal explains that pronouncing dictionaries (and Walker's *Dictionary* is a case in point) provide valuable insight into at least one variety of English, namely the 'proto-RP' (1999: 60). Furthermore, Beal reconciles the opposing views expressed by Ellis and Wyld by pointing out their different focuses; she observes that

> Ellis [...] was interested in dialects so it is understandable that he would react to Walker's representation of a prestigious standard and, to a certain extent, the fossilization of this eighteenth-century standard in later reprints [whereas] Wyld was interested in the development of Standard and Modified Standard pronunciation, and so would be interested in the socio-linguistic information provided by Walker. (Beal 2004a: 129–30)

The pronouncing dictionaries were largely successful. Despite their relatively high price—Altick (1957: 51) claims that it was over a pound at the beginning of the nineteenth century—they enjoyed a wide circulation, most notably in the educational system of that time, for which it was a welcome means of instilling the pronunciation standard into pupils. The biggest objection raised against the dictionaries was concerned with their size and how impractical they were to use as reference books. Boswell ([1791] 2011: vol. II, 161) sums up the argument by quoting Samuel Johnson, who admitted that Sheridan's dictionary was a fine piece of work but 'you cannot always carry it about with you: and, when you want the word, you have not the Dictionary'. The orthoepists, however, did not conceive of their dictionaries as primarily works of reference. They recommended that they be used as textbooks which require daily practice. Johnston (1746: 41, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 39) gives clear instructions as to how people should

use his dictionary: '[t]hree quarters of an hour, employed in pronouncing words in this distinct manner, in the order in which they occur, would be a sufficient exercise at a time [...] and this exercise repeated two or three times in a day, as affairs will permit, for a month together, will carry you several times through the book, and give you a general knowledge and practice of a right pronunciation'. The best method was daily practice rather than occasional reference when in doubt. What is interesting in connection with the next century (and the next subchapter) is the call for smaller and less expensive editions of the dictionaries. Russel (1801: 13, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 37) wanted an edition which would 'be portable with convenience' and, above all, affordably priced even for those 'who cannot, without inconvenience, spare a guinea'. An upsurge in cheap 'penny manuals' in the nineteenth century is a direct answer to Russel's demand.

The pronouncing dictionaries were not the only way Sheridan and Walker helped disseminate 'proper' pronunciation, though. They were both very active in giving lectures throughout Britain, and the number of people they attracted was certainly not low. Watkins (1817: 79, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 44) informs us that 'upwards of six hundred subscribers, at a guinea each, besides occasional visitors' regularly attended Sheridan's lectures.

From today's perspective, the whole prescriptive enterprise of the 18th century (and later periods) is strikingly paradoxical: 'it was social harmony rather than social hegemony [that people thought would] emerge as a consequence of prescriptive endeavour, [with the] "ill consequences" of accent difference being removed [and] with the adoption of a new and, in particular, a neutral standard for all.' (Mugglestone 1995: 31). Sheridan believed he was a missionary bringing new equality in speech and his ultimate goal was to unite the entire nation. Not much time was needed to reveal how ill-advised this way of thinking about accents was.

Furthermore, it may seem hard to believe to people today that such large numbers of people should have given up their own reason and should blindly have followed the rules set out by a few individuals (Johnson, Sheridan, Walker). There is hardly any more suitable piece of evidence to illustrate the extremity of some people's defeatism (when faced with the task of finding the 'best' variants) than Lord Chesterfield's letter to *The World* magazine in 1754:

> I give my vote for Mr Johnson to fill that great and arduous post. And I hereby declare that I make a total surrender of all my rights and privileges in the English language, as a freeborn British subject, to the said Mr Johnson, during the term of his dictatorship. Nay more, I will not only obey him, like an old Roman, as my dictator, but, like a modern Roman, I will implicitly believe in him as my pope, and hold him to be infallible. (1754, qtd. in Crystal 2005: 413)

The English language, according to Lord Chesterfield, was in imminent danger of being torn apart by vicious 'barbarisms' and nothing less than a tyranny of a linguistic dictator may have prevented the ultimate fall.

It would, nonetheless, be misleading to think that the prescriptive paradigm gained unanimous support. At least two linguists did not shy away from expressing their serious reservations about it, and it is perhaps not surprising that both are still considered to be one of the greatest of all time. The first is Samuel Johnson, whose comment reveals his appreciation of the beauty of English accents. He claims that 'a small intermixture of provincial peculiarities may, perhaps, have an agreeable effect, as the notes of different birds concur in the harmony of the grove, and please more than if they were all exactly alike' (Boswell [1791] 2011: vol. II, 159). The other linguist, Noah Webster, explicitly warns against the dangers of prescriptive ideology and its seemingly egalitarian aims. Two years before Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* appears he dismisses attempts to fix a standard as 'absurd' and 'unjust' (1789: 25) and he goes on to explain that

> [w]hile all men are on a footing and no singularities are accounted vulgar and ridiculous, every man enjoys perfect liberty. But when a particular set of men, in exalted stations, undertake to say "we are the standards of propriety and elegance, and if all men do not conform to our practice, they shall be accounted vulgar and ignorant", they take a very great liberty with the rules of the language and the rights of civility. (Webster 1789: 24–5)

2.4.2 'Proto RP': comparison of Walker and Jones

Below is a piece of text, notoriously known by all those whose academic specialisation is phonetics and phonology. I decided to add one sentence (the very last one) with the aim of including one particular feature: /wh/ in *which*. The text is transcribed according to the advice found in Walker's *Dictionary* and Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (4th edition, 1937), thereby revealing the phonology of 'proto-RP'.

Please call Stella. Ask her to bring these things with her from the store: Six spoons of fresh snow peas, five thick slabs of blue cheese, and maybe a snack for her brother Bob. We also need a small plastic snake and a big toy frog for the kids. She can scoop these things into three red bags, and we will go meet her Wednesday at the train station, which was renovated last month.

Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791)

pli:z ko:l stɛlʌ æsk hɛɹ tu: bɹɪŋ ði:z θɪŋz wɪð hɛ frɒm ðɛ stɔ:ɹ sɪks spu:nz ɒv fɹɛʃ sno: pi:z faɪv θɪk slæbz ɒv bliu tʃi:z ænd me:bi: e: snæk fɒɹ hɛɹ bɹʌðʌɹ bɒb wi: o:lso: ni:d e: smo:l plæstɪk sne:k ænd e: bɪg toɪ fɹɒg fɒɹ ðɛ kɪdz ʃi: kæn sku:p ði:z θɪŋz ɪntu: θɹi: ɹɛd bægz ænd wi: wɪl go: mi:t hɛɹ wɛnzdi: æt ðɛ tɹe:n ste:ʃn hwɪtʃ wɒz rɛnɒve:tɪd læst mʌnθ

Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (1937)

pli:z kɔ:l stelə ɑ:sk hə tə bɹiŋ ði:z θɪŋz wið hə fɹəm ðə stɔ: siks spu:nz əv fɹeʃ snou pi:z faiv θik slæbz əv blu: tʃi:z ənd meibi ə snæk fə hə bɹʌðə bɔb wi: ɔ:lsou ni:d ə smɔ:l plæstik sneik ənd ə big toi fɹɔg fə ðə kidz ʃi: kən sku:p ði:z θiŋz intə θɹi: ɹed bægz ən wi: wil gou mi:t hə wenzdi ət ðə tɹein steiʃn witʃ (hwitʃ) wəz renəveitid lɑ:st mʌnθ

Before the two transcriptions are analysed and compared, it needs to be pointed out that some differences are caused by transcriptional preferences; Jones does not use /ɪ/ and /ɒ/ but clearly states that he perceives the difference in both quality and quantity between /i:/ and /i/, as well as /ɔ:/ and /ɔ/ (1937: xiii). In this section I only aim to provide a simple comparison of the two transcriptions.

— **rhoticity**: while Walker's model is rhotic, Jones's is not. Admittedly, Walker remarks that 'the /r/ is only a jar, and not a definite a distinct articulation like the other consonants' (1791: 13). The change had been under way in the south-east of England for more than one hundred years (Beal 2004a: 154) but remained a hotly-debated shibboleth throughout the nineteenth century.
— **schwa**: Walker does not use the symbol at all; instead he employs [ʌ] for /-er/ endings and 'full' vowels in other unaccented syllables, e.g. *renovated* in the text. The appearance of schwa is intertwined with non-rhoticity, but it is something that must have been present before Walker's *Dictionary* since the lexicographer complains that the 'lowest of the people totally sink them [i.e. unaccented vowels], or change them, into some other sound' (1791: 23).
— **FACE** vowel: while Jones's transcription corresponds with today's RP, Walker has a long monophthong. The first mentions of FACE realised as a diphthong only appear at the beginning of the next century (e.g. Batchelor 1809 and Smart 1836).
— **GOAT** vowel: again, it is a monophthong for Walker and as with FACE it becomes diphthongised in the 19th century. Jones's transcription has the onset as a back rounded vowel [o]. Later, it would become unrounded and centralised to give the modern form [əʊ].

— **BATH** vowel: the difference between the two versions is the same as there is between the North and the South of England today, although Walker's preferred pronunciation is not a fully-open [a] (as it is in northern England today) but rather the so-called 'ash' vowel [æ]. Walker maintains that 'pronouncing the *a* in *after*, *answer*, *basket*, *plant*, *mast*, etc as long as in *half*, *calf*, etc. borders very closely on vulgarity' (1791: 10). It seems likely, according to Beal (2004a: 141), that the short [æ] vowel was lengthened to [æː] and only then did the retraction to [ɑː] take place.
— **yod-dropping**: Walker's [bliu] changes into Jones's (and modern) [bluː]. It is an immensely complex feature that is discussed at some length in 3.2.2.5. *Blue* belongs to a set of words where [iu] changed to [ju], and then the 'yod' was dropped.
— **/wh/-cluster**: the difference between Walker and Jones is in the loss of [h]. However, it would be very misleading to label this as /h/-dropping (the pronunciation of *hammer* as [amə], for instance), which is a phenomenon with a rather different history (3.2.2.4). For Walker, however, it was the same phenomenon and he therefore insists on the [hw] cluster in his dictionary. Any omission of /h/ was in his eyes pure cockneyism (1791: xii).

2.5 Modern English: The Nineteenth Century

The orthoepists of the previous century essentially set out to achieve two things: to inform the public of the 'correct' pronunciation (to raise consciousness of the 'correct' forms) and to make the public correct their errors. An enormous wealth of nonstandard forms that have survived to this day tells us that in the latter point they failed considerably. The former, on the other hand, was carried out with remarkable success.

The nineteenth century operates with a firm idea in the mind; as Mugglestone (1995: 53) puts it, it is 'a set of beliefs surrounding the emerging and non-localized "received pronunciation" which in themselves were often at some remove from linguistic reality, especially as far as the majority of the population were concerned'. This led the common public to believe that the ideal variety of spoken English is that 'without an accent', although it is, naturally, linguistically impossible. Any remnants of localised speech in one's accent were markers of deviation from the idealised norm. Smart (1836: §178) insists that 'the common standard dialect is that in which all marks of a particular place and residence are lost, and nothing appears to indicate any other habits of intercourse than with the well-bred and well-informed, wherever they may be found'.

The conviction that a non-localisable standard accent was superior to accents full of 'mere provincialisms' was also inspired by the findings of Charles Darwin.

Sherman's *A Handbook of Pronunciation* informs its readers that '[l]anguage is the chief of those attainments which distinguish man from lower animals. The perfection and grace with which one speaks his mother tongue, is justly regarded as an index of his culture and associations' (1885: iii). The author then goes on to explain that the same status that man has compared to other species (namely that of superiority), the 'best' accent has compared to the other ones.

Linguistic behaviour was regarded on a par with other codes of behaviour. Thus some variants were deemed as unbefitting of gentlemanly conduct. Using certain variants was as unworthy as, for instance, listening at doors, reading other people's correspondence, or wearing unsuitable clothes.

> It is said that in dress the true gentleman is distinguished by faultless linen, and by accurately-fitting gloves. And in education he is distinguished by his unfailing self-possession and by good spelling ... he ought never to trip into the vulgarism of mispronouncing his words. They are the faultless linen and the accurately-fitting gloves; the little things that carry with them the "ring" of true gentility. (Brewer 1866: 75, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 164)

Decency, gentility, propriety, refinement were all viewed as magic keys that should open many a door. Not that all people of the period took to this idea of self-improvement. For instance, Macaulay (1878: 338, qtd. in Malchow 1992) complains in a letter to his wife that 'the curse of England is the obstinate determination of the middle class to make their sons what they call gentlemen'. This was, however, just one feeble trickle that could never have changed the torrent.

Another 19th-century watchword is politeness. As Crystal (2005: 371) reveals, the adjective 'polite' could be used with a host of nouns, most notably with 'literature, science, education, the arts, entertainment [...] scholars and wits, nations and languages'. The adjective was essentially used to convey the meaning of 'not too difficult, to be enjoyed by all without any special prior knowledge'. Thus, a ' "polite lecture" would be one which avoided specialized or arcane learning [and] "polite language" would be a use of English which was widely intelligible and acceptable—polished, elegant, correct' (Crystal 2005: 371). A more detailed account of what politeness actually meant to the people of the period is offered in Vickery:

> Politeness [...] meant much more than mere etiquette, and minding your ps and qs. It was an all-embracing philosophy of life, and a model for a harmonious society. It promoted openness and accessibility in social behaviour, but at the same time set strict standards of decorum for merchants and manufacturers to live up to. Indeed the social lubrication which politeness offered was one of its greatest attractions, because it offered a way for very different sorts of people to get along without violence. (2001: 10)

2.5.1 Penny manuals: reaching the masses

Upward social mobility created demand which even Walker's and Sheridan's dictionaries could not have satisfied entirely. Furthermore, as it has been mentioned above, the price of these dictionaries was considerably high. As a consequence, the so-called 'penny manuals' appeared and they tightened the screws of prescriptive ideology. Beal (2008a: 26) describes them as 'self-help books which concentrated on warning against the most obvious linguistic (and social) shibboleths'. Elsewhere (2004a: 179), she adds that they were 'aimed at the newly emerging lower middle class whose white-collar and service-based jobs demanded a veneer of gentility'. Whilst we can say that Sheridan and Walker took scientific (given the standards of science of their period) interest in the matters of pronunciation, these cheap leaflets were written by people who, by and large, lacked basic linguistic education—a large number of them were even published anonymously. Their effect is nicely summed up in Bailey (1996: 82): 'if there is one heritage of the nineteenth-century language culture that survives most vigorously, it is the institutionalization of hierarchy among linguistic variants. The nineteenth century is, in short, a century of steadily increasing linguistic intolerance'. The penny manuals were, among other things, full of comical anecdotes illustrating how embarrassing and vulgar it is if one does not know, for example, the rules of pronouncing /h/:

> I have heard a person who was very well dressed, and looked like a lady, ask a gentleman, who was sitting behind her, if he knew whether Lord Murray has left any *H*eir behind him:- the gentleman almost blushed, and I thought stopped a little, to see whether the lady meant a *Son* or a *Hare*. (*Mind Your H's and Take Care of Your R's* 1866:16–17, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 131)

This particular shibboleth (discussed in more detail in 3.2.2.4) was fiercely criticised in these manuals. The front cover of another one depicts a gentlewoman with a gentleman who holds a big letter H and, with his hat obsequiously taken off, says 'Please, Ma'am, you've dropped something' (*Poor Letter H: Its Use and Abuse* 1854, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 134). Others thought that this letter was the most reliable indicator of one's breeding and encouraged people to use it the 'proper' way: here is an example from *The Letter H, Past, Present and Future*:

> H, in speech, is an unmistakable mark of class distinction in England, as every person soon discovers ... I remarked upon this to an English gentleman, who replied – "It's the greatest blessing in the world, a sure protection against cads. You meet a fellow who is well-dressed, behaves himself decently enough, and yet you don't know exactly what

> to make of him; but get him talking and, if he trips upon his H's that settles the question. He's a chap you'd better be shy of". (Leach 1881: 10–11, qtd. in Beal 2004a: 182)

The fallacy of the self-appointed arbiters of speech is demonstrated in another self-help manual called *How Should I Pronounce?*. The author has it that '[s]ince cultivated people are, in general, presumed to speak accurately, accuracy in pronunciation comes naturally to be regarded as a sign of culture, and there is, therefore, a tendency to imitate the pronunciation of the cultured class' (Phyfe 1885: 13). What is completely disregarded in arguments of such a type are essential things like access to education, IQ estimations, and communicative skills; instead all that seems to be of importance is the superficiality of articulation that gives power to deliver judgements about other people—indeed, to condemn them as ignorant and illiterate. A similar observation is made by Mugglestone (1995: 63), who says that ' "manner" and not "matter" was, it seemed, to be accorded the primary role in [...] notions of intellectual ability, as well as of social refinement'. A late nineteenth-century text openly warns against underestimating the significance of manners:

> [t]he proverb which warns us against judging by appearances can never have much weight in a civilised community. There, appearance is inevitably the index of character. First impressions must, in nine times out of ten be formed from it, and that is a consideration of so much importance that no-one can afford to disregard it. (*Modern Etiquette in Public and Private,* 1888: 39, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 69)

2.5.2 The Dictates of the Written Form

Authorities in the previous centuries recommended being in 'good company' as the best way to acquire the 'perfect' accent. Admittedly, only a few had such an ambition. In the nineteenth century, however, an unprecedented number of people strived for a 'better' pronunciation. It was impossible, though, for such large masses to get the opportunity to mingle with those from the level of society they aspired to belong to; hence the extensive demand for the variety of teaching materials (pronouncing dictionaries, self-help books, and cheap penny manuals). A far-reaching consequence is the shift of focus from an oral to a written medium and the subsequent triumph of graphemes over phonemes. 'For pronunciation the best general rule is, to consider those as the most elegant speakers who deviate least from the written words', explained Johnson in his *Dictionary* (1755: i, qtd. in Crowley 1991: 98). For Johnson, the ideal situation clearly was if the two (spoken and written language) were in total concord. In popular thinking, the written word must have been superior when compared to

the spoken one for the following reasons: firstly, graphemes display far greater stability (they had been, more or less, fixed a century before attempts to fix the spoken language commenced, as was observed in 1.2), and secondly, writing is something that needs to be learned (often going to great pains when doing so) while speech just comes naturally in infancy. Knowledge of the written system thus indicates education. Needless to say, the latter argument could easily be reversed to claim that the spoken language should be established as the rule (if it comes first), but this way of thinking did not fit in with the prevalent ideology of that time.

Pronunciation shibboleths that came under intense prescriptive scrutiny for the divergence from spelling were for example /g/-dropping, /h/-dropping, /wh/-clusters, and /r/-dropping. Whilst they are all discussed in detail in parts dedicated specifically to them (3.2.2.1, 3.2.2.4, and the last two in 3.2.2.5), the last of them merits at least a passing mention here. /r/-dropping refers to the disappearance of /r/ 'before a consonant or in absolute final position' (Wells 1982: 218). Mugglestone (1991: 57–66) provides a full account of this phenomenon with respect to the poetry of John Keats (1795–1821). He came in for a lot of criticism during his life and also after his death for the 'vulgar' rhymes he produced in his poems. It was rhymes such as *thorns/fawns* that were thorns in the flesh for Keats's contemporaries. Gerard Manley Hopkins's complaint is a fine example of what many thought of Keats's rhymes:

> there is one thing that Keats's authority can never excuse, and that is rhyming open vowels to silent *r*s, as *higher* to *Thalia*: as long as the *r* is pronounced by anybody, and it is by a good many yet, the feeling that it is there makes this rhyme most offensive, not indeed to the ear, but to the mind. (Hopkins 1880, in Beal 1999: 162)

The quote dismisses vocalised /r/ although, clearly, it is a change in progress and one can only wonder whether Hopkins himself was a rhotic or a non-rhotic speaker (his ear was not offended, after all). It did not matter, though, for pronunciation was inferior to spelling, and such rhymes as the one given in the quote were doomed as vulgarisms.

Mugglestone (1995: 103) introduces the term 'literate speakers' for those heavily influenced by spelling when making their pronunciation choices. Also, she goes on to consider a 'hyperliterate speaker', i.e. one who puts an /r/ even where there is none in the spelling. This phenomenon was, however, more tightly linked with /h/-dropping to give forms such as 'a horange' used for the common type of fruit.

The approach to phenomena such as /h/-dropping was rather qualitative (it may alternatively be called the 'either/or' approach). It would take about a hundred years before linguists like William Labov (1966) and Peter Trudgill (1974), in

New York and Norwich respectively, would set up a new linguistic discipline: sociolinguistics. Their paradigm would totally change what had been in use before: they would approach their data quantitatively (sometimes called the 'more-or-less' approach) to show that the ideology of standardisation (with its binary absolutes) did not (fully) reflect the reality of speech communities. Instead, they found out that these variables (as they labelled them, cf. Trudgill 2000 or 4.3 here) were socially stratified, i.e. 'speakers of all social groups [...] used varying percentages of [h] in response to the situational variables of formality, or the speaker variables of status, gender, or age' (Mugglestone 1995: 54). In other words, they observed that people used standard variants more in more formal situations, that women tended to use them more than men or that younger speakers propelled linguistic change whereas older people were rather conservative. In short, they revealed the gross oversimplifications that the quantitative approach had been guilty of. Thus, they proved that language variation data was observable and meaningful, providing invaluable insight into the general mechanisms of language variation and change.

2.5.3 Accent and Social Class

'Social class' and 'accent' are two terms that belong to the keywords of this publication. It is significant that both of them underwent considerable changes during the period in question.

Accent had primarily been used to denote word stress and only slowly during the 18th century did it gain the meaning of a way of pronouncing words of a particular language variety. We find in the OED an entry from *The Spectator* that cites the writer and politician Joseph Addison (1711)—it testifies its novelty: 'The Tone, or (as the French call it) the Accent of every Nation in their ordinary Speech'. It is one of the first examples where the word had acquired its new meaning.

'Social class' replaced a term which had been in use before, namely that of a 'rank'. The crucial difference between the two lies in the fact that 'rank' was associated with the 'assumptions of inherited hierarchy and unequal birth' (Hughes 1988: 6) whereas 'class' enabled social advancement. It brought about a gradual appearance of the culture of self-improvement. Both geographical (improved ways of travelling, particularly the rapid development of railways) and social (the replacement of an agrarian social order with an urban one) mobility is characteristic of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries alongside with a whole new set of service and professional jobs. Mugglestone points out that these phenomena were not particularly new at that time; however, 'it is the number and nature of the shifts in social level which is most striking, serving to create perceptions

(and associated stereotypes) not only of the "new rich", but also of a new, and extensive middle section of society' (1995: 73).

How radical the changes must have been is neatly illustrated by the following quote by Samuel Johnson (Boswell [1791] 2011: vol. I, 442). He insists that '[s]ubordination tends greatly to human happiness [and] contentions for superiority are very dangerous'. Such a sentiment would have been a rare thing a few decades later when the notion of 'class' had taken over—social class as a position that is created (or at least permits people to create it) rather than inherited (determined by birth).

It was inevitable that people's attention turned to language issues. As Jernudd (1989: 3) shrewdly observes 'it is in periods of transition [...] that puristic responses to language are especially likely to arise'. The aforementioned nouveau riche provide a case in point; they must have been doubly apprehensive about affirming their new social position and, crucially, not being identified with their original one. Such groups of people are particularly sensitive to linguistic shibboleths and proscribed variants, (Chambers 2002: 58–65).

Social class has always been a problematic notion. While the basis may be economic (Marx's proletariat springs to mind), there are several other factors that determine it—in sociolinguistics are often-mentioned aspects such as education, pastime activities, occupation, and, unsurprisingly, language as well. The nineteenth-century concept of 'social class' was, in this respect, similar to the present one. Davis (1865: 16–17, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 69) makes it clear that 'the wealthy man, great in his accumulation of riches, if he be not in possession of knowledge sufficient to command respect, and if he speak ungrammatically, is not considered a gentleman'. The chief reason why it is so is provided in what May (1987: 43) says about social class which 'in a large part is what [a person] believes it to be and, more importantly, what others accept it to be'. The whole concept of social class is, naturally, a social construct. As such, it depends entirely on common consent. There was often felt to be 'an unbridgeable gap of behaviour, attitude, and accent between the old aristocracy and the *nouveax riches*', insists Rubenstein (1981: 140). In other words, money alone could not buy people a place in an upper echelon of the society. As Mugglestone (1995: 77) points out, people 'could proclaim their social origins in ways which transcended their import of property and possessions'. Thus, though an ordinary classical music teacher may have earned far less than a skilful manual worker, it would never have crossed anybody's mind that the two should belong to the same social class. In fact, accent played such an important role in the act of social class assignment because it was often the most prominent sign that one could use to underline one's superiority over another person—all the others were more or less connected with property and possessions.

The concept of social class has come under considerable academic scrutiny as well with some important amendments made by Max Weber, the German sociologist. He introduced another concept, namely that of a 'social status', to complement the social class. Bendix (1992: 86) explains Weber's notion of economic class and social status—the former is based on wealth and its unequal distribution, while the latter is determined upon 'the social estimation of honor [which] is expressed by [...] a specific style of life [that] can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle'. Crucially, this is linked to 'restrictions on social intercourse (that is, intercourse which is not subservient to economic [...] purposes)' (Weber and Swedberg 1999: 89). With economic criteria having been assigned to social class, social status, according to Weber's theory, should only be determined on external aspects like education, language, clothing, and manners.

Throughout the twentieth century sociologists operated with three main social classes, namely the 'upper', 'middle', and 'working' class (with further subdivisions possible, of course). What is interesting is that we can find the same division as far back as the beginning of the 18th century—in the famous *Proposal* by Jonathan Swift (1712, qtd. in Crystal 2005: 368): '[n]ot only the several Towns and Countries of *England*, have a different way of Pronouncing, but even here in *London*, they clip their Words after one Manner about the Court, another in the City, and a third in the Suburbs'. The Court, the City and the Suburbs roughly correspond with the upper, middle and working classes.

2.5.4 The Value of a 'Proper' Accent for Women

Both examples from the nineteenth-century penny manuals (p. 38) are concerned with women; it is not a coincidence because the century in question saw an upsurge of prescriptive advice specifically aimed at them. The same ideas of propriety, delicacy, and virtue were applied to women of all social classes, although differences, of course, existed. The main one lied in the fact that working class women could not enjoy the luxury of staying at home like their middle-class counterparts. The underlying sentiment dictated that '[the lady] must be even more on her guard than a man in all those niceties of speech, look, and manner, which are the special and indispensable credentials of good breeding', as is expressed in a magazine called *Good Society* (1869: 49, qtd. in Lambek 2010). Purity was the hallmark of a ladylike conduct not only in their intimate life but also in their accent. Furthermore, 'proper' ladies were looked upon as those who were endowed with the responsibility to carry on the proverbial torch of linguistic correctness that had been lit in the 18th century by Walker. Some considered their task to be even saviour-like in its character: 'will not our young ladies stand

up for their own mother tongue and, by speaking it in its purity, redeem its lost character?' (Mackarness 1876: 121, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 172).

Most importantly, a 'proper' accent was a highly marketable commodity for ladies, without which success at the 'marriage market' was in jeopardy. /h/-dropping was viewed as a danger that could potentially destroy a marriage. It was therefore better to make things clear right at the beginning: 'so important indeed is the question of the use of h's in England ... that no marriage should take place between persons whose ideas on this subject do not agree' (Hill 1902: 13, qtd. in Beal 2008a: 27).

The concern about a wife's accent is naturally linked with the role wives fulfilled in the 19th century. Beal (2004a: 182) remarks that 'pronunciation reflects status and since, in the nineteenth century (and later) society, a wife reflected her husband's status, "vulgar" speech would be an acute social embarrassment'. Furthermore, many self-help books of the period stressed more practical consequences of acquiring a pleasant voice. Their comments did not simply proscribe certain variants but they also recommended that ladies should speak in a soft, low tone of a voice, because a loud voice was 'extremely unladylike and degrading' (*Hints to Governesses* 1856: 17, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 174). The practical consequence was related to the place where a woman naturally belonged: the home, where her pleasant gentle voice could create the real homely atmosphere because 'a woman who reads aloud really well holds a power of pleasing difficult to over-estimate, since it is an every-day accomplishment, and eminently suited to home life (Mackarness 1876: 45, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 176)'. To put it simply, reading out aloud was a pastime activity at which women (wives) were supposed to shine and a 'vulgar' voice would surely have all but destroyed the pleasure. An ultimate warning is then found in yet another anonymous pamphlet called *How to Choose a Wife* (1854: 51, qtd. in Beal 2009: 51), where it is stated that '[p]erpetual nausea and disgust will be your doom if you marry a vulgar and uncultivated woman'.

Being a good and 'proper' spouse that befits her husband and helps to achieve (and does not thwart) his social ambition was, however, just one of the two main duties women were asked to perform. The other one was, of course, the role of a mother. Here women were under the same pressure as in their roles of wives because they would be the ones whose speech their children imitated, and a failure to set pronunciation standards could seriously hinder their children's social advancement. 'It is decidedly the duty of the mother to pronounce every word she utters distinctly, and in a proper tone, carefully avoiding, and strictly forbidding, the mis-pronunciation of any word', advises the anonymous author of *The Mother's Home Book* (1879, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 188). The point is also dramatically illustrated in *New Grub Street* (1891), a novel by George Gissing, in which one of the main characters, Mrs Yule, is scarcely ever allowed to talk to her

child lest she should contaminate her daughter's speech with her own 'imperfections'. When the child gets older and has learnt the basics of 'proper' speech, she asks her father bluntly: 'Why doesn't mother speak as properly as we do?' (1891: 171, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 188). Later, when the children had got older and had come into contact with the outside world full of linguistic 'vulgarisms', mothers would assume the role of a guardian of speech, promptly correcting any 'improprieties' their children might have contracted.

Observers in the nineteenth century did not fail to spot a very interesting sociolinguistic phenomenon, namely the fact that women tend to use more standard variants than men do. As *Etiquette for Ladies and Gentlemen* (1839: 10, qtd. in Romaine 2000: 124) has it, women are 'more susceptible of external polish than Man is'. It is likely that women were forced to master all the linguistic nuances owing to the social and cultural pressure under which they were placed. Modern sociolinguistic research has, on a number of occasions, confirmed that women do use more statusful variants than men (cf. e.g. Labov 2001: 261–93, Chambers 1998: 115–58, Romaine 2000: 101–28). Whether it means that the sociocultural conditions have not really changed in the past one hundred and fifty years or so, I do not dare confirm or refute, even though Beal (2008a) presents a solid argument that the pressures today are basically the same as they were two centuries ago.

2.6 The Birth of RP

The person often credited with the first mention of 'Received Pronunciation' is Alexander Ellis. He says in the following quote from his major work called *On Early English Pronunciation* that

> in the present day we may [...] recognise a received pronunciation all over the country, not widely differing in any particular locality, and admitting a certain degree of variety. It may be especially considered as the educated pronunciation of the metropolis, of the court, the pulpit and the bar. (1869: 23)

Ellis, however, was not the first person to use these two words together. Walker in his dictionary makes use of this collocation on numerous occasions. For instance, he talks of 'a corrupt, but received pronunciation [of the letter "a"] in the words *any*, *many*, *catch*, *Thames*, where the *a* sounds like short *e*, as if written *enny*, *menny*, *ketch*, *Themes*' (1791: 12). The major difference between the two lies in the fact that Walker uses the term 'received' to talk of a single sound whereas Ellis extends the use of the term to an entire variety. The meaning is the same for both though: 'received' means acceptable in polite society. The accent is non-

localisable, which is a notable shift from how the 'best' accent was defined in the previous centuries, when it was firmly located in the capital. Ellis was well aware of the fact that the accent he described was far from a homogeneous one: 'in as much as all these localities and professions are recruited from the provinces, there will be a varied thread of provincial utterance running through the whole' (1869: 23). And, further, he insists that the accent exists 'all over the country not widely differing in any particular locality, and admitting a certain degree of variety' (1869: 23). The last part of the quote is truly interesting, particularly when the focus of this thesis turns to modern attitudes towards the prestige accent (1.7).

2.6.1 Public Schools and RP

The birth of RP is closely linked with the prominence of public school education (secondary schools such as Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and Westminster followed by university education at Cambridge or Oxford). The accent that students acquired during their adolescence and early adulthood 'rapidly spread through the career structure which such an education opened up—in the civil and diplomatic service (especially abroad, as the Empire expanded) and the Anglican Church' (Crystal 2005: 469). It seems that Received Pronunciation could hardly have had a better milieu to ensure its dissemination: young boys received their public school education during a period of considerable peer pressure. This period demonstrates profound susceptibility to change as far as people's accents are concerned (Chambers 2002: 172–5). Secondary schools were, moreover, boarding schools, which resulted in the boys having all the links with their home broken. Whichever region they may have come from, the general attempt was to rid everyone of their regional affiliations, all the more so when it came to the matters of pronunciation. Honey (1991: 25) gives an example of a parent who sent one of his sons to Eton in the 1860's claiming that 'it is the object of the father, as a rule, to withdraw his son from local associations, and to take him as far as possible from the sons of his neighbours and dependants'. This led to a great amount of uniformity of speech within the public school accent, despite a few exceptions who appear to have resisted the pressure: e.g. William Gladstone, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, who was born in Liverpool (though was otherwise of purely Scottish ancestry) and whose accent contained discernible traces of northern English throughout his life (Honey 1991: 24).

There is little academic agreement regarding the role of public schools in the process of dissemination of RP. Honey, who generally tends to defend the standards of speech and grammar, holds the view that the process of acquiring the accent was unconscious and rather automatic; 'new boys with local accents were simply shamed out of them by the pressure of the school's "public opinion"' (1991: 27).

He likens the public school accent to the famous school tie—an immediate and obvious proof of one's educational background. Milroy agrees with Honey that boys were shamed out of their local accents, but he firmly believes that the educational authorities played their part in the process. He does not find it possible that 'a minority accent so uniform throughout the country could have been inculcated and maintained in any other way than consciously and deliberately' (2001: 21).

By and large, public school graduates would climb up to the highest positions in the British society of their time. It is then not surprising that their accent (i.e. what would later be known under the name of RP) became a powerful symbol of prestige, intelligence, and education. In the nineteenth-century 'the possession of a particular accent, uniquely based on the public schools, must have appeared as a guarantee that the speaker was educated' (Milroy 2001: 20). This exclusivity would gradually disappear in the twentieth century (consequently changing the whole milieu surrounding RP and its status), but this is to anticipate Chapter 1.7.

The link with public boarding-schools was extremely strong. Jones in his first edition of the *English Pronouncing Dictionary* even names the accent 'Public School Pronunciation', only to switch to 'Received Pronunciation' in the next edition in 1926. Beal remarks that to speak RP at the beginning of the 20th century one 'had to move in a very restricted social circle: that of the public-school educated' (2004a: 185); hence the claim that RP is non-localisable (i.e. limited to a particular social circle rather than region-based). Honey (1988: 210) even introduces a new caste onto the scene, namely that of a 'public school man'. It has been remarked that public-school students were, with more or less effort on the part of their teachers, shamed out of their regional accents. They formed a close-knit group of peers and such circumstances would, in all likelihood, lead to uniformity of speech. The process is well-known among sociolinguists as 'dialect levelling', with 'educated people from different regional backgrounds increasingly coming into contact and accommodating to each other's speech' (Crystal 2005: 469). The case of RP is rather special insofar as it involved groups of people from various regional backgrounds acquiring a supraregional accent. Today, the process of dialect levelling usually means that people from various backgrounds come into contact and their dialects converge to create another regional (but levelled-out) dialect. Milton Keynes is a case in point (cf. Williams and Kerswill 1999, Kerswill and Williams 2005).

The quote from Jones on the previous page is also interesting because it recognises that in order to acquire RP one did not necessarily have to go to one of the 'great public boarding-schools.' It was one of the first small steps towards what would happen in the latter half of the twentieth century: the severance of the exclusive links between public schools and the educated accent. As a result, as is

shown in 1.7.1, at the end of the century there would be linguists announcing the (imminent) death of RP.

2.6.2 RP as a Middle-class Accent

Although it may seem that RP originated as an upper-class phenomenon, it is a rather mistaken belief. Milroy offers two reasons why RP (at least in its origin) is to be associated with the middle class:

- the highest class accents are not involved in the origin of successful changes (such changes diffuse in the middle ranges of society)
- RP seems to be a product of a high degree of upward social mobility among educated people (with an increasing number of prime ministers, bishops, army officers, higher civil servants, etc. of middle class background) (Milroy 2001: 27)

The fact that upper class members pay little heed to their pronunciation is well-established in sociolinguistics. The chief reason is their social security and an obvious lack of social ambition: there are no higher rungs of the social ladder (cf. Chambers 2002: 53–9). In the past two hundred years or so, self-appointed arbiters of speech have been raging against /g/-dropping (see Mugglestone 1995: 152–5 for a detailed account): a typically working-class feature where the pronunciation of *–ing* endings is [ɪn] rather than [ɪŋ], often marked in writing with an apostrophe to give forms like *shootin'*. Not many years ago were members of the highest echelons of English society heard pronounce words such as *shooting* with the voiced alveolar nasal [n] rather than with its velar counterpart [ŋ]. They did not pay attention to this hotly-debated shibboleth, for there was little danger of them being mistaken for working-class people. This only confirms what was said earlier: RP is essentially a middle-class phenomenon and it was '[t]he access of the Victorian middle class to a high standard of education [that] seems to have been a vital factor in the establishment and diffusion of RP' (Milroy 2001: 27).

2.6.3 How to Approach RP?

In 1917 Daniel Jones, the famous phonetician, published the first edition of his *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (since then there has been as many as eighteen editions; the latest one published in 2011). He is certainly to be thought of as a modern linguist, in as much as he did not want to prescribe the 'correct' sounds but rather describe those he could hear educated people use. In the preface to the first edition, Jones informs the readers that

> the object of the present book is to record, with as much accuracy as is necessary for practical linguistic purposes, the pronunciation used by a considerable number of cultivated Southern English people in ordinary conversation [...] the book is a record of *facts*, not theories or personal preferences. No attempt is made to decide how people *ought* to pronounce; all that the dictionary aims at doing is to give a faithful record of the manner in which certain people do pronounce. (1917: vii)

On the face of it, Jones could hardly have done more to ensure his model is taken descriptively rather than prescriptively. He was not the first to attempt to approach the issues of pronunciation from a descriptive perspective, though. Sweet (1890: 3) expresses a similar view when he asserts that 'language only exists in the individual, and [...] such a phrase as "standard English pronunciation" expresses only an abstraction. Reflect that it is absurd to set up a standard of how English people *ought* to speak, before we know how they actually *do* speak'.

Despite all these precautionary remarks, the general public got a prescriptive hold of the *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (cf. Milroy 1992:9), for which, however, Jones and Sweet are to blame as well. As Beal (2004a: 184) observes, 'in confining their descriptions of "English" pronunciation to that of their own social group, Jones and Sweet unwittingly promoted RP as the norm both for British readers and for foreign learners of English'. Also, the time was not ripe for dictionaries to be taken descriptively by the masses that had long been flogged by the prescriptive whip in the hands of Sheridan, Walker and the innumerable penny manuals. They were simply not used to taking what they saw in pronouncing dictionaries as a description of how a certain group of people pronounced words; they thought the sounds were there to be immaculately imitated. To give an example, Wyld maintains that RP 'is superior, from the character of its vowels, to any other form of English, in beauty and clarity, and is therefore, if for no other reason, the type best suited to public speaking' (1934, qtd. in Crowley 1991: 213).

Moreover, it is worth pointing out who the intended readers of Jones's pronunciation model were. A few years before the publication of his *English Pronouncing Dictionary* Jones wrote in *The Pronunciation of English* that the book was aimed at

> English students and teachers, and more especially [at] students in training colleges and teachers whose aim is to correct cockneyisms or other undesirable pronunciations in their scholars. At the same time it is hoped that the book may be found of use to lecturers, barristers, clergy, etc., in short all who desire to speak in public. The dialectal peculiarities, indistinctiveness and artificialities which are unfortunately so common in the pronunciation of public speakers may be avoided by the application of the elementary principles of phonetics. (1909, qtd. in Crowley 1991: 165–6)

Here Jones can be seen in a rather more prescriptive light. Beal (2004a: 188) rightly observes that one of the effects would unavoidably make 'teachers all over the country attempt to eradicate those same "marks of disgrace" identified by eighteenth-century authorities such as Walker and Sheridan [and] these teachers would, at the very least, instil into their pupils a sense of inferiority of their native accent and dialect'. Upton (2008: 237) talks of Jones as a person 'living in a hierarchical, south-east focused and male-dominated world', thus his (=Jones's) 'stance on a model accent was understandable'. Indeed, the pronunciation Jones offered in his dictionary was

> most usually heard in everyday speech in the families of Southern English persons whose men-folk have been educated at the great public boarding-schools. This pronunciation is also used by a considerable proportion of those who do not come from the South of England but who have been educated at these schools. The pronunciation may also be heard, to an extent which is considerable though difficult to specify, from Natives of the South of England who have not been educated at these schools. (1917: viii)

In the course of the nineteenth century, the idea of RP as a non-localisable accent was reinforced. Lloyd (1894: 52, qtd. in MacMahon 1998: 393) writes that 'the perfect English is that which is admittedly correct, while giving the least possible indication of local origin'. In modern sociolinguistic terms: RP displayed all the features of a sociolect: 'a variety or lect which is thought of as being related to its speakers' social background rather than their geographical background' (Trudgill 2003: 122).

As far as the first half of the twentieth century is concerned, not much change regarding the social status of Received Pronunciation can be detected. According to Beal (2004a: 188) '[the] consensus as to the superiority of this variety [=RP] seems to hold until the end of World War II'. Without any doubt, the two world wars, and the subsequent process of decolonisation were sources of major social changes, which, however, were not observed immediately.

The unchanging status of RP after World War II is illustrated by the following quote from Abercrombie:

> The existence of R.P. gives accent judgements a peculiar importance in England, and perhaps makes the English more sensitive than most people to accent differences. In England, Standard English speakers are divided by an 'accent-bar', on one side of which is R.P., and on the other side, all other accents. [...] There is no doubt that R.P. is a privileged accent; your social life, or your career, or both, may be affected by whether you possess it or not. ([1951] 1965: 13)

Abercrombie chose the term 'accent-bar' for one particular reason: in the 1950's and 1960's there was another term very similar to the one he coined, namely the 'colour-bar', which was used to 'voice concerns about the discrimination against persons of colour in a Britain which had as yet no equal opportunities legislation' (Beal 2004a: 188).

To speak RP was vital in many professions. Army officers and the Church of England clergymen are mentioned in Honey (1991: 30–1). While the clergymen belonging to the Church of England spoke RP, others (most notably Roman Catholics) employed people with distinct regional (Irish or continental) accents.

2.6.4 The Role of the BBC

Received Pronunciation is very often dubbed 'the BBC accent' (cf. Roach et al. 2011 and the Introduction). Indeed, its associations with the British Broadcasting Corporation have been very strong ever since the BBC was established in 1922. There are two opposing views as to what influence (if any) the BBC (has) had on RP and its diffusion.

The first view is represented e.g. by Honey, who stresses the importance of 'the careful selection of announcers and presenters with RP accents' (1991: 31) as well as the establishment of the BBC's *Advisory Committee on Spoken English* in 1926. Honey also asserts that 'from the 1920's to at least the 1960's many people from non-standard accent backgrounds were influenced in the direction of RP by the model presented by BBC radio' (1991: 33). At the beginning, as Jones (1926:112, qtd. in Bolton and Crystal 1969: 103) claims, the BBC only wanted speakers with similar accents; they had to follow a set of guidelines 'to secure some measure of uniformity in the pronunciation of broadcast English, and to provide announcers with some degree of protection against the criticism to which they are, from the nature of their work, peculiarly liable'. The link between RP and the BBC was immensely strong. Strang (1970: 45) claims that 'if we can agree to use RP for the variety of speech heard from British-born national newscasters on the BBC we shall have a general idea of the kind of accent we are talking about'. Beal (2004a: 187) is also convinced that the amount of exposure had profound influence upon the target audience—RP as the accent of radio broadcasting became associated with intelligence and reliability during the Second World War.

Linguists from the opposing group challenge the assumption that one's exposure to a given accent makes people adopt its features. Milroy (2001: 30) voices his opinion that the mere 'exposure to RP may enable one to imitate it, but not to speak it habitually and carry on a full conversation in it'. He goes on to claim that 'the use of broadcasting has probably had very little effect in spreading its use by speakers' (2001: 30). A view like this can also be found in *Language Style as*

Audience Design, a paper by Bell (1984), in which the author expresses his conviction that newscasters do not set new fashions; in fact, they follow them.

Another contentious issue related to the relationship between the BBC and RP concerns the accent policy of the BBC. While Wells is convinced that '[u]ntil the early 1970's, this [=RP] was the accent demanded in its announcers by the BBC', Abercrombie offers a different take on the BBC and its policy:

> [a]ll BBC announcers did speak RP, it is true, but in fact that was an accidental by-product of another policy: that BBC employees—administrators as well as announcers—should be of good social position, with appropriate interests and tastes. [...] The question of accent never arose; all suitable applicants naturally spoke RP. (1991: 49)

The first director of the BBC and the most prominent figure in the process of its foundation, Lord John Reith, was, interestingly enough, not an RP speaker at all. He was born in Stonehaven in Aberdeenshire and kept his Scottish accent not only while for working for the BBC (1922–38) but also during his job for the governments of Neville Chamberlain and Winston Churchill (he was appointed Minister of Information in the former government, though he held the post only for a few months in 1940). His own regional accent notwithstanding, he desired to set a standard for his employees:

> Since the earliest of broadcasting the BBC has recognised a great responsibility towards the problems of spoken English. [...] Tendencies might have been observed and either reinforced or resisted. As the broadcaster is influential, so also is open to criticism from every quarter in that he addresses listeners of every degree of education, many of whom are influenced by local vernacular and tradition. There has been no attempt to establish a uniform spoken language, but it seemed desirable to adopt uniformity of principle and uniformity of pronunciation to be observed by Announcers with respect to doubtful words. The policy might be described as that of seeking a common denominator of educated speech. (Lloyd James 1928: Foreword, qtd. in Crystal 2005: 470)

Lord Reith's words reveal several things. First of all, it is the fact that the BBC was aware of the task of setting (or rather following) certain pronunciation standards. Then, we can see that the BBC took precautions to protect itself from unnecessary criticism by opting against regional voices (the supraregional accent provided unquestionable advantages since it arguably prevented a lot of possible bias-related complaints). Last but not least, the *Advisory Committee on Spoken English* focused on individual words rather than the accent as a whole. When the committee was established, it was chaired by the poet laureate Robert Bridges, who could consult those 'doubtful words' with Daniel Jones and George Bernard Shaw. The committee published a list of words with their 'correct' pronunciations

in a manual called *Broadcast English*. The first two editions were only published with a three-year gap in between them (in 1928 and 1931) and Crystal (2005: 470–1) offers a list of examples from the second edition, noting that the editors found it necessary to make changes from the first edition. The pronunciation of 'garage' is a case in point. While the first edition had advised the original French pronunciation, the second one concedes that '*[g]arage* has been granted unconditional British nationality, and may now be rhymed with *marriage* and *carriage*'(Lloyd James 1931, qtd. in Crystal 2005: 470).

Despite the rather contradictory opinions as to what the precise role of the BBC has been, we can safely conclude that the BBC has been influential in at least raising the awareness of RP. As a result of this, the British people (lay people as well as academics) very often use the term 'the BBC accent' as a synonym to RP; and no matter how (in)accurate lay people's definition of RP may be, they 'can recognise it when they hear it, and they have a pretty good idea whether they themselves speak it or not' (Abercrombie [1951] 1965: 12).

2.7 RP Today

The status of RP after the Second World War seems to have changed dramatically. In spite of Abercombie's comment about the 'accent-bar', RP gradually lost its unique position. Not more than eleven years after this comment, Gimson states that 'RP itself can be a handicap if used in inappropriate social situations, since it might be taken as a mark of affectation, or a desire to emphasize social superiority' (1962: 84).

Wilfred Pickles, from Halifax, Yorkshire, became arguably the first non-RP-speaking BBC announcer in 1941. He came in for a lot of criticism and some people even found the news less credible when delivered by a man with a marked non-RP accent. After World War Two he claimed that the BBC was trying to make the British talk in the same way. Also, he fully realised how important it was to do everything possible to maintain 'our rich contrast of voices [which] is a vocal tapestry of great beauty and incalculable value, handed down to us by our forefathers' (Pickles 1949: 146–7).

A host of changes were brought about by the Education Act in 1944, enabling more and more people (particularly from the previously rather neglected working class) to achieve a higher level of education than before. These would then turn against the Establishment and their values; the so-called 'Angry Young Men' being the best example of this sentiment. Barber discusses three famous books associated with the movement in question (namely Osborne's *Look Back in Anger*, Amis's *Lucky Jim*, and Braine's *Room at the Top*) and cites them as examples of the prevailing feelings of that period:

> The great success of these three works with the English public shows the extent to which they are canalising current feelings; the new working-class intellectual and his resentment of the Establishment are certainly realities of our time. And this resentment can also be directed at Received Standard as the language of the Establishment. (1964: 27)

An unprecedented number of people with grammar-school (and university) education rocked RP's privileged position. Abercrombie observes that 'although those who talk RP can justly consider themselves educated, they are outnumbered these days by the undoubtedly educated people who do not speak RP' ([1951] 1965: 15). To carry on with the metaphor (p. 49), the 'old school tie' was still a proof of one's education, but it lost its exclusivity as people with regional voices gained access to the same standards of education and RP gradually became just one of many accents that educated people spoke with.

The BBC recognised it as well. In 1977 the Annan Report on the future of broadcasting was published and it openly declared that '[w]e welcome regional accents' (qtd. in Crystal 2005: 474). Admittedly, the welcoming embrace did not initially apply to newscasters who were still expected to speak RP; in fact RP only ceased to be a prerequisite for this job in the 1990's when the BBC chose a 'Welsh-accented Huw Edwards as the anchor-man [for the BBC Six O'Clock News], rejecting an RP-speaking female newscaster as "too snooty" ' (Beal 2008a: 29).

In the 1970's Giles used a method known from sociology and psychology, namely the 'matched-guise technique' (cf. Giles et al. 1990), to elicit some invaluable data about accent perception. In a nutshell, the technique involves one person who can put on different accents which are recorded and played to respondents. The method makes sure that respondents do not react to various personal idiosyncrasies (e.g. gender and age). Naturally, respondents are not aware of the fact that all the samples were actually made by one speaker. The findings concerning RP and British regional accents are conclusive. They reveal that 'RP guise was always given the highest score for features such as intelligence, competence and persuasiveness, whereas regional accented guises scored higher for features such as friendliness and honesty' (Beal 2008a: 29). Soft regional voices have been enjoying a great deal of 'covert prestige', which is a sociolinguistic term that explains that 'attitudes of this type are not usually overtly expressed, and depart markedly from the mainstream societal values (of schools and other institutions), of which everyone is consciously aware' (Trudgill 1974: 96).

Call centres represent an environment where these attitudes are easily visible. Soft regional voices are a valuable asset there: '[call centre] workers avoid both the "unfriendly" connotations of RP, and the "uneducated" associations of broad

regional accents, and so are acceptable to a wide range of clients' (Beal 2006: 33). RP and broad regional accents appear equally undesirable.

One could be led to believe that RP (as the prestige accent) is no longer desirable but it is only partially true. The thirst for orthoepic guidance and lessons of elocution is far from quenched. Beal's paper, fittingly called *Shamed by Your English* (2008a), analyses some of the numerous advertisements that offer to improve one's accent (i.e. they promise to rid speakers' accents of their regional traces). One particular advertisement, placed on its website by *The Central School of Speech and Drama*, informs its readers and potential customers that

> [e]locution is an old-fashioned term but remains a skill for the 21st century. The voice is the most vital communication tool. Clear, confident, expressive communication ensures that you get the message across. The course is designed to enable you to improve your vocal technique, soften your accent, and develop your vocal skills in order to communicate more effectively in both business and social environments. (http://www.cssd.ac.uk/pages/bus_elocution+.html)

What is interesting, according to Beal, is 'the juxtaposition of "softening" the accent with "vocal skills" and effective communication, as if those with unsoftened accents lack a skill' (2008a: 36). The advertised accent is, in all likelihood, near-RP, or, to put it another way, modern RP with a few regional touches. Beal appositely compares this currently fashionable accent to ladies' 'career-wear' in Marks & Spencer (pencil skirts, trouser suits in dark shades, white and blue blouses) which presents 'a bland, inoffensive face to the public' (Beal 2008a: 36). This era seems to be marked by the culture of self-improvement; elocutionists then provide the same sort of service as cosmetic surgeons, image consultants, and fitness instructors.

Beal reaches the conclusion that 'British society today is every bit as hierarchical as that which spawned the elocution movement of the 18th century, but [...] the models of "good" pronunciation are no longer the aristocracy but the professional and entrepreneurial classes who can provide employment' (2008a: 38). The common denominator unifying elocutionists of the eighteenth and twenty-first centuries is the fear of the underclass: the fear that one might be taken by others as belonging to a lower social class than they actually belong to.

2.7.1 The Death of RP?

Bearing in mind the social changes of the second half of the twentieth century, some linguists ask what future Received Pronunciation faces. There are linguists who maintain that RP's future is rather bleak. Wells holds the opinion that 'RP is

on the way out [because of] the loosening of social stratification and the recent trend for people of working-class or lower-middle-class origins to set the fashion in many areas of life' (1982: 118). Similarly, Milroy is convinced that there are many people who consider RP

> as effete, affected and artificial. For the majority, in most situations, it simply has not been an appropriate model to aspire to and millions of people still do not care about it. Indeed, the academic's belief that everybody wants to acquire RP may well come from spending too much time in universities. (2001: 29)

RP, Milroy also argues, is not as salient as it used to be because the professional environment has become substantially democratised. RP is nothing more or nothing less than 'a product of a particular period of British history, during which time it served important social and political functions. As the conditions that supported its continuance as a high prestige accent have altered dramatically, its uniquely "received" status has largely disappeared' (2001: 31).

What these predictions are based on, in my opinion, is a rather simplified view of what RP is. Of course, like any other accent, RP is far from monolithic. As we have seen in the Introduction, there are many varieties of this accent and what is likely to happen (or even to have happened) is the demise of traditional RP. Whether we retain the label RP for the modern variety, which is 'alive and well and still used in British institutions stereotypically associated with it' (Przedlacka 2005: 29) or disregard it in want of a more appropriate label is another matter.

Trudgill is dismissive of the claims prophesying the death of RP; he calls them myths for which he puts the blame on 'journalists in need of something to write about' (2002: 177–8). He simply sees all the changes going on in RP as modifications of the accent. The past two centuries abound with examples of changes within the prestige accent: BATH lengthening and the loss of rhoticity are among the most prominent ones (cf. 4.2.1.7 and 4.2.2.5 respectively).Yet the prestige accent emerged rather unscathed. Naturally, labels can be changed, thus Public School Pronunciation was replaced by RP, and there might be another label needed as well. Is it now or later, though?

A simple way of determining whether RP is on the way out or not is by asking the following question: how many RP speakers are there? There is, alas, no simple answer to this question. Again, the problem lies in which variety of RP we work with: is it the modern, traditional, or even near-RP? Linguists who do hazard a guess usually do not cite very high numbers: Holmes's guestimate is 3–5% (1992: 144) while Trudgill had earlier popularised the figure 3% (1974), and basically sticks to it in his paper from 2001. Crystal even lowers the guestimate claiming '[t]his must now be less than 2% percent and falling' (2005: 472). It may have appeared in the 1970's and the 1980's that there were more RP speakers than

there are now. Trudgill, however, aptly points out that 'a little reflection [shows] that this impression was due to the fact that it was much easier to hear speakers of the RP accent in the media than their proportion in the population would indicate' (2002: 171). Now RP speakers seem to be few and far between as their exclusive access to certain media professions has ceased to exist, and these professions are performed by non-RP speakers as well. In addition, the guestimates above seem to deal with traditional RP rather than its modern variety.

There is yet another explanation as to why there appear to be fewer speakers of RP today. It is found in Upton, who blames 'the limitations of the description of RP exclusively to the norms of southern England [...] for the extremely low estimates normally given of the number of RP speakers in Britain' (2001: 361). There is a certain traditionally non-RP variant (short BATH [a]) that speakers from the North never give up (it carries no negative social connotations) and thus, if we stick to the older model of RP, there are no speakers of RP in the North (for a fuller discussion see 4.2.1.7).

2.7.2 Estuary English

It is now time to discuss Estuary English (often abbreviated as EE), a recent south-east accent that has gained considerable attention in the media in the past decades. Nevertheless, we only seemingly lose sight of Received Pronunciation since Estuary English has been dubbed 'the new RP' (Rosewarne 1994). Rosewarne is the person who had coined the term ten years earlier as

> a variety of modified regional speech. It is a mixture of non-regional and local south-eastern English pronunciation and intonation. If one imagines a continuum with RP and London speech at either end, "Estuary English" speakers are to be found grouped in the middle ground. (Rosewarne 1984: 2)

This accent, as the name suggests, is based 'around the Thames Estuary, but said to be spreading throughout the south-east of England' (Beal 2004a: 197). Its typical features include happY tensing, /t/-glottalisation (in certain environments), /l/-vocalisation, the lowering of TRAP (Przedlacka 2002). Wells (1992) and Coggle (1993) add yod-coalescence and several diphthong shifts (PRICE, GOAT, FACE) as well. Finally, Rosewarne in a revision of his 1984 article then adds /th/-fronting as a newly-established Estuary English phenomenon (2009).

It is true that some of the features have made their way into the modern model of RP (cf. Upton 2008). On the whole, it is safe to say that Estuary English 'has captured public imagination' (Przedlacka 2005: 27). Przedlacka's paper provides a number of both positive and negative reactions to Estuary English in the press.

Some view it as 'the classless dialect sweeping southern Britain', others find it 'somnambulant and slack-jawed' (2005: 27–8). Among scholars, Estuary English has received little support as a possible replacement of RP (cf. Rosewarne 2009 with a rather pompous title *How Estuary English won the world over*).

The very name of the accent has come in for a lot of criticism. Trudgill (2002: 177–8) finds it extremely misleading since, judging by the label, the accent 'is confined to the bank of the Thames Estuary' whilst, as a matter of fact, it also includes 'parts or all of Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire'. More importantly still, replacing RP is, according to Trudgill, impossible since EE will always remain a regional one: 'the sociolinguistic conditions are not such that it [=Estuary English] could turn into the new RP' (2002: 178–9). The sociolinguistic conditions refer to the unique role of residential public schools, which, of course, still exist, but their social role as the sole providers of high-level education has largely diminished.

2.7.2.1 Estuary English as a source of innovations in RP

Estuary English and, sometimes, even the popular speech of London, known as Cockney, are popularly believed to be sources of innovations in RP and regional dialects of English (Wells 1994). To give a relatively recent example from the press, Gillian Harris (*The Times* 20th Feb 1999) paints an apocalyptic vision of the future of the Glaswegian dialect. The article is called *Glasgow puts the accent on Estuary* and she reports on a sociolinguistic study carried out by Jane Stuart-Smith (1999). Harris seems to be convinced that '[e]arly indications suggest that traditional Glaswegian will struggle to survive. The researchers say that the insidious spread of Estuary English, which has its roots in Essex and Kent, has been felt in such cities as Derby, Newcastle and Hull'.

The article also draws on several papers published in *Urban Voices* (1999). A number of linguists report there that a few salient Estuary English features (/th/-fronting and /t/-glottalisation, in particular) have made their way into urban accents in various parts of England (cf. Stoddart et al. 1999, Docherty and Foulkes 1999, Mathisen 1999, Williams and Kerswill 1999). Barber predicts that

> [w]hat is perhaps most likely [...] is that one of the regional standards will come to be recognised as the new national standard, perhaps coalescing with the present R.S. [= Received Standard] in the process. The regional standard which is taking on this role is that of the most populous and influential part of England, London and the south-east, which of all the regional standards is the one closest to R.S. (so much so, indeed, that many people cannot distinguish between them). (1964: 28)

It has already been noted that Wells admits RP might be on the way out; he also envisages 'some new non-localizable but more democratic standard [which may arise] from the ashes of RP: if so, it seems likely to be based on popular London English' (1982: 118). As far as Estuary English is concerned, Wells remarks that 'it is a new name [b]ut it is not a new phenomenon. It is the continuation of a trend that has been going on for five hundred years or so – the tendency for features of popular London speech to spread out geographically (to other parts of the country) and socially (to higher social classes)' (Wells 1997: 47). Finally, the boldest of all Estuary English advocates is Crystal, who admittedly also finds the name relatively unfortunate, but the reason is that several of Estuary English features are 'spreading around the country, as far north as Yorkshire and as far west as Dorset' (2005: 472). The name is thus rather too restrictive. Crystal further cites Daniel Jones, who commented on the future of RP on the BBC radio as far back as in 1949: 'it seems quite likely that in the future our present English will develop in the direction of Cockney' (qtd. in Crystal 2005: 472).

Beal remarks that if these claims equalling the prestige accent with that of London were true we would 'seem to have come full circle, back to "the usuall speech [...] of London and the shires lying about London within lx myles" ' (2004a: 189). All these observations and remarks have probably made McMahon (2002) adopt another name for the prestige variety, namely that of Standard Southern British English. She leaves an important question unanswered: is there any 'standard' pronunciation model in other parts of Britain or are these simply disregarded as regional? McMahon must presume that her Standard Southern British English will eventually flood out all regional features in other parts of Britain, thereby making the accent supraregional again. While this remains to be seen, we have to 'confront the inconsistency of claiming that a non-localizable accent model can have one geographically-locatable origin or focus of change' (Upton 2004: 32).

Current sociolinguistic research provides data which may elucidate the influence of the capital upon other regional varieties and RP alike. It is this kind of data that make Altendorf and Watt claim that the British media and linguists 'have had a tendency to attribute, in a very simplistic way, the presence of these features [= /t/-glottaling, /th/-fronting, labiodental [ʋ]] in the speech of younger speakers of these accents [= urban accents in Hull and Glasgow] to the direct influence of London' (2008: 201). In the next section I briefly look at five such studies, the first of which re-examines old data to find surprisingly new information about changes allegedly connected with RP; the remaining ones are more recent and they discuss changes allegedly brought about by Estuary English.

Upton/Houck: 'recent' RP changes

Upton (2004) analyses data gathered in Leeds, Yorkshire, by Houck in the 1960's (for a full account of the original research see Houck 1968). Houck's subjects were predominantly from Leeds and its environs; all of them had been residents there for a substantial part of their life and were at least fifteen years of age. A number of variants that appeared in Houck's data are now part of modern RP transcriptions (Upton 2008): lowered TRAP [æ] → [a], back-mid starting point of PRICE [aɪ] → [ʌɪ], monophthongal SQUARE [ɛə] → [ɛː], and, last but not least, monophthongal CURE [ʊə] → [ɔː]. All of these sounds (as discussed in the relevant sections of chapter 3.2.1) are now established as RP sounds, even though the preferred transcription model might not always reflect that. Since these sounds are thus attested in Yorkshire in the 1960's, it is more than likely that these seemingly modern changes are not connected with the influence of London speech (or Estuary English), but, as Upton (2004: 33) suggests, they 'might well be social in origin rather than regional'. Upton concludes that

> [w]hilst it would be unsound to point to Leeds as the source of any particular innovation of RP, it would be reasonable to assume that this city, and so others too, have fully participated in its development, testimony to the accent's status as a social rather than a regional entity. (2004: 38)

Finally, he rejects attempts to see the source of innovations in the capital as 'simplistic geocentric assumptions [to which] the story of Received Pronunciation is not reducible' (Upton 2004: 38).

Llamas: /t/-glottalisation in Middlesbrough

Another phenomenon that is said to have been spreading and that is popularly linked with the dominance of London and Estuary English is /t/-glottalisation (Wells 1982: 323). It is to be found in RP in certain environments, while in others (in the intervocalic one, in particular) it remains a strictly non-standard sound (cf. 3.2.2.1). The very link with London, however, is rather dubious: whilst there can be very little doubt about how frequently this feature occurs in today's London urban dialect, the glottal stop was, in fact, first spotted in Scotland in the 1850's, later making its way down to London (the first explicit mention in the capital dates back to 1909) via the North of England and the Midlands (cf. Jezek 2006).

The presence of the glottal stop in some regions is now stronger than it used to be. Llamas's (2007) research in Middlesbrough shows that the reason for the

sudden upsurge of the use of the glottal stop there is probably not connected with the speech of a place distant some 250 miles, but rather with local identities. As Middlesbrough is a relatively new city with 'a complex recent history of reassignment to a succession of different local and regional authorities' (Beal 2010: 95), it is an ideal place for a sociolinguist interested in the relationships between language and identity. By means of an identity questionnaire Llamas found out that older people identified themselves as Yorkshiremen, middle-aged people grouped themselves with Tyneside (feeling closer to Newcastle and/or Sunderland), and the youngest respondents then claimed to belong to Middlesbrough (developing their own identity, independent of either Yorkshire or Tyneside). These identities, as Llamas observes, have different variants of the /t/ variable attached to them. While in Yorkshire /t/ is a fully released stop [t], Tyneside is famous for glottally reinforced variants [ʔt] (Watt and Milroy 1999: 29–30). Young respondents in Middlesbrough index their unique 'Middlesbrough' identity by choosing the full glottal stop [ʔ], which, incidentally, happens to have been spreading through other parts of Britain, too. Llamas concludes that

> [w]e thus see a focusing of linguistic choices and convergence onto a Middlesbrough form, which coincides with the rise in profile of Middlesbrough as a place with its own identity in terms of local administrative boundaries and in terms of its prominence on a national scale. (Llamas 2007: 601)

The full significance of Llamas's research is nicely summed up by Beal (2010: 99), who says that 'without the detailed qualitative data provided by responses to the IDQ [=identity questionnaires], it would have been easy to interpret the young Middlesbrough speakers' use of glottal [...] variants as simply part of a wider regional or national trend'. To put it another way, it would have been easy to say that young people in Middlesbrough have been swallowed by Estuary English, thereby *losing* their regional identity. In reality, nothing could be further removed from the truth as their adoption of the glottal stop is a positive step towards *constructing* their own local identity.

Watson: /t/-glottalisation in Liverpool

A similar conclusion is reached by Watson in his research in Liverpool, where /t/-elision 'is showing signs of moving, not *towards* a putative regional standard, but [it] is in fact diverging from phonological norms' (2006: 55). Drawing on a previous study by Knowles (1973), Watson interprets this elision as the replacement of /t/ for /h/, because 'there is absence of both an oral gesture and a glottal closing gesture [and] an audible release of breath' (2006: 86). Interestingly,

this /h/ was used as the final sound in short words like *get*, *got*, *bit,* etc. in 1973; i.e. exactly in those positions where the glottal stop is now frequently found in such a large number of places throughout Britain. Watson finds out that this singularity of Liverpool urban speech not only holds on to its own, but it is even more frequent than before: he finds it even in longer words such as *maggot*, *Robert*, *target*.

What can this divergence from supra-local norms be attributed to? A number of possible explanations is discussed in Beal (2010: 84–5); she finally tentatively suggests that 'the sociolinguistic meaning of glottalisation in other accents of English is already carried by "t>h" in Liverpool, so there is no incentive for young Liverpudlians to adopt glottalisation' (2010: 85). Again, what is observed here is not a reaction to a very distant accent, but social meaning attached to a particular feature. The glottal stop is absent in urban Liverpool speech not because young people do not want to sound Estuary, but because the social meaning that the glottal stop has in other accents is already occupied by a different sound in Liverpool English.

Johnson and Britain: /l/-vocalisation in Norwich, Hull and Newcastle

The next feature to be discussed in this part is /l/-vocalisation, in which the pronunciation of dark /l/ becomes vowel-like in quality, rendering such spellings as *miuk* for *milk* pronounced as [mɪʊk]. /l/-vocalisation is another feature that is popularly believed to have its epicentre in London, and it has been observed in a number of cities (cf. Foulkes and Docherty 1999). Like the glottal stop in Liverpool, though, vocalised /l/ is notably absent in several other urban accents. In this respect, Norwich, Hull, and Newcastle are cited in Johnson and Britain (2007). According to the geographical interpretation of the data, it is only a matter of time before these accents incorporate vocalised /l/ as well and introduce it as an innovation. However, Johnson and Britain stress that the three accents in question lack the dark/clear allophony in the /l/ phoneme. They come to the conclusion that '[v]ocalisation [...] will only take place, it seems, once the dialect in question has acquired a dark /l/ in (at least) syllable rhyme contexts' (2007: 302).

It thus seems that the spread of /l/-vocalisation has little to do with the alleged prestige and dominance of the capital, but is rather 'a "natural" sound change [and] where the innovation has not spread, this is not due to the geographical isolation of Newcastle and East Anglia, but to the phonological structure of the accents of these places' (Beal 2010: 83).

Beal: long BATH [A:] in Northumbria

The last feature to be discussed in this section is the long BATH vowel in certain words in some parts of Northumbria. The BATH vowel 'creates something of a marker of north-south distinction' (Upton 2008: 272). Although it may seem that its short variant [a] is categorical north of the isogloss, there are words like *master* or *plaster,* which many Northumbrians pronounce as [ɑ:]. Wells offers this explanation: 'one or two of the BATH words are particularly susceptible to Broadening [= lengthening] as a result of their association with school and school-inspired standards of correctness' (1982: 354). Beal (1985: 33) admits that Wells's 'suggestion that this lengthening of [a] under the influence of R.P. speaking schoolmasters at first sight looks plausible, for in folk-linguistic mythology, Universal Education is blamed for the decline of traditional Northumbrian dialect features such as the "burr" or uvular fricative [ʁ]'. However, to expect such far-reaching influence of RP in Northumbria is rather absurd, particularly if one remembers that in most other parts of the North short BATH remains the norm.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to present the argument in its entirety; suffice it to say that Beal identifies as the source of [ɑ:] in *master* 'an integral development within these dialects of the reflexes of ME [=Middle English] *ai* ' (1985: 42–3). Beal goes on to show that this long BATH serves, in fact, as a distinct marker of Northumbrian identity, which is in total opposition to what Wells's suggestion implies. She then concludes that

> the localised nature of the Northumbrian and Tyneside long back [ɑ:] has hitherto not been recognised because, quite coincidentally, it happens to sound like R.P. and because laypersons and dialectologists alike are so confident about the power and influence of R.P. on provincial dialects that they always assume that any change in the direction of R.P.-like pronunciation is due to this influence. (1985: 43)

What do these studies of urban vernaculars have in common? They all appear to demonstrate that when explaining the presence or absence of a particular feature in a particular accent, we have to search for clues with a fine-toothed comb. The explanation is often to be found at a micro rather than a macro level. To coin a well-known metaphor, there is then a big danger of not seeing the trees for the wood. I therefore argue that the oversimplifying 'bird's-eye' approach is not universally acceptable since the process of linguistic diffusion has 'locally specific outcomes, and [the process] may be resisted both by local identity practices and local linguistic structural pressures' (Britain 2009: 139). To take all such practices and pressures into account, it is crucial to investigate separately the status of a given variable in one locality as well as to compare its status with different localities.

2.7.3 RP in the World of ELT

The discussion has so far been restricted to the roles of RP within the native environment; it is now time to turn outside Britain and focus on the roles RP needs to fulfil there.

RP (especially in its traditional form) is the pronunciation model presented to students of English in those countries where British English is given preference. There are over 360 million native speakers of English all over the world (Crystal 2012: 69) and since it has already been shown how low the number of RP speakers is, an inevitable question arises: why is RP taught to foreign students?

Trudgill comes up with a rather blunt answer when he replies (no doubt with tongue in cheek): 'why not? After all, we have to teach something' (2002: 172). Gimson takes a more serious stance pointing out one big advantage that RP has over its possible rivals. RP is

> generally acceptable as a teaching norm because of its widespread intelligibility, because it has already been described in textbooks more exhaustively than any other form and because recordings used in teaching abroad are usually made in this accent. (1984: 53)

A brief comment is necessary here concerning Gimson's quote above: it seems to suggest that RP is intelligible and therefore it is described exhaustively in textbooks. It is however, the other way round. Only because it was first adopted as the model for foreign learners of the English language is the accent so intelligible. RP is not intrinsically more intelligible than other accents. Had all the dictionaries, textbooks, and recordings been made in, for example, Scouse (the urban accent of Liverpool), foreign learners would now arguably regard Scouse very easy to understand.

Przedlacka is of the same opinion as Gimson. She also stresses RP as 'the most thoroughly described accent of English [and also] readily available to the learner in the dictionaries, textbooks, recordings and the spoken media (2005: 29).

Both Przedlacka and Gimson highlight the fact that RP has been used as the model for a number of years and it is present in such a vast number of teaching materials that it would be downright impractical to replace it as the reference accent. Though one can hardly seriously doubt the relevance of this observation, it is not the end of the debate. Another question immediately arises: which variety of RP should be taught to foreigners?

When choosing the right variety for teaching purposes, it is appropriate to bear in mind the paradoxical situation mentioned by Roach: 'most of our teaching is aimed at young people, but the model we provide them is that of middle-aged

or old speakers' (2005: 394). Indeed, the model found in teaching materials is hardly any different from the one that Jones described back in 1917. It is hard to deny that a modern model of RP seems to be the right choice, though, because 'it is understandable that a young person might be reluctant to imitate a model which is contemporary of their grandfather's generation and would prefer to be taught the speech of their peers' (Przedlacka 2005: 30). More than thirty years ago Gimson proposed changes in the definition of RP so that

> the re-defined RP may be expected to fulfil a new and more extensive role in present-day British society. Its primary function will be that of the most widely understood and generally acceptable form of speech within Britain which can serve as an efficient and common means of oral communication, whether or not this speech style carries with it social prestige. But, in addition and more importantly for the future, this standard form of British speech can function as one of the principal models for users of English throughout the world. (1984: 53)

It was Upton who undertook the task of redefining RP and his model is presented in Chapter 4.

3 PRESCRIPTION AND STANDARDISATION IN LINGUISTICS

This chapter is linked with Chapter 2 as it discusses prestige accents from the perspective of their formation and maintenance. It introduces and analyses crucial linguistic processes that determine and influence standardisation of a particular accent and prescriptive attitudes attendant upon it.

3.1 Prescription in Linguistics

Prescription in language encompasses a set of beliefs that certain variants are better than others; this may concern sounds, lexical items, grammatical forms, and, at a higher level, accents, dialects and languages. To a certain extent, linguisticprescriptive attitudes differ little from those that govern other areas of life (e.g. table manners, the highway code, etc.). The favoured variants are imposed from above by the authorities and they are also arbitrary, i.e. there is no inherently linguistic reason why this or that variant should prevail over the other(s).

Prescriptive beliefs appear to be extremely popular with the lay public and the despised variants are often described as sloppy, ugly, or illogical. If social advancement is denied due to one's race or religion, this may receive considerable attention in the media and the culprit may face a serious punishment. As far as language is concerned, such discrimination seems to be well alive (cf. Beal 2008a).

There are a number of reasons why to be wary of such prescriptive comments.

Firstly, in some particularities they might be extremely elitist as they condemn a very large part of society. Prescriptive attitudes approach linguistic features in absolute (either...or) rather than relative (more or less) terms. Modern

sociolinguistic research (the pioneering studies of which include Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974 and Eckert 1989) clearly demonstrates how revealing it is to approach linguistic data quantitatively, since speakers hardly ever only make use of one variant while never using the other (another) one. Instead, they typically employ the possible variants of a particular linguistic variable according to e.g. style, situation, or the relative position of interlocutors. In other words, the preferred variants are context-dependent. A modern example to give is the usage of the glottal stop to replace /t/. This sound comes in for a lot of criticism; yet, it is present in most regional dialects as well as in RP. Its usage, however, varies enormously in relation to a number of social variables (cf. 4.2.2.1).

Secondly, prescriptive ideas fail to make the basic distinction between language systems and their use in real-life situations. This distinction was first proposed by de Saussure (1983 [1916]): he distinguishes between la langue (an abstract language system) and la parole (the use of language in specific situations). Later, Chomsky (1965) made a similar distinction when he coined the terms competence and performance (roughly corresponding to de Saussure's terms). If this distinction is not borne in mind, it opens the door for comments that, for example, see the glottal stop as 'a degenerate tendency in modern speech [which] detracts from intelligibility' (McAllister 1963: 34). Of course, there is nothing intrinsically 'wrong' with the glottal stop as far as its presence in the language system is concerned since it is, as a matter of fact, a perfectly standard sound in Danish, for example. Its actual use in social context is another matter though, and people show great sensitivity towards the use of this feature in various styles, speech events and phonetic environments. However, prescriptive comments of the type above generally seem to ignore the differences between formal and informal styles or phonetic environments.

Thirdly, linguistic matters are closely linked with speakers' sense of identity. If a speaker is ridiculed for the way they speak, it may obviously have serious consequences because 'a speaker who is ashamed of his own language habits suffers a basic injury as a human being: to make anyone, especially a child, feel so ashamed is so indefensible as to make him feel ashamed of the colour of his skin' (Halliday et al. 1964: 105). In 1.7.2.1 we have seen that the use of the glottal stop in place of /t/ helps young people in Middlesbrough construct their own local identity (as opposed to older generations that see themselves grouped with either Yorkshire or Tyneside). Any attack on the glottal stop there is thus tantamount to an attack on the people and their identity.

Prescription had long been looked down on by professional linguists. The 18th century (see 2.4) witnessed an unprecedented rise in language prescriptivism. As a result, language professionals in the 19th century tried hard to establish linguistics as a scientific discipline with no space for matters of sloppiness or ugliness. They refused to omit some features from scientific interest in the same way as

botanists do not refuse to study some fungi because they are inedible or because they give off a repulsive smell.

The first half of the twentieth century even intensified the effort to force prescription out of the scope of the discipline. American structuralism, most notably represented by Bloomfield (1933), labelled prescription as unscientific; structuralists attempted to study language completely out of the social context. Likewise, there was no place for prescription in Chomsky's generative grammar and his notion of *ideal-speaker* (1965). Hall (1950: 33) went so far as to claim that 'there is no such thing as good or bad, correct or incorrect, grammatical or ungrammatical, in language'. Other language scholars always maintained the descriptive basis of their discipline. Daniel Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (1955: vii) claims in the Introduction that '[n]o attempt is made to decide how people *ought* to pronounce; all that the dictionary aims at doing is to give a faithful record of the manner in which certain people do pronounce'. Aitchison (1978: 13) insists that 'linguistics is *descriptive*, not prescriptive [and] a linguist is interested in what *is* said, not what he thinks *ought* to be said'.

It is understandable why so many linguists decided to reject prescription (and social context). Their focus was on the language system (langue) and they insisted on the scientific nature of their inquiry. Yet, they failed to answer the crucial question: why do so many people approach the matters of language prescriptively rather than descriptively? In other words, why do people open a dictionary not looking for information about how certain people pronounce but how they should pronounce?

Socially realistic linguistics takes social context seriously and it deems it worthy of linguistic inquiry. Consequently, prescription (as an exclusively social phenomenon) is allowed to enter the scope of linguistic research. One of the first linguists to acknowledge the importance of prescription was Haas, who claimed that prescription 'is an integral part of the life of the language' (1982: 3). He acknowledged what might otherwise appear obvious: people do attach social values to language forms and these forms (despite the proclaimed principle of arbitrariness) are far from equal. Linguistics (or rather sociolinguistics) thus must try and answer the main question: 'why linguistic differences that are essentially arbitrary are assigned social values' (Milroy and Milroy 1991: 19)? Another question for sociolinguistics to answer is why people who clearly distinguish between 'correct' and 'incorrect' variants keep using the latter and do not adopt the former in spite of some disadvantages attached to those 'incorrect' variants.

As far as the former question is concerned, the uniformitarian principle (Labov 1972: 275; also p. 21 here) suggests that social values, in one way or the other, have always been attached to linguistic variants. Nonetheless, the overview offered in 1.4 reveals that prescriptivism in English only became really prominent in the 18th century. The 18thcentury saw an unprecedented wealth of societal

changes—the rise of the middle class being arguably the most important one (Langford 1994: 61). The middle class bridged the gap between the working class and the upper class, and, crucially, brought about relative social mobility. Language became one of the readiest means that people had at their disposal to signal which class they belonged to (or aspired to). Thus, competing linguistic variants came to be associated with adjectives such as polite, proper, vulgar, and sloppy, i.e. they became subject to value-judgments.

Milroy (1987) seems to provide the answer to the latter question with her social network theory and the notions of overt and covert prestige. Overt prestige refers to institutional pressure exerted by the authorities (education, media, employment, etc.) to maintain standard norms. Covert prestige, on the other hand, enforces community norms among peers; these norms often prefer non-standard variants. If covert prestige prevails, members of a particular language community do not adopt standard forms even though their social advancement may suffer as a result; to put it another way, they prefer to adhere to the values of their peer group rather than to those values represented by institutional authorities. Milroy (1987: 208–9) views the two opposing tendencies as competing ideologies of 'solidarity' and 'status'.

As has been said above, the discrepancy between arbitrary linguistic features and social values attached to them is brought about by people's refusal to observe one of the fundamental principles in linguistics as a science: all linguistic variants are equal since they are essentially arbitrary (cf. De Saussure 1983 [1916]: 44). Clearly, people feel that certain words or sounds are better than others. We may again bring to mind again the distinction between *language system* and *language use*. Ordinary people are not interested in language systems as they always make use of language in particular social context, which is subject to considerable stratification and cultural conditioning. Various aspects of language then reflect this stratification and conditioning. In other words, for ordinary people the 'unscientific' matters of superiority/inferiority or beauty/ugliness in language appear to be extremely important.

Value-judgments attached to some linguistic variables and their variants are subject to change. Thus, one variant may be considered superior in one accent while inferior in another one: e.g. rhoticity in the standard pronunciations of American and British English. Furthermore, attitudes to a particular variant can change dramatically within one accent: we have seen in 2.4.2 that the standard variant of /r/ in England was rhotic until the end of the 19th century. Up until then, non-rhotic realisations had been considered vulgar and provincial, largely because the [r]-less variant defied spelling.

In spite of the fact that language guardians make a strenuous effort to promote the 'correct' variants, their attempts in the spoken language seem to have been rather futile: RP is an [r]-less accent today, the glottal stop appears to be gaining

more ground in the accent (4.2.2.1), and intrusive /r/ can now be considered an RP feature as well (4.2.2.5). The lack of success prescriptive zealots have had is also demonstrated by the number of people that speak RP; there are no exact numbers, of course, but the guestimates are rather low (cf. p. 62). Of course, the number crucially depends on the definition of RP, since there must be significantly fewer speakers that speak the variety Wells promotes in comparison with the model of Upton.

Nevertheless, prescriptive attitudes, often channelled through mass media, do succeed in one extremely important area: they raise public awareness of linguistic 'superior' forms. Even though the lay public may not use these forms themselves, they believe there is a standard and, moreover, they seem to have a rather precise idea of what the 'correct' forms are. Indeed, as Milroy and Milroy put it, 'mass media channels effectively give rise to *awareness* of an innovation, but have little influence in promoting *adoption*' (1991: 30). This is confirmed in Rogers and Shoemaker (1971), who prove that personal contact is far more important than mass media when it comes to adopting innovations of any kind (not just linguistic ones).

Generally speaking, prescriptive ideas have enjoyed far greater success in spelling and grammar. As a consequence, it is often asserted that Standard English can be spoken in a number of accents (e.g. Quirk 1968, Upton 2008). RP is merely one of many accents that Standard English is spoken in.

3.2 Process of Accent Standardisation: the case of RP

Linguistic prescriptivism is closely linked to the process of standardisation. We may say that the former could not exist without the latter; prescriptive attitudes are only possible if they are backed by a set of standardised forms.

Standardisation is viewed in Milroy and Milroy as a historical process that is based on ideology; a standard language, including pronunciation is then 'an idea in the mind rather than a reality—a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent' (1991: 22–3). It is an inevitable and never-ending process that exists in every live language; as far as English is concerned, standardisation was needed especially in the modern period when English became the official language of a huge empire. If no uniform standard had been offered, the differences between local dialects and accents might have prevented effective communication.

As regards standardisation, the English language is rather a special case since institutional codification has never been established; instead, the English language has been standardised by means of what may be called natural codification, i.e. language awareness of the 'proper' variants raised by elocution-

ists and various publications in the past three hundred years or so, as details Chapter 1.

Milroy and Milroy (1991: 8) also define standardisation as a process involving 'the suppression of optional variability'. Local accents thus may have more linguistic forms to choose from than RP. For instance, there is only one option for the FACE diphthong in RP (the closing diphthong [ɪ]) whereas there are as many as three options in Geordie (apart from the RP diphthong, local people in the North East may use a general northern sound [eː] as well as a typically local variant [ɪə]); cf. Watt and Allen 2003: 268).

The process of standardisation can be split into the following stages (adapted from Milroy and Milroy 1991: 27):

— selection
— acceptance
— diffusion
— maintenance
— codification

Of course, these stages are not separate; on the contrary, they overlap to a great extent. Drawing on the information in 2.6 and 2.7, these stages are now applied to Received Pronunciation.

Received Pronunciation was selected as the accent to be imposed (cf. Giles et al. 1974) on others due to suitable social and cultural circumstances. Firstly, it was the accent of the upper middle rather than the upper class; the upper class is hardly ever active in the process of language change (Chambers 2002: 53–59). Secondly, it was supraregional and therefore suitable for groups of people coming from a large variety of regional backgrounds.

The accent was then accepted by important institutions—not only the educational ones (prestigious public boarding schools), but also the army, the Church of England, and influential segments of the private sector, too. Later, crucially, the media also played their part.

Public broadcasting along with the educational system and other institutional authorities helped to diffuse the accent (or public awareness of it) both regionally and socially.

The accent was then maintained through the acquisition of prestige and 'elaboration of function' (Milroy and Milroy 1991: 27). Upwardly mobile people realised the accent could be instrumental in achieving a higher position in society. In other words, the accent became closely associated with power, wealth, and it also began to be regarded as 'correct'.

In the last stage, this 'correct' accent was codified in a number of pronunciation materials, most notably in Jones (1917, and later editions), Gimson (1962,

and later editions) and also via Upton's model used in Oxford University Press publications. Apart from academic literature, the prestigious forms have also been promoted and codified via linguistic complaint from the lay public (or the 'complaint tradition', as it is called in Milroy and Milroy 1991: 91).

3.3 The Issue of Literacy: spoken and written discourse

Prescriptive issues and standardisation are closely linked with differences between written and spoken forms of a language. Standardisation of the former seems to precede that of the latter. We have seen in 2.4 that the advocates of standardised forms in English like Swift and Johnson in the 18th century focused solely on spelling, grammar and semantics; these categories are far more prominent in written rather than spoken discourse. Pronunciation only came into prescriptive focus in the 19th century.

The notion of literacy seems to underlie prescriptive ideas. Literacy is seen as a proof of being educated; it is only acquired at school at considerable pains (unlike speech that starts to develop naturally at birth; cf. Bowen 1998). As a consequence, in the prescriptive tradition written forms are preferred to spoken ones. In other words, spelling seems to determine speech. The logic of the argument is simple: if there is only one correct way to spell a word, then there surely must only be one correct way to pronounce it. To give an example, one should consider the long complaint tradition surrounding non-rhoticity, the presence of the glottal stop or the omission of /h/. The main argument against these forms is based on the fact that the sound is or is not 'there' (i.e. in spelling; cf. Mugglestone 1995: 103–4). The position of literacy and the notion of spelling pronunciation has been so strong that it enabled in the past to restore [h] in some words of French origin like *hotel* or *herb*. The words had been [h]-less in English (as they had been in the French language, from which they had been borrowed) for a number of centuries before the dominance of spelling brought about the change.

The focus on literacy also means that the standard discourse (not only pronunciation) is rather formal in its character. This would not be a serious issue if supporters of standard forms did not fail to distinguish between formal and informal styles (or as they are sometimes called the 'message-oriented' and 'listener-oriented' discourse, Brown 1982: 77). The presence of the glottal stop in message-oriented situations may be rather limited because if the focus is on the message, speakers usually try to convey respectability, reliability, and knowledgeability. The sound may, nevertheless, perform an important role in listener-oriented situations (e.g. to signal intimacy between speakers). To condemn the glottal stop as such, calling it is sloppy, vulgar or illegitimate (4.2.2.1 here) and

not taking into account various aspects of its use, appears to be rather ill-advised since it deprives speakers of an important part of their linguistic repertoire: it essentially prevents them from distinguishing between formal and informal styles of spoken English.

Message-oriented situations (e.g. public speeches) are exactly those that need practice and that are, naturally, problematic for those not accustomed to them. Yet, if people fail in this type of discourse, prescriptive attitudes often condemn such people as generally linguistically incompetent. Such people may, of course, display remarkable competence when being in listener-oriented situations (e.g. when talking to their mates in a pub). Milroy and Milroy sum the argument up by claiming that this sort of prescriptivism makes

> [j]udgments of linguistic inadequacy [which] are frequently based not on any objective or realistic measure of linguistic ability, but on an implicit prescription that an individual should have a particular and limited communicative competence. (1991: 140)

One of the reasons why standardisation is more successful in writing is the fact that spoken forms display much more variability due to the fact that speech is the place where linguistic change, by and large, originates (Labov 2001: 134). That is why studying language systems (mainly *context-free* written norms) only provides an incomplete picture of the discipline; linguists also need to take into consideration *context-tied* spoken discourse (cf. Milroy and Milroy 1991: 65). Milroy (1992: 202) confirms the strong link between linguistic change and social context by claiming that 'a linguistic change is a social phenomenon, and it comes about for reasons of marking social identity, stylistic differences and so on. If it does not carry these social meanings, then it is not a linguistic change'.

4 RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION: UPTON'S MODEL

The model was devised in the 1980's and has been in use in all major Oxford University Press dictionaries published for the native speaker market since the early 1990's. These include the *New Shorter Oxford Dictionary* (starting with the Revised edition in 1993 up until the 6th edition in 2011), the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (9th edition 1995, 10th edition 1999, 11th edition 2006, 12th edition 2011), the *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998), and, most importantly, the *Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation for Current English* (2003). In addition, the *Oxford BBC Guide to Pronunciation* (2006) also makes use of this model, which is a step to be interpreted as an official acknowledgement on the part of the BBC of the need for an updated model of pronunciation.

Before my attention turns to the phonology of Upton's RP, it is necessary to explicate the motivation behind the new model as well as to weigh up its advantages and disadvantages.

4.1 Modern Model of RP

Upton was obviously not alone in his dissatisfaction with the insistence on a rather old-fashioned model, as Gimson's quotation above (p. 72–3) proves it. Upton, however, was the one who undertook the rather controversial job of updating it. Upton's discontent was provoked chiefly by the fact that 'the RP label has undeniably come to be associated restrictively with older middle- and upper-class speakers in the south-east of England' (2000a: 76). To put it another way, the associations surrounding RP were those of a snobbish elite, which, not surprisingly, did not appeal much to people who did not belong to it; hence the recent

reluctance to employ RP speakers in call centres all over Britain and the decision to opt for more regional voices instead (Beal 2008a). Przedlacka (2005), speaking on behalf of the non-native market, equals Upton in the urgency with which she calls for a model that will not be judged outmoded and/or elitist.

When it comes to individual sounds and their inclusion, Upton decided to apply the following criterion: he includes sounds which are 'heard to be used by educated, non-regionally marked speakers rather than [those] "allowed" by a preconceived model' (2000a: 78). Indeed, if one has a never-changing grid and is only ready to accept whatever falls through the grid, no change can ever be observed, as Ramsaran maintains when asking the question: '[i]f one excludes certain non-traditional forms from one's data, how can one discover the ways in which the accent is changing?' (1990: 180).

The most significant impact of Upton's model is undoubtedly the fact that 'a larger group of people can lay claim to possession of an RP accent than has hitherto been acknowledged' (Upton 2000a: 78). Many northerners whose RP status had been doubtful can now claim to be RP speakers, thanks to the inclusion of short BATH [a] (cf. 4.2.1.7).

Non-native speakers of English should find the model beneficial as well. Above all, it should do away with the discrepancy between what they see in their textbooks and what is actually recorded on the accompanying CDs. I work as a teacher at a grammar school in Trebic and I mostly use *Maturita Solutions* textbooks (levels pre-intermediate and intermediate, sometimes even advanced). I consider the recordings that go with these textbooks useful because they introduce students to the rich variety of voices that the English language offers. There are American, Irish, Scottish, Welsh voices as well as voices from the South and the North of England. Admittedly, the regional features are far from strong, but one could hardly expect more pronounced regional accents in materials that target students at these levels. On the whole, they are textbooks aimed at teenagers and they do contain many teenage voices. It is then little surprising that a number of features included in the model of Upton are present in the recordings, too. Most notably these include lowered TRAP, short BATH, intrusive /r/, and monophthongised CURE and SQUARE. Moreover, there are also regional as well as social features absent from Upton's model, most notably /t/-glottalisation. I will now briefly comment on two situations to illustrate the difficulty I sometimes encounter in the classroom.

The first is my own pronunciation of CURE vowels, which is mostly [ɔ:], whilst the overwhelming majority of teachers of English in the Czech Republic keep the [ʊə] form. Sometimes I encounter students who do not understand my *sure* as [ʃɔ:]. I would certainly find it very useful if I did not have to explain to my students that my pronunciation is actually not a mistake; they can't see for themselves in the 'transcripts' page or 'phonetic symbols' list at the back of the book where [ʃʊə] is still shown as the only variant.

Lowered TRAP is the other example. The Czech vocalic system is rather simple—it is so certainly in comparison with English, since it distinguishes only five short vowels, namely /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /a/, /o/, and /u/ (Dankovičová 1999). Czech students who have difficulty pronouncing the TRAP vowel (and, admittedly, the abstruse symbol /æ/ does not help much) basically decide to modify the given pronunciation so as to match a sound they are familiar with from their own phonological system. Unfortunately, their pronunciation, barring a few exceptions, converges with /ɛ/ rather than /a/. Thus *back bat* is then realised as [bɛk bɛt]. It would surely be beneficial for many if, when pressed to make the choice in the first place, they learnt to use /a/, for it is now an established RP sound and certainly does not cause confusion regarding minimal pairs such as *bat/bet*.

Upton makes every effort 'to objectively consider the notion of RP, and to ensure that the description of a late twentieth century version of the accent [...] looks forward to the new millennium rather than back at increasingly outmoded forms' (Upton 2001: 352). The model proposed by him is, however, not devoid of drawbacks. The biggest obstacle to the model being adopted outside the native market is money. Whilst producing updated editions of such a high number of dictionaries would be problematic enough, there is an additional issue connected with the 'embracing of the phonological redescription [which] would also require the revision of very many non-dictionary texts in which pronunciation is discussed and phonetic transcription used' (Upton 2001: 355).

More problems arise when it comes to the actual making of a dictionary. Firstly, few lexicographers seem to be phoneticians as well and they are therefore reluctant to stake out their phonetic choices. Then, as a consequence, issues of phonetics are not dealt with in such a detail as those of semantics or grammar. Finally, it is generally assumed that a great many of users are not familiar with phonetic symbols anyway (Upton 2001: 355). The ELT market is thus strongly conservative and only too happy to stick to the time-proven transcription model.

4.2 The Phonology of RP: Upton's transcription model

Some of the changes Upton made to the model of RP have turned out to be rather contentious and they have come in for their share of criticism. It is nonetheless not the very existence of the changes that is usually debated: the bone of contention lies in whether the changes should be reflected in the model or not. Simplifying the issue a little, there are essentially two ways to go about it. The first is supported by e.g. Wells (2008) and Ramsaran (1990), who prefer sticking to the old model and specifying any necessary alterations when defining the actual quality of a particular symbol. Upton is an advocate of the opposite ap-

proach: he maintains that phonetic symbols are absolutes, and that is why 'their interpretation cannot be altered to suit the new development, so that if anything is to change in the interests of accuracy and clarity it must be the label that is applied to the sound' (Upton 2008: 240).

While each of the vowels is given an entry in the description below, the consonants are treated in groups according to the manner of articulation with only some phenomena related to a particular consonant being discussed in greater detail. Such a system copies the treatment of RP vowels and consonants in Upton (2008). Vowels are much less stable than consonants and only a few of them have not changed since the 18th century. The same cannot be said about the consonants of RP, which have generally displayed a great amount of stability.

4.2.1 RP Vowels

Table 1 presents a clear overview of the vocalic system in Upton's model, highlighting the divergences made from the previous model. Readers are reminded that for Upton 'RP' equals modern RP and 'trad-RP' is traditional RP.

Table 1. The vowels of RP and trad-RP

vowel	RP	shared RP/trad-RP	trad-RP
KIT		ɪ	
DRESS	ɛ		e
TRAP	a		æ
LOT		ɒ	
STRUT		ʌ	
FOOT		ʊ	
BATH	ɑː ~ a		ɑː
CLOTH	ɒ		ɒ ~ ɔː
NURSE	əː		ɜː
FLEECE		iː	
FACE		eɪ	

vowel	RP	shared RP/trad-RP	trad-RP
PALM		ɑː	
THOUGHT		ɔː	
GOAT	əʊ		əʊ ~ oʊ
GOOSE		uː	
PRICE	ʌɪ		aɪ
CHOICE		ɔɪ	
MOUTH		aʊ	
NEAR		ɪə	
SQUARE	ɛː		ɛə
START		ɑː	
NORTH		ɔː	
FORCE		ɔː	
CURE	ʊə ~ ɔː		ʊə
happY		i	
lettER		ə	
commA		ə	

(Upton 2008: 241–2)

In the next section I shall deal with each of the vowels separately. Particular attention is paid to those vowels where there is a difference between the two sets.

4.2.1.1 KIT vowel [ɪ]

According to Wells (1982: 127) it is phonetically 'a relatively short, lax, fairly front and fairly close unrounded vowel'. It is a remarkably stable vowel, too, showing sometimes a tendency to be centralised and/or raised. This is in particular true of unstressed syllables, these are dealt with in 3.2.1.28. Likewise, word final [ɪ], which is now susceptible to much tensing, is not discussed here: this phenomenon, known as 'happY tensing', has a separate entry (3.2.1.25).

4.2.1.2 DRESS vowel [ɛ]

Cruttenden (2014: 116) and Wells (1982: 128) both agree that the RP DRESS vowel is somewhere between cardinal vowels 2 and 3 ([e] and [ɛ] respectively). It is 'a relatively short, lax, front mid unrounded' vowel (Wells 1982: 128). Upton decides to use the latter symbol. Although both Wells (2001) and Cruttenden (2014) admit that the vowel is closer to [ɛ] now, the former insists on the traditional symbol with a view to avoiding an additional symbol that foreign learners might have problems with. He concludes that 'following IPA principles, if we are to choose just one of the two symbols we should prefer the simpler one' (2001). [e] is simpler for Wells since it already exists as the onset in the FACE diphthong [eɪ].

Upton's decision is justified by the disappearance of the traditional opposition between DRESS and TRAP vowels, now that TRAP has lowered from [æ] to [a] (3.2.1.3). With some younger speakers, Upton asserts, 'the DRESS vowel is so open [...] that it can sound like "short a" [= a] to some older speakers' (Upton 2000b: 45).

4.2.1.3 TRAP vowel [a]

This change is one of those that have provoked much reaction. The definition we find in Wells is that of 'a front nearly open unrounded' vowel (1982: 129), for which he duly chooses the ash symbol [æ]. However, a few lines lower he admits that 'it is a striking fact that the current trend in pronunciation of this vowel is [...] towards an opener, [a]-like, monophthongal quality in England' (1982: 129). Further, he speculates that 'it is a change that will carry RP further away from both American and southern-hemisphere accents of English' (1982: 292). Interestingly, Cruttenden (2008: 112) keeps [æ] in his repertoire of RP vowels, although he stresses that '[o]nly tradition justifies the continuing use of the symbol "æ" for this phoneme'. He merely lists lowered TRAP among well-established current changes in RP (2008: 80). But the next edition replaces [æ] for [a], saying that '[t]his change is long overdue in transcriptions of English' (Cruttenden 2014: xvii). He also states that there is a difference between the way this vowel is pronounced in the north and the south: the latter's TRAP is noticeably longer (especially before voiced consonants), thus *badge* and *barge* are almost homophonous (2014: 120).

Traditionally, lowered TRAP has been associated with the North of England since it is the dominant variant in basically all regional varieties there (cf. Beal 2008b: 130). The presence of this sound in most regional accents of English lies, according to Upton (2000a: 79), behind its acceptance into RP. Historically,

however, the phoneme is rather unstable 'being realised by sounds at or between "aesc", i.e. [æ], and primary cardinal vowel (PCV) 4, [a], at various stages in the history of the language' (Upton 2001: 356).

The change from [æ] to [a] is corroborated by sociolinguistic research as well: for instance Harrington et al. (2000), in which they analysed the Queen's Christmas broadcasts from the 1950's to the 1980's and found out that there was a noticeable degree of opening of TRAP. Upton also frequently uses the Royal Family as an example of this change, pointing out the difference between younger and older members and their pronunciation of *Prince Ann* and *Prince Andrew*. While the older members do not use the fully open vowel, their younger relatives use it almost categorically (2000b: 44).

Wells's (2001) objection to Upton's new symbol is based on the fact that it is not necessary to introduce a new symbol, what suffices, according to him, is to redefine older symbols in use. I consider this strict adherence to [æ] not felicitous as doing away with the rather abstruse symbol [æ] would undoubtedly lead to fewer problems in non-native classrooms (as discussed in 6.3.2.1). Furthermore, the swap would be rather straightforward (it would not have to entail dealing with such complexities as in the case of []).

4.2.1.4 LOT vowel [ɒ]

It is a relatively stable vowel, typically realised as a 'fully open to slightly raised rounded back vowel' (Upton 2008: 243). Wells's description nearly matches that of Upton, he only adds that the rounding is often relatively weak (1982: 130). Traditional RP speakers may retain a long quality of this vowel (Cruttenden 2014: 126).

4.2.1.5 STRUT vowel [ʌ]

This sound remains one of the two most salient distinguishers between the North and the South of England. Unlike short BATH, though, raised STRUT [ʊ]is heavily stigmatised and therefore it is not an RP sound.

RP realisation of this phoneme is thus 'a relatively short, half-open or slightly opener, centralized-back or central, unrounded' vowel (Wells 1982: 132). Cruttenden (2008: 115) and Upton (2008: 243) both talk of potential confusion with lowered TRAP. Upton then mentions an innovation 'in which [ʌ] is raised and retracted from the centralized, towards (though not to) a half-close advanced position'. He labels this sound a 'fudge', which is extremely common particularly in south Midlands (2008: 243). This might be interpreted as a way of avoiding the potential clash with lowered TRAP. Upton has also hinted (personal communica-

tion) that this fudge is losing the stigma. If so, this variant might be a potential RP candidate. To my mind, this, however, remains to be seen because at the moment raised STRUT still appears to be rather stigmatised (cf. 5.3.2.5).

4.2.1.6 FOOT vowel [ʊ]

This vowel is typically realised as 'relatively short, lax, fairly back and fairly close [...] usually weakly rounded' (Wells 1982: 133). However, it has recently been subject to considerable fronting and unrounding, as Cruttenden attests (2014: 131). The appropriate symbol would thus be [ɨ] or [ʉ]—a close central (un)rounded vowel; modern RP speakers prefer this sound over the traditional [ʊ] especially in words like *good*, *should*, and *could*.

The lack of FOOT/STRUT opposition in northern varieties of English leads to hypercorrection: northern STRUT [ʊ]-speakers who try to learn RP sometimes produce forms such as [bʌtʃə] for *butcher*.

Historically, the FOOT/STRUT split is a considerably recent phenomenon—Beal (2008b: 131) remarks that the split 'is the result of unrounding of the Middle English short /ʊ/ in certain environments' and notes that by the middle of the eighteenth century the "unsplit" /ʊ/ was already recognised as a northern characteristic. STRUT [ʌ] is thus the norm for Walker's *Dictionary* (1791).

Foreign learners often struggle with seeming homophones like *wood* and *blood*. Of course, these are not homophones at all: the former has [ʊ] while the latter [ʌ]. The explanation lies in what Dobson (1957: 508) calls 'later shortening'. Those words (derived from Middle English /oː/) which in today's RP display the [ʌ] variant were shortened earlier (thus they got caught up in the movement to [ʌ]), while the others with modern [ʊ] were shortened later and missed out on it.

FOOT/GOOSE fronting is discussed below in 3.2.1.15.

Likewise, unstressed FOOT vowel deserves a separate entry and is dealt with in 3.2.1.28.

4.2.1.7 BATH vowel [ɑː ~ a]

Upton admits both the long back fully open unrounded vowel and the short front fully open unrounded vowel, which is very similar to TRAP vowel in his transcription model. BATH vowel is the second characteristic feature that separates the North from the South. Crucially, it does not carry such social stigma as STRUT [ʊ] does. Therefore, Upton (2008: 244) asserts that '[m]any RP speakers, whose accent corresponds with that of other speakers on all other features, diverge particularly on this one variable'. They use [a] in BATH even though they avoid [ʊ] in STRUT at all times. Wells makes the same observation; he, however, insists on

[ɑ:] as the only RP sound possible in this set and labels those speakers with short BATH as 'near-RP speakers' (1982: 354).

If short BATH were not adopted into the inventory of RP, there would not be a single speaker of RP north of the BATH isogloss (cf. Trudgill 1990: 76). This is unacceptable for Upton since he points to the non-localisable nature of the accent and maintains that 'RP is not to be considered as an exclusively southern--British phenomenon' (Upton et al. 2003: xiii). It is then necessary for Upton to define two matched varieties of RP: northern and southern RP, which seems to be the only way of staying regionally unbiased now that northern speakers of RP hold on to their short BATH.

Gimson envisaged such a change about thirty years ago when he called for 'a different set of criteria for defining RP [...] which will result in a somewhat diluted form of the traditional standard' (1984: 53). This is what Upton has achieved. He complains that despite the proclaimed axiom of non-localisability, it is

> 'symptomatic of a south-centric view that today divergence from the southern variant is deemed grounds for RP-disqualification, that RP is thus seen broadly localisable, but in the south. Weight of observational evidence firmly suggests that, allegiances being as they are, the introduction of RP BATH /a/ is wholly logical and desirable'. (Upton 2012a: 65)

I concur with Upton in his decision to include short BATH [a] and to support this I would like to mention a highly interesting comment made by Vilém Mathesius in his short essay called *Výslovnost jako jev sociální a funkční* published in 1940. He compares the Moravian and Bohemian pronunciation of /sh/ word-initial cluster. While in Bohemia (Prague) the cluster is voiceless [sx], in Moravia (Brno) it is voiced [zh]. Regardless of the level of education and speech refinement, both sets of speakers retain their regional variants. Mathesius concludes that it is therefore inevitable that both variants are accepted as standard (1940: 73).

The vowel is of great interest also for historical reasons. Firstly, it displays remarkable inconsistency even in modern southern RP, which has [pɑ:s] for *pass* but [gas] for *gas*. It thus, as Wells notes, 'represents the ossification of a half-completed sound change, which seems to have come to a stop well before completing its lexical diffusion throughout the vocabulary' (1982: 233).

The first evidence for Middle English short /a/ lengthening dates back to the end of the seventeenth century but the change must have been rather slow (hence today's inconsistency between *pass* and *gas*) and Walker warns against the use of long /a/ since 'the pronouncing of the a in *after*, *answer*, *basket*, *plant*, *mast*, etc. as long as in *half*, *calf* etc. borders very closely on vulgarity' (1791: 10). He

is, though, not consistent either and has the long vowel in e.g. *bath*, *father*, and *master*. A sound change was going on at that time and the social value attached to the variants confirm Downes's (1984: 214) observation that 'a language change involves a change in norms'.

In the course of the nineteenth century people were encouraged to avoid both the vulgar [ɑ:] and by then equally provincial [æ]. As a consequence, 'those who aspired to "correct" pronunciation had to steer a very narrow course, avoiding both the "broad" [ɑ:] and the "mincing" [æ]' (Beal 2004a: 141). They found a way out of this by opting for a long front /a/, i.e. [a:]. This very confusing situation continued throughout the century and the victory of [ɑ:] was certainly far from straightforward. In 1906 Ripman still maintains that 'it is sometimes found that precise speakers, through an excessive desire to avoid any suspicion of Cockney leanings in their speech, substitute [a] for [ɑ:], saying, for instance, [faðə] in place of [fɑ:ðə]' (qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 94). But eleven years later, Jones (1917) chooses [ɑ:] for the BATH set and this was the dominant variant throughout the twentieth century.

It is worth stressing in connection with the story of the BATH vowel that it was [ɑ:] that emerged as the standard variant in RP, i.e. the one that received the biggest amount of criticism for such a long period of time. Such an outcome appears to support Mugglestone's assertion that '[t]he interactions of language, society, prescriptive tenets, and the sociolinguistic sensibilities of speakers are [...] much more complex than might at first be assumed' (1995: 95).

4.2.1.8 CLOTH vowel [ɒ]

The vowel in this set is 'short, fully open, fully retracted and rounded' whilst the older variant [ɔ:] is deemed 'risible by native British English speakers, RP and non-RP alike' (Upton 2008: 244).

Beal (2004a: 142) mentions that in 1917 Jones in his dictionary only allowed long /o/ whereas Gimson in the 1967 edition of the dictionary only offers short /o/. The lengthening of Middle English 'o' enjoyed a similar fate to the one of lengthened BATH. It started roughly at the same time and it was also targeted by elocutionists in the nineteenth century. But, of course, the outcome is quite the opposite, since the short variant finally prevailed.

4.2.1.9 NURSE vowel [ə:]

Upton mentions 'considerable variation in the realization of this central vowel' and then goes on to define it as 'from half open to half close or slightly higher' (2008: 244). One of the benefits of the chosen symbol is, according to Upton, the reduction of the number of symbols in his transcription model.

Wells (2001), despite admitting that there is 'no appreciable difference in quality between the short [ə] in *ago* and the long vowel of NURSE', is critical of this choice giving two reasons: firstly, the symbol 'schwa' is restricted to unstressed syllables, and, secondly, all the other long-short pairs use distinct symbols as well as length marks.

This vowel seems to be subject to much variation and whichever variant is chosen in a given transcription model is not going to attract a great deal of attention or criticism because of a complete lack of social value attached to both variants.

4.2.1.10 FLEECE vowel [i:]

Both Upton (2008: 245) and Wells (1982: 140) agree that this vowel is relatively long, high front and articulated with considerable lips spreading. The vowel is also susceptible to diphthongisation, which is most adequately transcribed as [ɪi]. The realisation with the onset raised and/or centralised [ei ~ əi] is considered regional and therefore non-RP.

4.2.1.11 FACE vowel [eɪ]

The quality of this vowel is purely diphthongal though Wells (1982: 141) talks of a monophthongal variant, 'thus *playing* is realised as [pleːɪŋ]. It seems safe to label this variant a thing of the past as neither Upton (2008) nor Cruttenden (2014) mention it.

It is a closing diphthong with considerable variation as far as the starting-point is concerned. For younger RP speakers the onset is closer than [e], while older speakers may start it in the area of [ɛ] as both Cruttenden (2008: 134) and Upton (2008: 245) observe. If the starting point is lower still, the vowel is redolent of the popular London accent.

For Walker (1791), as has been shown in 2.4.2, the realisation of this set was purely monophthongal. Beal (2004a: 136) cites the year 1809 as the first evidence of a diphthongal realisation of the vowel. She adds that at the beginning of the twentieth century there was a reverse movement which gave rise to the monophthong [eː] again; however, this does not seem to have caught on and is on the verge of disappearing from RP (though it is still very strong regionally, of course, namely in numerous northern accents of English, Beal 2008b: 126).

4.2.1.12 PALM vowel [ɑː]

According to Upton, the realisation is typically 'a fully open, advanced or centralized long spread vowel' (2008: 245). It thus largely matches the description for southern RP BATH (the separate entry in the list of Wells's lexical sets is merited by the different realisation in American English).

Upton also remarks that 'the more retracted the form, the nearer it approaches that of Refined RP' (2008: 245). Moreover, the sound is sometimes used when triphthongs [aɪə] and [aʊə] are smoothed, rendering forms such as *fire* [fɑː] and *tower* [tɑː], although the long monophthong may have a markedly fronter quality as well (Cruttenden 2014: 124).

4.2.1.13 THOUGHT vowel [ɔː]

This vowel is long, mid-open, back and rounded (Cruttenden 2014: 128). This set comprises all the relevant words, except for words where [ɔː] is followed by /r/—these are given different entries, namely NORTH and FORCE.

4.2.1.14 GOAT vowel [əʊ]

The RP [əʊ] is a diphthong 'with a mid central unrounded starting-point [...] moving towards a somewhat closer and backer lightly rounded second element [ʊ]' (Wells 1982: 146). The starting point in American English is [o], which is a realisation shared by traditional RP speakers.

Historically, as Beal (2004a: 138) informs us, the development of this vowel is similar to what happened to the FACE vowel. For Walker (1791) it is a monophthong. At the beginning of the next century there is the first evidence of the vowel being diphthongised. But there is then no smoothing as there was with the FACE vowel. Instead, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the first element becomes centralised in RP. Sweet (1890: 76) considers this 'a character of effeminacy or affectation to the pronunciation'. Further innovations may include the fronting of the second element to [əʉ], or the fronting of the first element to [eʊ ~ ɛʊ]. Both innovations are mentioned in Cruttenden (2014: 147); the latter change is highly indicative of Refined RP.

4.2.1.15 GOOSE vowel [ʉː]

Upton describes this vowel as 'a long high back vowel with lip rounding' (2008: 245). Cruttenden's definition (2014: 133), however, presents a more complicated sound, for it is a close back vowel 'with varying degrees of centralization, lowering and unrounding'.

The set has two important subsets: those words in which the vowel is/was preceded by a palatal semivowel /j/, often called a 'yod' (e.g. *mute*, *duke*, *cube*, *funeral*) and those without the yod (e.g. *proof*, *choose*, *boom*, *move*). The phenomenon of yod dropping is discussed in 4.2.2.5. Also, words in which the vowel is followed by /r/ are given a separate entry: CURE (4.2.1.24).

The vowel is often fronted (particularly with younger speakers of RP), giving forms like *shoot* [ʃʉːt] or even [ʃɨːt], or diphthongised (particularly in word-final positions) to produce *who* [hʊu].

Fronted FOOT/GOOSE is one of the variables selected for the survey (cf. 5.3). Its presence in RP is attested, though not investigated in any great detail. Hawkins and Midgley (2005) and Fabricius (2007) are the exceptions. FOOT and GOOSE are treated as one category since they both display a tendency to be fronted. Also, the length of GOOSE is variable: apart from being fronted, it is often shortened too. As a result, *cool* and *kill* may become near homophones.

Upton (2008: 245) notes that the vowel is 'slightly relaxed from fully raised, and also somewhat advanced, with fronting becoming evident among many speakers, especially the young'.

Cruttenden lists this phenomenon among 'changes well established in RP'. He goes on to point out that fronting is 'in many cases accompanied by unrounding' (2014: 84). Elsewhere, Cruttenden notes that fronting and unrounding is especially common in high frequency words like *good*, *should*, and *could* (2014: 131).

Mees and Collins (2013: 103) also note that in NRP (i.e. non-regional pronunciation: their label for what is termed RP here; cf. the discussion in the Introduction) 'lip-rounding [of FOOT] is typically very weak, FOOT is often unrounded and central, especially in the high-frequency words like *good*''. In GOOSE rounding 'may be minimal or absent' and this vowel has been subject to 'a striking change whereby [it] has become much more fronted and unrounded'. As a result, older traditional RP speakers may have problems distinguishing modern RP '*two-tea* and *through-three* ' (2013: 103).

4.2.1.16 PRICE vowel [ʌɪ]

The change from the traditional diphthong [aɪ] to modern [ʌɪ] was first suggested by MacCarthy (1978). The main point of contention is the starting-point, which, according to Upton (2008: 245–6), 'can in fact be at any point from centralized front to centralized back'. Cruttenden (2014: 144) also notes the enormous variety surrounding the starting-point of this vowel; however, he sticks to the more conservative transcription.

Wells (2001) finds Upton's change in the transcription of this vowel 'very unsuitable', in spite of the fact that he also acknowledges the variable quality of the

starting-point. The most usual realisation for him is the back open unrounded vowel, thus his proposal, if he were pushed to make any change at all, would be [ɑɪ]. Wells adds that 'Upton's notation implicitly identifies the first element of *price* with the vowel quality of *cut*—an identification that accords with the habits neither of RP nor of south-eastern speech (Estuary English)' (2001). In my opinion, whilst the first part of the argument concerning RP is understandable, the latter one concerning south-eastern speech appears to be, on the face of it, extremely baffling. Why should a non-localisable accent accord with the habits of one particular region?

Due to the phonology of their mother tongue, this change is of little importance to Czech learners of English. Personally, I would accept the back quality of the onset, as long as there is no rounding, that seems to remain regional and not acceptable in RP.

4.2.1.17 CHOICE vowel [ɔɪ]

The vowel is 'a wide diphthong with a starting-point which is back, rounded, and approximately half-open, gliding towards a closer and fronter unrounded second element, [ɪ]' (Wells 1982: 150).

Cruttenden (2014: 145) remarks that for traditional RP speakers the starting point is unrounded, raised and centralised. It thus roughly corresponds to [əɪ]. This realisation is, according to him, one of the reasons why traditional RP has the so-called 'plummy' effect typically associated with this variety of RP.

4.2.1.18 MOUTH vowel [aʊ]

The starting-point of this diphthong is close to the front open position (with some possible retraction) and then the glide moves to the vowel of FOOT, actually never reaching it (Upton 2008: 246). Refined RP then shows considerable retraction of the first element approaching [ɑʊ]. The reason is to avoid undesirable associations with popular regional speech, particularly in the London area (Cruttenden 2008: 143).

4.2.1.19 NEAR vowel [ɪə]

Phonetically, this is 'a centring diphthong with a starting-point that is unrounded and fairly close and front, [ɪ], moving towards a mid central [ə] quality' (Wells 1982: 153).

Unlike most of the other diphthongs, this one shows a certain amount of variability in its second element, which is sometimes lengthened and/or raised, ren-

dering forms like here [hɪə:] or even [hɪɑ:]. These variants are 'likely to be singled out as features worthy of caricature' (Upton 2008: 246).

4.2.1.20 SQUARE vowel [ɛ:]

Formerly transcribed as [ɛə] this is another innovation introduced by Upton in his model. He claims that it is 'a long monophthong at a front half-open position, articulated with lips spread' and he adds that though 'there might or might not be some slight off-gliding present, giving [ɛ:ᵊ ~ ɛ:], [...] the dominant effect is of a single sound here' (2008: 246). Upton also claims that the diphthongal quality of this vowel sounds to native speakers 'decidedly old-fashioned or affected' (2000b: 45).

Cruttenden also views the long monophthong 'a completely acceptable alternative in General RP [i.e. modern RP]'; further noticing that 'Refined RP [i.e. traditional RP] keeps the diphthong [which often] has a more open starting-point, giving [æə]' (2008: 151). While Cruttenden (2008) still uses [ɛə] for SQUARE, the latest edition (2014) changes to [ɛ:].

The process of monophthongisation of SQUARE is paralleled to the change of the FORCE vowel: [ɔə] → [ɔ:] (Upton 2001: 358).

Wells's (2001) recommendation is to stick to the traditional transcription despite the unquestionable fact that the vowel is for many a long monophthong. Foreign learners (as well as some native speakers who retain [ɛə]) might find the diphthongal quality helpful when distinguishing pairs such as *shed—shared*. Length, according to Wells, is not enough.

4.2.1.21 START vowel [ɑ:]

In RP this vowel is identical to the one found in 'southern RP' BATH and PALM (see 4.2.1.7 and 4.2.1.12 respectively). The reason it is given a separate entry is its former rhoticity (which is, of course, maintained in American English). The loss of it in RP is discussed in 4.2.2.5.

4.2.1.22 NORTH vowel [ɔ:]

The quality of this vowel is essentially the same as the one found in the THOUGHT set (see 3.2.1.13), because RP is a non-rhotic accent.

4.2.1.23 FORCE vowel [ɔ:]

Like with the NORTH set, the quality of this vowel has already been described in 4.2.1.13. Historically, NORTH and FORCE used to be different, but as Wells

(1982: 161) observes, the merger of the two is now complete in RP but for a few exceptions to be encountered among older speakers of the accent who may still retain the outdated [ɔə].

4.2.1.24 CURE vowel [ʊə ~ ɔ:]

Whilst the long monophthong corresponds in its phonetic nature with the THOUGHT set, the traditional sound is 'a centring diphthong with a starting-point that is weakly rounded, somewhat close and back, [ʊ], moving towards a mid central [ə] quality' (Wells 1982: 163).

The change from [ʊə] to [ɔ:] is explained in Cruttenden (2008: 153) as follows: the first element of the diphthong was lowered and backed to produce [ɔə], this diphthong was later monophthongised and lengthened in the same way as words in the FORCE set.

The traditional diphthong is still alive and to be found in less common words (such as *gourd*) and where minimal pairs need to be kept apart, e.g. *dour/door* or *cruel/crawl* (Ramsaran 1990: 181). Wells, nonetheless, labels the use of the diphthong (particular in words with frequent occurrence) as conservative (1982: 162).

Another possible realisation within this set is a long monophthong [ɜ:], mentioned by Wells (1982: 164), which makes *surely* and *Shirley* homophones. Gimson, however, insists that this is 'an obsolescent affectation' and finds it extremely rare (1984: 49).

In some words in this set, the vowel is preceded by a yod; for this phenomenon see 4.2.2.5.

Monophthongised CURE seems to be an innovation occurring in the course of the twentieth century. It cannot, however, be a very recent innovation because Upton finds evidence for it in Houck's data from Leeds in the 1960's (2001: 38, cf. 2.7.2.1).

4.2.1.25 happY vowel [i]

This vowel is connected with a phenomenon called 'happY-tensing' by Wells (1982: 257–8): 'an increasing tendency throughout the English-speaking world to use a closer quality, [i(:)], and for speakers to feel intuitively that *happy* belongs with FLEECE rather than with KIT'. However, there are still environments where the traditional [ɪ] persists, e.g. when the suffix *-er* is added (Upton 2003: xiv). Thus, Upton's *Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation for Current English* has *happy* transcribed as [hapi, -ɪə(r)].

What remains questionable is the length of the vowel. Upton insists the vowel is short whereas Cruttenden (2008: 81) prefers to stress its length (thus his transcription is /i:/), listing happY-tensing among 'well-established' changes within RP.

Although Fabricius (2002: 213) claims that the first record of this change is to be found in the 1990 edition of *Longman Pronouncing Dictionary*, the tense happY realisation must have been around considerably longer. Gimson (1984: 50) notices that [i] is the more appropriate symbol for this vowel, adding his prediction that 'it is likely to be a general feature early in the next century'. Given the general acceptance of the new symbol, it is safe to conclude that Gimson's prediction has turned out to be accurate.

Controversy, though, surrounds the source of this feature and its proclaimed novelty. Hughes and Trudgill identify happY-tensing as a 'southern feature':

> [a]nother major north/south differentiating feature involves the final vowel of words like *city*, *money*, *coffee* [...]. In the north of England these items have [ɪ]: /sɪtɪ/ *city*. The dividing line between north and south is, in this case, a good deal further north than in the case of the previous two features [=STRUT and BATH], only Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire and areas to the North being involved—except that, again, Liverpool is in this case southern rather than northern. Tyneside and Humberside too have /iː/ rather than /i/. (1996: 57)

Elsewhere, Trudgill notes that the phenomenon originated in the south and has been 'spreading northwards quite quickly' (1990: 77). Przedlacka (2005: 19) maintains that 'this trend [=happY-tensing] is a fairly recent one'.

First of all, labelling this phenomenon as a marker of north/south differentiation is rather dubious, given the fact that the tense [i] is present in large areas like Liverpool, Humberside and Tyneside (Beal 2000). Moreover, Beal's analysis of Thomas Spence's *Grand Repository of the English Language* (1775) demonstrates the presence of [i] 'as the final vowel in abbacy, abbey and abecedary, providing clear evidence for happy-tensing in Newcastle as early as 1775' (2007: 37). Spence was born in Newcastle with minimal contact with the polite society of London and the south-east. He aimed to provide a model of 'the most proper and agreeable pronunciation' (1775: title page, qtd. in Beal 2007: 34).

The fact that happY-tensing is attested in Newcastle at the end of the eighteenth century casts doubt on the geographical origin of the phenomenon in question as well as its supposed novelty. More evidence of the feature's antiquity can be found in the work of orthoepists in the eighteenth century: both Sheridan and Walker prefer [i] in their dictionaries (Beal 2000). Even though Jones (1917) is categorical in his insistence on [ɪ], this might be accounted for by Jones's own idiolect, which served as the basis for his model (Windsor-Lewis 1990). Windsor-Lewis examines several recordings of RP speakers made at the beginning of the twentieth century and finds remarkable variability as far as the happY vowel is concerned.

It is shown that happY-tensing appears neither recent nor south-eastern in origin. We can conclude with Beal that 'it would appear that there has been

variability since at least the eighteenth century' (2004a: 152) and the evidence is more convincing still if we consider the existence of happY-tensing in most varieties outside England. Since 'it is widespread, if not categorical in, among others, Southern Irish, Welsh, US and Canadian varieties', it seems likely that it is 'a retention of an older variant rather than an innovation' (Beal 2007: 37).

4.2.1.26 lettER vowel [ə]

The quality of the vowel is essentially central in terms of its openness/closeness and its back/front realisation alike (Cruttenden 2014: 137). As RP is non-rhotic, there is no audible /r/, except for linking /r/ that occurs in phrases like *told her off* [təʊɬd ər ˈɒf].

Sometimes the position of the vowel may be lowered to open-mid central. Whilst this is still RP (Cruttenden 2014: 137), any position lower than that is considered regional and not falling within the scope of Received Pronunciation.

4.2.1.27 commA vowel [ə]

As with lettER, the only sound expected in this set is the 'schwa' vowel. In many English accents (including RP), '[r] is used to create a link to a following word beginning with a vowel although, unlike with lettER, this is not supported by the orthography' (Upton 2008: 247). The phenomenon mentioned by Upton here is called 'intrusive /r/' and is discussed in much greater detail in 4.2.2.5.

4.2.1.28 KIT and FOOT vowels in unstressed positions

Whilst traditionally full vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] used to be present even in unstressed syllables, these are now occupied by [ə] in many instances. Gimson (1984: 50) makes this observation concerning the KIT set when making a pilot study for the fourteenth edition of *English Pronouncing Dictionary* in 1977. The results of the study showed that '/ə/ had indeed made inroads in certain weak syllables where amongst more conservative RP speakers /ɪ/ is more typical' (Gimson 1984: 52). A number of affixes have made the shift: e.g. *re-, de-, pre-, ne-*; *-less, -ness, -ity, -itive, -ate, -ite, -ily,-es, -ed, -et*, etc.

Ramsaran (1990: 186) notes the same thing with regard to the FOOT set in unstressed syllables, giving examples such as *executive* [ɪgˈzekjətɪv] and *manufacture* [mænjəˈfæktʃə]. One can only wonder whether it would not be more accurate now to transcribe the former word as [əgˈzekjətəv].

Since predicting which vowel will appear in unstressed syllables is rather tricky, Upton decided to employ two new symbols in his *Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation for Current English* (2003), namely the composite symbols [ɨ] and [ʉ]. It seems to be a very inspired solution to this problem because the two symbols indicate the possibility of the full vowels being replaced by the 'schwa'. Thus, to give an example from the dictionary, the word *happily* is given as [hapɨli], and it allows two possible realisations: [hapɪli] or [hapəli] (Upton 2003: xviii).

4.2.2 RP consonants

Consonants are distinguished by the manner and place of articulation. Below, they are discussed according to the former. Whilst some stable consonants only merit a few lines of basic description, there are others that need to be discussed at length because they involve phenomena which carry a wealth of social value.

4.2.2.1 Plosives

Plosives are characteristic by their articulation which consists of three stages: Cruttenden (2008: 158) calls them 'closing, compression and release'. In the first one the organs move together to make the obstruction, the second stage sees the lung action compress the air behind the obstruction, and, finally, the last stage suddenly releases the compressed air.

In English there are three pairs of plosives and one plosive without a pair. The voiceless ones in the pairs are usually given first; they require 'more muscular energy and a stronger breath effort' (Cruttenden 2008: 159), therefore they are called 'fortis' (strong), while their voiced counterparts are labelled 'lenis' (weak). The English pairs of plosives are: bilabial /p, b/, alveolar /t,d/, and velar /k, g/. Furthermore, there is the glottal stop /ʔ/, which admittedly is not to be found in any existing transcription model, but is such a prominent feature in modern British English that any description of RP lacking a comprehensive account of the glottal stop and its use would necessarily be seriously incomplete.

The voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ are often (more or less) aspirated when they are syllable-initial, under accent, and not followed by /s/. Thus *pea*, *tea*, *key* are realised as [pʰi:, tʰi:, kʰi:]; sometimes the aspiration of /t/ is so prominent that it may be labelled as affrication, rendering forms like *tea* [tˢi:]. As Cruttenden (2008: 162) observes, aspiration is a crucial factor in determining word-initial voiced/voiceless plosives. A lack of aspiration in *pin* sounds to the native ear as *bin*.

The voiced plosives /b,d,g/ may sometimes be subject to devoicing, particularly in word-final positions. Their articulation is still lenis, though, which is

something that non-native speakers of English may struggle with, especially if they devoice voiced consonants in word-final positions in their mother tongue. Czech is a prime example: particular attention needs to be paid to maintain the minimal pair opposition between *back* and *bag*. It is helpful to bear in mind the length of the preceding vowel: if the syllable is closed with a voiceless plosive, the vowel is then considerably shorter than if the final sound is a voiced one.

Two phenomena are now discussed in detail. They are highly stigmatised shibboleths of modern British English.

Glottalisation

As regards the manner of articulation, Cruttenden (2014: 182) describes this sound as follows: [t]he obstruction to the airstream is formed by the closure of the vocal cords, thereby interrupting the passage of air into the supraglottal organs. The air pressure below the glottis is released by the sudden separation of the vocal cords'.

In spite of the glottal stop [ʔ] not appearing in any transcription model of RP, it is such a crucial sound in modern English that it merits a detailed analysis in this thesis. The reason for its omission is simple: pronunciation models are phonemic in nature, and the glottal stop merely presents allophonic variation. Moreover, the glottal stop is one of the variables studied here (cf. 5.3) .

Glottalisation is of two essential types: glottal reinforcement (also called preglottalisation) and glottal replacement.

The former only precedes (reinforces) the compression of the voiceless plosive (all three plosives seem to be subject to it) and is present in many English accents including RP; it gives rise to forms such as *I don't like that fat guy* [aɪ ˈdəʊnʔt laɪʔk ˈðaʔt ˈfaʔt ˈgaɪ] (Collins and Mees 2003: 81–2).

The glottal stop also frequently serves 'as a syllable boundary marker, when the initial sound of the second syllable is a vowel' (Cruttenden 2014: 183), thus *co-operate* [kəʊˈʔɒpəreɪt].

Glottal replacement refers to the substitution of a voiceless plosive by the glottal stop. The following table sums up all the possible environments in which glottal replacement may occur:

		/p/	/t/	/k/
(a)	__#true C	stop talking	quite good	look down
(b)	__#L or S	stop worrying	quite likely	look worried
(c)	__#V	stop eating	quite easy	look up
(d)	__pause	Stop!	Quite!	Look!

		/p/	/t/	/k/
(e)	__true C	stopped, capsule	nights, curtsey	looks, picture
(f)	__L or S	hopeless	mattress	equal
(g)	__[m=,n,=N=]	(happen)	button	(bacon)
(h)	__V or [l=]	happy, apple, stop it	butter, bottle, get 'im	ticket, buckle, lick it

(Wells 1982: 260)

In this thesis the abbreviations designed by Wells are kept as a convenient way to refer to the environments in which the glottal stop can occur. There are nevertheless changes to the categories (g) and (h): (g) → _Syl N (syllabic nasal) and (h) → _V or Syl /l/ (vowel or syllabic /l/).

Though glottal replacement is possible for all the three voiceless plosives, in RP it is basically limited to /t/-glottalisation. The other two voiceless plosives, if replaced, are considered regional (popularly associated with Cockney; Cruttenden 2014: 183).

Moreover, RP does not allow glottal replacement of /t/ in all the environments above: Wells (1982: 261) claims that _# true C, _#L or S and _true C all fall within mainstream RP. Ramsaran (1990: 187) agrees with Wells as far as the occurrence of the glottal stop in RP is concerned. She expects to find it 'not only before obstruents but also before sonorant consonants as in phrases such as *fruit yoghurt* [fruːʔ jɒgət], *what now?* [wɒʔ naʊ], *not long* [nɒʔ lɒŋ], and *hatrack* [hæʔræk]'. Cruttenden (1994: 155–6) extends the territory of [ʔ] within RP to include syllabic /n/ (thus RP *cotton* can be [kɒʔn̩]). The same, however, cannot be said of syllabic /l/ (thus *little* [lɪʔɬ] is still non-RP). In the latest edition of *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*, however, Cruttenden (2014: 184) amends his view significantly, claiming that glottalised /t/ before syllabic [n̩] and before words beginning with vowels actually belongs to what he labels as London RGB (London Regional General British; as I understand the label, it could be interpreted as Near-RP based in London).

The glottal stop is missing in Upton's pronunciation model; he nonetheless comments on it elsewhere. In (2008: 249) he gives examples very similar to the ones found in Wells, Ramsaran, and Cruttenden above. In addition, he observes that 'trad-RP makes use of this device too in the break or hiatus created by the avoidance of intrusive /r/, as in *drawing, law and order'*. These speakers avoid intrusive /r/ because they feel it is socially unacceptable (intrusive /r/ is discussed in 4.2.2.5); by avoiding one socially stigmatised feature, however, they make unconscious use of another one (i.e. the glottal stop), which is, incidentally, arguably as stigmatised as the one they try to avoid.

Though popularly believed to be a recent change that originated in London (Estuary English, cf. Rosewarne 1984), the glottal stop is neither as new nor as locally restricted as it might seem. Trudgill has it that glottalisation is 'one of the most dramatic, widespread and rapid changes to have occurred in British English in recent times' (1999: 136). Similarly, Kerswill suggests that 'the feature seems to have diffused to urban centres outside the south-east within the last 30–40 years [...]. The phenomenon is thus considerably older in southern towns than it is in Hull' (2003: 232).

Admittedly, Walker (1791) does not list the glottal stop as one of the cockneyisms careful speakers should avoid. However, Collins and Mees (1996) investigate several very early recordings (including the phonetician Daniel Jones, born 1881, and the philosopher Bertrand Russell, born 1872) made in the 1910's and they find glottalisation to be widespread. In 1921 Jones asserts that the use of the glottal stop is 'a noticeably spreading fashion among educated speakers all over the country', and he goes on to predict that 'in a hundred years' time everybody would be pronouncing mutton as [mʌʔn̩]' (qtd. in Crystal 2005: 417).

Gimson (1962) admits that the glottal stop is present in some environments even in RP (corresponding with those that are mentioned by Wells above). Barber (1964: 70) remarks that [ʔ] is used in place of /t/ in many 'sub-standard [sic!] English accents [...] and it is also heard in educated speech, but only before certain consonants, and only in place of t, never of any other voiceless plosive'. In the post-WWII period there appears the first objections to the glottal stop. For example, McAllister is certain that 'only careless speakers use it [=ʔ]' and she adds that it is 'a degenerate tendency in modern speech [which] detracts from intelligibility' (1963: 34).

Degenerate as it may sound to some ears, the glottal stop has gained so much ground that there are linguists who deem it inevitable to include it in the teaching of English abroad. Trudgill (2002: 179) would 'advocate rather strongly teaching [...] some of the forms of /t/-glottaling at least to advanced students'. A similar opinion had been around for some time: one of the earliest is to be found in Christophersen (1952: 168), who makes a comment about the presence of [ʔ] in younger RP speakers and maintains that 'it [=ʔ] will have to reckoned in the teaching of English as a foreign language'.

The origin of the glottal stop is disputable as well. It has already been briefly discussed on p. 67. Beal provides ample evidence that the feature 'is found in the north of England as early as, if not earlier than in London, [therefore] historical evidence would support a north-south diffusion of glottalisation from western Scotland to the north of England in the late nineteenth / early twentieth centuries' (2007: 39–40). Beal also admits that what Kerswill (see above) notes about the diffusion from London might be true as well. This would mean there have been 'two waves of diffusion involved here' (2007: 40).

The changes involving the glottal stop in the past one hundred years or so are not nearly as straightforward as they might, on the face of it, seem. What seems beyond doubt though is that '[t]he extension to RP noted by Jones, Gimson and Barber is a consequence of social, rather than geographical, diffusion' (Beal 2004a: 166).

/g/-dropping

This feature, like the one discussed above, is stigmatised in British English and it has been so for at least two centuries. Essentially, the main point of objection is the alveolar rather than velar realisation of the final *-ing*, thus *doing* is [duːɪn] and not [duːɪŋ], as is expected in RP. One of the chief reasons for its stigmatisation is its seeming deviance from orthography; hence the label '/g/-dropping' and its frequent spelling form in which the apostrophe replaces the 'dropped' sound: *doin'*. What defies the 'graphemic logic' (as it is called by Mugglestone 1995: 151), however, is the existence of yet another realisation, namely the /ng/ (*doing* [duːɪŋg]), which is common in several regional dialects (e.g. in the West Midlands, cf. Upton 2006). No letter is evidently 'dropped' here; this realisation, nonetheless, carries as much social stigma as the alveolar nasal [n].

Admittedly, this phenomenon could also be treated under nasals; the connection with orthography is thought to be so prominent though that it is discussed here, under velar plosives. This decision is based on the fact that academics usually prefer to call this phenomenon /g/-dropping (e.g.Wells 1982).

Wells (1982: 188) states that the first instances of 'dropped' /g/ date back to around 1600 and are found in educated London English. Alas, he does not reveal his sources; what can be said for sure is that by the mid-eighteenth century [n] as a possible realisation for *-ing* endings was normal: Mugglestone (1995: 150) informs us that Jonathan Swift in 1731 'happily rhymes *doing* and *ruin'*. The perception of this sound would change though, and in the second half of the century frequent mentions of stigmatisation appear. Walker (1791: 48) in his dictionary warns against the embarrassment caused by 'unaccented' /g/ in 'participial termination *ing'*. He goes on to say that

> [w]e are told, even by teachers of English, that *ing*, in the words that *ing*, in the word *singing*, *bringing* and *swinging*, must be pronounced with the ringing sound, which is heard when the accent is on these letters, in *king*, *sing*, and *wing*, and not as if written without the *g* as *singin*, *bringin*, *swingin*. No one can be a greater advocate than I am for the strictest adherence to orthography, as long as the public pronunciation pays the least attention to it [...] and, if my observation does not greatly fail me, I can assert,

> that our best speakers do not invariably pronounce the participle *ing*, so as to rhyme with *sing*, *king* and *wing*. (Walker 1791: 48–9)

It is clear that at the time of Walker's dictionary, the dominance of orthography in the prescriptive paradigm had already been firmly established. The last part of the quote above reveals, however, that even the 'best' speakers were prone to 'mispronounce' the sound. It can therefore be assumed that there was a lot of variation, as there is today still. Trudgill's (1974) survey in Norwich shows /g/-dropping present in all the social classes involved, with the numbers ranging from 3 per cent in the upper middle class to 98 per cent in the lower working class.

The existence of the phenomenon as 'a linguistic stereotype of the "vulgar" and the lower class' is attested throughout the nineteenth century also in the works of literature—it can be found in Dickens, Gissing, Gaskell, Thackeray, Eliot and others (Mugglestone 1995: 152).

In contrast to other shibboleths, /g/-dropping is unique because of upper class people's preference for [ɪn] rather than the proscribed [ɪŋ]. The word-final alveolar pronunciation of stereotypical aristocratic pastime activities such as *huntin'*, *shootin'* and *fishin'* persisted well into the twentieth century (though not without being mocked by outsiders, as Beal 2004a: 161 notes, cf. 1.6.2 here).

The reason why one feature could simultaneously be linked with 'vulgar' lower classes and 'elegant' upper classes is the social security of the latter ones. Upper-class [ɪn] speakers were

> secure in their well-established status, and with no need to seek social or linguistic advice from the many manuals of etiquette; [they] were moreover to remain largely immune to prescriptive control and popular sensibilities, a pattern similarly reinforced in modern sociolinguistic work where groups stable within the social hierarchy are indeed less likely to conform to normative pressures from outside. (Mugglestone 1995: 154)

4.2.2.2 Affricates

This term refers to plosives 'whose release stage is performed in such a way that considerable friction occurs approximately at the point where the plosive stop is made' (Cruttenden 2008: 181).

In English there are two affricate phonemes, namely the palato-alveolar voiceless /tʃ/ and its voiced counterpart /dʒ/. While considerable friction can also be caused by other fricatives or approximants (e.g. /ts/, /tr/ or /dr/), these are not considered English phonemes but rather consonant clusters (Cruttenden 2008: 182). A simple test reveals that a native ear views *trip* as four separate pho-

nemes /t+r+ɪ+p/ whereas *chip* is considered to consist of only three separate phonemes /tʃ+ɪ+p/.

Some native speakers (particularly when on their linguistic guard) tend to avoid affricates in unaccented syllables, pronouncing actual as [aktjʊəl] rather than [aktʃʊəl]. This seems to be connected with the phenomenon generally known as yod-coalescence (4.2.2.5), which has strong social connotations, though particularly when occurring in accented syllables.

Foreign learners need to maintain the distinction between voiced and voiceless affricates. They should be careful not only about the manner of articulation itself, but also about the length of the preceding vowel.

4.2.2.3 Nasals

There are three phonemic nasals in English: bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, and velar /ŋ/. Whilst the first two 'occur in all contexts, velar /ŋ/ occurs only syllable-finally following checked vowels' (Collins and Mees 2003: 84). The velar nasal is also prone to lose its phonemic status in a number of English accents in which the *-ing* ending is realised as [ɪŋg], thus *clinging* [klɪŋgɪŋg]. In these dialects, [ŋ] is a mere allophone of /n/. Such forms, however, do not fall within the scope of RP.

Nasals are similar to plosives insofar as a complete closure is made within the mouth during the process of articulation; the difference is 'that the soft palate is in its lowered position, allowing an escape of air into the nasal cavity and giving the sound the special resonance provided by the naso-pharyngeal cavity' (Cruttenden: 2008: 206).

Nasals are frictionless continuants (thus not dissimilar to vowels); furthermore they are all usually voiced. They can also perform a syllabic function, e.g. *cotton* [kɒtn̩] or *rhythm* [rɪðm̩].

The substitution of velar /ŋ/ by alveolar [n] (commonly known as /g/-dropping) is dealt with in 4.2.2.1.

English nasals are otherwise remarkably stable sounds and should pose very few problems to non-native learners of English.

4.2.2.4 Fricatives

Fricatives are distinguished by two organs which 'are brought and held sufficiently close together for the escaping airstream to produce local air turbulence' (Cruttenden 2008: 188). There are four paired (voiceless/voiced) fricatives in English: labio-dental /f/ and /v/, dental /θ/ and /ð/, alveolar /s/ and /z/,

and palato-alveolar /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, plus a voiceless glottal fricative /h/. All of them appear in all positions (word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally) with one exception: glottal /h/ does not occur in word-final positions.

Labio-dental fricatives do not show a significant amount of variation among RP speakers. Foreigners need to be on their guard when it comes to distinguishing such minimal pairs as *vest/west*, and they should of course maintain the voiceless/voiced quality word-finally.

Dental fricatives rank among the most difficult for foreign learners of English owing to the fact that they are rarely found in other languages. While they are relatively stable sounds in RP with little variation, they are frequently commented upon in the media as well as in academic circles in connection with the so-called /th/-fronting, which refers to the appearance of labio-dental fricatives in place of dental ones (discussed below).

Alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ appear in all the possible environments including consonant clusters. They are connected with lisping, which is a common speech defect whereby alveolar fricatives tend to be realised in a strongly dentalised way, or as dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/.

Word initial clusters /str-/ are often pronounced as /ʃtr-/ in words such as *strong*, *street*, and *stroke*. Cruttenden (2008: 199) explains this phenomenon as 'evidently the influence of the /r/ which retracts both /t/ and /s/'. Whilst it is yet to receive thorough sociolinguistic attention, this feature does not seem to prevent its users from being considered speakers of RP.

Whilst palato-alveolar voiceless fricative /ʃ/ occurs in all environments, its voiced counterpart /ʒ/ is rare in word-final (e.g. *prestige*) and even more so in word-initial positions (only in French loanwords like *genre*).

Word-medial palato-alveolar fricatives are often avoided by certain speakers who tend to prefer alveolar fricatives followed by /j/ or /ɪ/. Examples include words like *issue* [ɪʃuː] or [ɪsjuː], and *appreciate* [əˈpriːʃieɪt] or [əˈpriːsieɪt]. More information is provided in section 3.2.2.5, in which this phenomenon, known as 'yod-coalescence', is discussed in detail.

The two palato-alveolar fricatives are otherwise very stable with little variation not only within RP but also in regional dialects.

The last fricative to be mentioned here is /h/. It is conventionally described as 'a voiceless glottal fricative, but more accurately [...] as a range of voiceless approximants varying with the quality of the following vowel' (Wells 1982: 253). Most importantly though, this particular phoneme is subject to being 'dropped', which is, according to Wells (1982: 254) 'the single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in England'.

Two phenomena related to fricatives are now discussed in detail, namely /th/-fronting and /h/-dropping.

/th/-fronting

This phenomenon refers to the replacement of dental fricatives by their labiodental counterparts: thus *nothing* becomes [nʌfɪŋ] and *brother* is realised as [brʌvə]. Despite it most certainly not being an RP feature, it is worth a brief comment since it is a hotly-debated issue and possibly one that could even enter RP later (cf. Rosewarne 2009).

Przedlacka asserts that /th/-fronting 'has been spreading rapidly in all directions' and Kerswill (2003) adds that the direction of the change is definitely from south to north; /th/-fronting is thus another feature that is connected with linguistic diffusion from a dominant place to other places in the vicinity and beyond.

Wells (1982: 96) regards 'the prevalence of these pronunciations among adult working-class Londoners [...] as a persistent infantilism', because of the problems that even native speakers have when acquiring dental fricatives. Children often make use of /f/ and /v/ or /t/ and /d/ before they manage to master the 'correct' sounds.

The problem with Kerswill's research is that he takes data from the SED (*Survey of English Dialects*, carried out between 1950 and 1961). This survey shows /th/-fronting in London and other areas close to the capital and shows little if any at all north of the Wash. But, crucially, the data was gathered predominantly in rural parts of Britain and therefore does not say anything about urban centres in the north.

Moreover, Upton (2012b: 395) notes that instances of /th/-fronting were spotted in Yorkshire in 1876. Likewise, Beal (2004a: 198) informs us that the feature cannot be very recent, for it is mentioned in Elphinston (1787), who claims that the 'low English [...] say *Redriph* for *Rotherhithe* and *loph* for *loth*'.

Elsewhere, Beal (2007: 37–9) voices grave reservations concerning the direction of the change: Kerswill's (2003) own follow-up research on the presence of the feature in question shows that children and adolescents use it while adults do not. This, however, could be a case of age-grading, which is a term that sociolinguists use to describe the presence of a phenomenon in the language of children/adolescents that disappears gradually before they reach adulthood. This process seemingly indicates some language change going on, but since it repeats itself generation after generation, no change is, in fact, involved at all (cf. Chambers 2002: 200). Age-grading is all the more likely here since it involves a feature that is present in most (if not all) children's speech before they learn dental fricatives. Beal concludes in her article that 'until there is solid "real-time" evidence of the new variant being maintained into adulthood, we cannot be sure that anything other than age-grading is being demonstrated' (2007: 38–9).

/h/-dropping

This label refers to *hammer* being realised as [amə], often marked in spelling, too, as *'ammer*. It bears marked similarities with /g/-dropping: first, it is socially an extremely salient marker as it shows considerable variation across social classes in a number of sociolinguistic studies (cf. e.g. Trudgill 1974, Hudson and Holloway 1977, Upton 2006), and second, its stigmatisation is a result of the dominance of spelling.

The feature is present in a large number of regional dialects in England and Wales, with the notable exception of the dialects of the north-east of England, rural East Anglia, Scotland and Ireland (Upton 2006: 58–9). Of course, the feature is not absent from RP either, although there are doubts whether the following cases can be regarded as instances of /h/-dropping at all (cf. Wells 1982: 254–5): high-frequency words such as *him*, *her*, *his*, *has*, *have*, *had* are often realised without the initial /h/ in RP. As a result, *give her* [gɪvə] certainly cannot be viewed as non-RP. Cruttenden (2008: 205) adds that 'some older RP speakers treat an unaccented syllable beginning with an <h> as in *historical*, *hotel*, *hysterical*, as if it belonged to the special group *hour*, *honest*, etc., without an initial /h/, e.g. *an historical novel*". The omission of /h/ in these instances hardly ever attracts the attention of pronunciation zealots though. Still, /h/-dropping is a feature certainly worth looking into, for the 'poor letter H', as one of the penny manuals in the nineteenth century calls it, reveals a lot about the processes and mechanisms of standardisation and prescription.

Historically, the feature seems to be of an exceptionally long and complicated pedigree. Mair (2006: 159) remarks that /h/-dropping 'is a natural and expected development for the simple reason that it has been one of the most venerable long-term trends in the history of English pronunciation'. Although Wells (1982: 255) says that 'the fact that H Dropping is unknown in North America strongly suggests that it arose in England only well after the American colonies were founded', other evidence makes this claim rather questionable.

Milroy (1983) holds the opinion that /h/-dropping was originally connected with the French language after the Norman Conquest in 1066, initially as a prestige feature. Beal, however, highlights 'forms with excrescent <h> in the eighth-century Corpus Glossary' (2004b: 340). Instability seems to have always been present as far as /h/ is concerned: Old French loanwords were often borrowed without <h> (spelling) or [h] (pronunciation), for example OF *erbe*. Later, both <h> and [h] were reintroduced under the influence of Latin. To complicate things further still, some words which never contained <h> in Latin were subject to the same process of adding <h> and [h] after they had been introduced into English: e.g. Latin *eremita*, originally from Greek *eremos* (English *desert*) is now present in English as *hermit* (Mugglestone 1995: 110). Another important factor

influencing today's situation surrounding the use of /h/ is the adoption of [h]-less pronunciation for words of Old English origin as well, though it is hard to ascertain when exactly this happened. Be that as it may, variation is well attested in the early fifteenth century: an anonymous writer notes in his concordance that

> a certain man writes a certain word with an *h*, which same word another man writes without an *h* [...] Thus it is with the English word which the Latin word *heres* signifies: some write that word with *h* thus, here, and some thus, *eir*, without *h*. (modern translation, qtd. in Crystal 2005: 411)

While this is a mere observation of variability within a language, later accounts emphasise the social value attendant upon /h/. So uncertain was the status of /h/ in English in the Early Modern English period that there were serious doubts as to whether it is a letter (and a sound) at all: 'H hath no particular formation, neither does it make any sound of it self, but a bare aspiration [...] whether it ought to be call'd a letter or not [...] let everyone enjoy his own opinion' (Cooper 1687, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 112).

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards there can be little doubt that /h/ is both a letter and a sound. The first person to voice concern over the loss of [h] is Sheridan who informs his readers that '[t]here is one defect which more generally prevails in the counties than any other, and indeed is gaining ground among the politer part of the world, I mean the omission of the aspirate in many words by some, and in most by others' (1762: 34, qtd. in Beal 2004b: 340). As Mugglestone shrewdly observes, neither the stated prevalence of the feature nor its evident presence in the 'polite' speech of the time (which Sheridan, of course, aimed to establish and codify) were enough to save /h/ from Sheridan's prescriptive zeal (1995: 113–4).

Walker's sentiment on the issue is not dissimilar to Sheridan's. He mentions /h/-dropping as one of the 'faults of the Cockneys', who do not sound /h/ 'where it ought to be sounded, and inversely' (1791: xii-xiii). It is interesting to note that at the end of the 18th century there were still several originally French words in which /h/ was not sounded (e.g. *human*, *humble*, *hospital*). The prescriptive focus was still mainly on the native stock.

Another point worth highlighting here concerns the difference between the works of Sheridan/Walker and the cheap pronunciation manuals that emerged during the nineteenth century. It is the amount of attention /h/-dropping receives: the former find it one of many shibboleths to be aware of and avoid, the latter view it so prominent that often no other shibboleths are discussed. Sociolinguistically, we may observe all the three stages of linguistic change as defined by Labov (1972). Firstly, /h/-dropping was an indicator, showing considerable variation but with no social import. Then, it became a marker, i.e. it became

subject to stylistic variation with 'sharp stratification' (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 72). Finally, it now sometimes borders on becoming a stereotype: 'a popular and, therefore, conscious characterization of the speech of a particular group' (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015: 152). Today, one can see an example of such a linguistic stereotype for example when West Ham United football fans are referred to as *'Appy 'Ammers*, (if their team enjoy a win, 'Hammers' being the nickname of the club).

The visual authority of spelling completely dominated the issues of elocution and those who failed to obey the rules were treated with withering contempt. 'Nothing so surely stamps a man as below the mark in intelligence, self-respect, and energy, as this unfortunate habit [=/h/-dropping]' (Alford 1870: 51, qtd. in Gorlach 1999: 58). Those who did not drop /h/ were, on the other hand, taken for educated, cultured and refined. The reasoning was simple: people who committed the fatal error of /h/-dropping were illiterate, hence unintelligent, for if they had known the spelling form, they would have aspirated the /h/. In 1.5.2 it is demonstrated how ill-advised it is to take spelling as the guide that should dictate one's pronunciation.

Nineteenth-century penny manuals were cheap and accessible (not only in terms of money) materials aimed at those socially-aspiring masses who could not afford either elocution lessons or more expensive dictionaries (or other linguistic publications). They add a new perspective to the prescriptive paradigm surrounding the glottal fricative /h/. Its use and 'abuse' became a matter of fashion, and it, in fact, often appeared in magazines of social advice: 'the neglect of [h] was indeed "unfashionable", as well as "rustic" and "provincial", with all the negative status connotations which these epithets contain' (Mugglestone 1995: 122). Therefore, it is possible to liken it to such matters as the shape of a tie or the width of a collar. The only weak point in Mugglestone's observation is, in my opinion, the effervescence of fashion whims (which seem to change in a matter of several years); linguistic fashions seem to persist much longer, as attitudes to /h/-dropping in the past two centuries testify.

The upsurge of interest in pronunciation matters is also connected with the emergence of the newly rich: dropped /h/ served as a reliable shibboleth that distinguished those with breeding from those without it, despite the fact that in terms of wealth they were more or less equal. [h] was regarded as nothing less than a symbol of 'hereditary social honour' (*Poor Letter H* 1866: iv, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 125). Mugglestone points out that *Poor Letter H: Its Use and Abuse* was printed three times in the year of its first publication (1854) and in 1866 it had reached no fewer than 40 editions. Other pronunciation manuals like *Harry Hawkins' H Book* (1st ed. in 1879), *Mind Your H's and Take Care of Your R's* (1st ed. in 1866), and *The Letter H. Past, Present, and Future* (1st ed. in 1881) can boast of a similar number of editions and copies sold. What these have in common,

among other things, is the primary (if not sole) interest in /h/. In *Poor Letter H* the letter is anthropomorphised and it appeals to the majority of the nation who still get the letter wrong. It complains to the readership about the unjust abuse that has been heaped on it and in the Preface (1866) it feigns utter surprise at the number of editions that have been published:

> What! issue another edition of Poor Letter H, and from the very precincts of the Royal Exchange itself, the centre and heart of London, aye of England's Life and Commerce. Yea, verily; for the circulation of forty thousand have been but as drops poured into the mighty tide of human life, whereon float hundreds of thousands who don't know an H from an A; and who, when meeting with the one or the other, make the most frightful and cruel mistakes, with these poor innocent sufferers. (*Poor Letter H* 1866: iii)

Humorous anecdotes abound in these penny manuals. The one found in Crystal (2005: 411–2) is originally from *Mr Punch's Cockney Humour* (1841) and it contains a short dialogue between a doctor and his patient 'Arry.

> Doctor: 'I can tell you what you're suffering from, my good fellow! You're suffering from acne!'
> *'Arry: 'Ackney? I only wish I'd never been near the place!'*

On the whole, the manuals helped to provoke an unprecedented amount of sensitisation towards the sound/letter in question, thereby bringing about a similarly unparalleled degree of ideology surrounding its use.

But a similarly ideological stance to the one taken up in cheap penny manuals is found in linguists who normally adopt a much more objective approach. Ellis (1869: 221) notes that 'at the present day great strictness in pronouncing *h* is demanded as a test of education and position in society', and Sweet (1890: 195) likewise regards [h] as 'an almost infallible test of education and refinement'.

Naturally, remedy was sought in the system of education. The prestige accent was regarded as a symbol of education. As far as /h/ is concerned, Murray in his *English Grammar* makes an emotional appeal to those responsible for educating pupils:

> [f]rom the negligence of tutors, and the inattention of pupils, it has happened, that many persons have become almost incapable of acquiring its [that of /h/] just and full pronunciation. It is therefore incumbent on teachers, to be particularly careful to inculcate a clear and distinct utterance of this sound, on all proper occasions. (Murray 1799: 11, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 118)

Public schools, as has been explained in 2.6.1, played a pivotal role in establishing and, above all, disseminating the prestige accent. Boys were sent to these schools to achieve not only education but also general sophistication. Needless to say, language was high on the agenda. A case in point is *An English Primer*, written by Edward C. Lowe, the first headmaster of Hurstpierpoint College (West Sussex). Language is merely one of the issues discussed in the textbook; others include for example religion, geography, history, and arithmetic. The very first pronunciation advice concerns /h/: '[t]hough our forefathers seem to have been very careless about it, no educated ear can now tolerate the omission of this letter [...] It is always to be sounded, even in *humble*, and *herb* and *hospital* and *humour*, except in *heir*, *heiress* (but always in *heritage*, *inherit*, etc.), in *honour*, *honesty*, and their compounds, and in *hour*' (1866: 153).

The twentieth century appears to have seen little change in the public attitude to /h/. Wells reports a London schoolteacher reprimanding any child who dropped an /h/, and the child immediately knew what had been committed and would rectify the mistake (1982: 254). The popular stereotypical link between /h/-dropping and the Cockney accent has probably prevented a more frequent occurrence of the phenomenon in Received Pronunciation. Wells lists it among the characteristics of popular accents resisted by RP. He even goes on to suggest that some middle-class speakers often use /h/ even in weak forms like I have [aɪˈhæv], this 'may well be due to a middle-class hypercorrective reaction against non-standard h-dropping' (1994: 2.1).

Social prestige and linguistic perception can hardly manifest their power any stronger than in the case of /h/-dropping. Mair has it that

> the preservation of /h/ in standard English [i. e. in RP; his terminology is rather infelicitous] cannot be seen but as the result of social forces postponing the advent of the very last episode in a thousand-year development. The very fact that in present-day English the loss of /h/ would be such a change probably explains the intensity of educated resistance to it. (2006: 159)

Mair's opinion implies that it is only a matter of time before /h/-dropping becomes an RP feature. The process might not be a simple one though. /t/-glottalisation is, compared with /h/-dropping, a very recent feature and yet it has managed to get a foot in the RP door (see 4.2.2.1). There seems to be no imminent breakthrough of such a kind for the voiceless glottal fricative. In spite of its long and complex history and its presence in an overwhelming number of regional dialects, there has been no change of note lately as far as its social acceptance is concerned. It only demonstrates the might of the educated resistance.

From the sociolinguistic perspective /h/-dropping (or rather '/h/-restoration') is a prime example of a change from above, i.e. 'from above the level of con-

scious awareness' (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 76). The driving force behind the change is the spelling dictating the restoration of /h/ in a number of words in which /h/ had been lost for many years, or, in fact, had never been present in the first place. Examples of such words include *hospital* or *herb* (the latter, incidentally, is still /h/-less in American English).

4.2.2.5 Approximants

Although the phonemes in this category are so markedly different (both in terms of their acoustic and articulatory characteristics) that they may warrant separate categories, it is customary to treat them together under the heading 'approximants'. As Cruttenden (2008: 214) explains, it is so chiefly owing to their similar distributional characteristics. Approximants in the English language include post-alveolar [ɹ], palatal [j], lateral [l] and labial-velar [w]. They are usually voiced; devoicing is nonetheless common if preceded by a voiceless consonant, e.g. *creek*, *play*, *cute*.

What they also have in common is considerable variability with significant sociolinguistic importance attendant upon them.

The first approximant to be discussed in this section is the lateral approximant /l/. There are two main allophones, namely the so-called 'clear' [l], occurring particularly in word-initial (*lap*, *claw*) and word-medial (*pillar*) positions, and the 'dark' [ɫ] that is present mainly in word-final (*smell*) and preconsonantal (*cult*) environments. The main articulatory difference between the two allophones is velarisation of the latter. It is this 'dark' velarised /l/ that is in some accents of English vocalised.

Another approximant is the post-alveolar /r/, which is in English accents (in Britain and overseas alike) realised in a high number of ways. In RP, though, it is typically a voiced post-alveolar approximant [ɹ]. As Cruttenden remarks, 'this allophone of the RP phoneme [...] is phonetically vowel-like, but, having a non-central situation in the syllable, it functions as a consonant' (2014: 224). Another possible realisation, typically associated with what Wells terms 'U-RP' (traditional RP), is the tapped /r/ [], which is found 'intervocalically after a stressed vowel, as *very sorry* [ˈvɛrɪ ˈsɒrɪ], *far off* [ˈfɑːɾ ˈɒf], and also sometimes in certain consonant clusters, as *three crates* [ˈθɾiː ˈkɾeɪts]' (Wells 1982: 282).

RP is a non-rhotic accent. Consequently, the occurrence of /r/ is, compared to for example American or Scottish English, rather limited. It only occurs in word-initial positions when followed by a vowel (e.g. *red*), word-medial positions (often intervocalic ones like *curry*) and in consonant clusters (for instance *sprain* or *drizzle*). Crucially, /r/ is absent in word-final environments in RP, with the notable exceptions of linking and intrusive /r/ (discussed below).

Apart from linking and intrusive /r/ there are two more phenomena to be dealt with in this part, namely the labiodental [ʋ] and /r/-dropping.

Palatal approximant /j/ is a voiced semivowel with considerable variation according to, above all, the following vowel (heavy lip-rounding before rounded vowels). The phoneme is often referred to as 'yod' (originally from Hebrew, in which it means the palatal approximant [j]). There are two phenomena in which yod plays a vital role, namely 'yod-dropping' (sometimes also called 'yod-deletion') and 'yod-coalescence'.

The last approximant to be discussed in this section is the labial-velar /w/. Its typical realisation in modern RP is a brief vowel glide [ʍ] with heavy lip rounding. Some older RP speakers retain an allophonic variant in <wh> words, namely the voiceless labial-velar fricative, which is often symbolised by [ʍ] and which also appears after accented /t/ and /k/ in words such as *twig* or *queen*. Cruttenden (2008: 230) claims that '[a]mong RP speakers the use of /ʍ/ has declined rapidly (though it is often taught as the correct form in verse-speaking)'.

In the next part, the following phenomena are discussed: /l/-vocalisation, /r/-dropping, linking and intrusive /r/, labiodental /r/, yod-dropping, yod-coalescence, and whale/wale merger.

/l/-vocalisation

Wells (1994: 3.3) defines it as 'the development whereby the "dark" allophone of /l/, [ɫ], loses its alveolar lateral nature and becomes a vowel of the [o] or [ʊ] type'. The precise phonetic quality of the vowel is hard to ascertain; Wells (1982: 258) offers, along with [o] or [ʊ], the unrounded close-mid back [ɤ]. Przedlacka (2001: 41) in her study of young RP speakers' speech unearths immense variation and locates the position of the vowel as follows: [o~ʊ]. In the same study she finds that her respondents use it in no less than 34% of the tokens. Popularly, vocalised /l/ is marked in spelling as 'o' or 'u', thus *milk* is *miok* or *miuk*.

Przedlacka's research only corroborated what linguists had been claiming for some time. Though notably missing in Jones's description of RP (1963), vocalised /l/ is commented upon in Barber (1964: 48), who claims that 'there are slight signs that this tendency is beginning to affect educated speech, even speakers of R.P. sometimes say [ˈʃæu wiː] for *shall we*'. Wells restricts the presence of this feature in RP to a few environments, particularly when /l/ is preceded by a labial, e.g. *table* [teɪbʊ] (1982: 295). Nevertheless, he later concedes that this statement of his 'is now in need of revision' (1994: 3.3). Similarly, Mair (2006: 167) insists that the feature is on the increase and, in spite of some stigma attached to it, 'is spreading into educated usage'. Overall, the phenomenon does not seem to be

more than a century old as it was first mentioned and described in some detail by Jones in 1909 (Wells 1982: 259).

Despite the frequently repeated assertion that it originated in London (and therefore it spreads as a result of the capital's prominence), the change seems to be structural in its character, as is discussed in 2.7.2.1. Be that as it may, there are more and more regions in which vocalised /l/ has been spotted (cf. Foulkes and Docherty 1999) and Wells's (1982: 259) prediction that 'it seems likely that it will become entirely standard in English over the course of the next century' might be accurate. If /l/-vocalisation becomes a standard feature in the future, its impact will not be dissimilar to the one that the loss of rhoticity had (see below), for new diphthongs will thus emerge in the RP inventory, namely [ɪʊ] as in *silk* and [ɛʊ] as in *help*.

/r/-dropping

This label refers to a linguistic process which is now firmly established and without any variability in today's Received Pronunciation. Wells (1982: 218) defines the phenomenon as the elimination of 'historical /r/ except in the environment of a following vowel. This came about in the eighteenth century, when /r/ disappeared before a consonant or in absolute final position'. The presence or absence of /r/ in postvocalic positions is one the crucial distinguishing features of English accents; among others it draws a dividing line between the prestige accents in Britain and America. Uncontentious as it now might be, it is well worth looking into from the historical point of view, since it not only exemplifies in a number of ways the tenets of prescriptivism but also reveals how short-lived prescriptive stances might be. Bailey puts it the following way: 'the history of noninitial *r* in the nineteenth century encapsulates some of the dynamism of sound change characteristic of the period' (1996: 109). Further, it is one of the few linguistic changes that sociolinguists might observe in their entirety; thus it is a change well documented by a wealth of evidence.

Wells is right in pinpointing the main wave of the change in question into the eighteenth century; though Beal (2004a: 154) finds some earlier evidence. Walker's *Dictionary* is most assuredly rhotic but the change had already been under way since Walker remarks that 'it is only a jar, and not a definite and distinct articulation like the other consonants' (1791: 153). Elsewhere, he makes the distinction between the word-initial plus intervocalic /r/ in *red* and *marry* and postvocalic /r/ in *card*. He notes that '[i]n England, and particularly in London, the r in *bard*, *card*, *regard*, is pronounced so much in the throat, as to be little more than the middle or Italian a lengthened into *baad*, *caad*, *regaad*' (1791: 50).

Walker's attitude to /r/-dropping is easily explicable in terms of the seemingly 'missing' letter that the change brought about. Orthography had taken a strong hold of pronunciation preferences at that time. Nothing much was to change for the most part of the nineteenth century. For example, Smart's *The Practice of Elocution* (1842) still maintains that well-educated Londoners were strictly rhotic (qtd. in MacMahon 1998: 474).

Characteristically, those who 'dropped' their /r/s were considered vulgar (often accused of being Cockneys) and uneducated whereas /r/-full pronunciation was considered to be refined and elegant. In this respect, the link between spelling and pronunciation was, once again (as has been demonstrated in the case of /h/), employed as a reliable test of literacy, intelligence and social status.

In 1855 *Poor Letter R, Its Use and Abuse* was published. It was a direct follow-up to *Poor Letter H*, which had been published a year before. Both letters are anthropomorphised in these pamphlets; in the one concerning /r/, the 'poor letter' voices an emotional complaint:

> [l]et me appeal to your good nature and fellow-feeling, under the insults and indignities to which I am continually exposed [...] In public assemblies and in private societies, I am frequently wounded by the ignorance of my character and claims so commonly betrayed. (Poor Letter R 1855: 14–15, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 99)

A number of new homophones emerged as a result of /r/-less pronunciations. These were nonetheless looked down on as 'provincial' rhymes. Thomas Hood the younger advises aspiring poets to 'examine [their] rhymes carefully' and warns [them] that such rhymes as ' "morn" and "dawn", "fought" and "sort" are atrocities [that] are fatal to the success of verse. They stamp it with vulgarity, as surely as the dropping of "h" stamps a speaker' (1868: 44, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 100). Later, John Keats was admonished for his 'Cockney' rhymes *thorns/fawns*, as has been shown in 1.5.2.

The year 1880 is a notable one because it provides two strikingly contrastive pieces of evidence. Firstly, the highly prescriptive manual *Don't: a Manual of Mistakes* urges its readers not to 'drop the sound of *r* where it belongs, as *ahm* for *arm*, *wahm* for *warm*, *hoss* for *horse*, *govahment* for *government*. The omission of *r* in these and similar words – usually when it falls after a vowel – is very common' (1880, qtd. in Bailey 1996: 107). However, Sweet writes a letter to a Norwegian linguist called Johan Storm, in which he says: 'I make no r-glide in liberty, & judging from the incapacity of Englishmen in general to do so, I doubt whether any of them do so, except provincials' (Sweet to Storm, 23rd Feb. 1880, qtd. in MacMahon 1998: 475). One could hardly find more differing views on the issue of rhoticity: what was totally unacceptable for the writers of the manual was the norm for the linguist. As Beal (2004a: 155) observes, 'rhoticity by this stage was

associated with both the upper classes and with "provincials", but, crucially, the non-rhotic variety was used by those who were at this time defining Received Pronunciation'. Jones was an /r/-less speakers and his description of the accent was thus a non-rhotic one as well.

This sound change can be viewed as an example of a linguistic 'change from below' (i.e. from below the level of conscious awareness, cf. Labov2001: 279). Within little more than a century, the notions of prestige surrounding this phoneme completely reversed, and, 'despite attempts to manipulate pronunciation through schooling and books of linguistic etiquette, change took place, so that *r*-less speech became the norm' (Bailey 1996: 109).

Structurally, the impact of the change was immense because it established four new diphthongs in what would later become known as RP: /ɪə, ɛə, ɔə, ʊə/. Interestingly, the phonemic status of the latter three has come under intense academic scrutiny and in Upton's transcription model (2001) /ɛə/ and /ɔə/ do not appear at all, while /ʊə/, barring words whose currency is not wide, appears to be losing its status, too.

linking and intrusive /r/

The two phenomena are closely linked to one another and are therefore discussed together.

Linking /r/ is a 'retained historical post-vocalic word-final /r/ occurring before a vowel in the following word, [it is] a normal feature of Received Pronunciation' (Upton 2008: 249). In Table 1 it is given as lettER. The word *poor* is pronounced as [pɔː] if followed by a consonant or a pause. However, the phrase *the poor of today* is realised as [ðə ˈpɔː rəv təˈdeɪ]. Although some conservative RP speakers may try to avoid even this /r/, it usually does not attract any adverse comments owing to the fact that it is supported by orthography: the /r/ is 'there' and though it is silent most of the time, it may become sounded to enable liaison between two vowels.

By way of analogy, English speakers insert /r/ to avoid a hiatus in phrases like *law and order* [ˈlɔː rən ˈɔːdə], where it does not accord with the spelling. Likewise, /r/ is inserted word-medially; thus *drawing* is often [drɔːrɪŋ]. Intrusive /r/ is used after /ɑː/, /ɔː/, and, in particular, /ə/ (Upton 2008: 249). We have seen how influential spelling has been in the matters of orthoepy, and it is thus little surprising that this /r/, generally referred to as intrusive /r/, has been proscribed by those who consider themselves to be the guardians of 'proper' pronunciation.

The first to mention the feature is Sheridan, who observes that in Cockney proper names like *Belinda* are often pronounced with a word-final /r/ (1762: 34, qtd. in Beal 2004a: 156). Mugglestone (1995: 156–157) lists a number of negative

reactions to /r/ being inserted in between two vowels. One that is worth an explicit mention here is Ellis, who takes up an uncharacteristically prescriptive stance: he considers the sound 'the very height of vulgarity' (1881: 317, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 157) and he also asserts that 'illiterate speakers—those who either do not know how to spell, or ignore the rules of spelling in their speech—usually interpose an (r) between any vowel, as (a, A, ɑ) and a subsequent vowel' (1869: 201, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 157).

In contrast, Sweet observes rather more carefully the linguistic realities of his time: 'I know as a fact that most educated speakers of Southern English insert an *r* in *idea(r) of*, *India(r) office*, etc. in rapid speech, and I know that this habit, far from dying out, is spreading to the Midlands; and yet they all obstinately deny it' (1890: viii).

Admittedly, the phenomenon of intrusive /r/ was absent from Jones's description of RP. Its increasing frequency in the speech of the educated could not have been ignored for long though and Barber (1964: 60) notices that 'it is regularly used by B.B.C. announcers, for example, after words like *India* and *Ghana'*. Later, intrusive /r/ becomes an unquestionable RP sound, avoided only by very careful adoptive-RP speakers who 'not being native RP speakers, self-consciously attempt the accent and in consequence produce a mannered and somewhat artificial variety' (Upton 2003: xiii).

Wells (1994: 3.4) claims that intrusive /r/ 'is very prevalent in RP, [which] is evident to any objective observer'. He also makes an interesting observation concerning its prominent position in Cockney, even though it does not necessarily mean that its presence in today's RP can be explained away as direct influence of popular London speech. The phenomenon is at least two hundred years old, as it has been mentioned above. Trudgill even suggests that intrusive /r/ should be taught to advanced learners of English (2002: 179). While Upton's model has been restricted to the native market only, non-native learners of English can come across intrusive /r/ in Wells's *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* (cf. 7.2), albeit in word-internal positions only.

In spite of all the evidence, the campaign against intrusive /r/ has not finished yet. Apparently, 'some radio broadcasters, anxious to avoid irate letters from listeners, [...] mark up their scripts in advance to identify any problem cases' (Crystal 2005: 468). Burchfield insists that '[i]t is important not to insert an intrusive /r/ between *law* and *and*. Avoid the same fault in other cases: Say *drawing* not *draw-ring*, *idea of*, not *idea-r-of*, *law abiding*, not *law-r-abiding*.' (1996: 444). In sum, 'phonetic realities never persuade those who believe in the power of a shibboleth' Crystal (2005: 468).

labiodental /r/

It is typically realised as a labiodental approximant [ʋ]; in semi-phonetic spelling /w/ is used to indicate the change from the more usual post-alveolar approximant. If present, the phonemic distinction between pairs such as *ring* and *wing* is lost. Essentially, this sound is present in early child language, and if maintained into one's adulthood, it may be viewed as a speech defect. However, this realisation of /r/ seems to be on the increase (Foulkes and Docherty 2000) and it is now used by so many people that a speech defect theory is out of the question.

Cruttenden claims that '[p]ronunciations of this sort were a fashionable affectation in the nineteenth and early twentieth century; and can still be heard as such from some elderly people educated at major public schools' (2008: 221). This has, however, little to do with a seemingly more recent trend which has seen [ʋ] emerge in a number of working-class accents across England. First and foremost, it is strongly associated with London, but the feature has also been reported in, for instance, Derby and Newcastle upon Tyne (Foulkes and Docherty 2000).

Foulkes and Docherty's research discovered 'evidence pointing to the gradual emergence of [ʋ] as a perceived accent feature over the last thirty years or so' (2000: 37). Furthermore, they attribute the presence of [ʋ] in other towns and cities in England to the linguistic process of 'dialect levelling' (cf. Williams and Kerswill 1999), with London being the dominant epicentre exerting profound influence on other regions.

This feature's history appears to be relatively long: in 1844 it says in H. Christmas's edition of *Anecdotes of the English Language* that 'people unable to pronounce *r* invariably substitute a *w*' (1844: 66, qtd. in Jespersen 1909: 354). Jespersen himself observes that 'a great many Southerners habitually round all their [r]s' (1909: 354). In addition, Beal (2007: 42) testifies the presence of labiodental /r/ in nineteenth-century Cockney by means of an anecdotal dialogue from a cheap self-help manual called *Enquire Within upon Everything* (1878), in which expressions like *the Infantwy* or *pwawns* appear. All this evidence indicates that the presence of [ʋ] is not of a recent date.

As far as the occurrence of [ʋ] in the North of England is concerned, it might also be rather more complex than it may initially seem. Foulkes and Docherty (2000) make a connection between labiodental /r/ in London English and Yiddish immigrants in the capital, who would lip-round their uvular [ʁ]. Through dialect contact, they claim, [ʋ] rose to prominence. Incidentally, a very similar uvular [ʁ] is characteristic of Tyneside speech; it is generally known as the 'Northumbrian burr' (cf. Beal 2008b: 140). This 'burr', now a rather outdated feature of rural dialects in Northumbria, is/was also heavily lip-rounded. Kenrick, an

eighteenth-century observer, informs us that 'in northern parts of England, particularly in and about Newcastle, we find the *r* deprived of its tremulating sound, and very awkwardly pronounced somewhat like a *w* or *oau* (1773: 31, qtd. in Beal 2007: 43)'. Beal then goes on to offer the same explanation as Foulkes and Docherty do, with the crucial difference that the sound change is internal (not influenced by the popular London accent): 'as the uvular element [of the Northumbrian burr] is lost, the lip-rounding is retained by some speakers in the north-east' (Beal 2007: 43).

yod-dropping

As has been shown in 3.2.1.15 and 3.2.1.24, words in GOOSE and CURE sets contain a mononphthongal [uː] and a diphthongal vowel [uə] respectively. Some of them retain the yod [j], which developed from an earlier /iu/ (e.g. *boom* and *mute* in the GOOSE set, and *poor* and *pure* in the CURE one). Formerly, the yod-full realisation used to be much more common. Wells (1982) distinguishes two stages of yod-dropping.

'Early Yod Dropping' (Wells 1982: 206–7) applied in general '(i) after palatals (including palato-alveolars), as in *chute*, *chew*, *juice*, *yew*; (ii) after /r/, as in *rude*, *crew*, *shrew*, *grew;* and (iii) after consonant plus /l/, as in *blue*, *flue*, *flew*, *glue'*. Beal (1999) investigates the occurrence of /juː/ and /uː/ after /r/ in four pronouncing dictionaries in the 18th century. The conclusion she arrives at is that the presence of /juː/ increases as one moves away from the capital. This concurs with sociolinguistic research today which confirms yod-dropping in London English even in clearly non-RP environments such as tune [tuːn] or news [nuːz] (Altendorf and Watt 2008: 213).

The examples from London English above fall into what Wells labels as 'Later Yod Dropping', which made /j/ disappear in the following environments: after /t/ *tune*, *student*, *attitude;* /d/ *duke*, *reduce*, *during;* /n/ *new*, *numerous*, *avenue;* /θ/ *enthusiasm*, *Thule;* /s/ *suit*, *assume*, *pseudonym;* /z/ *presume*, *resume;* /l/ *lewd*, *allude*, *solution* (Wells 1982: 247). Though yod-dropping is present in all these environments in several English accents (most notably Cockney and East Anglia), its occurrence in RP is rather limited. Upton (2008: 250) remarks that only after /s/ and /l/ is it more common in modern RP to drop the yod. The yod is still found in traditional RP. There is thus variability among RP speakers in words such as suit ([suːt] and [sjuːt]) and lute ([luːt] and [ljuːt], cf. 6.2).

Historically, there seems to have always been a great deal of variability: for instance, Walker has /uː/ for *brute* and *intrude* whilst he insists on /juː/ in *frugal* and *peruse*. These are examples of 'early yod dropping'. Walker is highly critical, though, of instances of 'later yod dropping', of which he says that '[t]here

is a corrupt pronunciation of it like *oo* chiefly in London, where we sometimes hear dew and new pronounced as if written *doo* and *noo*' (1791: 32). [su:t] for *suit* would therefore have been 'vulgar' for Walker; in fact, it only appears as a less common alternative (to the preferred form [sju:t]) in Jones's *Pronouncing Dictionary* in 1937. A few decades later Barber maintains that

> [i]n words where both forms are heard, the forms with u: are gaining ground at the expense of those with ju: [...] After s, the ju: is still common, but u: is now respectable: suit is frequently pronounced su:t, and from B.B.C. announcers I have heard assume and consume as əˈsu:m and kənˈsu:m. (1964: 44)

These days, the situation after /s/ has reversed in comparison with the one described by Jones in the first half of the twentieth century: [su:t] seems to be the dominant variant with [sju:t] being given as the less common alternative (cf. 6.2).

yod-coalescence

Instead of being dropped, the yod can sometimes coalesce with the preceding consonant. This happens in particular when the yod is preceded by alveolar plosives and fricatives: *tube*, *dune*, *issue*, and *produce* are then realised as palatalised [tʃu:b], [dʒu:n], [ɪʃu:], and [ˈprɒdʒu:s] respectively. The phenomenon often occurs across word boundaries, for instance *this year* and *don't you* are [ðɪʃɪə] and [dəʊntʃu].

Historically, yod-coalescence displays considerable variability. While in the 17th century Cooper (1687) condemns *shugar* as 'barbarous speaking' (qtd. in Beal 2004a: 146), Walker more than a century later has /ˈʃʊgʌr/. Sheridan, Walker's contemporary, was surprisingly tolerant towards this feature and has /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ not only in words like *tune*, *sure*, *duke*, but, curiously, also in words where it does not occur even today: Walker accuses Sheridan of making such mistakes as pronouncing '*suicide*, *presume*, *resume*, &c. as if written *shoo-icide*, *pre-zhoom*, *re-zhoom*' (Walker 1791: 54). Beal goes on to argue that this anomaly of Sheridan's might be accounted for as a trace of his Irish origin (2004a: 147).

In the first half of the 20th century Jones in his description of RP maintains that *tune* is /tju:n/ (1937). Mair (2006: 168) insists that in Received Pronunciation '[f]rom mid-century [i.e. the twentieth century] yod-coalescence established itself before unaccented vowels (as in *perpetual* or *graduate*), and from there it started spreading to stressed syllables (*endure*, *attitude*) and monosyllables (*tune*) from the late twentieth century'. It has been shown that the history of this feature is significantly longer (even in the prestige accent itself), but it generally accords with Ramsaran's assertion that in RP 'the noun *produce* may be heard as [ˈprɒdʒu:s],

whilst the verb *produce* [prəˈdjuːs] far less often exhibits coalescence' (1990: 188). Similarly, Upton (2008: 50) finds traditional RP speakers reluctant to coalesce 'word initially and before stress vowels (*tune*, *reduce*)'. Furthermore, lower-level lexical items seem to show resistance to being coalesced as well, thus 'pendulate is likely to be [ˈpɛndjuleɪt] as well as [ˈpɛndʒuleɪt]' (Upton 2008: 50).

whale/wale merger

Since the loss of distinction between *whale* and *wale* is in 'disharmony' with the spelling, it does not come as a surprise that it caused a great deal of controversy in the past.

Wells (1982: 228) observes that the merger 'seems to have started in the south of England in the Middle English period [...] but for a long time it remained a vulgarism; educated speech retained /hw/. The plain [w] pronunciation became current in educated speech in the course of the eighteenth century, and was usual by 1800'. This is corroborated by Dobson, who comes to the conclusion that /ʍ/ has been rather unusual in mainstream RP for two centuries (1957: §414).

In 1.4.2we have seen that for Walker /hw/ was the norm mainly because he regarded homophonous *while* and *wile* as instances of /h/-dropping. He condemns such pronunciations noting that

> [t]his letter [i.e. /h/] is often sunk after *w*, particularly in the capital, where we do not find the least distinction between *while* and *wile*, *whet* and *wet*, *where* and *wear*. Trifling as this difference may appear at first sight, it tends greatly to weaken and impoverish the pronunciation, as well as sometimes to confound words of a very different meaning. [...] in the pronunciation of all words, beginning with *wh*, we ought to breathe forcibly before we pronounce the *w;* [...] and we shall avoid that feeble, cockney pronunciation, which is so disagreeable to a correct ear. (1791: 46)

However, in the course of the nineteenth century /w/ became the norm. Despite some perturbed voices, e.g. 'W for Hw is an especial disgrace of Southern England' (Newman 1878, qtd. in Crystal 2005: 466), the prevalent opinion, in particular among those interested in linguistic realities rather than in notions of 'beauty' and 'correctness', was in favour of the merger. Ellis, talking of educated people, stresses that 'in London and in the South of England (wh) is seldom pronounced' and he adds that the assumptions that 'to write *wot* for *what* is thought to indicate a bad vulgar pronunciation' are erroneous. (1869: 188, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995: 227). Likewise, Sweet remarks that /hw/ is 'an artificial sound for the natural /w/ of South English' (1877: 112, qtd. in MacMahon 1998: 468).

In the twentieth century Jones (1917) opts for /w/ in his transcription, giving /hw/ as an alternative. Later, Barber claims that 'the general tendency is for hw to die out and be replaced by w; indeed, hw probably persists only because of the spelling, and of the belief in some schools that hw is a more refined pronunciation than w.' (1964: 56).

For Upton the invariable variant in RP is /w/ and commenting upon /hw/ he stresses the 'somewhat rarified and self-conscious status now attaching to the feature' (2008: 250). The same opinion is held by Wells (1982: 229), who admits that '/hw/ is nowadays in England found principally among the speech-conscious and in adoptive RP'.

4.2.3 Word stress

While in other languages the stress pattern is fixed (e.g. Czech: the first syllable, French: the last syllable, Polish: the penultimate syllable), in the English language it is free; potentially any syllable may be the one under stress. The rules governing the position of word stress in English are, however, extremely complex and far beyond the scope of this publication. This section thus only briefly comments on two rather recent phenomena connected with the prestige accent.

In Old English a word stress typically fell on the root syllable but later borrowings from Old French and then Latin and Greek in the Renaissance period radically changed the previously uniform pattern. Since then both backward and forward shifts have been frequent in English. An example from Crystal (2005: 466) is the word *balcony:* before 1800 the word was categorically stressed on the second syllable (betraying its French origin), then between 1800 and 1850 sources show considerable variability, and, eventually, since 1850 the norm has been to stress the first syllable.

Such changes cannot have been ignored by advocates of strict prescriptivism. In the nineteenth century there is a piece of evidence from an 1855 text called *Recollections of the Table-talk of Samuel Rogers*, in which Rogers informs the readers that '[t]he now fashionable pronunciation of several words is to me at least very offensive: *cóntemplate* – is bad enough; but *bálcony* makes me sick' (qtd. in Crystal 2005: 466). The complaint tradition surrounding word stress shifts has survived till the present day though. Howard (1984: 16) gives several examples of angry reactions to such shifts and he draws the conclusion that '[n]othing excites [readers] to write to *The Times*, proclaiming that civilization as we know it is coming to an end, more than the tendency of broadcasters to shift their accents forwards and backwards'.

As far as word stress shifts are concerned, Bauer (1994) identifies two main tendencies operating in English today (and, since they are innovations, there has been considerable resistance to them in RP).

The first and the most important one (particularly from the sociolinguistic point of view) is the 'antepenultimate syllable stress shift'. A number of three-or-more-syllable English words have undergone this change, though in some words the shift has not been completed yet as there are still numerous speakers who insist on the older forms. Bauer (1994: 100) lists about twenty such words; it suffices to give a few examples here (the older variant comes first in each pair): *ˈapplicable/apˈplicable; conˈtemplate/ˈcontemplate; ˈdespicable/desˈpicable; irˈrevocable/irreˈvocable; premaˈture/ˈpremature*. This is a very dominant tendency, as is corroborated by Wells (1999).

The second change involves the tendency 'for the base in a morphologically complex word to remain transparent—more easily recognizable' (Bauer 1994: 101). Sometimes this tendency works along with the antepenultimate word stress shift (e.g. the base form *preˈfer* gives modern *preˈferable* rather than the outdated *ˈpreferable*), but it often goes against it (e.g. the base form *conˈverse* giving *conˈversant* rather than *ˈconversant*, or the base form *ˈillustrate* giving *ˈillustrative* rather than *ilˈlustrative*).

In the case of *kilometre*, we can actually observe the two tendencies in direct opposition. Only time will tell whether the antepenultimate stress prevails (thus establishing *kiˈlometre* [kɪˈlɒmətə] as the norm) or whether it will be the base transparency tendency (enabling *ˈkilometre* [ˈkɪləmiːtə] to survive in the English language).

5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The present chapter offers detailed information about the research into the current status of RP that was conducted in Britain and the Czech Republic in 2014–2016.

5.1 Samples

Almost all the samples used in the research were made by the author between 2009 and 2013 using an ordinary mp3 player with a built-in microphone. The three exceptions are Samples 8 and 18 (taken from Collins and Mees 2003: 4) and Sample 12 (taken from Hughes et al. 2005: 54–5).

For reasons of space, samples are sometimes abbreviated to S, especially in the tables that present the data. For example, Sample 4 is thus S4.

The accents vary from slightly regional to traditional RP. I did not include any strongly regional voices as these were easily identified as non-RP in a number of features by both sets of respondents (i.e. English and Czech, see 4.2) in Jezek (2009). The speakers cover the whole of England: there are speakers from the South of England, the East and West Midlands area as well as the North of England (for more detailed information see Appendix 1).

As regards age, the speakers form a rather homogenous group: all the samples made by the author include speakers aged 25–40. Sample 12 (taken from Hughes et al. 2005: 54–5) is presumably exceptional as the speaker seems to be well over 40 years of age. I have decided not to include older speakers since older voices tend to be labelled more conservative and since my respondents are mostly of the same age (i.e. about 25–40 years of age).

Further, I have recorded long stretches of speech (on average they are about 8 to 11 minutes long) with the aim of making my speakers more relaxed and thereby producing more authentic accents; it is one of the often employed ways of overcoming the observer's paradox: 'the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation'(Labov 1972: 209).

I do not, however, use the whole samples. I have cut out any 'irrelevant' parts (those which do not feature the pre-selected variables, see 5.3). Thus, in the end, the survey includes a high number of short samples. This procedure has been chosen in order to make the analysis much friendlier as far as respondents are concerned: the total time spent solely listening to the samples is only a little more than 8 minutes. The cuts are, I believe, hardly noticeable, as they do not occur in the middle of words and a great deal of attention has been paid to avoid making any illogical connections in terms of the content. For the very idea of a higher number of shorter samples (rather than vice versa) I feel deeply indebted to Zajac (2015).

While the total number of samples is 18, the total number of speakers is 12. Most speakers are represented by just one sample while none has more than three samples.

I have deliberately left out almost all the parts in which speakers talk about their jobs, education, family background and so on to minimise the impact of such pieces of information on my respondents. Samples discussed in the present publication are available in open access mode in the Digital Library of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, at the following link: https://digilib.phil.muni.cz.

5.2 Respondents

The respondents can be divided into two main groups, namely those from the Czech Republic and those from England. Therefore, throughout the thesis the two groups are referred to as CZ and EN respondents.

Most of them are doctoral students of English linguistics with a solid knowledge of English phonetics and phonology. The others have already become Ph.D. holders. In other words, all the respondents are English language professionals who are well acquainted with the notion of Received Pronunciation.

This has turned out to be a blessing, for most of my respondents have taken part in surveys like this before and they have also often had direct experience with it as researchers themselves. As a result, their responses have typically been abundant in both quality and quantity and they have provided me with a wealth of data to deal with.

As far as EN respondents are concerned, I have had to apply the rule of allowing only native speakers of English in my research. Thus I had to eliminate several respondents whose first language was not English.

Also, the EN respondents group was further divided into Southern (hereinafter 'S EN') and Northern (hereinafter 'N EN') speakers of English. To assign the right group to the given speaker, their personal data from the questionnaire (5.4.1) has been used. In one case I have had to elicit more information about a respondent in the East Midlands area; since his preferred variants were short BATH and raised STRUT, he ended up in the Northern group.

In the tables below, respondents are referred to as R plus the appropriate number, thus Respondent 1 is R1.

5.3 Selecting variables

A crucial part in any sociolinguistic research is selecting the right set of variables. A succinct definition of a sociolinguistic variable can be found in Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 50): '[it is] a linguistic unit with two or more variants involved in covariation with other social and/or linguistic variables'. The invention of the concept of a sociolinguistic variable must, however, be credited to Labov (1966: 32), where more criteria are given to illustrate an ideal sociolinguistic variable, which should be:

— high in frequency
— to a certain extent immune from conscious suppression
— an integral part of larger structures
— easily quantified on a linear scale

The variables I decided to include in my research are

— short BATH
— lowered TRAP
— FOOT/GOOSE fronting
— the glottal stop
— intrusive /r/

The first two come from a simple comparison of the transcription models of vowels preferred by Wells (1982) and Upton (2008); cf. Table 1. Admittedly, there are more differences between the two models; the others were omitted because they did not prove salient enough in my MA research. This can be explained as an evident lack of social meaning, which seems to reduce them to mere transcriptional preferences. The ones left out include lowered DRESS, raised NURSE, lowered and backed PRICE, and monophthongal SQAURE.

The third variable seems to be relatively recent and has not attracted a lot of academic attention (see 4.2.1.15). It is not part of any existing transcription model of RP.

The remaining two are essentially consonantal and have long been, in certain phonetic environments, considered to be part of the (Near) RP repertoire (cf. 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.5).

By far the highest number of tokens belongs to the glottal stop (107), followed by lowered TRAP (47), short BATH (9), intrusive /r/ (6), and FOOT/GOOSE fronting (5). There are two reasons for such disproportionate numbers of tokens.

Firstly, the glottal stop needs many more tokens due to the various phonetic environments in which it can appear. I have deliberately set out to cover all the environments found in Wells (1982: 260 or p. 107 here). The only missing one is the intervocalic environment (e.g. glottalised /t/ in *water* or *butter*), which still falls firmly within the realm of urban working-class accents (cf. Cruttenden 2014: 184).

Secondly, lowered TRAP is a much more frequent phenomenon than intrusive /r/, for example. Therefore, the numbers actually seem to reflect the natural distributional frequency of the features.

Moreover, such a high number of tokens means that a particular variable is uttered by a variety of speakers: male as well as female and northern as well as southern. Respondents therefore do not react to a particular person and their accent; if they do not consider the glottal stop to be an RP sound, for instance, they state that for several speakers.

Also, utmost care was taken to ensure that each sample contains at least two variables. Thus, a respondent keen on finding 'that one mistake' might accept a variant they would otherwise (in isolation) mark as non-RP. This happened when I was part of a class at Leeds University a decade ago and we were asked to evaluate several accents on the basis of RP. My classmates (most of whom were northerners) marked down raised STRUT without the slightest hesitation but short BATH went almost completely unnoticed and they happily accepted it as an RP sound. However, if a recording included short BATH only (STRUT was RP [ʌ]), the majority of them noticed it.

5.4 The Website

The survey with an accompanying personal information questionnaire for respondents was placed at a fee-paying server for a limited period of time. First, respondents needed to answer several questions about themselves and their background. Then they could proceed to listen and to evaluate the samples. Finally, they were given some contact information so that they could get in touch with the author of the survey.

5.4.1 Personal Information Page

Before respondents entered the survey page itself, they were asked to supply several items of information. Some of them were optional (name and email address). These were included purely for the purpose of subsequent reference, but were only given as optional since people (particularly in England) tend to be rather sensitive about their personal data and for some it might be so off-putting that they decide not to take part in the survey at all. Consequently, many times these two pieces of information are missing and the respondents prefer to remain anonymous.

Other pieces of information, however, were far from referential as they might prove to be sociolinguistically relevant. Regional and social background details are of particular relevance as far as EN respondents are concerned, whilst age and gender apply to both CZ and EN sets of respondents. Given the target respondents (see 5.2), age is expected to be more or less the same (i.e. the same generation).

The introductory page also contains a question in which respondents describe their own accent. Although this question is particularly relevant insofar as it influences EN respondents and their perception of the prestige accent, it might also be noteworthy when it comes to CZ respondents and their pronunciation preferences. Luckily for my research, only 10% of CZ respondents stated that their preferred accent was American English. These have been eliminated from the survey.

5.4.2 Samples and Accompanying Questions

Since there are more samples by one particular speaker, I made sure these samples do not follow one another but are instead separated by a number of samples produced by other speakers. The samples can be paused and listened to as many times as one wishes. Each sample is then accompanied by a set of questions.

I tried to limit the total number of questions, being fully aware that there are no fewer than 18 samples. In the end, there are four questions for native speakers, whilst their Czech counterparts are asked to answer five questions. Czech respondents thus answer as many as 90 questions, which is, to my mind, just about bearable and not too off-putting.

5.4.2.1 Question 1: What would you label this accent:

The first question in my research is a check-box question with a number of options to tick. My respondents were offered four options to choose from:

— RP
— Near-RP
— Non-RP
— Other

Naturally, I still consider RP, like any other accent, a 'more-or-less' phenomenon. As a consequence, it is generally much more fitting to ask to what extent a certain accent corresponds with the RP model, rather than to ask whether an accent is RP or not (i.e. to treat RP as an 'either/or' phenomenon).

In the present research, though, I only offer the four aforementioned options due to the fact that the samples are extremely short and contain only certain variables, most of which are pre-selected. It seems very difficult to assess the voices in a scale-like manner given the circumstances.

Although it might seem that the first three options (RP, Near-RP, and Non-RP) are exhaustive, the fourth one (other) was added, and it was used several times when respondents regarded the speaker not to be a native speaker of English at all.

5.4.2.2 Question 2: If the previous answer was Near-RP/ Non-RP, please indicate which features influenced your judgement:

This write-in question is included with the aim of eliciting more information about features that might potentially not fall within the range of RP. The question is open (it does not ask about certain variables directly, e.g. 'What is your view of the first vowel in *actually*?') on purpose. It was my intention not to put any ideas into my respondents' minds and direct their attention in any way. Moreover, questions about particular features would result in the survey being many times longer. Such a thing would without doubt put many potential respondents off. Also, if I had asked about particular features, I could possibly miss out on some other features that might catch respondents' ears.

5.4.2.3 Question 3: Why do you consider the features mentioned above (question 2) not to fall within RP?

This write-in question is a follow-up to question 2; it is included to induce respondents to provide more sociolinguistic information about the features they do not consider RP (especially the reasons why they cannot be accepted in the prestige accent).

What respondents react to combined with their explanations and justifications should enable a comparison between Czech and English respondents as to what constitutes the criteria of RP-ness. In other words, it should be revealed how RP is mentally constructed in their minds.

Admittedly, this question was often left blank. However, it is important that the survey contains this question since respondents often included the relevant information elsewhere (typically in their responses to Questions 2 and 5).

5.4.2.4 Question 4: Non-native speakers only: How intelligible do you find this speaker:

This check-box question is only aimed at non-native speakers, which is made clear by putting this important piece of information at the very beginning of the question.

When it comes to judging native accents, intelligibility is by far the most important criterion for non-natives learners of English (Ježek 2009: 103). In other words, for foreigners the degree of RP-ness is linked to a great extent with their ability to understand the native speaker. Since this criterion plays such an important role, this question has its firm place in my research again.

As in Question 1, I rejected a numerical scale in favour of a set of options, from which respondents were asked to choose one. The four options offered are:

— easily intelligible
— intelligible with minor difficulties
— not easily intelligible
— hardly intelligible at all

Furthermore, at the bottom there is a write-in box for respondents to indicate any difficulties they may have had understanding the speaker.

Since there are no strongly regional speakers in my survey, I did not think it necessary to include the negative end of the scale (not intelligible at all).

5.4.2.5 Question 5: Would you like to make any (more) comments?

This question was initially omitted from my research and it was only added later after the pilot study had been conducted. That is why it is given number 5, although it would have been more logical to assign it number 4 and to place the intelligibility question at the bottom. Unfortunately, this was not possible due to some technical reasons.

This question is designed to elicit more information about the samples, mainly information that is not linked with any particular variable.

6 RESEARCH RESULTS: QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSES

As has been stated above (5.2), it turned out to be a very lucky thing to focus the research on English language professionals since their familiarity with this type of research has provided me with a sufficient amount of data.

I have selected two groups of respondents with 20 people in each group. Czech (CZ) respondents form one group, English (EN) respondents form the other one, which can be further divided into two subgroups, namely Southern English (S EN) and Northern English (N EN). Individual scores for S EN and N EN are only given where the scores are markedly different and thus show some variation. Regional affiliation turns out to play a crucial role in the native speakers' assessment at times. This, on the other hand, cannot be said of gender, another variable that often plays an important sociolinguistic role. I have chosen an equal number of men and women in all groups (CZ, S EN, N EN). This research, however, shows very little gender-based variation.

The respondents are all aged 25–40 (i.e. one generation), with one exception among CZ respondents. Age is therefore sociolinguistically insignificant either.

A number of sample answer sheets can be found in Appendix 2 to illustrate what kind and amount of data has been received (no change has been made to the sheets so they are presented including the grammatical/spelling mistakes/typos).

Since there are several speakers with more than one sample and since the samples are rather too short to speak about speakers and their accents, I now proceed in my data analysis sample by sample first. Each sample is transcribed and the most salient features are highlighted before the results for the given sample are presented. The transcriptions have been checked by two native speakers (English language teachers) to ensure that they are not in any way biased or imperfect.

Question 1 in the survey is easily quantifiable if numbers are assigned to each response offered. Thus 'RP' scores two points, 'Near-RP' one point, and 'Non-RP' or 'Other' scores zero. This is a very common way of quantifying sociolinguistic data; a thorough description of the method is found in Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 50–3). If a given sample is labelled as RP by all respondents, the total score is 2. If, on the other hand, all respondents consider it to be Non-RP, the score is 0.

The same method has been applied to Question 4: 'easily intelligible'– 2 points, 'intelligible with minor difficulties' – 1 points, 'not easily intelligible' – 0 points. Since there was no 'hardly intelligible at all' answer in the survey, it has been decided to delete this option from the analysis. It brings significant benefit because it means that the maximum in Question 4 is 2, thereby making it readily comparable with Question 1 (the degree of RP-ness).

6.1 Samples: transcripts, analyses and selected research phenomena

Sample 1

The market is international, ehm, and the American jobs come up first. I ended up staying, eh, so I've been there for quite a long time now, so it's quite funny coming back here and feeling a bit like a foreigner.

ðə ˈmɑːkəʔ ɪz ɪntəˈnaʃn̩əl | əm ænd ðiː əˈmɛrɪkən ˈdʒobz kʌm ˈʌpˈfɜːst ʌɪ ˈɛndɪd ˈʌp ˈsteɪɪŋ | ə səʊ ʌv ˈbin ðɛː fə ˈkwʌɪt əˈlɒŋ tʌɪm naʊ səʊ | ɪts kwʌɪʔ ˈfʌni ˈkʌmɪŋ bæk hiər ən ˈfiːlɪŋ ə bɪʔ lʌɪk ə ˈfɒrənə |

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *international*
— glottal stop: *market is* (across word boundaries in an intervocalic position); *quite funny* (across word boundaries preceding a fricative), *bit like* (across word boundaries preceding an approximant)

Other interesting features include happY tensing (*funny*) and a rather long and not lowered vowel in *and*.

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.3
EN respondents: 1.5

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.85

Table 2. Sample 1: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S1, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality		+			+			+					+		-					
Soc. Status			+				+			+						+				
Education					+				+					+						
Poshness			+				+											+		
Speed				-					+			+								

Czech respondents find the sample very easy to comprehend. Some of them are able to spot several regional traces, correctly locating the accent to the South-East of England. Several Czech respondents, however, tend to take the accent for a rhotic one due to *here and* [hiər ən], which must however be interpreted as a clear case of linking /r/. This is a feature that is certainly within the boundaries of RP and not really regionally or socially marked at all (cf. 3.2.2.5). The major problem regarding its RP-ness is the presence of the glottal stop, in particular in *market is*, and lowered TRAP, which five CZ respondents consider not to be in full accordance with the rules of RP.

Table 3. Sample 1: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S1; EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality		+			+			+			+			+			+			
Soc. Status				+	+				+		+				+					+
Education			+				+					+						+		
Poshness			+				+												+	
Speed																				

Native respondents pay a lot of attention to the presence of the glottal stop, in particular in *market is*. They also locate the accent to the South East; some even hazard a guess and mention North London. Lowered TRAP is not a problem for anyone; however, several of them notice the rather long and not so open /a/ in *and*, which, in my opinion, might have something to do with the speaker's current place of residence: the US. There is no significant difference between S EN and N EN respondents.

Sample 2

We had, like, an extended heatwave and we'd just moved house and we've got a little courtyard now with a barbecue in it so we just had barbecues all the time and we were just out there in the garden, and ehm, just really enjoying it. We went down to Wimbledon, had a trip there.

wi: ˈhɛd lʌɪk ən ɪkˈstɛndɪd ˈhiːʔweɪv | and wiːd dʒʌst ˈmuːvd ˈhaʊz | and wiːv gɒd ə ˈlɪdɬ ˈkɔːʔjɑːd naʊ wɪð ə ˈbɑːbəkjuː ɪnɪʔ | səʊ wi: dʒəst həd ˈbɑːbəkjuːz ˈɔːɬ ðə tʌɪm | ɛnd wi: wə dʒəst ˈaʊʔ ˈðɛːr ɪn ðə ˈgɑːdən | ənd əm dʒəst ˈriːəli ˈəndʒɔɪŋ ɪʔ | wi: wɛnʔ ˈdaʊn tə ˈwɪmblədn̩ had ə ˈtrɪp ðɛː

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *and*, *had*
— glottal stop: *heatwave* (word-medial preceding a continuant); *courtyard* (word-medial preceding an approximant); *in it, enjoying it* (utterance final position before a pause); *out there* (across word boundaries preceding a dental fricative); *went down* (across word boundaries preceding a stop)

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.15
EN respondents: 1.30
S EN respondents: 1.5
N EN respondents: 1.1

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.55

Table 4. Sample 2: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S2, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+			-		+			+							+				
Soc. Status		+						-		+				-						
Education			-					-									-			
Poshness													-			-				
Speed		+			+									+				+		+

Four Czech respondents find the accent regional, though their attempts to locate it precisely vary considerably: two of them even think the accent is an Australian one. Five respondents notice the speed of utterance and, unsurprisingly, find it an obstacle as far as comprehension is concerned, hence the not so high a score for intelligibility. Lowered TRAP is mentioned a few times as is the glottal stop and occasional 'flapping'—these prevent the sample from achieving a higher score. Furthermore, objections are also raised against monophthongal SQUARE (again considered to be an Australian feature); this feature, however, is now firmly an RP one (3.2.1.20).

Table 5. Sample 2: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S2, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+		+				+	+	+			+			+	+			+	
Soc. Status	-					-		-					+		-					+
Education			-+					-							-			+		+
Poshness				+				-									+		-	
Speed						+														

English respondents are on the mark as to the regional aspect of the accent: for them it is unanimously (i.e. for those who include this piece of information in their responses) judged to be a South-Eastern voice. Likewise, they show considerable uncertainty concerning the social status of the speaker: some of them do not know which social class the speaker is from. The same can be said of the level of education.

An interesting divide appears between Northern and Southern English respondents: the S EN group's score is much more favourable in terms of the degree of RP-ness. N EN respondents object mainly to the fact that the accent is clearly regional and lacks features to signal its exclusivity.

As for the studied variables, lowered TRAP is completely omitted in the comments; the glottal stop is only mentioned twice.

Sample 3

Not really, no, I've not, ehm, eh, well I spent a fair bit of time in Spain in the past, I did Spanish in my first degree so I lived in Spain for a few months but not really got into holidays in, in sort of typical going to a hot beach kind of holiday, that's not really my thing.

ˈnɒʔ riːəli nəʊ ʌv ˈnɒʔ | əm ə wɛɬ ʌ ˈspɛnt ə ˈfɛː bɪd ə ˈtʌɪmɪn ˈspeɪm ɪn ðə ˈpast | ʌɪ ˈdɪd ˈspaniʃ ɪn mʌ ˈfɜːst dɪˈgriː səʊ ʌ ˈlɪvd ɪn ˈspeɪn fər ə ˈfjuː ˈmənθs | bət ˈnɒʔ riːeli ˈgɒd̥ ɪntə ˈhɒlədeɪz ɪn ɪn sɔːd̥ əv ˈtɪpɪkɬ ˈgəʊɪŋ tə ə ˈhɒt ˈbiːtʃ kʌɪnd əv ˈhɒlədeɪ | ðats ˈnɒʔ riːeli mʌɪ ˈθɪŋ

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *Spanish*, *that's*
— glottal stop: *not really* (across word boundaries preceding an approximant); *I've not* (utterance final position)
— short BATH: *past*

Other interesting features include raised STRUT (*months* [mənθs]) and occasional voiceless alveolar stop [d̥] instead of [t] or [ʔ].

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.7
EN respondents: 0.85
S EN respondents: 0.4
N EN respondents: 1.1

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.95

Table 6. Sample 3: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S3, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality						+		+			+									
Soc. Status			+											+						
Education						-			-							+				
Poshness																				
Speed			-						-								-			

The relatively little amount of information from CZ respondents is undoubtedly linked with the fact that this voice is considered very close to RP. The score means that only 6 people out of 20 think that the accent is Near-RP, the others opt for RP. It is interesting that short BATH in *past* does not mark the accent down, and nor does raised STRUT in *months*. It is suggested that such a high

score for RP-ness has much to do with the degree of intelligibility where the score is almost the highest possible.

Scarce as they are, comments regarding the selected variables include a few /t/- glottals and two lowered TRAPs.

Table 7. Sample 3: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S3, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+		+	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+		
Soc. Status	+		+					+				+				+				
Education	+				+				+	+				+		+		+		+
Poshness																	-			
Speed																				

EN respondents, unlike their CZ counterparts, unmistakably spot a northern voice here. The raised STRUT in *months* is clearly the biggest hindrance to potentially higher scores. Thus regionality becomes a prominent characteristic; though the label 'regional' does not entail not educated or of a low social status. On the contrary, a not insignificant number of respondents observe that the speaker is probably educated and his social status is far from low.

Still, an educated northern voice may not be an RP one as the overall scores for the whole group suggest. When taken separately though, there is an even bigger divide between N EN and S EN than there was for Sample 2: the former group's overall score implies Near-RP (1.1), while the latter group sits in between Near-RP and Non-RP with 0.4. The bone of contention for S EN and N EN respondents is the short BATH in *past*. Many southerners point out its unacceptability in the model of RP. In contrast, only one northerner finds it a non-RP sound, the others make no mention of it (one even feels it necessary to stress that he has noticed the short vowel in *past* but it now should not prevent the speaker from being labelled as RP).

Sample 4

I suppose my main hobby, eh, is sport and in particular football. I like to play and I like to watch. Ehm, this is a subject, which, which is of some, some, some source of confusion to me as to quite why. Eh, rationally speaking, of course, I can see that the, the idea of getting excited or getting depressed about the performance of a group of men that I have never met, eh, on a playing field somewhere in England, eh, is rather stupid.

ʌɪ səˈpəʊz mʌɪ ˈmeɪn ˈxɒbi ə ɪz ˈspɔːt ən ɪn pəˈtɪkjələ ˈfʊʔbɔʊ | ʌɪ ˈlʌɪk tə ˈpleɪ ən ʌɪ ˈlʌɪk tə ˈwɒtʃ | əm ðɪz iz ə ˈsʌbdʒekt wɪtʃ wɪtʃ ɪz əv sʌm sʌm sʌm ˈsɔːs əv kənˈfjuːʒn̩ tə ˈmiː ɛs tə kwʌɪʔ wʌɪ | ə ˈræʃn̩əli spiːkɪŋ əv ˈkɔːs ʌɪ kən ˈsiːðəʔ ðiːðiː ʌɪˈdɪər əv ˈgɛtɪŋ ɪkˈsʌɪtɪd ɔː ˈgɛtɪŋ dɪˈprɛst əˈbaʊʔ ðə pəˈfɔːməns əv ə ˈgruːp əv ˈmɛn ðə ʌv nɛvə ˈmɛt | ə ɒnə ˈpleɪɪŋˈfiːɬd ˈsʌmwɛːr ɪn ˈɪŋgləɴd ə ɪz ˈrɑːðə ˈstjuːpɪd

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— glottal stop: *football* (word-medial preceding a stop); *quite why* (across word boundaries preceding a continuant)
— intrusive /r/: *the idea of*

Other interesting features include TRAP [] (*rationally*), no yod-coalescence (*stupid*), a rather velar/uvular realisation of /h/ in *hobby*, /l/-vocalisation in *football*.

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 0.65
EN respondents: 1.95

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.85

Table 8. Sample 4: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S4, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+			+		**+**		+			+				**+**	+				
Soc. Status		+																		
Education		**+**									**+**							+		
Poshness		**+**																		
Speed		-			-		**-**		**-**				**-**	-				-	**-**	-

What is said about the relation between intelligibility and the RP score for Sample 3 does not hold true at all for this sample. CZ respondents find the accent very easy to understand but they give it the lowest score of all. Several think the accent is regional (Birmingham, London, Northern) while others think it is not a native accent at all (one of them insists that it is 'a highly advanced student of English').

The most salient features mentioned by CZ respondents are the unusually velar/uvular realisation of the initial sound in *hobby*, intrusive /r/, vocalised /l/ and the glottal stop in *football*, and, above all, the speed of utterance.

Table 9. Sample 4: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S4, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionaliy					+											+				
Soc. Status		+					+		+		+			+				+	+	
Education	+	+	+			+			+			+	+	+			+	+		+
Poshness		+		+			+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+				+
Speed			-					-	-						-	-				

For EN respondents the sample displays only a few regional features; the overall impression is that of a well-educated person occupying a high social position. A high number of respondents hint at some posh tones in the accent, which seems to be linked with the slow speed.

Only one person marks the accent as Near-RP (a N EN respondent): the reason is the vocalised /l/ in *football*. No objections are raised against the intrusive /r/.

Given the overall score, it is to be expected that there is only a minor difference between S EN and N EN.

Sample 5

So in July and August, ehm, we did a few things. Because I've got three kids and they were on holiday from school for about six weeks and then I was at work for some of it but I managed to get quite a bit of time off and so we did quite a few things. The biggest thing, I guess, was we all went on a family holiday and, and it was great, and we met some other people there, we're not particularly sociable people, we don't like meeting people on holiday but we did, we met a really nice family.

səʊ ɪn ˈdʒəlʌɪ ən ˈɔːgəst əm wiː ˈdɪd ə ˈfjuː θɪŋz | bɪˈkɒz ʌv gɒʔ ˈθriː ˈkɪdz ænd ðeɪ wər ɒn ˈhɒlɪdeɪ frəm ˈskuːɬ fər əˈbaʊʔ ˈsɪks ˈwiːks | ən ðən ʌ wəz əʔ ˈwɜːk fə ˈsʌm əv ɪʔ bədßə ˈmanədʒd tə gɛʔ ˈkwʌɪʔ ə bɪdß əv ˈtʌɪm ˈɒf | ən səʊ wiː dɪd kwʌɪʔ ə ˈfjuː θɪŋz ðə ˈbɪgəst θɪŋg ʌɪ ˈgɛs wəz wiː ɔːɬ went ɒn ə ˈfaməli hɒlɪdeɪ ænd ən ɪʔ wəz ˈgreɪʔ | ænd wiː ˈmɛʔ səm ˈʌðə ˈpiːpˌ ðɛː wɪə ˈnɒʔ pəˈtɪkjələli ˈsəʊʃəbɬˈpiːpˌ | wiː dəʊnʔ lʌɪʔ ˈmiːtɪŋ ˈpiːpˌ ɒn ˈhɒlɪdeɪ bəʔ wiː dɪd wiː ˈmɛʔ ə ˈriːəlinʌɪs ˈfaməli

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *family*, *managed*
— the glottal stop: *I've got three*, *about six*, *met some* (across word boundaries preceding a fricative); *at work*, *it was*, *but we* (across word boundaries preceding a continuant); *some of it*, *it was great* (utterance final position); *quite a*, *met a* (across word boundaries preceding a vowel); *not particularly* (across word boundaries preceding a stop); *like meeting* (in place of /k/ across word boundaries preceding a nasal)

What seems particularly noteworthy is the number of glottal stops in such a short sample. Moreover, it is not only /t/ that is glottalised, but it is also /k/ in the word *like*. Other features include happY tensing in *family*.

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.1
EN respondents: 1.25

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.95

Table 10. Sample 5: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S5, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality				+				+			+									
Soc. Status		+			-				+			-			-		+			
Education		+				+						-		-	-					
Poshness		-						+										-		
Speed					+						+	+								

Czech respondents do not really differ much from their English counterparts. What is interesting (and it actually applies to both sets of respondents) is the dual perception of the voice: some consider the voice to be educated while others express exactly the opposite opinion. The same can be said of the categories of social status and poshness.

/t/-glottalisation is mentioned by almost everyone who labels the accent as Near-RP (or even as Non-RP). A few times lowered TRAP is added as another reason for the denial of an RP tag.

Table 11. Sample 5: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S5, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionaliy					+			+				+			+			+		+
Soc. Status			+				+	-			-				-		+	-		
Education		+				+				+			-					-	+	
Poshness				-				-							-			+	+	
Speed					+										+					

Some EN respondents are also unsure of the social status, the level of education and the extent of poshness in this accent. For some it is a confident youngish man with a socially secure position, others view him as a person whose accent reveals a lack of it. No mention is made of lowered TRAP.

By way of explanation, I would point out the unusually high number of glottal stops, particularly if the length of the sample is taken into consideration. Only an occasional glottal stop might not draw so much attention and is not a barrier to the RP status, but an accumulation of glottal stops is. Consequently, this accent might well have reached a higher score if there were fewer glottal stops.

There are very few differences between S EN and N EN, although the latter group mention the glottal stop more often.

Sample 6

It's proving to be hard work but very interesting. I'm, I'm dealing with the Voices data and this was a big project run by the BBC and the data has been sent to Leeds for us to manipulate and, and really, eh, study it so that we can work out how people are speaking in the UK at the beginning of the 21st century. Ehm, I'm looking forward to actually getting some results from this.

ɪts ˈpruːvɪŋ tə biː ˈhɑːd ˈwɜːk bət ˈvɛri ˈɪntrɛstɪŋ | ʌɪm ʌɪm ˈdiːlɪŋ wɪθ ðɪ ˈvɔɪsɪz ˈdeɪtər ən ðɪz wəz ə ˈbɪg ˈprɒdzɛkt ˈrʌn bʌɪ ðə biːbiːˈsiː | ən ðə ˈdeɪtər əz bɪn ˈsɛn tuː ˈliːdz fər əz tuː məˈnɪpjəleɪt ənd ən ˈriəːli ə ˈstʌdi ɪt səʊ ðəʔ wiː kən wɜːk ˈaʊʔ haʊ ˈpiːpɬ ɑː ˈspiːkɪŋ ɪn ðə juː ˈkeɪ əʔ ðə bɪˈgɪnɪŋ əv ðə twɛnti ˈfɜːst ˈsɛntʃəri | əm ɑm lʊkɪŋ ˈfɔːwəd tə ˈaktʃəli ˈgɛtɪŋ səm rɪˈzʌɬts frəm ðɪs

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— intrusive /r/: *data and, data has*
— the glottal stop: *that we* (across word boundaries preceding a continuant); *out how*, *at the* (across word boundaries preceding a fricative)
— lowered TRAP: *actually*

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.25
EN respondents: 1.65

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.9

Table 12. Sample 6: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S6, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality		-			+				+									-		
Soc. Status			+				+							+					+	
Education				+								+								+
Poshness		+								-							+			
Speed						-						-								

The RP score from CZ respondents would be considerably higher were it not for three Non-RP responses. The reasons stated include the unacceptability of intrusive /r/, the lowered TRAP, and the glottal stop.

Otherwise the comments do not provide a wealth of information, as the table above demonstrates. One comment worth citing insists that the accent is not 'posh enough for RP'. Overall, the accent is very easy to understand for the respondents.

Table 13. Sample 6: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S6, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+							+									+			
Soc. Status					+						+									+
Education			+							+					+					
Poshness					-				-		+	-	-					-		
Speed				-		-														

For almost three quarters of EN respondents this is an RP voice. Some of those who opt for the Near-RP label justify their decision by highlighting the fact that the accent has no 'posh overtones'. The studied variables do not draw a single comment.

It needs to be admitted that the content of the sample may play a role: the BBC, the Voices project, data, etc. It all suggests some kind of academic involvement on the part of the speaker. I have still decided to include this accent (including two tokens of otherwise rare intrusive /r/) in my set of voices because I consider the voice a fine example of modern 'non-posh' RP.

There is virtually no difference between S EN and N EN respondents.

Sample 7

And make the players realise they're professional athletes. For the last, well, last season we had, I'd say there were three, no I think I could say there were four outstanding players in the team last season. Ehm, one was Fletcher, striker, he's only just come back from injury, played the second half of the last game and he's, he was very good last season until he got injured.

ən ˈmeɪk ðə ˈpleɪəz ˈriːəlʌɪz ðɛː prəˈfɛʃənɬ ˈaθliːts | fə ðə ˈlast wɛɬ ˈlast ˈsiːzn̩ wiː had ʌd seɪ ðɛː wə ˈθriː nəʊ ʌ kʊd seɪ ðə wə ˈfɔːr aʊtˈstandɪŋ ˈpleɪez ɪn ðə ˈtiːm ˈlast siːzn | əm wən wəz ˈflɛtʃə ˈstrʌɪkə hiz əʊnli dʒəst kəm ˈbak frəm ˈɪndʒəri ˈpleɪd ðə ˈsɛkn̩ ˈhɑːf əv ðə ˈlast ˈgeɪm ən hiːz hi wəz ˈveri gʊd ˈlast siːzn̩ əntɪɬ hɪ gɒdß ˈɪndʒəd

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *athletes*, *outstanding*, *back*
— short BATH: *last* (5x)

Another feature worthy of note is raised STRUT (*one*, *come, until*).

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.1
EN respondents: 0.55
S EN respondents: 0.3
N EN respondents: 0.8

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.85

Table 14. Sample 7: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S7, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+			+		+		+			+		**+**			+	+			
Soc. Status				-									**+**				+			
Education	**+**									**+**				+		+		+		
Poshness										-				**-**						
Speed						**-**			-			-								+

This sample is the same speaker as Sample 3. The score for CZ respondents is, however, far from the same: there is a drop by as much as 0.6. While in the previous sample the single token of short BATH passes unnoticed, this time the often repeated word *last* draws a lot of attention ('regional' and 'Northerner' are the labels). Interestingly enough, apart from one speaker raised STRUT in three words is not spotted at all. Still, the sample is almost unanimously judged to be in the area of Near-RP. Another reason for the lower score is lowered TRAP, mentioned by three respondents.

Some respondents appreciate the fact that the speaker is not exactly an RP one, but it is nevertheless an educated voice lacking posh overtones.

What is almost the same for both samples (3 and 7) is the extremely high score for intelligibility.

Table 15. Sample 7: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S7, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+		**+**	+	+	+	**+**	+	+	**+**	+	**+**	**+**	+		+	+	+		**+**
Soc. Status			-+				+						**+**				+		+	
Education	**+**				**+**				+	**+**				+		+		+		+
Poshness					**-**															
Speed						**-**														

Only three respondents in this group fail to comment on the regional aspect of the accent. Short BATH *last* is a very prominent feature; unlike CZ respondents many EN ones notice the raised quality of STRUT words. No comments are made as far as lowered TRAP words are concerned.

The accent is regarded as regional but/and friendly, and also quite educated.

As it is the case for Sample 3, there is a chasm between S EN and N EN respondents: the latter show a far greater deal of tolerance towards short BATH words, while not so much of it is shown towards raised STRUT.

Sample 8

Last time I went to France I got bitten thirty-seven times by mosquitoes, it was really cool, I had them all up my leg and I got one on the sole of my foot, that was the worst place ever. It's really actually quite interesting, it's really big and we didn't have like any, any mosquito bite stuff so I just itched all week. Eh, go to France and then come back here for about ten days.

ˈlɑːs tʌɪm ʌ wɛnʔ tə ˈfrɑːns ʌɪ gɒʔ ˈbɪʔn̩ θɜːti ˈsɛvn̩ tʌɪmz bʌɪ məˈskiːtəʊz | ɪʔ wəz riːəli ˈkʉɬ | ʌɪ həd ðəm ɔːɬ ˈʌp mʌɪ ˈlɛg | ən ʌɪ ˈgɒʔ wʌn ɒn ðə ˈsəʊl əv mʌɪ ˈfʉʔ | ðaʔ wəz ðə ˈwɜːst pleɪs ˈɛvɐ | ɪts riːəli ˈaktʃəli kwʌɪʔ ˈɪntrəstɪŋ | ɪts riːəli ˈbɪg ən wi dɪdn̩ʔ ˈhɛv lʌɪʔ ɛni ɛni məˈskiːtəʊ ˈbʌɪʔ ˈstʌf səʊ ʌɪ dʒʌstˈɪtʃt ɔːɬ ˈwiːk | əː gəʊ tə ˈfrɑːns ən ðɛn kʌm ˈbak hɪə fər əˈbaʊʔˈ tɛn ˈdeɪz

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— glottal stop: *got bitten* (across word boundaries preceding a stop and word-medial preceding a nasal); *it was*, *got one*, *that was* (across word boundaries preceding a continuant); *foot* (utterance final position), *quite interesting* (across word boundaries preceding a vowel); *bite stuff* (across word boundaries preceding a fricative), *about ten* (across word boundaries preceding a stop); *like any* (in place of /k/ across word boundaries preceding a vowel)
— lowered TRAP: *actually*, *that*, *back*
— FOOT/GOOSE fronting: *cool*, *foot*

Other interesting features include lowered lettER (*ever*) and frequent happY tensing.

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 0.9
EN respondents: 1.2
S EN respondents: 1.4
N EN respondents: 1.0

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.25

Table 16. Sample 8: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S8, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality			+		+								+			+			+	
Soc. Status		-				+			-				-						-	
Education					-						-						-			
Poshness			-						-							-		-		
Speed		+			+		+				+		+	+				+		+

Some CZ respondents notice the regional character of this accent; as a result, they often express their view that the speaker is of not a high social status and he is not highly educated either. Likewise, there are several comments about a lack of posh overtones. Speed is an extremely prominent feature for CZ respondents, undoubtedly influencing the intelligibility score, which is very low.

Unfortunately, some respondents' judgement is influenced by some of the words that appeared there. Thus the use of words like *cool*, *stuff*, and *like* is considered to be Non-RP.

As far as the realisation of the variables under investigation is concerned, glottal stops are mentioned by many respondents (only one notices the replacement of a velar plosive in *like*, though). Other frequent comments concern FOOT/GOOSE fronting, lowered TRAP and the very open final sound in *ever* [ɐ].

Table 17. Sample 8: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S8, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality		+		+		+				+		+	+			+				+
Soc. Status		-				-	+					-				+		+	+	
Education		-						-			+				+					
Poshness							-		-					+				+		
Speed			+						+											+

Despite EN respondents being aware of the accent's regional character, their RP score is higher than that of CZ respondents.

The sheer frequency of the glottal stop prevents a higher score for this sample (the same as for Sample 5). There is, moreover, another issue influencing the score, namely the replacement of [k] with [ʔ].

Apart from the number of glottal replacements, the sample does not draw any comments about particular sounds; more generally though, the accent is

ambivalently perceived as educated by some respondents and not educated by others, revealing a high/low social status. Interestingly, only N EN respondents think that the accent belongs to a higher stratum of society and is educated as well. Equally, only some N EN respondents discover some traces of poshness in the accent. Two respondents from both sets find the accent very confident, some even to the point of sounding 'a bit cocky'.

Sample 9

But I'd just moved office before I came here so now I've got my own little office. It's got no windows, it's completely stuffy, it's totally horrible but it means no one can bother me. What you need to do is just steal an hour a day or do it like that, like bits and pieces, don't think like one day I'm gonna be free and I won't have anything in my diary. There's always gonna be teaching, there's always gonna be stuff going on at home, there's always gonna be travelling, just get used.

bəʔ ʌd dʒəst ˈmuːvd ˈɒfɪs bɪˈfɔːr ʌɪ ˈkeɪm hɪə səʊ naʊ ʌv gɒʔ ˈmʌɪ əʊn lɪdɬ̪ ˈɒfɪs | ɪts gɒʔ ˈnəʊ ˈwɪndəʊz ɪts kəmˈpliːtli ˈstʌfi ɪts ˈtəʊtəli ˈhɒrɪbɬ̪ bəʔ ɪʔ ˈmiːnz ˈnəʊwʌn kən ˈbɒðə miː | wɒʔ jə ˈniːd tə ˈduː ɪz dʒəst ˈstiːɬ ən ˈaʊər ə ˈdeɪ ɔː ˈduː ɪʔ lʌɪʔ ðaʔ lʌɪʔ ˈbɪts ən ˈpiːsɪz | ˈdəʊnʔ ˈθɪŋk lʌɪk wʌn ˈdeɪ ʌɪm gɒnə biː ˈfriː ənd ʌ wəʊnʔ həv ˈɛniθɪŋ ɪn mʌɪ ˈdʌɪəri| ðəz ˈɔːɬweɪz gɒnə biː ˈtiːtʃɪŋ ðəz ˈɔːɬweɪz gɒnə biː ˈstʌf ˈgəʊɪŋ ɒn əʔ ˈhəʊm ðəz ˈɔːɬweɪz gɒnə biː ˈtravlɪŋ | dʒəst gɛʔ juːst

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

- glottal stop: *but I'd* (across word boundaries preceding a vowel), *got my*, *got no* (across word boundaries preceding a nasal); *but it means* (across word boundaries preceding a vowel and a nasal), *it like that like bits*, *don't think, won't have, at home* (across word boundaries preceding fricatives, a stop, even in place of /k/); *what you, get used* (across word boundaries preceding an approximant)
- lowered TRAP: *that*, *travelling*

It is worth pointing out that even a velar plosive /k/ is glottalised here in an extremely frequent word *like*. A few seconds later the same word is pronounced with the velar plosive present; the decisive factor here is arguably the fast speed of the utterance.

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.25
EN respondents: 1.3
S EN respondents: 1.5
N EN respondents: 1.1

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.85

Table 18. Sample 9: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S9, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality							+										+			
Soc. Status			-						+			-				-				
Education				-				-						+						
Poshness				-										+			-			
Speed				+							+					+			+	

Uniquely, the RP score from CZ and EN respondents is almost an exact match. For CZ respondents there is a rare equal distribution of votes: RP 6x, Near-RP 7x, Non-RP 7x.

The accent is not perceived as regional by the majority of CZ respondents; nor does the accent reveal much about the speaker's social status and education. Two CZ respondents, however, regard the speaker a non-native one. Unfortunately no further details are offered as to why (one answer mentions 'not enough linking').

The glottal stop and its high occurrence play a crucial role in their assessment of the accent, as does the alveolar tap in *little*. A little less important is the [a] sound in *travelling*. Further, one respondent notices a very front onset of GOAT words like *windows* and *home* in this sample [əʊ > eʊ].

Table 19. Sample 9: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S9, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+	+				+			+				+			+		+		+
Soc. Status			-			-					+			-			-			
Education					-						+				+-				+	
Poshness				-							+-					+		+-		
Speed								+					+							

Native answers show little difference between Northern and Southern groups; most of them place the accent to the South-East of England. There is some ambivalence surrounding the level of education and poshness, but generally the speaker is not held to be of a high social status.

As with their CZ counterparts, alveolar tap is a frequent ear-catcher (mentioned 6 times), as are the glottal stops in word final positions. No mention is made of lowered TRAP.

Sample 10

Ehm, I freelanced for a couple of years covering football matches which is the best job I've ever had cause I'd get to hold a microphone in front of people, ehm, but people of real status, you know, Arsene Wenger and Jose Mourinho and people, so that was, that was just sexy, it was, it was lovely. And of course you get to hear the sound of your own voice as well which kind of, after a while, ehm, isn't, isn't quite as horrifying as it, as it might otherwise ordinarily be, you know, to the uninitiated. So that was, that was kind of a great ego trip and if... unfortunately, didn't fit in very well with having a young family because young family is gonna go to school.

əm ʌɪ ˈfri:lanst fər ə ˈkəpɬ əv ˈjiəz ˈkəvɻɪŋ ˈfʊtbɔ:ɬ matʃɪz | wɪtʃ ɪz ðə ˈbɛst ˈdʒɒb ɑ v ɛvə ˈhad | kəz ɑd ˈgɛʔ tə ˈhəʊɬd ə ˈmʌɪkrəfəʊn ɪn ˈfrʌnt əv pi:pɬ | əm bəʔ ˈpi:pɬ əv ri:əɬ ˈsteɪtəs | jə ˈnəʊ ˈɑ:sən ˈwɛngər ən ˈhəʊzeɪ məˈri:Jəʊ ən pi:pɬ | səʊ ðaʔ wə z ðaʔ wəz dʒəst ˈsɛksi ɪʔ wəz ɪʔ wəz ˈləvli | ən əv ˈkɔ:s jə ˈgɛʔ tə ˈhɪə ðə ˈsaʊnd ə v jər əʊn ˈvɔɪs əz wɛɬ | wɪtʃ kʌɪnd əv ˈaftər ə ˈwʌɪɬ ɪznʔ ɪznʔ kwʌɪʔ əz ˈhɒrɪfʌɪɪŋ əz ɪʔ əz ɪʔ mʌɪʔ ˈʌðəwʌɪz ɔ:dɪˈnɛrɪli bi: jə nəʊ tə ðə ənɪˈnɪʃɪeɪtɪd | səʊ ðaʔ wəzðaʔ wəz kʌɪnd əv ə ˈgreɪʔ ˈi:gəʊ ˈtrɪp ən ɪf ənˈfɔ:tʃənəʔli dɪdnʔ fɪt ɪn ˈvɛri wɛɬ wɪð ˈhavɪŋ ə ˈjəŋ ˈfaməli | bɪˈkɒz ˈjəŋ ˈfaməli ɪz ˈgɒnə ˈgəʊ tə ˈsku:ɬ

This sample offers, as far as the variables are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *matches*, *that*, *having*, *family*
— glottal stop: *get to*, *but people* (across word boundaries preceding a stop); *that was*, *it was* (across word boundaries preceding a continuant), *isn't quite, might otherwise*, *great ego* (across word boundaries preceding a stop and a vowel)
— short BATH: *freelanced*, *after*

Other interesting features include raised STRUT (*couple*, *covering*, *lovely*, *young*, *uninitiated*) and happY tensing (*lovely*, *family*).

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 0.85
EN respondents: 0.6
S EN respondents: 0.4
N EN respondents: 0.8

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.1

Table 20. Sample 10: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S10, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+			+	+			+			+					+	+			
Soc. Status					-			+					-			+			-	
Education		+				-			+					+			+			
Poshness			-				-								-					
Speed			+			+		+		+			+		+			+		+

The intelligibility score is nearly as low as 1, which means that the accent was generally only intelligible with minor difficulties. This low score is, however, less linked with the individual sounds than with the speed of utterance (almost half of CZ respondents react to it).

This time CZ respondents do not let the raised STRUT vowel (particularly in *lovely* and *young*) slip unnoticed: seven of them make a comment about it. Almost the same number of them indicate that the glottal stops are beyond the scope of RP as well. Interestingly, not many comments are made about lowered TRAP and short BATH words here. It may be connected with the more marked regional features spotted by the respondents, which in turn allow those less marked ones to avoid being noticed.

Table 21. Sample 10: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S10, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
Soc. Status			+			+			+				+			+				
Education		+			+		+			+					+			+		
Poshness	-					-		+				-				-				-
Speed						+												+		

Only three EN respondents do not include a word about the region of origin; they may deem it too obvious to feel any urge to type it. The accent reaches a very low score for RP-ness and it is considered to be a friendly and relaxed voice indicating a relatively high social status and a level of education. It needs to be admitted (and it is mentioned in this very sample as well) that the speaker used to work for the BBC as a reporter though, thus his ability to speak in front of a microphone/other people is unavoidably incomparable with the other speakers in the set of samples (although most of them are teachers of some kind and are therefore no strangers to speaking in front of an audience either).

As far as the variables are concerned, raised STRUT dominates the observations (14x). Short BATH is also mentioned a few times (mostly by S EN respondents). Surprisingly, little attention is paid to the presence of the glottal stop.

The difference between S EN and N EN is only marginal. The responses confirm that raised STRUT is in no way accepted in RP regardless of the regional affiliation of a given respondent.

Sample 11

We went to this, this place and it w...I'd heard, to be honest I'd heard bad things about it, it wasn't supposed to be that good, it was supposed to be really crowded and, eh, you know, like too expensive and everything was, you know, cost a lot of money, and, ehm, obviously for us the highlight of the whole holiday was going to Harry Potter. And, you know, yeah, it's kind of, the whole, the whole thing, obviously, you know, very touristy, and very, but that's the whole thing with, with Disney, I know it isn't Disney, Orlando, eh, Studios, but with, ehm, Universal Studios in Orlando.

wi: ˈwɛnʔ tə ðɪs ðɪs ˈpleɪs ən ɪʔ w ʌd ˈhɜ:d tə bi ˈɒnəst ʌd hɜ:d ˈbad ˈðɪŋz əˈbaʊt ɪʔ | ɪʔ wɒzn̩ʔ səˈpəʊs tə ˈbi: ðaʔ ˈgʉd | ɪʔ wəz səˈpəʊs tə ˈbi ri:əli ˈkraʊdɪd ænd ə | jə ˈnəʊ lʌɪʔ tu: ɪkˈspensɪv ən ˈɛvriθɪŋ wəz jə ˈnəʊ ˈkɒst ə ˈlɒdß əv ˈmʌni ənd əm | ˈɒbviəsli fər ʌs ðə ˈhʌɪlʌɪʔ əv ðə ˈhəʊł ˈhɒlɪdeɪ wəz ˈgɛʊɪŋ tu: ˈhari ˈpɒtə | ənd jə ˈnəʊ jɛ ɪts kʌɪnd əv | ðə həʊł ðə həʊł ˈðɪŋ ˈɒbviəsli jə ˈnəʊ vɛri ˈtɔ:rəsti ən vɛri | bəʔ ˈðats ðə həʊł ˈðɪŋ wɪð wɪð ˈdɪzni ʌ ˈnəʊ ɪt ˈɪzn̩ʔ ˈdɪzni ɔ:ˈlandəʊ ə ˈstju:diəʊz bəʔ wɪð əm ju:nɪˈvɜ:sɬ ˈstju:diəʊz ɪn ɔ:ˈlandəʊ

This sample offers, as far as the variables are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *bad*, *that*, *Harry*, *Orlando*
— glottal stop: *went to*, *isn't Disney* (across word boundaries preceding a stop), *it wasn't*, *it was*, *but with* (across word boundaries preceding a continuant),

highlight (utterance final position), *but that's* (across word boundaries preceding a fricative), *like too* (in place of a velar fricative /k/ across word boundaries preceding a stop)
— FOOT/GOOSE fronting: *good*

Another feature worthy of note is happY tensing (*very*, *obviously*, *money*, etc.).

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.2
EN respondents: 1.2

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.9

Table 22. Sample 11: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S11, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality					+	+					+					+				
Soc. Status		-				-			+-				-		+		+		+	
Education								+					-					-	+	-
Poshness		-		+						-								-		
Speed					-							-					-		-	

This sample (the same speaker as in Sample 5) is the one and only exact match between CZ and EN respondents' RP scores. Also, their RP evaluation of the two samples is almost identical (including the intelligibility score from CZ respondents).

One respondent's answers are immensely interesting: while Sample 5 is an RP speaker according to her, Sample 11 is not a native speaker at all—what dramatically different reactions to a single speaker.

Another respondent labels the voice as Non-RP because of frequent hesitations, which 'have no place in RP'.

Most respondents' reactions centre on the quantity of glottal stops; some mention the TRAP vowel and two find the quality of the vowel in *good* non-RP. Otherwise, the responses show a certain degree of ambivalence as far as education, poshness and social status are concerned.

Table 23. Sample 11: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S11, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+		**+**				+			+					+			+		
Soc. Status							-					+		+						-
Education				-			+			**+**			**+**				+			
Poshness	**-**				**+**				-									+		
Speed						-					-					-				

A relatively high number of respondents notice some regional traces in the accent. The voice is generally considered to be educated but not posh. It would have got a higher score if it were not for some conspicuous instances of glottalisation (e.g. *highlight*, *like*). There is no mention of the quality of the TRAP vowel, only one person notices FOOT fronting in *good*.

There is essentially no difference between S EN and N EN respondents.

Sample 12

The first time I got home, I got off my bike, and everything, and was actually undoing the front door, and looked at the window, thought, God, I'm sure I didn't leave...the Venetian blind was all crooked and bent. I can't have left it like that, and I'd actually got the door unlocked before I even realised what it was that had occurred, and I went in and there was very little mess, and gradually I noticed what was missing: the video recorder immediately, but during the course of the evening I kept finding more things that were no longer there.

ðə ˈfɜːst tʌɪm ʌɪ gɒt ˈhoʊm ʌɪ gɒt ˈɒf mʌɪ ˈbʌɪk ən ɛvrɪθɪŋ ən wəz aktʃəli ʌnˈduːɪŋ ðə frʌnt ˈdɔːə ənd ˈlʊkt ət ðə ˈwɪndoʊ | ðɔːˈgɒd ʌm ʃɔːr ʌ dɪdnʔ ˈliːv | ðə vəˈniːʃn̩ ˈblʌɪnd wəz ɔːɬ ˈkrʊkɪd ən ˈbɛnt | ʌɪ ˈkɑːnt həv ˈlɛft ɪt lʌɪk ˈðæt | ən ʌd aktʃəlɪ gɒt ðə ˈdɔːr ʌnˈlɒkt bɪˈfɒr ʌɪ iːvn̩ ˈrɪəlʌɪzd wɒt ɪt wɒz ðə həd əˈkɜːd | ən ʌɪ wɛnt ˈɪn ən ðə wəz vɛrɪ lɪtɬ ˈmɛs ən ɛnd ˈgradʒəlɪʌɪ ˈnoʊtɪst wɒʔ wəz ˈmɪsɪŋ | ðə ˈvɪdɪəʊ rɪkɔːdə ɪˈmiːdʒɪətli | bʌʔ ˈdʒuːrɪŋ ðə ˈkɔːs əv ðɪ ˈiːvnɪŋ ʌɪ kɛpt ˈfʌɪndɪŋ ˈmɔː ðɪŋz ðət wə noʊ ˈlɒngə ðɛːə

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *actually*, *gradually*

— glottal stop: *what was* (across word boundaries preceding a continuant); *but during* (across word boundaries preceding a stop)

Other features worth mentioning are yod-coalescence (*gradually*, *immediately*, *during*), extremely careful realisation of alveolar stops, SQUARE diphthong (*there*) rather than the modern monophthong, and the [oʊ] realisation of the GOAT set (*home*).

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.7
EN respondents: 2.0

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.8

Table 24. Sample 12: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S12, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality				-		+		-				-	+				-			
Soc. Status		+				+				+			**+**			+			+	
Education		+		+			+				+						+			
Poshness			-			**+**			-			**+**			+					
Speed				-						-			-			-	-		-	-

CZ respondents identify the accent as RP, despite a few idiosyncratic responses (e.g. Scottish or Northern). This accent is judged to reveal a high social status, a high level of education and it gets a relatively lot of 'posh' tags too. Admittedly, there is one idiosyncratic answer regarding the penultimate category in the set as well: one respondent finds the accent Near-RP because 'it does not sound posh enough'. A few times the accent is labelled old-fashioned or 'perfect RP as I see it'; i.e. the closest to the abstract model offered in a number of textbooks and pronunciation manuals.

As for the variables, the lack of glottalisation is mentioned five times. Little less attention is paid to the diphthongal SQUARE vowel. Generally, the accent is judged far more on the careful realisation of the sounds and the speed of utterance rather than on individual sounds.

In spite of its speed and carefulness, the accent receives a few 'intelligible with minor difficulties' responses. I personally put it down to the old-fashioned nature of the accent, which one does not really come across very often these days.

Table 25. Sample 12: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S12, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality		-		-			-	-			-			-		-		-	-	-
Soc. Status	+		+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+
Education		+				+	+		+			+	+				+	+		
Poshness	+			+		+	+		+			+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
Speed		-	-			-			-			-			-	-	-		-	

Judging by the sheer volume of text, I must stress that this sample raises the biggest amount of attention of all the samples. Not a single respondent thinks the accent is anything else but RP. Even though the accent is unmistakably well-educated and indicative of a high social status, there are numerous warnings about the likely acceptance of this voice in today's British (English) society: the most common adjectives are old-fashioned, posh, pompous, and arrogant. In this respect, many also point out that this sample is unique in the set as no other voice attracts such comments.

EN respondents are much more eloquent concerning certain variables: little glottalisation (but the very fact that even this sample includes a couple of glottalised /t/s is a testimony to the prevalence of [ʔ] in modern British English in all its varieties), the clearly diphthongal realisation of SQUARE, and, above all, the very distinctive GOAT diphthong [oʊ]. Surprisingly though, the accent includes some modern features as well, namely the lowered TRAP vowel and several instances of yod-coalescence.

Sample 13

Ehm, I like the Czech Republic, I love living here. I like the contrast of my life, I must say, I, I...I have that dual thing going on. I've got my English friends and family, of course, and I also live here most of the time so, ehm, I like that, ehm, duality. It's good to, eh, I can escape here for a while and go to England and while I'm in England I get to that point, after about two months, when I've kind of had enough and I come back and everything's different again and I do like that about my life.

əm ʌɪ ˈlʌɪk ðə ˈtʃɛk rɪˈpʌblɪk ʌɪ ˈlʌv ˈlɪvɪŋ hɪə | ʌɪ ˈlʌɪk ðə ˈkɒntrast əv mʌɪ ˈlʌɪf ʌɪ mʌs ˈseɪ | ʌɪ ʌɪ ʌɪ hav ðaʔ ˈdjuːəɬ θɪŋ ˈgəʊɪŋ ɒn | ɑv gɒʔ mʌɪ ˈɪnglɪʃ ˈfrɛndz ən ˈfaməli əf ˈkɔːs | ən ʌɪ ɔːɬsəʊ lɪv ˈhɪə ˈməʊst əv ðə ˈtʌɪm | səʊ əm ʌɪ ˈlʌɪk ðat əm

djuˈaləti | its gʊd tu: ə ʌɪ kən ɪˈskeɪp hɪə fər ə ˈwʌɪɬ ən ˈgəʊ tə ˈɪngləɴd | ən wʌɪɬ ɑm ɪn ˈɪngləɴd ɑ ˈgɛʔ tə ˈðaʔ ˈpɔɪnʔ ɑ:ftə əˈbaʊʔ ˈtu: ˈmʌnθs wɛn ɑv ˈkʌɪnd əv ˈhad ɪˈnʌf ən ʌɪ kʌm ˈbak ən ˈɛvrɪðɪnz ˈdɪfrn̩ʔ əˈgɛn | ən ʌɪ ˈdu: lʌɪk ðaʔ əˈbaʊʔ mʌɪ ˈlʌɪf

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP (*family*, *that*, *duality*, *back*, *have*)
— glottal stop: *that dual*, *get to that point*, *about two* (across word boundaries preceding a stop); *got my*, *about my* (across word boundaries preceding a nasal); *that about*, *different again* (across word boundaries preceding a vowel)
— short BATH: *contrast*

Other interesting features include happY tensing (*family*, *duality*) and long back BATH (*after*)

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.05
EN respondents: 1.1

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.7

Table 26. Sample 13: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S13, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality				+			+				+									
Soc. Status			-					-					+							
Education					-				-								-			
Poshness		-			-							-								
Speed				+											+		-			

Responses to Question 1 from CZ respondents are almost unanimously Near-RP. One of the main reasons stated is the short BATH vowel, a too tense KIT vowel, a too open TRAP vowel, and a few times even happY tensing. The glottal stop is also found guilty of breaking the RP rules.

On several occasions the accent is not deemed posh enough to warrant an RP tag. Furthermore, the accent does not provoke much reaction regarding its social status and the level of education.

Table 27. Sample 13: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S13, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality			+		+			+			+			+		+		+		
Soc. Status		-			-				+-			+-			-			-		
Education			+		-		-			-			+-			-				
Poshness				+					-						+-		+-			
Speed			-											-						

In terms of evaluation, EN respondents almost match their CZ counterparts. The accent is one of those rather ambivalent ones where respondents are not sure whether the accent is educated and posh or not. But there are more minuses than pluses in all the categories excluding that of regionality.

As far as regionality is concerned, respondents notice the short BATH vowel and a certain amount of lip rounding at the onset of PRICE vowel (*time*). Surprisingly enough, apart from one exception there is no mention of the glottal stop for this respondent; the probable explanation lies in the phonetic environments in which the stops appear.

Sample 14

Seaside resorts are enormous and, you know, the Royals used to take their holidays at the seaside and things like that and so a lot of money got, well, they just had a lot of money coming into all the time so they built these almost palatial flats along the seafront and things like that, like five storey mansions sort of holiday homes for people and they would keep coming back and, ehm, you know, lots of people would just come and spend money in the summer and, ehm, coz it was this idea of going to the seaside was good for your health.

ˈsiːsʌɪd rɪˈzɔːts ɑːr əˈnɔːməs ən jə ˈnəʊ ðə rɔɪəɬz juːst tə ˈteɪk ðɛː ˈhɒlɪdeɪz əʔ ðə ˈsiːsʌɪd ən ˈðɪŋz lʌɪʔ ðaʔ | æn səʊ əˈlɒʔ əv ˈmʌni gɒʔ wɛɬ ðeɪ dʒəst hæd ə lɒʔ əv ˈmʌni ˈkʌmɪŋ ɪntə ˈɔːɬ ðə tʌɪm səʊ | ðeɪ ˈbɪɬʔ ðiːz ˈɔːɬməʊst pəˈleɪʃt̬ ˈflats əˈlɒŋ ðə ˈsiːfrʌnʔ ən ðɪŋz lʌɪʔ ðaʔ | lʌɪʔ ˈfʌɪv ˈstɔːri ˈmanʃn̩z sɔːdß əv ˈhɒlɪdeɪ ˈhəʊmz fə ˈpiːpt̬ | ənd ðeɪ wəd kiːp ˈkʌmɪŋ ˈbak ænd | əm je ˈnəʊ ˈlɒts əv ˈpiːpɬ wəd dʒəst

ˈkʌm ən ˈspɛnd ˈmʌni ɪn ðə ˈsʌmər ən əm | kəz ɪt wəz ðiz ʌɪˈdɪər əv ˈgəʊɪŋ tə ðə ˈsi:sʌɪd wəz ˈgʊd fə jə ˈhɛɬθ

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *flats*, *mansions*, *back*
— glottal stop: *at the*, *built these* (across word boundaries preceding a fricative); *like that*, *like five* (in place of a velar plosive /k/ and preceding a fricative); *that* (utterance final position); *a lot of* (across word boundaries preceding a vowel)
— intrusive /r/: *this idea of*

Other interesting features include happY tensing (*money*, *storey*).

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 0.85
EN respondents: 1.15
S EN respondents: 1.3
N EN respondents: 1.0

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.55

Table 28. Sample 14: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S14, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality		-			+			+					+		+					
Soc. Status			+									-			+		+-			
Education			+			+			-							+-				
Poshness		-			**+**			-									-		-	
Speed				+			+		+					+			+	+		

The voice in this sample belongs to the same speaker as in Samples 2 and 9. While the previous two scores from CZ respondents are 1.15 and 1.25, this sample only scores 0.85. The only significant difference between this sample and the two previous ones is the presence of intrusive /r/ (mentioned by no fewer than 6 respondents). Almost twice as many respondents react to the glottal stop though, which is present in almost all environments (even replacing a velar plosive) and in high numbers. Several respondents single out the lowered TRAP vowel.

Many respondents also notice the speed of utterance, which is one of the main factors for the relatively low intelligibility score (the other two samples score 2.45 and 2.85 for intelligibility). In the other categories the responses are rather ambivalent. One comment worth highlighting here observes that the accent is admittedly 'full of glottal stops but it is really nice and posh'.

Table 29. Sample 14: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S14, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality			+			+				+			+	+		+	+		+	
Soc. Status	-			+			-		-		+	-	-				-		-	
Education		-			-				+			-		+		+				
Poshness			-				-				-	+		-			+		+	+
Speed																				

EN respondents are noticeably more consistent in their evaluation of the three samples of this speaker. The three RP scores are 1.3, 1.3 and 1.15. Likewise, the two groups' scores are remarkably similar: S EN 1.5, 1.4, 1.3; N EN 1.1, 1.2, 1.0.

The accent is generally considered highly regional: the South East, London, but also, intriguingly, the North of England (not low enough STRUT in *seafront*, cf. information about this speaker in Appendix 1). Mixed responses are registered for the other categories, although the majority of EN respondents show an inclination towards minuses.

As far as the variables are concerned, word final glottal stops dominate the responses. The lowered TRAP vowel passes completely unnoticed, as does the intrusive /r/. These two variables show a stark contrast between CZ and EN respondents.

Sample 15

And then, ehm, what else did we do? We went, after that, we had, we had various things going on, coz then, that's it, we went to the various grandparents' houses, ehm, coz one set of grandparents, the kids' grandparents live in, in Wales, a really nice area of Wales, so we went over there. That was good, ehm, and then, also, that was it, coz my wife took, eh, my two girls, I've got two girls and one boy.

ɛn ðɛn əm wɒʔ ˈɛɬs dɪd wi ˈduː | wi wɛnʔ ɑːftə ðaʔ wiː had ˈvɛːriəs ˈðɪŋz gəʊɪŋ ˈɒn | kəz ˈðɛn ˈðas ɪʔ wi wɛnʔ tə ðə ˈvɛːriəs ˈgranpɛːrənts ˈhaʊziz | əm kəz ˈwʌn sɛdß əv ˈgranpɛːrənts ðə ˈkɪdz ˈgranpɛːrənts ˈlɪv ɪn ɪm ˈweɪlz | ə riːeli ˈnʌɪs ˈɛːriər əv ˈweɪlz səu wi ˈwɛnʔ əʊvə ˈðɛː | ðaʔ wəzgʉd | ænd ˈðɛn ɔːɬsəʊ ˈðaʔ wəz ˈɪʔ | kəz mʌ ˈwʌɪf ˈtʊk ə mʌ ˈtuː ˈgɜːɬz ʌ gɒʔ ˈtuː ˈgɜːɬz ən ˈwʌn ˈbɔɪ

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *that*, *grandparents'*
— glottal stop: *what else*, *went after*, *went over* (across word boundaries preceding a vowel); *that we*, *it was*, *that was* (across word boundaries preceding a continuant); *went to*, *got two* (across word boundaries preceding a stop); *that's it*, *was it* (utterance final position)
— intrusive /r/: *area of Wales*
— FOOT/GOOSE fronting: *good*

Another noteworthy feature is happY tensing (*really*).

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.1
EN respondents: 1.35
S EN respondents: 1.5
N EN respondents: 1.2

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.95

Table 30. Sample 15: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S15, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+		+					+			+				+					
Soc. Status				+-					+			+					-	+		
Education						-		-									-	+		
Poshness	-											-				-				-
Speed						+					-			+		+		-		

This voice has also been evaluated twice before: Samples 5 and 11. As for CZ respondents, they have shown very steady results: 1.1, 1.2, 1.1. All the variables

under investigation have been mentioned here: the most prominent role is occupied by the glottal stops, closely followed by lowered TRAP and intrusive /r/. Moreover, three CZ respondents also mention the realisation of *that's it* [ˈðas ɪʔ], labelled as 'sloppy' once.

The intelligibility score is also remarkably stable: 2.95, 2.9 and 2.95. The accent is not considered posh, but there are differing opinions as to its indication of the level of education and social status.

Table 31. Sample 15: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S15, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality				+			+			+		+			+		+			
Soc. Status	+			+				-			+			+		+		-		
Education			-						-				+	+		+				+
Poshness					+						+				+		-			+
Speed								+			-				+					

EN respondents' scores for all the three samples are also almost identical: 1.25, 1.2, 1.35. This time, however, there is a bigger gap between the two regional groups. N EN are more inclined to regard the accent as more educated and as one belonging to a higher status in society.

The accent is marked down particularly for the high number of glottal stops; generally, the accent is regarded as 'too relaxed' for a full RP status. There is only one mention of lowered TRAP, but there is no mention of FOOT fronting or intrusive /r/.

Sample 16

And that is that I received a final notice for a payment of the garbage tax, which I was utterly shocked by because no one had told me that I needed to pay garbage tax, no one had sent me a bill demanding payment and all I got was a letter saying 'you are going to go to court if you don't pay this' so I'd like to say it's absolutely disgusting that nobody informs you but I've heard that according to Czech law or something as long as they post it somewhere, you don't have to... eh, they don't have to inform you personally.

ənd ˈðaʔ ɪz ðəʔ ʌɪ rəˈsiːvd ə ˈfʌɪn̩ˌ ˈnəʊtɪs fɔː ə ˈpeɪmənt əv ðəˈgɑːbɪdʒ ˈtaks | wɪtʃ ʌɪ wəz ˈʌtəli ˈʃɒkt bʌɪ | bɪˈkɒz ˈnəʊ wʌn həd ˈtəʊɬd miː ðəd ʌɪ ˈniːdɪd

tə ˈpeɪ ˈgɑːbɪdʒ ˈtaks | ˈnəʊ wʌn həd ˈsɛnt miː ə ˈbɪɬ dəˈmɑːndɪŋ ˈpeɪmənt | ən ˈɔːl ʌɪ ˈgɒʔ wəz ə ˈlɛtə ˈseɪɪŋ| juː ɑː ˈgəʊɪŋ tə ˈgəʊ tə ˈkɔːt ɪf juː dəʊn ˈpeɪ ðɪs | səʊ ɑd ˈlʌɪk tə ˈseɪ ɪts ˈabsəluːtli dɪsˈgʌstɪŋ ðəʔ ˈnəʊbədi ɪnˈfɔːmz juː | ˈbʌt ɑv ˈhɜ ːd ðəʔ əˈkɔːdɪŋ tə ˈtʃɛk ˈlɔːrɔː ˈsʌmθɪŋ | əz ˈlɒŋ əz ðeɪ ˈpəʊst ɪt ˈsʌmwɛː juː dəʊn ˈh av tə ə ˈðeɪ dəʊn ˈhav tə ɪnˈfɔːm juː ˈpɜːsn̩li

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *that*, *tax*, *absolutely*, *have*
— glottal stop: *that is*, *that I*, *that according* (across word boundaries preceding a vowel); *got was* (across word boundaries preceding a continuant), *that nobody* (across word boundaries preceding a nasal)
— intrusive /r/: *law or something*

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.55
EN respondents: 1.7
S EN respondents: 1.9
N EN respondents: 1.5

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 2.0

Table 32. Sample 16: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S16, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality									+				+							
Soc. Status					+			+				+			+-					
Education		+			+				+							+	+			
Poshness			-				-											-		+
Speed		-						-			-		+-		-					

This voice is, admittedly, known to some of the respondents, which may have influenced their decisions. The score for intelligibility is 2 (the maximum) and the RP score is also very high (yet for EN respondents it is higher still).

Consequently, there is not a high number of features that RP does not agree with. Several respondents mention word final glottal stops as a potential source of conflict with the RP norms. The same number of them highlight the intrusive /r/ in *idea of*. Lowered TRAP is only mentioned a few times.

The accent is generally perceived as non-regional by CZ respondents, which probably indicates that CZ respondents perceive mild South-East accents as non-regional (it is the kind of an accent most ELT recordings use and it might thus seem to foreign learners as the norm). Moreover, it is an educated voice indicative of a good social position, but for some respondents it is not posh enough to be labelled RP.

Table 33. Sample 16: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S16, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality			+			+					+	+		+	+	+-			+	
Soc. Status					+		+-		+-			+		+			+			+
Education		+						-					+					+-		+
Poshness				+-				+-		-				+		-	+		+-	
Speed																				

The biggest difference between CZ and EN respondents is the level of regionality detected in the sample: for EN respondents (N EN ones in particular) this voice is markedly regional; yet for S EN respondents the accent is almost unanimously judged to be RP. N EN respondents, on the other hand, are divided into equally big parts in favour of RP and Near-RP respectively.

The impression is rather positive overall, although there are a few minuses in the roster as well.

Individual variables worth commenting upon include word final glottal stops and lowered TRAP. No mention is made of intrusive /r/ at all. A couple of respondents also notice high rising terminals, which, they believe, are still not in the repertoire of RP.

Sample 17

I'm lucky enough to have played first team hockey and cricket; I don't quite know how. Ehm, and I also play the violin and I play in the Clothworkers' Hall here. Eh, I loved 'English in Time'; it was my favourite module, eh, in my whole degree, ehm, I loved looking back at the history of the language, ehm, because I think it's fascinating to see where it's come from, ehm, and that module takes you right through from 450 to present day so, ehm, I, I really enjoyed that.

ʌm ˈlʌki ɪˈnʌf tə əv pleɪd ˈfɜ:st ti:m ˈhɒki ən ˈkrɪkɪʔ | ʌɪ dəʊnʔ kwʌɪʔ ˈnəʊ ˈhaʊ | əm ɛnd ʌɪ ˈɔ:ɬsəʊ pleɪ ðə vʌɪˈlɪn ənd ʌɪ pleɪ ɪn ði: ˈklɒθwɜ:kəz ˈhɔ:ɬ hɪə | ə ʌɪ ˈlʌvd

ˈɪngləʃ ɪn ˈtʌɪm|ɪʔ wəz mʌɪ ˈfeɪvrəʔ ˈmɒdʒuːɬ əɪn mʌɪ ˈhəʊɬ dɪˈgriː | əm ʌɪ ˈlʌvd lʊkɪn ˈbak at ðiː ˈhɪstri əv ðə ˈlaŋgwədʒ | əm bɪˈkɒz ʌ ˈθɪnk ɪtsˈfasəneɪtɪŋ tə ˈsiː wɛr ɪts ˈkʌm frɒm | əm ɛnd ðaʔ ˈmɒdʒuːɬ ˈteɪks juː rʌɪt θruː frəm ˈfɔː ˈfɪfti tuː ˈprɛzn̩ʔ ˈdeɪ səʊ əm ʌɪ ʌɪ riːəli ɪnˈdʒɔɪd ˈðat

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *back*, *language*, *fascinating*, *that*
— glottal stop: *cricket for* (across word boundaries preceding a fricative), *cricket* (utterance final position); *don't quite*, *present day* (across word boundaries preceding a stop); *quite know*, *that module, favourite module* (across word boundaries preceding a nasal); *it was* (across word boundaries preceding a continuant)

Other interesting features are happY tensing (*lucky*, *history*, *fifty*, *really*) and yod-coalescence (*module*).

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.0
EN respondents: 1.15
S EN respondents: 1.0
N EN respondents: 1.3

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.1

Table 34. Sample 17: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S17, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+		+			+	+				+			+			+	+		
Soc. Status		+						+-		+						-				
Education	+			-			+				+-			+		+		+		
Poshness		-			-								-						+-	
Speed		+	+			+		+			+	+	+		+	+				

Unfortunately, I need to admit that the evaluation of this sample may have been adversely influenced by the content of it: the speaker talks about her degree and one of the modules she took while studying. Yet, her educated northern voice is something I did not want to miss out on and no other part of the whole recording I made with her includes so many of the variables under investigation.

CZ respondents stress the regional aspect of this voice. The remaining categories are probably influenced by the content; though the poshness category hopefully remains intact in this respect. The speed of utterance is an extremely important factor for the overall intelligibility score, which is joint record low.

Many respondents react to the lowered TRAP vowels. The glottal stop only attracts a little less attention.

Table 35. Sample 17: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S17, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+	+		+		+	+		+		+	+	+		+		+	+	**+**	
Soc. Status		+			+			+-			+	+			+		+			
Education	**+**			+						**+**			+			+				+
Poshness		-				-					+-				-		-		+-	
Speed			+						+					-				+		

Also EN respondents regard the accent as highly regional. Predictably enough, there is a greater tolerance towards some regionalisms from N EN respondents rather than from the S EN group.

Here, too, some of the comments seem to be influenced by the content. Lowered TRAP fails to register a comment, unlike the number of glottal stops: a few respondents explicitly state that there are 'too many glottal stops'. It is not the exact phonetic environment that plays the crucial role, it is rather the quantity. Furthermore, high rising terminals are mentioned twice, denying the accent a full RP status.

Sample 18

Well, I'm here for ten days after I come back from France anyway and then we go to Orlando on the first of August, for two weeks, come back, then I get my results and if they're good, then I'm happy, and if they're not good, then I spend the next six weeks working to do resits and then end of September go to university.

wɛɬ ʌm hɪə fə ˈtɛn deɪz ɑːftə ʌ kʌm ˈbak frəm ˈfrɑːns ˈeniweɪ | ən ˈðɛn wiː gəʊ tə ɔːˈlandəʊ ɒn ðə ˈfɜːst əv ˈɔːgəst fə ˈtuː ˈwiːks | kʌm ˈbak ðɛn ʌɪ ˈgɛʔ mʌɪ rɪˈzʌlts | ən ɪf ðɛ ˈgʉd ðɛn ʌmˈhapi ən ɪf ðɛ ˈnɒʔ gʉd ðɛn ʌ ˈspend ðə nɛkst ˈsɪks ˈwiːks ˈwɜːkɪŋ | tu ˈduː ˈriːsɪts | ɛn ðɛn ˈɛnd əv səpˈtembə ˈgəʊ tə junɪˈvɜːsəti

This sample offers, as far as the variables in question are concerned, the following examples:

— lowered TRAP: *back*, *Orlando*, *happy*
— glottal stop: *get my* (across word boundaries preceding a nasal), *not good* (across word boundaries preceding a stop)
— FOOT/GOOSE fronting: *good*

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.0
EN respondents: 1.35
S EN respondents: 1.5
N EN respondents: 1.2

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.2

Table 36. Sample 18: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S18, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality				+						+				+						
Soc. Status		-										-			+-			-	+	
Education								+					+				-			+-
Poshness			+-			-				-							-			
Speed				+			+				+-					+		+		

This sample shows the voice of the same speaker as in Sample 8. The intelligibility score from CZ respondents is almost identical for the two samples: it is rather low. This score is no doubt affected by the speed of utterance.

It is perhaps due to the low number of tokens that the glottal stop does not receive the highest amount of attention; instead, it is the lowered TRAP which assumes the top position. The glottal stop is in fact third, for fronted FOOT leapfrogs it. A lot of inconsistency can be seen from the responses as far as the social status and education are concerned; the accent is considered devoid of any posh connotations.

Table 37. Sample 18: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S18, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality				+		+			+			+			+		+		**+**	
Soc. Status			+-				+-			+			**-**	+			+			-
Education		+			-			+				+-			+			+-		-
Poshness			-					+							-		+			
Speed				+										+						

EN respondents find the accent conspicuously regional. In comparison with CZ respondents, their roster demonstrates a much higher number of pluses, so the accent makes a more positive overall impression. Only some N EN find the amount of regionality in this sample excessive.

Apart from one exception fronted FOOT and lowered TRAP do not attract any adverse comments. Word final glottal stops are more prominent in this respect with 6 mentions.

A number of Near-RP responses also remark that the accent is very close to being full RP; yet the rather casual tone is considered too relaxed for an RP label. One respondent even suggests that a new label be offered: a relaxed RP. This might actually correspond with Upton's motivation behind his modernised model of RP (Upton 2001: 352).

6.2 Respondents: sociolinguistic and personal characteristics

This part analyses the gathered data with the focus placed on the respondents. CZ respondents are the first ones to be analysed; the first ten are female respondents; respondents 11–20 are male.

As far as EN respondents are concerned, the first ten are southern and the remaining ones are northern. As regards gender, respondents 1–5 and 11–15 are male while 6–10 and 16–20 are female. Regional background turns to be far more important than gender; hence the decision to groupEN respondents according to their regional background.

6.2.1 Czech respondents

CZ Respondent 1

This respondent, unlike the other CZ respondents, pays the biggest amount of attention to regional features. Since I know this respondent relatively well, I find it not surprising at all since she is deeply involved in academic research concerning pronunciation standards, RP, pronunciation in the ELT area, etc. What is more intriguing though is the conspicuous absence of comments in the remaining categories.

Regional features mentioned by this respondent include northern sounds like short BATH, raised STRUT, extremely closed /i/ (influenced by Brummy), and even some Australian features (Sample 2: flapping and monophthongal SQUARE).

Table 38. CZ Respondent 1: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R1	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+		+			+			+					+		+	
Soc. Status																		
Education							+										+	
Poshness															-			
Speed																		

CZ Respondent 2

This respondent pays less attention to regionality than to the other categories, none of which can be said to be dominant, though. There are an unusually high number of comments on social status and poshness; in fact, the numbers are higher than for most EN respondents. The latter category is seen as a typical RP feature (albeit a bit old-fashioned as the respondent stresses in one comment).

Speed gets five mentions. Nevertheless, it does not seem to influence intelligibility very much.

Table 39. CZ Respondent 2: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R2	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+					-								-				
Soc. Status		+		+	+			-			-	+					+	-
Education				+	+					+		+				+		
Poshness				+	-	+					-		-	-			-	
Speed		+		-				+								-	+	

CZ Respondent 3

CZ respondent 3 stresses mainly the social connotations of RP in her answers. Moreover, her answers in the poshness category comment on whether the accent is (or is not) posh enough to warrant the RP label.

Only three regional voices are in the survey according to this respondent—particularly Sample 17 is seen as 'strongly regional' (unfortunately without any hint as to what region it is) with lowered TRAP and the glottals (word final positions) being the reason behind the label.

Table 40. CZ Respondent 3: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R3	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality								+							+		+	
Soc. Status	+		+			+			-				-	+				
Education		-												+				
Poshness	+							-		-		-				-		+-
Speed			-							+							+	

CZ Respondent 4

This respondent comments chiefly on the regional aspects of the samples, which is often seen as a reason to deny a full RP score. In this respect, she often remarks on northern features present in the samples (short BATH, raised STRUT, lowered TRAP, and monophthongal qualities of some diphthongs). Southern features are only mentioned twice: /l/-vocalisation and /t/-glottaling seen as cockneyisms.

Moreover, speed turns out to be an important category, in particular in cases where it decreases intelligibility.

Table 41. CZ Respondent 4: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R4	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		-		+	+		+			+		-	+					+
Soc. Status							-								+-			
Education						+			-			+					-	
Poshness									-		+							
Speed	-								+			-	+	+				+

CZ Respondent 5

While all five categories receive three or more mentions, the two most prominent ones are regionality and speed. Surprisingly, regional features are not always seen as a serious impediment to labelling the accents in question as RP. Also, most of the features mentioned are southern rather than northern according to the respondent: FOOT/GOOSE fronting, yod-coalescence, /l/-vocalisation and /t/-glottaling (even in positions now accepted in RP like *that we*, cf. 3.2.2.1).

As for speed, it is a category which does not have a significant impact on the RP score.

Table 42. CZ Respondent 5: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+					+		+		+	+			+				
Soc. Status					-					-						+		
Education	+							-					-			+		
Poshness													-	+			-	
Speed		+		-	+			+			-							

CZ Respondent 6

Regional features play an important part in this respondent's comments with speed and education not far behind. Interestingly enough, regional features mostly include the glottal stop, which seems to contradict the overwhelming opinion regarding the universality of this phenomenon in current British English (cf. 3.2.2.1). Also, some northern phenomena get mentioned as well: most notably short BATH and raised STRUT.

Social connotations do not draw much attention; unlike speed influencing the degree of intelligibility and, consequently, the overall RP score.

Table 43. CZ Respondent 6: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R6	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+	+	+			+				+	+					+	
Soc. Status								+			-	+						
Education			-		+					-				+	-			
Poshness												+						-
Speed						-	-			+					+		+	

CZ Respondent 7

This respondent does not mention any of the categories more than four times. The categories mentioned most often are speed, regionality (almost exclusively the glottal stop), and poshness. Such a low number of detailed responses is, in all likelihood, brought about by the fact that the respondent considers a lot of samples to be RP (there is thus little to remark on).

Table 44. CZ Respondent 7: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R7	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality									+				+				+	
Soc. Status	+					+												
Education												+					+	
Poshness	+									-						-		
Speed				-				+						+				+

CZ Respondent 8

This respondent regards regionality to be the crucial criterion with social status not far behind. Regional features mentioned the most are short BATH and raised STRUT. Furthermore, the glottal stop is commented upon several times (in almost all the positions and it is also seen as a feature typical of the Cockney or Estuary English). Likewise, voices assessed as not educated enough and/or as not belonging to a higher social stratum are deemed Near-RP or Non-RP.

Table 45. CZ Respondent 8: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R8	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+				+			+		-		+	+			
Soc. Status		-						-		+			-			+	+-	
Education		-							-		+				-			+
Poshness					+			-						-				
Speed										+						-	+	

CZ Respondent 9

CZ respondent 9 gives considerable prominence to social status, education, and speed. Generally speaking, there are a lot of RP responses, regardless of the fact that the samples in question are found either regional or not belonging to higher social strata.

Speed, however, influences the responses to a large extent: all three samples with a minus in this category are marked as Non-RP.

Table 46. CZ Respondent 9: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R9	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+				+										+		
Soc. Status					+			-	+		+-				+			
Education	+		-							+			-	-		+		
Poshness								-				-						
Speed	+		-	-			-							+				

CZ Respondent 10

This respondent provides the lowest number of detailed responses, but she was the most generous respondent in terms of assigning the RP status: no fewer than 13 samples are given this label. Strikingly enough, only one sample is found to be regional or educated.

Table 47. CZ Respondent 10: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R10	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality																		+
Soc. Status	+	+										+					+	
Education							+											
Poshness						-	-				-							-
Speed										+		-						

CZ Respondent 11

This respondent resembles EN respondents insofar as he prefers the category of regionality (a half of his responses). He pays a lot of attention to northern features: he considers short BATH, raised STRUT, lowered TRAP as northernism generally not compatible with RP. Another feature, though not tied to any specific region, is the glottal stop in a number of linguistic contexts (even those now considered to fall within RP; cf. 3.2.2.1). As far as the South is concerned, he mentions the vocalisation of /l/ three times and lip rounding of the PRICE vowel; these are Estuary English features according to him.

Unlike his EN counterparts, he completely ignores social status and poshness. He also mentions speed a lot of times. This is another aspect that ties him in closely with the other CZ respondents.

Table 48. CZ Respondent 11: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R11	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality			+	+	+		+			+	+		+		+		+	
Soc. Status																		
Education				+				-				+					+-	
Poshness																		
Speed					+			+	+						-	-	+	+-

CZ Respondent 12

As far as regionality and social status are concerned, this respondent stands in total contrast to the previous respondent. To a large extent, he links the degree of RP-ness with the social status of the speaker in question.

Speed is a vital criterion for this respondent as well: one sample is assessed not to be 'fast enough for RP' while another one is 'far too fast for RP'. One wonders whether an appropriate interpretation of such a comment could be that the sample in question is too fast for the respondent to understand (and, as a consequence, it is denied the RP status).

Table 49. CZ Respondent 12: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R12	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality												-						
Soc. Status					-				-					-	+	+		-
Education					-	+												
Poshness												+	-		-			
Speed	+				+	-	-				-						+	

CZ Respondent 13

Regionality prevails in this respondent's comments: lowered TRAP, in particular, turns out to be the main obstacle to a higher number of RP labels while northern features are almost all accepted (or at least not mentioned in the comments). One exception is short BATH in Sample 7 (the word *last* repeated five times).

As regards social status, the glottal stop (in a wide range of phonetic environments) signals a rather low position in the social hierarchy. Speed also plays an important role, especially if it impedes intelligibility of the given accent.

Table 50. CZ Respondent 13: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R13	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+						+	+				+		+		+		
Soc. Status							+	-		-	-	+	+					
Education											-							+
Poshness		-															-	
Speed				-				+		+		-				+-	+	

CZ Respondent 14

This respondent considers education and speed to be the most important categories. The latter proves to be the reason (if the speech is too fast) why the accent cannot be called RP while the former does not seem to guarantee a full RP status.

Regionality and poshness are only mentioned twice (glottal stops and FOOT/GOOSE fronting—both taken for features closely associated with the London area).

Table 51. CZ Respondent 14: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R14	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality																	+	+
Soc. Status		-	+			+							+					
Education	+				-		+		+	+							+	
Poshness							-		+									
Speed		+		-				+						+	+			

CZ Respondent 15

Three categories prevail in this respondent's answers: regionality, social status, and speed (even though the numbers of responses in these categories are far from high).

Most of the respondent's answers regarding the degree of RP-ness are Near-RP. The main reason behind the denial of a full RP status is the presence of the glottal stop—even in positions which are now accepted in many native perceptions of the accent (3.2.2.1).

Table 52. CZ Respondent 15: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R15	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	-			+										+	+			
Soc. Status					-						+			+		+-		+-
Education					-													
Poshness										-		+						
Speed										+			+			-	+	

CZ Respondent 16

This respondent's attention is spread evenly across most of the categories, with only poshness slightly lagging behind. Yet, this category is a truly intriguing one because the respondent seems to feel that a genuine RP accent should possess a good deal of poshness. Educated voices and those belonging to a high social stratum are generally seen as RP.

Furthermore, regional features are seen as an obstruction: short BATH (not raised STRUT), and FOOT/GOOSE fronting are mentioned in this respect; the glottal stop is also mentioned three times without stating what region it should be associated with.

Table 53. CZ Respondent 16: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R16	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+		+			+	+		+	+							
Soc. Status	+								-	+		+					-	
Education			+				+							+-		+	+	
Poshness		-						-							-			
Speed									+			-			+		+	+

CZ Respondent 17

CZ Respondent 17 also demonstrates a basically equal distribution of categories. He frequently mentions the glottal stop and short BATH as the reason why he cannot view an accent as RP.

Moreover, he sometimes denies an RP label indicating that the voice is 'not educated enough' or it does 'not sound posh like RP'.

Even though he also mentions the last category four times, most of his comments concern certain slowness that makes him think the accents are not RP. It seems RP speakers need to be, according to this respondent, confident speakers who do not hesitate too much and do not spend a lot of time looking for the right word.

Table 54. CZ Respondent 17: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R17	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality							+		+	+		-					+	
Soc. Status					+		+				+			+-	-			
Education		-								+		+	-		-	+		-
Poshness						+			-					-				-
Speed			-								-	-	-	+				

CZ Respondent 18

This respondent's answers include the category of speed most often (7x). As usual, it is connected with intelligibility: all but one of the samples with a plus in this category are marked as 'intelligible with minor difficulties'. This respondent provides the lowest overall intelligibility score for all the samples. Of course, it is possible that if he has problems understanding the samples, then he may miss out on some salient features this survey focuses on.

Other categories receive less attention—most notably regionality and social status (twice each). Accents marked as educated receive a full RP score.

Table 55. CZ Respondent 18: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R18	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality						-											+	
Soc. Status															+			-
Education				+			+				-				+		+	
Poshness	+				-			-			-					-		
Speed		+		-				+		+				+	-			+

CZ Respondent 19

Very little attention is paid to the categories of regionality and education by this respondent. Instead, his detailed answers contain information about the social status of the speakers and the speed of utterance. Interestingly, he finds some of the voices too slow to be marked RP (does that mean there is a lack of confidence or too much hesitation?).

Generally speaking though, the respondent does not hesitate to mark many of the samples as RP, thereby providing considerably less information than the others.

Table 56. CZ Respondent 19: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R19	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality								+										
Soc. Status						+		-		-	+	+						+
Education											+							
Poshness														-			+-	
Speed				-					+		-	-						

CZ Respondent 20

The last CZ respondent provides the least amount of information of all respondents (both CZ and EN sets). Not surprisingly, more than half of the samples are labelled as RP.

No comments are made concerning the first two categories. Significantly though, the prevailing category is the last one (speed). None of the samples with a plus or a minus in this category are labelled as RP (they are found either too slow or too fast for this model accent).

Table 57. CZ Respondent 20: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R20	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality																		
Soc. Status																		
Education						+					-							+-
Poshness															-	+		
Speed		+		-			+	+		+		-						

6.2.2 English respondents

EN Respondent 1

While regionality is the dominant category for EN Respondent 1, the other two categories are not far behind. Nevertheless, the most revealing is the total absence of any comments in the very last category. As far as regionality is concerned, the biggest amount of attention is paid to short BATH vowels while the category of social status is influenced mostly by the glottal stop (across word boundaries preceding a vowel, as is explicitly stated several times).

An interesting comparison between CZ respondents and EN Respondent 1 reveals that regionality and education are not necessarily two mutually exclusive categories for the latter. Also, four of the eight samples with some regional features are given the full RP status. This respondent thus does not view regionality as a door-closing phenomenon as far as RP is concerned.

Table 58. EN Respondent 1: sociolinguistic categories

EN R1	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+	+	+				+		+	+	+						+	
Soc. Status		-	+									+		-	+			
Education			+	+			+										+	
Poshness										-	-	+						
Speed																		

EN Respondent 2

Although regionality is an important category for EN Respondent 2 as well, it is not the top category (surpassed by education by one comment). As for speed, it gets two mentions, one of which is for Sample 12. Since this sample is an example of an extremely careful speech, EN respondents mention it relatively very often (7x). Short BATH is only mentioned once by this respondent, the other notorious northernism (raised STRUT) is mentioned on every single occasion. This respondent shows the varying degrees of sensitivity the two phenomena entail in the native environment (cf. 5.3.3.6).

Table 59. EN Respondent 2: sociolinguistic categories

EN R2	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+					+	+	+		-					+	
Soc. Status				+				-					-				+	
Education				+	+			-		+		+		-		+		+
Poshness				+													-	
Speed												-				-		

EN Respondent 3

Social status, regionality and education appear to play equally important roles for this respondent. Surprisingly, speed gets mentioned more than poshness. It may be a result of the respondent's deep involvement in ELT activities.

As regards the variables under examination, FOOT/GOOSE fronting is mentioned twice (a rather high number given the total number of tokens); the glottal stop is generally accepted except for two occasions: both across word boundaries preceding a vowel.

Table 60. EN Respondent 3: sociolinguistic categories

EN R3	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+	+				+			+	+		+	+		+		
Soc. Status			+		+		-+		-	+		+						+-
Education	+	+-		+		+						+	+		-			
Poshness	+													-				-
Speed				-				+				-	-				+	

EN Respondent 4

This respondent appears to place more emphasis on the category of poshness than any other respondent. Regionality gets the same number of remarks, but the total numbers for regionality and poshness are markedly different; that is why the score for the latter category truly stands out. The elements of poshness often determine whether the sample is worthy of an RP tag or not.

As for the variables, no single variable is mentioned more than the others.

Table 61. EN Respondent 4: sociolinguistic categories

EN R4	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality			+				+	+				-			+		+	+
Soc. Status	+													+	+			
Education											-						+	
Poshness		+		+	-				-			+	+			+-		
Speed						-												+

EN Respondent 5

This respondent's comments mostly centre on regional features and those related to the level of education. He uncompromisingly rejects short BATH, raised STRUT and lowered TRAP as northernisms not falling within the scope of RP. Interestingly enough, the respondent is not so strict regarding lowered TRAP in southern accents of English.

Even though social status and poshness do not generate such a wealth of comments, one comment is certainly worth citing in full: 'an upper-class snob whose accent is even stronger than RP' for Sample 12.

Table 62. EN Respondent 5: sociolinguistic categories

EN R5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+		+		+			+			+					
Soc. Status	+											+	-			+	+	
Education			+				+		-	+			-	-				-
Poshness				+			-				+				+			
Speed					+	-												

EN Respondent 6

There are an unusual high number of remarks in the speed category. This may be linked with the fact that the respondent used to work as a teacher of English in a non-native country, albeit for one year only. Yet, the highest number of responses is linked with regional features, especially the glottal stop (taken to be a feature typical of the South-East of England) and northernisms like short BATH and raised STRUT.

Table 63. EN Respondent 6: sociolinguistic categories

EN R6	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality							+	+	+	+				+		+	+	+
Soc. Status		-						-	-	+								
Education				+	+							+						
Poshness										-		+					-	
Speed		+				-	-			+	-	-						

EN Respondent 7

EN Respondent 7 pays more attention to social rather than regional aspects of the samples. Interestingly, she takes into account northern features in some samples (7 and 17), while completely ignoring the same features in the others (3 and 10). This inconsistency may be put down to the fact that, judging by her responses, this respondent really appears to see RP as a predominantly social phenomenon. One response (no doubt a tongue-in-cheek one) is worth citing here: Sample 14 cannot be viewed as RP, for it 'ain't posh enuff'.

Significantly, especially if compared with CZ respondents, there is no response in the category of speed.

Table 64. EN Respondent 7: sociolinguistic categories

EN R7	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+					+				+	-			+		+	
Soc. Status				+	+		+	+			-	+		-		+-		+-
Education	+									+	+	+	-					
Poshness	+			+				-				+		-				
Speed																		

EN Respondent 8

This respondent places the biggest emphasis on regionality: she does not consider features revealing a northern background to fall within the range of RP (crucially though, there was not a single mention of short BATH or lowered TRAP, the comments focus mainly on raised STRUT and monophthongal tendencies in some RP diphthongs).

Unlike in the previous respondent's answers, the three samples that are not regarded as posh are given an RP tag in Question 1. This respondent thus does not see posh overtones in an accent a necessary RP ingredient.

Table 65. EN Respondent 8: sociolinguistic categories

EN R8	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+	+	+		+	+	+			+		-	+					
Soc. Status		-	+		-							+			-		+-	
Education		-						-								-		+
Poshness		-		+	-					+						-		+
Speed				-					+						+			

EN Respondent 9

This respondent seems to spread her responses across all the categories evenly, only the last category slightly lagging behind.

Interestingly, the northern voices are labelled as non-RP. Short BATH is not seen as the main problem though (raised STRUT is cited most often). The respondent also makes numerous comments about the glottal stop in intervocalic positions across word boundaries. Generally, those samples with a plus in social status and education are regarded as RP.

Table 66. EN Respondent 9: sociolinguistic categories

EN R9	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+	+				+		+	+							+	+
Soc. Status	+			+						+		+	+-	-		+-		
Education			+	+			+					+		+	-			
Poshness				+		-		-			-	+	-					
Speed				-				+				-					+	

EN Respondent 10

Being one of the least informative EN respondents, the last S EN respondent pays particular attention to features related to educated voices. Other comments concern the regional and social aspects of the voices. The former include comments about the glottal stop (word-final positions in particular), lowered TRAP (only in northern voices though) and, remarkably enough, happY tensing as well (one of only two mentions of it among all 40 respondents).

Table 67. EN Respondent 10: sociolinguistic categories

EN R10	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality							+	+		+	+			+	+			
Soc. Status												+						+
Education			+		+	+	+			+	+		-				+	
Poshness				+												-		
Speed																		

EN Respondent 11

Social status and regionality are the top two categories for this respondent (the first N EN respondent). He mentions a lot of northern features but makes a very clear distinction between short BATH and other northernisms (particularly raised STRUT): while the former does not prevent him from assigning a full RP status, the other northern sounds are not looked on so favourably.

Generally speaking though, he does not find regional features (barring two exceptions) compatible with a high social status and RP.

Table 68. EN Respondent 11: sociolinguistic categories

EN R11	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+				+			+		-	+			+	+	
Soc. Status	+			+	-	+			+			+		+	+		+	
Education								+	+									
Poshness						+			+-					-	+		+-	
Speed											-				-			

EN Respondent 12

Half of this respondent's answers include some comment on regional aspects of the samples. Unlike the previous respondent, regional features do not deny access to a full RP status. Short BATH is not mentioned at all, unlike other northernisms.

Social status is the second most important category: sometimes regional features are linked with a high social status (Samples 3 and 17 in particular). Whilst three samples are regarded as posh, two are regarded as not posh: these are marked Near-RP. Speed is almost completely ignored by this respondent.

Table 69. EN Respondent 12: sociolinguistic categories

EN R12	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+	+		+		+	+		+					+	+	+	+
Soc. Status			+					-			+	+	+-	-		+	+	
Education	+			+								+		-				+-
Poshness				+		-				-		+		+				
Speed												-						

EN Respondent 13

Educated voices are very much preferred by this respondent in his assessment of their degree of RP-ness. Interestingly, educated voices are, according to this respondent, the ones without regional features (apart from Sample 17—might there be possible influence of the content?).

He pays a lot of attention to regional features as well. Apart from the usual northern ones, he also reacts to some glottal stops (word final and across word boundaries intervocalic positions). The latter are rejected as cockneyisms (cf. the discussion of the issue in Jezek 2006). The remaining two categories are barely mentioned at all; yet, the comment in Sample 12 is charmingly straightforward: 'unbelievably snooty!!!'

Table 70. EN Respondent 13: sociolinguistic categories

EN R13	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality			+				+	+	+	+				+			+	
Soc. Status		+					+			+				-				-
Education				+	-						+	+	+-		+	+	+	
Poshness				+		-						+						
Speed									+									

EN Respondent 14

The top two categories for this respondent are regionality and social status. While the former includes a lot of comments on the glottal stop and other southern features (e.g. the quality of diphthongs), the latter category sees the prevalence of southern accents (all the six pluses in the category of social status are linked with southern voices).

Three out of five educated voices are also marked as regional. One regional voice (Sample 16) is even deemed to be posh (affected).

Table 71. EN Respondent 14: sociolinguistic categories

EN R14	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+				+			+		-	+	+		+		
Soc. Status				+					-		+	+			+	+		+
Education			+	+			+							+	+			
Poshness								+				+		-		+		
Speed													-				-	+

EN Respondent 15

This respondent pays the highest amount of attention to the very first category (8 comments), the next three categories then get the same score (6 comments). This respondent's perception of RP is strongly linked with poshness: on four occasions he declines the option to award a full RP status on the grounds the accent is not posh.

Regional features mentioned by this respondent include glottals (utterance final positions), raised STRUT, FOOT/GOOSE fronting (characteristic of southern regions according to this respondent), and [æ] seen as an old-fashioned RP and southern-based sound.

Table 72. EN Respondent 15: sociolinguistic categories

EN R15	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+			+					+	+				+	+	+	+
Soc. Status	+	-			-							+	-				+	
Education		-				+		+-	+-	+								+
Poshness				+	-								+-		+		-	-
Speed				-	+							-						

EN Respondent 16

This respondent regards regionality as the main criterion in terms of numbers (half of her responses mention it). As for northern features, she does not mention short BATH at all; she only sometimes comments on raised STRUT. Southern sounds she objects to are /t/-flapping, /l/-vocalisation. Also, she mentions the speed of Samples 4 and 12 (though this has little to do with region, of course).

Social status and education sometimes occur in connection with regional features, though no firm pattern can be established. Sample 12 is viewed as extremely posh by this respondent but also those samples which are not regarded as posh are generally looked on very favourably and get a full RP score in Question 1.

Table 73. EN Respondent 16: sociolinguistic categories

EN R16	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+	+	+			+	+	+			-	+	+		+		
Soc. Status			+					+		+		+			+			
Education			+				+						-	+	+		+	
Poshness				+					+	-		+				-		
Speed				-								-						

EN Respondent 17

This respondent is unique insofar as she puts such a lot of emphasis on the category of poshness. Interestingly, she passes a remark about posh overtones or a lack of them for all the samples from number 12 upwards; almost as if this 'veeeery posh' Sample 12 has made such a strong impression on her that she then feels the urge to mention poshness in all the remaining samples.

Regionality receives the same score as poshness; her responses are the most critical of all N EN regarding northern features (she even rejects short BATH). Not many samples are labelled as RP by this respondent. None of these include any regional features.

Three of those samples which are thought to reveal a high social status are only labelled as Near-RP.

Table 74. EN Respondent 17: sociolinguistic categories

EN R17	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+			+	+			+				+	+		+	+
Soc. Status					+		+							-		+	+	+
Education				+							+	+						
Poshness		-	+									+	+-	+	-	+	-	+
Speed												-						

EN Respondent 18

Regionality and education are mentioned in almost half of the samples. The latter category seems to be a really important category for the degree of RP-ness because almost all the samples marked as RP in Question 1 are also regarded as educated.

Regional features most often mentioned by this respondent are the glottal stop (Estuary English overtones), /l/-vocalisation, and some diphthongal qualities (e.g. PRICE or MOUTH, both linked with the South-East of England). As for the northern voices, most of them are marked as regional, yet those that are found to be educated get the full RP score. Posh voices get the full RP score, too; nonetheless, they are generally not received well and are rather looked on as something to avoid.

Table 75. EN Respondent 18: sociolinguistic categories

EN R18	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality			+		+		+		+	+	+	-	+				+	
Soc. Status				+	-			+				+	-		-			
Education	+	+	+	+	-		+			+		+				+		+-
Poshness					+	-		+	+-		+	+						
Speed										+							+	

EN Respondent 19

EN Respondent 19 stresses two categories: poshness and regionality. Posh accents get the RP label in Question 1 and are (with the exception of Sample 12) generally received well; i.e. the posh overtones are seen as something to be expected of RP.

As far as regional aspects are concerned, /l/-vocalisation is the biggest problem, along with the glottal stop in intervocalic positions across word boundaries. Indeed, none of the voices with regional sounds are labelled as RP. Surprisingly, some clearly regional samples (3 and 7, for example) are left without any comments in the category of regionality and are therefore given the RP status.

What is also worth noting is that not all the samples assigned to a high social stratum are labelled as RP (Samples 4 and 8 are the two in question).

Table 76. EN Respondent 19: sociolinguistic categories

EN R19	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+								+		-		+		+	+	+
Soc. Status				+			+	+				+		-				
Education					+				+									
Poshness	+	-			+							+		+		+-	+-	
Speed																		

EN Respondent 20

Educated voices and voices revealing a high position in the society are the ones to be in harmony with this respondent's expectations regarding RP. Regional features appear to be an obstacle as only one voice is marked as RP in spite of the fact that it contains sounds linked with a particular region.

Like with the other EN respondents, speed is almost completely ignored, while poshness receives four mentions. Sample 12 is singled out as an example of a very old-fashioned and posh variety of RP.

Table 77. EN Respondent 20: sociolinguistic categories

EN R20	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality					+		+	+	+	+		-						
Soc. Status	+	+				+					-	+				+		-
Education		+	+	+			+								+	+	+	-
Poshness				+								+		+	+			
Speed								+										

6.3 Research Questions and Results

In this part data is analysed according to the research questions (cf. 4.4.2) and the main area these questions cover.

6.3.1 The Degree of RP-ness: Research Question 1

Research Question 1: What would you label this accent:

If all respondents provided only 'RP' answers, the overall score would be 2 points while if all of them went for 'Non-RP', the overall score would be 0.

As has been anticipated in Hypothesis1, EN respondents turn out to be more tolerant and their overall average RP score is higher than that of their Czech counterparts. EN respondents have the obvious advantage of being native speakers and their perception of the prestige accent is based on direct contact rather than on a model presented in a book. Since the model available in books in non-native countries is rather outdated, it is only to be expected that CZ respondents feel that the accents they can hear are not in full accordance with the model; hence the lower scores.

Overall average RP score for 20 CZ and 20 EN respondents:

CZ respondents:	1.15
EN respondents:	1.28

Even though the overall average scores reveal some general tendencies in both groups' perception of the pronunciation standard, much more is revealed if the scores are analysed individually.

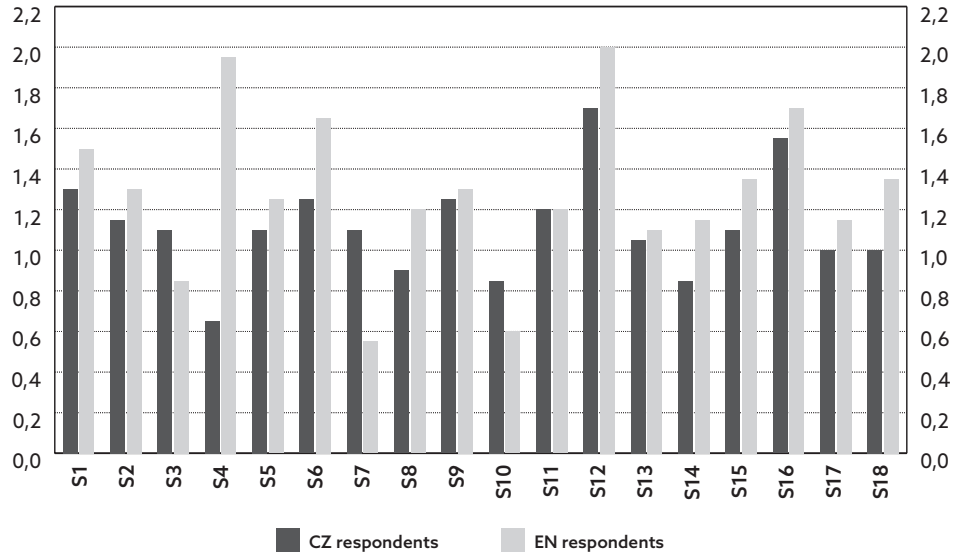
The individual RP scores for 20 CZ and 20 EN respondents can be found in Figure 1 on p. 210. The main trend seems to be clear: 14 out of the total of 18 samples have received a higher RP score from EN respondents, there is one equal score from both sets of respondents and only three samples are looked upon more favourably in terms of RP-ness by CZ respondents. Generally speaking, the majority of samples do not display any significant differences between EN and CZ respondents (less than 0.3) and these will not be commented upon. I would like to turn my attention to the samples where the differences are higher than 0.3 (Samples 4 and 6) and those samples which have received a higher RP score from CZ respondents (Samples 3, 7, and 10). Interestingly enough, the latter group of samples are all northern voices.

Samples 3 and 7

These two samples are dealt with in one section because they were produced by just one speaker. It is thus little surprising that the differences between CZ and EN respondents are similar (0.85 for S3 and 0.55 for S7). While the differences are rather similar, the scores are far from similar: S3 has scored 1.7 (CZ) and 0.85 (EN) whereas S7 has only received 1.1 (CZ) and 0.55 (EN). It is therefore necessary to attempt to answer two questions: why is there such a significant gap between CZ and EN respondents and why has S3 received such significantly higher scores than S7?

As far as the former question is concerned, CZ respondents do not take into account raised STRUT and short BATH (the two most salient northern features; cf. Beal 2008b: 131–2) as much as EN respondents. Their comments (rare as they are) include mainly glottal stops and lowered TRAPs. EN respondents, on the other hand, mention raised STRUT 15 times (short BATH only 6 times, almost all of these comments made by S EN respondents). This sound has proved to be the reason why EN respondents' score is so low. Furthermore, the sample is very easy to understand for CZ respondents (intelligibility score: 1.95 out of 2), which appears to have contributed to the high RP score assigned by CZ respondents.

Figure 1. RP scores by samples and respondents



I believe that the latter question is connected with the quantity of the relevant features in S 7: short BATH was present 5 times (only one word: *last*; it could hardly be any more conspicuous) and raised STRUT 3 times (both variables are only present once in S3). That is why this sample has received remarkably lower RP scores than S3.

There is one more observation based on the difference between CZ and EN respondents and their evaluation of S7: while CZ respondents pay the biggest deal of attention to the very frequent short BATH *last*, EN respondents consider raised STRUT to be the outstanding regional feature.

There is also a considerable difference between S EN and N EN respondents' RP scores (and their evaluation of the crucial variables on which the scores are undoubtedly based). This, however, is discussed in detail in 5.3.3.6.

Sample 4

This sample is remarkable because it represents the biggest difference between CZ and EN respondents: 1.3 points (CZ: 0.65, EN: 1.95). The explanations for this extreme perceptive span seem to be manifold.

First of all, the speed of utterance is extremely low. EN respondents interpret this phenomenon as careful diction often found with traditional RP speakers whereas some of their CZ counterparts are convinced that the person is actually

not a native speaker of English at all. The speed is, in their opinion, a signal of the person's inability to express himself in English fluently. Other CZ respondents find some features deemed to be regional/non-standard: the intrusive /r/, the glottal stop replacing /t/, extremely close /i/, velar/uvular initial sound in *hobby*, and vocalised /l/.

Interestingly enough, the sample presents only a very few features which might possibly be labelled as near-RP or non-RP. It is the speed that appears to have played the crucial role in determining to what extent the accent is or is not RP. Moreover, EN respondents (more than a half of them) find the sample to be quite posh, which is naturally another important factor for the overall RP score.

This sample is also exceptional insofar as it has received a very high intelligibility score (2.95); still, its RP score is the lowest of all as far as CZ respondents are concerned. It seems to be the case that for CZ respondents this accent is so easy to understand that they think it cannot possibly be a native speaker. Why could a non-native speaker of English not speak RP though? RP is surely not limited to the native milieu; especially in view of the fact that it is presented as the model in non-native countries as well.

Sample 6

The difference in the RP scores for this sample is 0.4 (CZ: 1.25, EN: 1.65). CZ respondents' comments include several phenomena that prevent a higher RP score: lowered TRAP, a few glottal replacements of /t/ and intrusive /r/. On the other hand, these are completely neglected by EN respondents in their comments; some of them have only decided not to award a full RP status on the grounds that the accent lacks posh overtones.

The RP score for this sample may also have been influenced by the content of the sample (possibly some academic work, data analysis, etc.), but that should be the same for both sets of respondents.

Sample 10

This is the last of the three samples which have received a higher RP score from CZ respondents (CZ: 0.85, EN: 0.65). The difference is, admittedly, far from dramatic but the two scores are still worth investigating.

The low score from CZ respondents is undoubtedly linked with the intelligibility score: a very low one at 1.1. The main reason why this sample has received such a low intelligibility score is the speed of utterance. Furthermore, the sample includes a number of regional markers.

The voice is judged to be clearly regional by EN respondents as well: only three fail to include a comment about that. Raised STRUT proves to be the main hindrance to a higher RP score (with short BATH receiving only half as many comments).

It seems that this sample has got a higher RP score from CZ respondents mainly because raised STRUT is an unacceptable sound in RP and EN respondents are particularly sensitive to it. Otherwise, a number of them find the sample educated and of a high social status; they do not seem to have had any other reason why to mark the accent down to such an extent.

6.3.2 Selected variables: Research Question 2

Research Question 2: If the previous answer is Near-RP/Non-RP, please indicate which features have influenced your judgement:

This open question has been included with a view to eliciting information about features that do not fall within the scope of Received Pronunciation. Despite having pre-selected a set of variables, I have decided against forming specific questions focused on particular variables. Instead, I have made use of open questions to avoid influencing my respondents and to keep the door open for any other variables that have not been included in my pre-selected set. Thus, I am able to conclude, for example, that while short BATH should be included in the RP model, raised STRUT (the other salient northernism) should definitely not. I have included the former while leaving out the latter in my pre-selected set of variables; yet, due to the open form of the question, respondents have been able to pass comments on both variables (see 6.3.2.5 for more details about these variables).

I will now proceed to discuss the selected variables in relation to the data gathered in my research.

6.3.2.1 Lowered TRAP vowel

The TRAP vowel is a very frequent sound and it is present in all the samples. Only one sample (S4) does not include any lowered TRAP vowel (i.e. cardinal vowel no. 4 [a]). Naturally, the whole phenomenon cannot be viewed on the either/or (black or white) basis only. As details 2.5.2, it is often much more revealing to approach linguistic data quantitatively (rather than qualitatively) since a particular user does not always use only one possible variant while completely ignoring the other(s). In my research, a number of speakers (Samples 1, 5, 11,

12, 14, and 15) make use of both variants on offer as far as TRAP is concerned: [a] and [æ].

Significantly, all the enumerated samples above come from speakers from the South of England. It would thus be tempting to come to the conclusion that a categorical use of [] is a northern feature. Such a conclusion would, indeed, be in line with other research dealing with the TRAP vowel (cf. Beal 2008b: 130). This aspect of the issue is not, however, one of the aims of my research.

I would now like to answer the question whether lowered TRAP [a] is an RP sound along with the well-established [æ].

Before I present the results of my study for TRAP though, I would like to stress that I am aware of the fact that this particular vowel occurs in high-frequency grammatical words like *had*, *has*, *and* as well as in content words like *family*, *gradually*, *grandparents* (all these examples come from the samples). To avoid skewed results because of this, each sample contains grammatical words as well as content words—only Sample 2 is an exception as it only contains words *and* and *had* (the latter both as an auxiliary as well as a full verb).

The vowel in question is present in 17 samples, there are 47 instances in total; two samples only have one token while one sample has five tokens, which is the highest of all. It could potentially have been mentioned 340 times by both sets of respondents if every single respondent had reacted to a lowered TRAP vowel in every single sample. That would, however, be a very high number and the actual numbers are considerably lower, of course:

Table 78. Lowered TRAP [a] by respondents

Lowered TRAP [a]	Results in numbers	Results in %
CZ respondents	82	24
EN respondents	7	2.05

The number of mentions is significantly higher for CZ respondents. The data reveals that no respondent has singled out this variable more than the others.

As far as the North and South divide is concerned, 7 comments is obviously too low a number to reveal any pattern.

The findings confirm what can be found in many sources (e.g. Wells 1982: 129, Wells 2001, Cruttenden 2014: 119, Upton 2000a: 79): the TRAP vowel in contemporary RP has the quality of the cardinal vowel no. 4. What is different, though, is the perception of this particular sound among CZ and EN respondents.

It is clear that for EN respondents lowered TRAP has fixed its position in RP. The problematic issue now is the adequate symbol for it. Wells (2001) calls for sticking with the old symbol and merely redefining it; in other words, he seems to

propose that we should keep using the [æ] symbol while including a remark that its actual realisation has shifted to [a]. However, it seems more appropriate to me to adopt a symbol that perfectly matches the modern variant of the phoneme.

CZ respondents, on the other hand, find the phoneme more difficult to accept. Although the total number of comments may not seem so high, it does reveal certain reluctance towards lowered TRAP in RP.

First of all, the reluctance may be the result of the overwhelming presence of [æ] in all ELT materials. Non-native language professionals are used to it and they do expect to hear the sound in what they believe to be RP. The ELT world seems rather conservative (Upton 2001: 355) but the important question to ask is whether it is conservative because it wants to be like that (an inherent urge of some sort) or because it works with materials that present conservative forms. Admittedly, some academics feel strongly about maintaining a 'hard-won uniformity' when it comes to transcription preferences (Wells 2001). Personally, I do not think that there is some conservative conspiracy going on though because teaching materials are very expensive to make and changes are typically only reflected once they have been thoroughly analysed and accepted by the academic community. As can be seen, there is no unanimity of opinion among the academics as far as the proper symbol for TRAP is concerned.

Then, as the [æ] sound does not exist in the Czech language, the Czechs face a dilemma in their own language when it comes to English words that also exist in Czech—typically proper nouns like *Gareth* and *Barry*. Thus, Czech commentators, for example, need to make up their mind as to which sound to use whenever *Gareth Bale* (a Welsh football player) touches the ball—unless they produce [æ], which would undoubtedly please many teachers of English, but it would sound rather odd in an otherwise perfectly Czech environment, of course. They basically have two options: [a] and [ɛ]. The tradition dictates that the latter variant is adopted; Gareth is then [gɛrɛt] (Czechs also do not reduce unstressed vowels and /th/ becomes an alveolar plosive). The habit is so strong that it even makes Czechs use [ɛ] for English words which also exist in Czech with [a]. As a result, funnily enough, *Patrik Elias* (Czech ice-hockey player) is then [patrɪk] while *Patrick Swayze* is [pɛtrɪk]. Needless to say, this choice of the vowel in question is rather unfortunate as it may bring about considerable confusion in English in minimal pairs like *latter/letter* or *bad/bed*. I think it would be beneficial to encourage students who follow the British model of pronunciation to adopt [a] for TRAP words. It is so common in regional accents of English in this day and age and the foothold [æ] used to have in RP seems to have weakened now considerably as well.

Sample 4 is the only one where TRAP is not lowered at all (admittedly, there are only two instances in total). The social background of the speaker (see Appendix 1) and his long stay abroad as a teacher of English may suggest why.

While the TRAP words are completely ignored by CZ respondents, EN respondents mention it twice that the sound is 'old-fashioned' and typical of 'traditional RP'. This sound undoubtedly also contributes towards the fact that as many as eleven EN respondents find the accent rather posh; only one CZ respondent thinks so as well.

6.3.2.2 Intrusive /r/

The sound is rather rare (especially when compared with the glottal stop or TRAP words). As a consequence, in all the eighteen samples there are only five tokens of intrusive /r/. All of them are produced by speakers with southern accents of English. However, I would call this pure coincidence (cf. e.g. Foulkes 1997 and Barrass 2010, who firmly confirm the existence of intrusive /r/ in northern voices as well).

Since intrusive /r/ is present five times, the maximum number of comments from one set of respondents was 100. The results are the following:

Table 79. Intrusive /r/ by respondents

Intrusive [r]	Results in numbers	Results in %
CZ respondents	26	260
EN respondents	0	0

Not a single comment from EN respondents is an unmistakable sign of the fact that intrusive /r/ has now won a firm place in the RP repertoire. This confirms what academics have been claiming for several decades (e.g. Wells 1994: 3.4, Upton 2008: 249 and Cruttenden 2014: 316). See 6.2 for an analysis of pronouncing dictionaries and their reflection of this phenomenon.

CZ respondents' score, on the other hand, is 26%. Those CZ respondents who provide further comment on this phenomenon mention the issue of spelling several times (it would, for example, be difficult to teach this sound if it is not 'there'; i.e. in the spelling). Others simply state that the sound does not 'belong to RP'. Two respondents have asserted that it is unnecessary to teach this sound because it only seems to complicate things and it does not bring any benefits in terms of intelligibility.

Indeed, the presence or absence of intrusive /r/ in one's accent makes little difference as far as intelligibility is concerned. Nevertheless, I would not agree with the view that the use of intrusive /r/ does not bring any benefits at all. Trudgill (2002: 179) suggests that foreigners should be encouraged to adopt in-

trusive /r/. I am convinced that this sound can immediately inform a native speaker of the non-native speaker's sound knowledge of English (pronunciation). It signals to native speakers that they can speak freely and they do not have to modify their speech to accommodate to the level of the recipient; this can certainly win a few extra points (literally or not, e.g. in a job interview). While some nations (the Czechs, for example) are pleased whenever they hear a foreigner trying to speak their language, other nations, including the English, probably hear dozens of such attempts every single day. Surely, the presence of such distinctive features as intrusive /r/ might bring a considerable benefit insofar as it may guarantee a high level of English and it may possibly break the ice in a conversation with an English person.

6.3.2.3 FOOT/GOOSE fronting

This variable is present in four samples (8, 11, 15, 18). The first of them includes two words with this vowel, which means that the total number of words with fronted FOOT/GOOSE is five. Fronted GOOSE is present only once (*cool*) while fronted FOOT is present four times (*good* 3x and *foot*).

Since there are four samples with the variable in question, the maximum number of comments from one set of respondents was 80. Here are the actual results:

Table 80. FOOT/GOOSE fronting by respondents

FOOT/GOOSE ronting	Results in numbers	Results in %
CZ respondents	16	20
EN respondents	6	7.5

This vowel is now attested in RP (Cruttenden 2008: 125). I treat both lexical sets together here because the long GOOSE vowel is not only fronted, but it is also often shortened (the word *cool* in Sample 8 is a prime example of this). Upton (2008: 245) maintains that the sound is typical of young RP speakers. In my research, fronted FOOT/GOOSE is produced by 2 speakers only, one evidently very young (university student), the other is in his forties. Their overall RP scores from both sets of respondents are, however, rather low.

The results reveal that for EN respondents fronting FOOT/GOOSE is hardly a problem. It only gets six mentions and the comments include information about a 'too casual' accent or one where 'not enough attention is paid to pronunciation'.

CZ respondents make a remark about this vowel much more frequently. They, also, comment on the fact that it is 'sloppy', 'casual', 'too laid-back'.

6.3.2.4 The glottal stop

This variable is not as straightforward as the others. What needs to be borne in mind is the fact that the glottal stop can appear in a number of phonetic environments, and the environment itself affects its acceptability in RP.

In my research I use the oft-cited classification found in Wells (1982: 260) to deal with the glottal stop (keeping the abbreviations designed by Wells apart from two changes, cf. p. 107; hereinafter the abbreviations are typed in *italics*):

		/ p /	/ t /	/ k /
(a)	__ #true C	*stop talking*	*quite good*	*look down*
(b)	__#L or S	*stop worrying*	*quite likely*	*look worried*
(c)	__ #V	*stop eating*	*quite easy*	*look up*
(d)	__ pause	*Stop!*	*Quite!*	*Look!*
(e)	__true C	*stopped, capsule*	*nights, curtsey*	*looks, picture*
(f)	__L or S	*hopeless*	*mattress*	*equal*
(g)	__[m̩ n̩ ŋ̩]	*(happen)*	*button*	*(bacon)*
(h)	__V or [l̩]	*happy, apple, stop it*	*butter, bottle, get 'im, ticket, buckle, lick it*	

The samples confirm that the glottal stop is now a very common sound. The total number of glottalised /t/s in all the samples is 107. Only Sample 7 does not contain any glottalised plosive at all. Although /t/ is by far the most glottalised plosive, there are seven instances of glottalised /k/ (mainly the high-frequency word *like*). The following table, based on the classification in Wells (above) reveals the pattern for all the samples:

Table 81. The number of [ʔ] tokens by samples and linguistic contexts

Glottal stop	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18	Total
_#true C	1	2	1		4	2		3	5	3	4	1	4	4	2		3	1	40
_#L or S				1	4	1		3	7	2	3	1	2		3	2	4	1	34
_#V	1				2			2	2	3			2	1	3	3			19
_pause		2	1		2			1			1				2		1		10
_true C				1															1
_L or S		2																	2
_Syl N								1											1
_V or Syl /l/																			0

The table reveals a very high frequency of the glottal stop in the top two categories; then there is a significant gap dividing *_#true C* and *_# L or S* from *_#V* and *_pause*. The remaining four categories are not represented by more than two words. In fact, the last one (word-medial in between vowels) does not have a single token. It is hardly surprising, though, as this usage is still restricted to highly regional, nonstandard voices (Cruttenden 2014: 184).

Of course, the table is only illustrative. I have selected only some parts of the recordings I made. Yet, this variable is the only one where I have not included all (or almost all) of the tokens present in the recordings. I have made sure that the other variables are selected and I have mostly simply included the glottal stops present in the vicinity of the other variables. The only conscious effort I made was to include those glottal stops in the bottom half categories. Nonetheless, it is easy to see that [ʔ] in these categories is rather infrequent in educated speech.

Since the variable in question was present in 17 samples, the total number of possible comments from each set of respondents in my research is 340. The results are the following:

Table 82. The glottal stop [ʔ] by respondents

The glottal stop [ʔ]	Results in numbers	Results in %
CZ respondents	97	28.5
EN respondents	66	19.4

Though the numbers show that CZ respondents take a stricter stance to the occurrence of the glottal stop in Received Pronunciation, the results can only elucidate the issue properly if the phonetic environments are taken into account. Before these details are offered, it seems apposite to bring to mind what prominent linguists claim about the glottal stop in relation to its status in RP.

Wells (1982: 261) maintains that the following categories from his classification above belong to RP: *_#true C*, *_#L or S*, and *_true C*. Ramsaran (1990: 187) adds one more category in her list of RP sounds: *_L or S*. Cruttenden (1994: 155–6) and Upton (2008: 249) agree with the categories stated above, and they also include category *_Syl N* words like *Luton* and *cotton*.

Not every single respondent includes specific information as to which phonetic environment they deem unacceptable. Sometimes, the answers are rather general like 'the glottals', '/t/-glottalisation', or 'the glottal stop'. While such a lack of specific examples does not pose any problems for the other variables, the glottal stop does need such specification. Nevertheless, there are enough respondents who have given specific examples of those tokens where [ʔ] is unacceptable in RP: 58 specific tokens (max. 97) mentioned by CZ respondents and 40 (max. 66)

mentioned by EN respondents. I believe that the results are thus representative enough.

Table 83. CZ respondents' reactions to [ʔ] by linguistic contexts

CZ respondents: Linguistic contexts for [ʔ]	Results in %
_#true C	13.4
_#L or S	12.4
_#V	11.3
_pause	9.3
_true C	5.1
_L or S	3.0
_Syl N	5.1
_V or Syl /l/	0

Table 84. EN respondents' reactions to [ʔ] by linguistic contexts

EN respondents: Linguistic contexts for [ʔ]	Results in %
_#true C	1.5
_#L or S	3.0
_#V	16.6
_pause	15.1
_true C	9.0
_L or S	1.5
_Syl N	13.6
_V or Syl /l/	0

The two tables display a dramatic difference. While CZ respondents' scores decrease as one moves from top to bottom, EN respondents give prominence to three categories: *_#V*, *_pause*, and *_Syl N*. It seems that CZ respondents are influenced by the quantity as their most frequent responses are in those categories with the highest numbers of tokens in the samples: *_#true C*, *_#L or S*, *_#V* and *_pause*. EN respondents, on the other hand, seem to have reacted to the quality. In other words, they do not cite examples from the categories with abundant tokens but they focus on those phonetic environments that appear to be out of the RP range.

The interpretation I offer here is that those CZ respondents who do not regard the glottal stop as an RP sound (and all 20 CZ respondents mention the glottal

stop at least once) do not really distinguish between various phonetic environments; i.e. they just react to the glottal stop they can hear, particularly if it is present in the sample a number of times. Naturally, the most common mentions relate to the most frequent tokens.

In the non-native milieu, it thus does not seem appropriate to speak about different phonetic environments in which the glottal stop can occur. CZ respondents simply react to the glottal stop as such and the score (when compared with the other variables) is far from low. They clearly think that the glottal stop remains a sound the presence of which is rather disputable in RP.

EN respondents, on the other hand, seem to take phonetic environments into consideration. Their most frequent categories are *_#V*, *_pause*, and *_Syl N*. Interestingly enough, the total number of tokens in these three environments is 30, i.e. fewer than in each of the top two categories: *_#true C* with 40 and *_#L or S* with 34 tokens.

EN respondents confirm the abovementioned views which claim that the glottal stop is an RP sound before consonants (both across word boundaries or word internally). There are considerable reservations regarding its presence in RP before vowels and preceding a pause as well as word-medially before a nasal. The last category would, however, surely need to be represented by more than just one word (*bitten*) to make the results more convincing.

The overall numbers of words representing individual categories are worth having a closer look at. In total, my respondents listened to over 8 minutes of authentic speech. But I had made recordings stretching over 60 minutes. In those 60 minutes there is not a single token of *Syl N* category word—the only example in Sample 8 comes from Collins and Mees (2003: 4). Furthermore, there is only one word in the*_true C* category: *football;* two words in the *_L or S* category: *heatwave* and *courtyard;* and no word in the *_V or Syl /l/* category. Needless to say, had there been more words in these categories, I would not have hesitated to include them in my research. But the recordings simply do not include them. I am convinced that this very fact speaks volumes about the frequency and distribution of the glottal stop in educated speech.

6.3.2.5 Short BATH

Unsurprisingly, all of the voices with this variable are northern ones; the variable is present in four samples: 3, 7, 10, and 13. In total, there are nine instances of this variable (most notably the word *last* repeated five times in Sample 7).

Since there are four samples with the variable in question, the maximum number of comments from CZ respondents is 80. Since this variable sharply divides S EN and N EN respondents, their group is divided into 2 subgroups

(10 members in each group) with 40 as the total number of responses. Here are the actual results:

Table 85. Short BATH [a] by respondents

Short BATH [a]	Results in numbers	Results in %
CZ respondents	19	23.8
S EN respondents	23	57.5
N EN respondents	2	5.0

For N EN respondents short BATH seems to present no problems and they do not, except for a few exceptions, regard the sound as non-RP. The reason is that the feature is not stigmatised and does not imply a lack of education or sophistication. Consequently, even northerners attempting to modify their accent towards the standard retain this feature.

S EN respondents, on the other hand, find the sound problematic as regards its acceptance in RP. The score is, indeed, a very high one and it provides clear evidence that the notion of RP divides England into two halves: Northern RP (with short BATH) and Southern RP (without short BATH). To make the results more telling, I have also counted the results for raised STRUT. Although it is not one of the studied variables, it is the other variable dividing the South from the North. The results clearly reveal the difference in perception between raised STRUT and short BATH (the total number is 30 as this variant is present in 3 samples only (3,7,10)).

Table 86. Raised STRUT by EN respondents

Raised STRUT	Results in numbers	Results in %
S EN resp.	20	66.6
N EN resp.	17	56.6

For N EN respondents raised STRUT is almost as unacceptable in RP as short BATH for S EN respondents. The numbers are very high, and one cannot admit raised STRUT in the current model of RP. Short BATH, however, is a different case: for S EN respondents it is not an RP sound at all; their N EN counterparts do not think that BATH [a] is stigmatised.

CZ respondents seem to take notice of the variable mainly when it is present (repeated) a number of times (Sample 7). The voices containing short BATH generally receive a very high intelligibility score and, as a result, are considered

to be relatively close to the RP label (with the exception of Sample 10, which remains much closer to Near-RP). I believe that the high intelligibility score is directly linked with the degree of RP-ness CZ respondents assign to these samples. Though this is discussed in greater detail in 6.3.4, I would like to say here that CZ respondents do not appear to take into account regional or social aspects of the accent (certainly not as much as their EN counterparts); what they do consider crucial is intelligibility. This is in line with the definition of RP to be found in *Everyman's English pronouncing dictionary:* 'it [=RP] has a regional, geographical basis and a wide intelligibility' (Jones 1977: x). Thus, if CZ respondents understand the accent easily, the RP score is high regardless of the number of regional or social aspects present in the accent.

My research confirms that Upton's division of RP into northern and southern varieties is based on a solid foundation. Unless short BATH is allowed to enter the realm of Received Pronunciation, this accent remains an 'exclusively southern-British phenomenon' (Upton 2003: xiii). Moreover, it seems no longer possible to adhere to the axiom of non-localisability of RP. If short BATH is rejected, RP then becomes an accent strongly linked with the South of England. If short BATH is accepted in the model, then one needs to distinguish between its southern and northern varieties.

6.3.2.6 Summary: selected variables—CZ and EN respondents

With the selected variables having been discussed separately, it is now fitting to compare the two sets of respondents. It is possible to treat EN respondents as one compact group for all the variables with the notable exception of short BATH.

Table 87. Five selected variables by respondents

Five selected variables	CZ respondents	EN respondents	
Lowered TRAP	24.0%	2.0%	
Intrusive /r/	26.0%	0%	
The glottal stop	28.5%	19.4%	
FOOT/GOOSE fronting	20%	7.5%	
		S EN r.	N EN r.
Short BATH	23.8%	57.5%	5.0%

The percentages in the table above are seemingly rather low (except for the S EN score at the bottom); yet, one has to remember that it would be wholly exceptional if a particular variable should get a score approaching 100%. To give an

example, stigma attached to the raised STRUT vowel as far as the pronunciation standard in Britain is concerned is still strongly felt; nonetheless, it 'only' received 66.6% from S EN respondents and 56.6% from their northern counterparts. In retrospect, it would certainly have been beneficial if the samples had included an even more stigmatised (i.e. than raised STRUT) sound in order that we might see how high the percentages could possibly reach—an intervocalic word-medial glottal stop (*water* [wɔːʔə]) would be a suitable representative. However, I aimed to offer for analysis a set of educated voices that were middle-of-the-road in terms of regional as well as social features. Clearly, the glottal stop in *wa'er* would be incompatible with such requirements.

It seems extremely surprising that all the scores from CZ respondents fall within such a close range (from 20% to 28,5%). CZ respondents fail to focus on any particular variable. My explanation I tentatively put forward concerns the fact that non-native respondents seem unable to pick more than one variable in short samples like the ones present in the survey. Only rarely does a particular sample draw more than one CZ comment concerning the variables (even including those that were not selected for analysis); in this respect there is a marked difference between CZ and EN respondents. The analysis does not reveal any pattern for CZ respondents; all of them mention almost all of the variables under investigation at least once but very few of them mention one variable more than three times. Another possible explanation does not see the crux of the matter in non-native respondents' inability to spot more than one variable, but rather in their overall approach to the research. It seems that they may have approached it in a 'spot-the-one-mistake' manner; as a result, when/if they did spot the 'mistake' (the feature not compatible with RP), their attention may have flagged.

Even such a prominent regional feature as raised STRUT has failed to raise more than 16 comments from CZ respondents (26.6%). In my opinion, such a score (along with the scores for the other variables) implies that non-natives focus on speed and intelligibility so much that regional features are only observed somewhat sparsely. I cannot conclude that any of the studied variables is accepted in the non-native model of RP. Nor can I say that it does not belong to RP at all. The percentages are inconclusive; particularly given the fact that such a stigmatised sound as raised STRUT receives an almost identical score as the other variables.

As regards EN respondents, they seem to have little or no problem at all with lowered TRAP, intrusive /r/ and FOOT/GOOSE fronting. The BATH vowel, sharply dividing S EN and N EN respondents, is discussed in greater detail elsewhere (6.3.2.5), as is the glottal stop (6.3.2.4), where one needs to take into consideration the various phonetic environments in which the glottal stop may appear. CZ respondents (unlike their EN counterparts) do not seem to pay a great deal of attention to the phonetic environment in which the glottal stop appears.

This might be due to a considerable lack of exposure to native accents as well as a lack of sensitivity that is attached to the glottal stop in various phonetic environments.

In conclusion, the evidence shows that CZ respondents do not differentiate much between individual variables and their regional and social connotations. Instead, they approach them as identical (the very small differences in the percentages in Table 87 supports this claim). The same might be said about the glottal stop: they simply react to its presence or absence without making any further/deeper differentiation.

With EN respondents the situation is far from straightforward as they pay close attention to individual variables and, in the case of the glottal stop, to exact phonetic environments, too. Such a result can be argued to have been influenced by 'trained ears' that natives are naturally endowed with. Despite the less straightforward patterns, EN respondents' scores leave little doubt as to whether a given sound is or is not to be considered RP.

6.3.3 Sociolinguistic Categories of RP: Research Questions 3 and 5

Research Question 3: Why do you consider the features mentioned above (Question 2) not to fall within RP?

Research Question 5: Would you like to make any (more) comments on this accent?

These two questions are discussed together because they largely provide a similar type of data: reasons why specific sounds (mainly Question 3) or entire accents (mainly Question 5) can or cannot be considered RP. Such information can then be used to identify the basics of RP; in other words, it is hoped that it is possible to create a mental image of the accent for both sets of respondents.

The information gathered via these two questions has been sorted into five categories, the definitions of which are provided below. The survey does not affect respondents as it does not reveal precisely what kind of information it focuses on.

The five categories in this analysis are the ones most frequently mentioned in Questions 3 and 5. The category of intelligibility is analysed separately in 5.3.4.

While I can hardly discuss what the categories mean to my respondents, I can provide my own understanding of the categories that seem to define Received Pronunciation. My own definitions of the notions are offered here; the actual results are discussed further below.

Figure 2. RP categories by CZ respondents

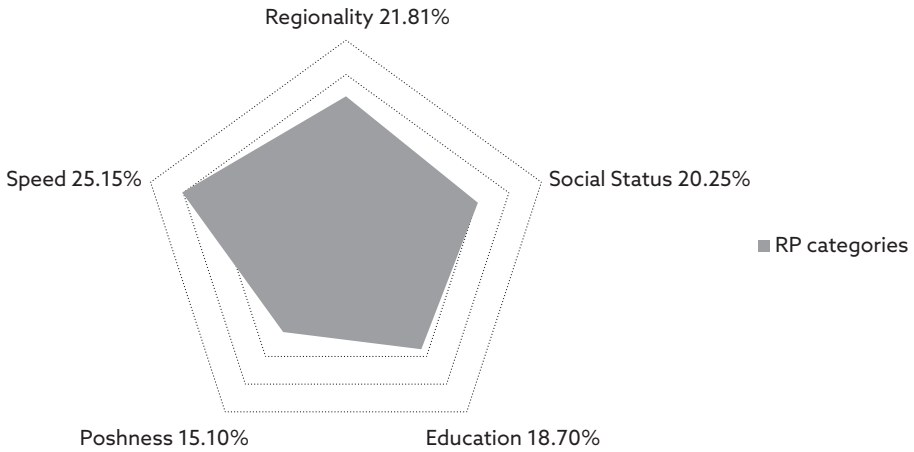
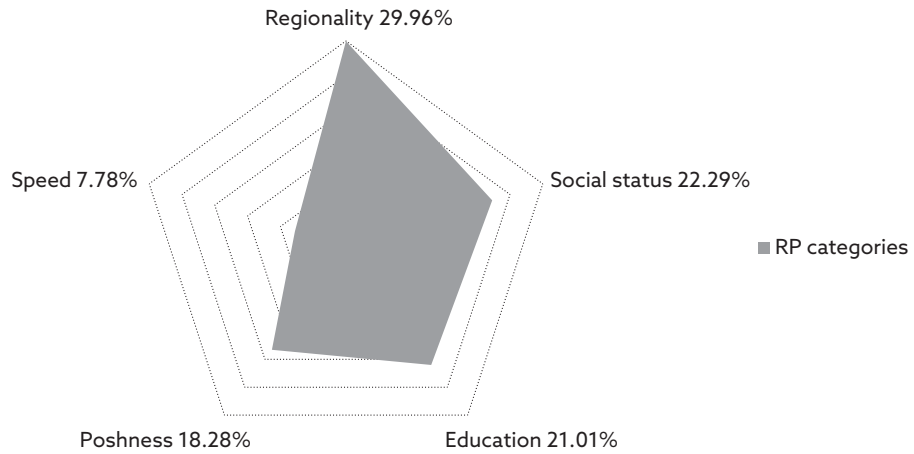


Figure 3. RP categories by EN respondents



Regionality

This category entails features that appear to betray the speaker's regional affiliation. Many respondents believe that RP is strictly non-localisable (i.e. purely social) and regional traces mark the accent down. This must be linked with the fact that the axiom of non-localisability is still upheld, despite the apparent discrep-

ancy present in some transcriptions of the model and their intrinsic affiliation with the South of England (as discussed in 4.2.1.7 and 6.3.2.5)

Social status

It is concerned with one's position in society. There are possibly two ways of understanding the notion: the person is either born into the position or makes their way up the social hierarchy (which is reflected in the accent).

Education

Education is now available to large masses of people and is no longer linked with the social status (as it used to be in the past). Educated voices can be regional and they may not necessarily indicate a high position in society. Interestingly, many respondents think that an educated voice is more in tune with modern RP than the voice of a person that simply happens to occupy a high social position. I believe that the prestige accent in England is still a matter of class (especially the distinction between traditional and modern RP); yet, certain regional features are no longer stigmatised and they do not preclude speakers being perceived as educated, which for some linguists appears to be one of the main RP-defining criteria (cf. Upton 2008, Ramsaran 1990, Collins and Mees 2013).

Poshness

For many people RP is linked with posh overtones (this particular phrase appeared more than 15 times). Like social status, this category seems to imply that RP has much to do with a privileged background. Sometimes, comments in this category include the term 'affected'. I consider the two terms (posh and affected) as near-synonyms, because they seem to imply that the accent (speaker) is rather stylised. Although this label does not carry positive connotations, some respondents (especially CZ ones) appear to expect RP to be posh or affected and a lack of such overtones results in a lower RP score.

Speed

Unsurprisingly, this category concerns the speed of one's utterance. This may affect how intelligible a particular voice is. This is far more important for CZ respondents than for their EN counterparts.

The two figures above reveal a rather similar pattern with one notable exception: the category of speed. Indeed, if this category were disregarded, both sets of respondents would place regionality at the very top of the range, followed by social status, education and poshness (even the differences between these four categories are rather similar). Nevertheless, the category of speed is present and it profoundly affects the overall results. This category is the most important one for CZ respondents while their EN counterparts place this category at the very bottom.

Speed is the most prominent category for CZ respondents due to the fact that it is closely linked with intelligibility. Native speakers of English, on the other hand, rarely find a voice incomprehensible and thus the category seems far less important for them.

As far as the percentages are concerned, regionality, social status, education and poshness naturally get higher scores from EN respondents because of the dominant position of speed in CZ respondents' result.

While the percentages are similar (barring the category of speed), the five categories are given an unequal number of total mentions by CZ and EN respondents (see Table 88 below). Also, what needs to be taken into consideration is the fact that all the categories could have been mentioned positively ('+' sign), negatively ('-' sign) or neutrally ('+/-' sign). While the first two signs receive one point in the table below, the '+/-' one is divided into two halves with 0.5 being added to '+' and '-' overall scores. The following table summarises the results according to CZ and EN respondents and positive/negative comments:

Table 88. Comments in RP categories by respondents

RP categories	CZ '+'	CZ '-'	CZ total	EN '+'	EN '-'	EN total
Regionality	75	9	**84**	144	10	**154**
Social status	50	28	**78**	86	32	**118**
Education	47	25	**72**	88	20	**108**
Poshness	16	42	**58**	60	34	**94**
Speed	57	36	**93**	16	24	**40**
Total number of comments			**385**			**514**

The overall number of comments is far higher for EN respondents than it is for their CZ counterparts. Whilst the differences between the categories are rather similar (apart from the category of speed), EN respondents seem to be willing or able to provide considerably more information. I believe the latter is the case, for it is only natural that native speakers are able to hear even minute differences or details that may escape a non-native ear.

Leaving speed aside, I might say that both sets of respondents perceive RP similarly; in other words, it might be asserted that they construct RP similarly. EN respondents naturally adopt this stance whereas CZ respondents learn about it; i.e. they seem to know that when discussing RP one should operate with such notions as education, social status and regionality.

In sum, there seem to be two crucial differences between the two sets of respondents: a/ intensity with which natives perceive matters of standard accent and b/ the category of speed that deeply affects intelligibility, which is the most important criterion of all. The speed of utterance is the only category where non-natives have an advantage over natives, whose general ability to understand the language appears to make them largely unaware of speed-related differences. Non-native speakers, on the other hand, crucially rely on speed in their attempt to understand a native voice and they are thus able to feel speed-related differences more acutely than natives.

The results are now analysed category by category to highlight some other interesting details, especially the difference between Southern and Northern RP.

6.3.3.1 Regionality

This category has received by far the highest number of comments from both sets of respondents, though EN respondents' score was much higher in comparison with the other categories than that of their CZ counterparts. It is a proof of how deep-rooted the axiom of non-localisability in RP is. S EN and N EN respondents' results are particularly interesting as they clearly demonstrate the necessity to drop this axiom in place of two equal varieties of RP. This is, however, discussed in greater detail in 6.3.3.6.

Regionality is also the category with the highest number of positive comments (i.e. comments with the '+' symbol in the tables above). Respondents do not feel such an urge to comment on accents that are non-regional and where everything is in place as far as RP is concerned. Admittedly, it seems to me that there is only one truly non-regional voice in my set of 18 samples: Sample 12. In fact, all the ten minuses from EN respondents concern this sample. As regards modern RP, non-regional voices appear to be increasingly more and more difficult to find.

Can regional features be accepted in RP? CZ respondents make a total of 75 comments regarding the presence of regional features in the samples. Only four samples with a plus in this category have received a full RP score. EN respondents' total is 154 comments. Surprisingly, there are no fewer than 31 regional features that do not prevent the voice from being labelled as RP.

As for individual samples, this category turned out to be the most salient for the following ones:

Table 89. Comments in the category of regionality for selected samples

Regionality- selected samples	CZ '+'	EN '+'	CZ '-'	EN '-'
S2	4	9	1	-
S3	3	13	-	-
S4	7	2	-	5
S8	5	8	-	-
S10	7	17	-	-
S12	2	-	4	10
S17	8	13	-	-

As far as the variables studied in this publication are concerned, short BATH is obviously a very prominent feature (especially for S EN respondents). The glottal stop is now so widespread that it is rather difficult to label the sound as regional. This holds true for EN respondents in particular as a relatively high number of CZ respondents seem to associate the feature with London English or Estuary English. Lowered TRAP does not get many mentions from EN respondents. CZ respondents find the sound more noteworthy; yet, they fail to agree on any regional link (despite occasional remarks upon a northern influence). The same applies to intrusive /r/ and FOOT/GOOSE fronting.

Needless to say, there are some other highly prominent regional features such as raised STRUT (northern) and vocalised /l/ (South East/London). These, when spotted (a relatively large number of CZ respondents has failed to spot raised STRUT in northern voices), are typically rejected as non-RP.

6.3.3.2 Social status

This category is also defined largely via positive rather than negative symbols. Yet, the number of minuses is not nearly as insignificant as it is for regionality.

The difference between regionality and social status is only minimal for CZ respondents; it is therefore tentatively suggested that there is a merger of regional and social features as far as CZ respondents are concerned. EN respondents, on the other hand, display a considerable gap between the number of comments related to regionality and social status.

It is interesting that CZ respondents pay so much attention to the social status, given the fact that Czech society is not as class-bound as British society. Neither set of respondents pays a great deal of attention to actually specifying the class a particular voice seems to belong to. This is, however, hardly surprising as the speakers in my research form a fairly homogenous group as far as social class is

concerned. All of them are middle-class (they are all university educated) with only an occasional working-class background (see Appendix 1).

The regional background of my EN respondents may have been of some influence (albeit a minor one): N EN respondents mention social status 65 times whereas S EN respondents only mention it 53 times. I would put this result down to the fact that there were more southern voices in the set of samples. N EN respondents generally mention social status more often in connection with southern voices. I cannot say, though, that it held true vice versa, for S EN respondents also used this category more often for southern voices.

The following samples seem to have played the most prominent role in the respondents' reactions:

Table 90. Comments in the category of social status for selected samples

Regionality- selected samples	CZ '+'	EN '+'	CZ '-'	EN '-'
S4	1	7	-	-
S12	6	15	-	-

The two samples are highly similar to one another as far as EN respondents are concerned: slow speed, extremely high RP scores and very few regional traces. Yet, there is one important criterion where they differ: S12 is judged to be indicative of the speaker's social position and privileged background whereas S4 is, according to EN respondents, rather linked with education than social status (although the score for social status is admittedly very high as well). CZ respondents only find S12 redolent of a high social status.

As regards the variables under investigation, only the glottal stop can be linked with the category of social status. The link is, nonetheless, a truly significant one. The presence of the glottal stop in certain phonetic environments (see 6.3.2.4) makes respondents think that the accent does not belong to someone who occupies a high position in society.

6.3.3.3 Education

Overall, this category has received almost the same number of mentions as the previous one (social status). It can thus be stated that these two categories are closely intertwined. Even though one might presume that an educated voice belongs to someone of a high social status (and vice versa), there are respondents (8 CZ respondents and 7 EN respondents) who clearly prefer one category over the other. Out of these 15 respondents with marked differences between the number of comments regarding social status and education, 10

pay particular attention to the former while 5 centred their comments on the latter category.

CZ respondents have made 25 negative comments out of 72 whilst EN respondents have only made 20 negative comments out of 108. In my opinion, CZ respondents find it more difficult to spot fine details in the category of education than details connected with social status. In other words, CZ respondents find it easier to say whether a particular voice belongs to a higher or a lower social class than to say whether it is educated or not.

Despite the two categories being so closely intertwined, the situation is now markedly different from what it was half a century or more ago. In the past, educated voices were also those that occupied highest positions in society. Today, while people of a high social status still tend to speak with an educated voice, the opposite does not always hold true—due to massive democratisation of education, there are numerous people that are educated but do not necessarily belong to high echelons of society, and they do not speak RP. As a result, the role of RP (formerly a symbol and a guarantee of both privileged education and a privileged social position) has weakened. It still, of course, guarantees all that. It seems, however, that it no longer carries about the air of exclusivity it used to be endowed with.

The following samples have turned out to provide the most salient points to analyse:

Table 91. Comments in the category of education for selected samples

Regionality- selected samples	CZ '+'	EN '+'	CZ '-'	EN '-'
S3	1	8	2	-
S4	3	11	-	-
S7	5	8	-	-
S10	4	6	1	-
S12	5	8	-	-

The voices in Samples 3, 7 and 10 are all northern and particularly EN respondents often remark upon them as educated. Many of the comments are rather apologetic, i.e. as if to say that the voice is admittedly educated but it could not be labelled RP. Interestingly enough, S12 with traditional (outdated) RP receives as many positive comments from EN respondents as Samples 3 and 7. Consequently, I may conclude that traditional RP sounds as educated as a soft northern voice. There is a big difference, though, between the given samples in social status.

S4 has received by far the highest number of positive mentions from EN respondents (it is clearly RP but it does not carry as many privileged-background

connotations as S12). CZ respondents, on the other hand, find the accent a little odd, especially because of the extremely careful diction, the slow speed of utterance, and several individual sounds like word-initial [x] in *hobby* and vocalised /l/ in football; hence the very low score in this category.

Northern voices in the set have received a fairly high number of positive comments from EN respondents (given the fact that there are only four of them): 28 out of 88. It seems that with northern voices respondents feel an urge to stress that the voice is educated while they do not dare to hazard a guess regarding its social position.

As regards the studied variables, I can only repeat what has already been said about the category of social status above: the glottal stop in certain phonetic environments is a clear impediment to an accent being perceived as educated. The other variables do not play a significant role.

6.3.3.4 Poshness

Information provided in this category includes comments about the presence of 'posh overtones' or an 'affected' or 'pompous' realisation of particular sounds. Also, posh connotations may be evoked by what is labelled a 'declamatory style of speech', as defined by O'Connor (1948: 4). This can be observed in S12, which is an example of highly stylised speech.

The numbers of comments in this category from both CZ and EN respondents are lower than the numbers in education and social status. The gap between education and poshness is almost the same for both sets of respondents. The category of poshness, however, differs from the other two in several important aspects.

Firstly, there are some gender differences. CZ and EN female respondents make more comments regarding the presence or absence of posh overtones than male respondents. Admittedly, the differences are not dramatic (see the table below); yet, they tend to confirm the view that women are more sensitive to nuances concerning prestige and statusful variants than men (cf. e.g. Cheshire 1998: 413 and Labov 1990: 205–6).

Table 92. Comments in the category of poshness by gender

Poshness by gender	Number of comments
CZ male	25
CZ female	33
EN male	40
EN female	54

Secondly, N EN respondents differed from their S EN counterparts. N EN respondents have 53 comments in comparison with 41 from S EN respondents. Again, the difference might not appear to be so substantial. It does, nonetheless, reveal a certain tendency: poshness seems to be generally associated with southern voices. While the prevailing number of southern voices in the set may have played a role as well, it is hard to deny the fact that there are only 6 positive comments from EN respondents about northern voices, and the remaining ones concern southern accents of English.

Last but not least, there is a significant difference between the number of positive and negative comments from CZ and EN respondents. As far as EN respondents are concerned, they make far more positive comments (i.e. they commented upon the presence of posh overtones in a given accent): 64 pluses v. 30 minuses. CZ respondents, on the other hand, make far more negative comments: 42 minuses v. 16 pluses. It is clear that CZ respondents define the category negatively. It is easier for them to say that a particular voice is not posh (enough) to merit the RP label.

The following samples offer the most interesting details for further discussion:

Table 93. Comments in the category of poshness for selected samples

Poshness- selected samples	CZ '+'	EN '+'	CZ '-'	EN '-'
S4	1	11	-	-
S12	3	13	2	-

The two samples above demonstrate the considerable difference between CZ and EN respondents' perception of poshness (there are even two CZ respondents who think S12 is not posh at all). The two accents, which can be labelled traditional RP, are rather unfamiliar to CZ respondents despite the interesting fact that CZ respondents are accustomed to a transcription system that is almost identical with these accents.

CZ respondents do not consider any sample to be especially posh; the highest number of pluses (three) belongs to S1 and S12.

The crucial question to be asked in connection with this category is the following one: is poshness a necessary ingredient for an accent to be regarded as RP?

It is true that if an accent is labelled as posh, it is predominantly also labelled as RP. The overall connotations are, however, far from positive (as S12 proves beyond any doubt). There are dozens of RP tags in Question 1 with no comments on poshness; sometimes the respondents even feel the urge to state that the accent is not posh and/but it could be regarded as modern RP. As Table 88 shows, there are 42 and 34 negative comments from CZ and EN respondents

respectively. Only 28 times are the accents with a minus in this category marked down as Near-RP by CZ respondents while EN respondents only do so 9 times. In the remaining cases, the respondents state that the accent is not posh; yet, the answer in Question 1 is RP.

These figures strongly suggest that RP voices certainly do not need to have posh overtones. Furthermore, it is tentatively suggested that CZ respondents seem to expect posh elements in RP voices more than their EN counterparts do. If such elements are absent, they are more ready to deny the voice an RP tag.

Another question to be asked here is what these posh elements actually are. My research, unfortunately, does not appear to be able to offer an answer. None of the studied variables is in a positive way related to poshness. One might, of course, argue convincingly that glottal stops in certain positions (intervocalic across word boundaries, word final, before a pause) prevent the accent from being perceived as posh. Nevertheless, poshness seems does not seem to be connected with segmentals as much as with suprasegmental (prosodic) features like pitch, intonation, and tone. These indications, however, fall beyond the scope of this publication.

6.3.3.5 Speed

This category divides CZ and EN respondents more sharply than any other category. EN respondents pay the least amount of attention to it with only 40 mentions (the second lowest, poshness, scores more than twice as many comments) whereas for CZ respondent this is the most prominent category of all (93 mentions).

The speed of utterance is crucial for non-native respondents as it largely determines how intelligible a particular accent is. The samples in my research seem to have even stressed the importance of this category since they do not contain any strong regional voices which would have made respondents focus on unusual segmental features.

The results reveal a pattern which seemingly confirms what is generally taken for granted: male CZ respondents have made significantly more comments regarding speed than female respondents (55 and 38 respectively). Women, as a popular myth has it, are notoriously believed to speak faster than men (Deese 1984). It would thus be logical that men in my research should find speed-related issues more striking than women. This popular myth, however, has been challenged a number of times in academic literature (cf. Yuan et al. 2006 and Jacewicz et al. 2009). I can only safely conclude here that in the CZ set of respondents men do pay more attention to speed than women. It is equally interesting to note that in the EN set of respondents the scores were almost even: 21 comments by men and 19 by women.

The following samples offer some salient features that are worth further comments:

Table 94. Comments in the category of speed for selected samples

Speed- selected samples	CZ '+'	EN '+'	CZ '-'	EN '-'
S4	-	-	9	5
S8	8	3	-	-
S10	8	2	-	-
S12	-	-	7	9
S17	9	3	-	1

There are two markedly slow accents in the set: Samples 4 and 12. Altogether, they have received 30 minuses (16 from CZ and 14 from EN respondents). The latter number is particularly significant if it is taken into account that EN respondents have made in total only 24 negative comments in this category. As far as these two samples and their RP scores are concerned, EN respondents are consistent in their responses: both of the voices are clearly RP (only 1 EN respondent thinks that S4 is Near-RP). Some EN respondents, though, go on to say that the voices are 'traditional', 'old-fashioned', 'not modern', etc. CZ respondents, on the other hand, mark the voices down in terms of their RP-ness (especially S4) and some of them are even convinced that the voices do not actually belong to native speakers of English. Although such scores cannot be attributed to speed only, the relevant tables (Table 8 and Table 24) demonstrate how prominent this category is in the assessment of the samples in question.

At the other end of the scale, Samples 8, 10 and 17 have received the highest number of pluses from CZ respondents. The low intelligibility scores for these samples then leave no doubt as to how close the link between speed and intelligibility is. Samples 8 and 17 have also drawn as many as 3 positive comments from EN respondents, which is joint top as regards native respondents.

6.3.3.6 The North and South divide

Among other things, this publication aims to explore RP-related differences between respondents from the southern and northern parts of England. That is why the group of 20 EN respondents contains 10 respondents from the South of England (the first 10 respondents) and 10 respondents from the North of England (respondents 11–20).

I am aware of the fact that such a division (North v. South) is a highly simplistic generalisation. Yet, I feel the necessity to refrain from commenting on any deeper and finer regional differences. It seems that this simplistic division makes sense when one talks about the standard and it does produce convincing results.

As regards the set of samples, there are four northern voices (3, 7, 10, and 17) and one sample, S13, is half-northern half-southern (STRUT [ʌ] but BATH [a]).If the issue of short BATH inclusion in RP is disregarded for a moment, then I dare say there is only one truly non-regional sample: S12.S4, however, is also relatively very close to such a label.

The fact that S EN respondents pay more attention to northern features than their N EN counterparts do (and vice versa) is a predictable outcome. The differences are not dramatic; yet, we might say that N EN respondents spread their attention more evenly than the opposite set. The bone of contention between S and N EN respondents is the BATH vowel. A good example is S3. EN respondents make 13 comments regarding the presence of regional features in S3: 6 comments come from S EN respondents and 7 comments are from the N EN group. Raised STRUT is mentioned by 12 EN respondents whereas short BATH is mentioned only 6 times: 5 times by S EN respondents and only once by a N EN respondent. Other northern voices produce similar results. There is also one sample (S13) that only contains a short BATH word (there is no raised STRUT). Out of the total of 7 responses in the category of regionality, all three S EN respondents make a remark about the short BATH vowel while none of the N EN respondents does so.

My research confirms that short BATH is not a stigmatised feature in the northern part of England. As a result, northern speakers retain this sound even if they otherwise modify their speech in the direction of RP. In the South, on the other hand, the feature is far from being accepted into the pronunciation standard. There is a dilemma to resolve: if we refuse to open the door for short BATH, RP becomes an exclusively southern phenomenon since there will be (in theory, of course) no RP speakers to the north of the isogloss. If short BATH does get the permission to enter, we must then speak of two equal varieties of RP: southern and northern—with the one feature distinguishing one variety from the other. It seems clear that it is no longer viable to maintain the view that RP is a non-localisable accent.

In Question 1, S EN and N EN respondents also differ in their evaluation of the samples. The following samples are those where the difference between the two sets of respondents is 0.3 points or more.

Table 95. RP scores by two regional subsets of EN respondents

RP scores	S EN	N EN
S2	1.5	1.1
S3	0.4	1.1
S7	0.3	0.8
S8	1.4	1.0
S9	1.5	1.1
S10	0.4	0.8
S14	1.3	1.0
S15	1.5	1.2
S16	1.9	1.5
S17	1.0	1.3
S18	1.5	1.2

The fact that S and N EN respondents differ so noticeably in eleven out of eighteen samples strongly suggests that there are considerable perceptive differences between the two sets of respondents. Unsurprisingly, S EN respondents are more tolerant towards southern voices and vice versa.

Some highly interesting comparisons can be found in the table above, e.g. Samples 2 and 3. Whilst they are identical in terms of RP-ness for N EN respondents, for S EN respondents there is a difference of more than 1 point. Moreover, S8 is thought to be Modern RP in Collins and Mees (2003) and it duly receives 1.5 points from S EN respondents; however, for N EN respondents this voice is with the score of 1.0 less RP than S3 (a distinctly northern accent). Such comparisons seem to clearly justify the need to distinguish between northern and southern RP, for in certain (and far from infrequent) cases RP is perceived markedly differently in these two English regions.

It might be added that southern voices are generally perceived as posh more often than northern ones. As a result, it is concluded that northern voices are not redolent of privileged background; they do not sound snobbish.

Northern voices, on the other hand, have received more comments in the category of education. This result is probably linked with the fact that EN respondents felt the urge to stress that the voices are admittedly northern but educated (it may be interpreted as a way of justifying what might seem a relatively high score). With southern voices, the need to stress a high degree of education is not as pressing.

6.3.4 The Issue of intelligibility: Research Question 4

Research Question 4: How intelligible do you find this speaker:

This question is for non-native (CZ) respondents only because all native respondents would undoubtedly have ticked the uppermost option (easily intelligible) – my research did not include any strongly regional voices. Such unanimity of opinion would hardly reveal any correlation between intelligibility and the degree of RP-ness.

For CZ respondents an RP voice, barring a few exceptions, seems to be a voice that they understand very easily. Figure 4 (p. 208) shows the correlation between the intelligibility of the samples and their RP-ness according to CZ respondents.

The dominant pattern appears to be obvious: most of the RP scores are in the area between 1.0 and 1.5 while their corresponding intelligibility scores are in the area between 1.5 and 2. Similarly, those samples with the RP score below 1 are also marked down in the intelligibility question: between 1.0 and 1.5. All the four samples (8, 10, 17, and 18) whose intelligibility score is lower than 1.5 have the RP score 1.0 or lower. There are only two samples that do not fall within this pattern.

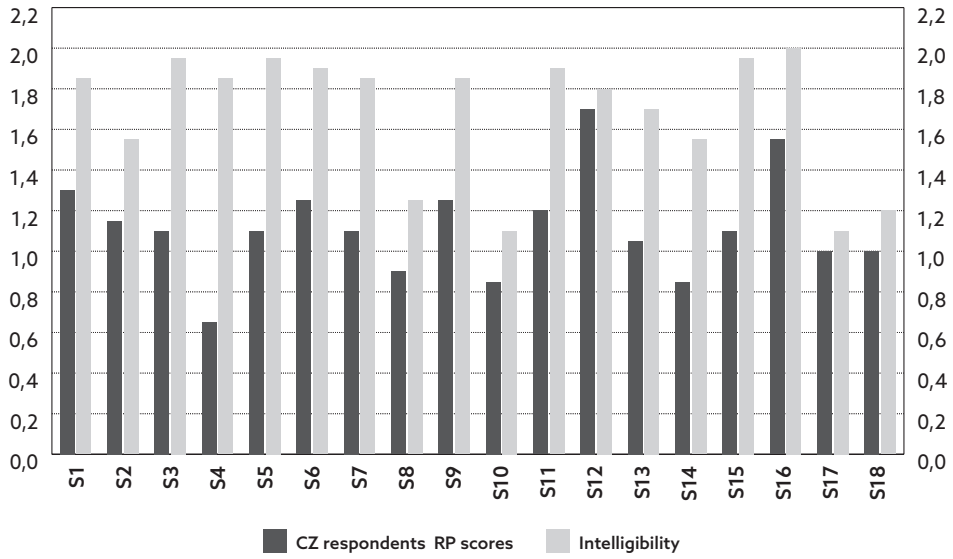
Sample 4

Despite the fact that this sample's RP score is only 0.65, its intelligibility score is as high as 1.85. As has been explained in greater detail above (6.3.4), the reason for this discrepancy lies in the slow speed of the speech, which fools many CZ respondents into thinking the voice is actually not a native one at all. That is why the sample is so easily intelligible; yet the RP score is the lowest of all 18 samples.

Sample 14

This sample's RP score is 0.85 and the intelligibility score is just slightly over the 1.5 limit with 1.55. There are a number of reasons why this sample has received such a low RP score: numerous glottal stops (even in the place of a velar plosive), intrusive /r/, lowered TRAP vowels and, also, the speed of utterance. What should be highlighted here is the fact that the 1.55 intelligibility score is actually not very high, since it was the fifth lowest of all; thus the sample does not, in fact, break the aforementioned pattern.

Figure 4. Correlation of RP scores and intelligibility for CZ respondents



7 RP INNOVATIONS IN PRONOUNCING DICTIONARIES

Having discussed recent changes and innovations that may be considered to fall within RP elsewhere (Chapter 4), I now turn my attention to the three pronouncing dictionaries that are widely used and that English language professionals and learners alike consult if in doubt. This chapter thus does not offer an in-depth evaluation or analysis of the symbols chosen by the three dictionaries; it presents a mere comparison.

The dictionaries that this chapter aims to compare are: *Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation for Current English* (Upton et al. 2003, hereafter as 'ODP'), *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* (3rd ed., Wells 2008; hereafter as 'LPD'), and *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary* (18th ed., Roach et al. 2011; hereafter as 'CEPD').

The last of the three dictionaries follows the steps of Daniel Jones, who is sometimes credited with the authorship. I have decided to sever this tradition on two grounds: firstly because the 18th edition of CEPD no longer describes RP but the 'BBC English' and secondly because 'both the purpose of a model and the accent targeted as the touchstone for [...] the *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary* are quite different from those originally identified by Jones' (Upton 2012a: 57).

Upton et al. are about to publish a second edition of their dictionary (it should officially come out in December 2016, but it is more likely that it will be in the first months of 2017; Upton, personal communication). It is called *The Routledge Dictionary of Pronunciation for Current English*. At the moment (November 2016) I cannot access this dictionary, but I have been assured by Upton that the 2nd edition does not bring any new features that should compromise what this publication presents. I thus refer to the 1st edition (2003).

7.1 Vowels

The table below offers a neat overview of the symbols found in the three dictionaries.

Table 96. Comparison of vowels in three pronouncing dictionaries

vowel	ODP	LPD	CEPD
KIT	ɪ		
DRESS	ɛ	e	
TRAP	a	æ	
LOT	ɒ		
STRUT	ʌ		
FOOT	ʊ		
BATH	ɑː ~ a	ɑː, § a	ɑː
CLOTH	ɒ		
NURSE	əː	ɜː	
FLEECE	iː		
FACE	eɪ		
PALM	ɑː		
THOUGHT	ɔː		
GOAT	əʊ		
GOOSE	uː		
PRICE	ʌɪ	aɪ	
CHOICE	ɔɪ		
MOUTH	aʊ		
NEAR		ɪə	
SQUARE	ɛː	eə	
START	ɑː		
NORTH	ɔː		
FORCE	ɔː		

vowel	ODP	LPD	CEPD
CURE	ʊə ~ ɔː		
happY	i		
lettER	ə		
commA	ə		

It can be observed immediately that there is a lot of agreement among the three dictionaries, and there is almost total agreement between LPD and CEPD. ODP diverges from the other two dictionaries in a number of more or less contentious points.

LPD, unlike CEPD, includes short BATH [a], but this realisation is marked with §, which is a symbol used to signal non-RP variants: '[p]ronunciations which are wide spread among educated speakers of British English but which are not, however, considered to be RP (Received Pronunciation) are marked with symbol §.' (Wells 2008: xiv). Interestingly, Wells sticks to [æ] even here, although northern short BATH (unlike traditional RP TRAP [æ]) has always been realised as a fully open front vowel; i.e. there has not been any change or development in the past decades.

No mention in any of the three dictionaries is made of FOOT/GOOSE fronting. Arguably, this phenomenon has been researched only a little and it is a phenomenon that seems to be strongly linked with young RP speakers (Upton 2008: 245). Besides, it is a feature that displays a range of various realisations in terms of centralisation, lowering and unrounding (Cruttenden 2008: 127). All these reasons seem to be behind the fact that this feature is not even touched upon in the dictionaries. It remains to be seen for how long.

LPD also introduces a new allophone [ʊ] in GOAT words where the diphthong is followed by /l/, e.g. *cold*. The entry for this word in LPD is then /kəʊld/ → /kɒʊld/. The symbol → 'precedes secondary pronunciations that can be regarded as derived by automatic rule from the main pronunciation'; an example is 'the use of the special allophone ɒʊ before l in some varieties of (near-) RP' (Wells 2008: xxviii). Such a change could eventually lead to the introduction of a new lexical set—possibly called COLD?

CURE is both [kjʊə] and [jɔː] for all the three dictionaries; CEPD and LPD give the former variant first to indicate that it is more common. Interestingly, with *poor* the order of the two variants is reversed: LPD even supports its choice by making reference to a preference poll in which 74% of British English speakers prefer [ɔː] (Wells 2008: 628).

7.2 Consonants

Consonants are not as volatile as vowels and the three dictionaries thus show a great deal of agreement regarding their representations. The consonants are the same as in The List of phonetic symbols (p. 10) here. Yet, there are a number of consonantal features that may be considered RP, and these merit an in-depth treatment.

The glottal stop

[ʔ] is missing in entries for words where it could possibly appear. This is not surprising given the sheer complexity of the feature.

While ODP does not mention the feature at all, LPD provides information about [ʔ] in an extra information box: '[ʔ] is found as an allophone of t only at the end of a syllable, and if the preceding sound is a vowel or sonorant. Providing these conditions are met, it is widely used in British English where the following sound is an obstruent, a nasal, a semivowel or non-syllabic l' (Wells 2008: 345). LPD provides the following examples: *football*, *outside*, *that faint buzz*, *atmospheric*, *button*, *that name*, *Gatwick*, *quite well*, *brightly*. LPD goes on to say that 'some speakers of British English also use it at the end of a word under other circumstances as well: *not only this*, *but also that'*. Interestingly, LPD does not provide much information regarding the status of [ʔ] in RP. It says that 'it is condemned by some people; nevertheless, it is increasingly heard' (Wells 2008: 345).

CEPD treats the glottal stop in the Glossary at the back of the dictionary. It describes how the sound is articulated and tells its readers that '[t]his pronunciation is found in many urban accents, notably London (Cockney), Leeds, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and others, and is increasingly accepted among educated young people' (Roach et al. 2011: 567). No information is provided regarding the status of [ʔ] in RP or the various phonetic environments in which [ʔ] can appear.

Intrusive /r/

ODP indicates the possibility of an intrusive /r/ by means of the following: *(r)*. The italicised form stands in opposition to the non-italicised form, which indicates linking /r/. Thus *Clara* is transcribed as [klɛːrə*(r)*]. ODP also mentions in the Introduction that though it was '[l]ong condemned by teachers of pronunciation, this is nevertheless a firmly established feature of today's RP' (Upton et al. 2003: xiii).

LPD (Wells 2008: 663) explains what intrusive /r/ is. It then informs its readers that it cannot show intrusive /r/ across word boundaries. It does, however, show word-internal intrusive /r/, e.g. in *thawing* [θɔːˈrɪŋ]. The raised type indicates that the sound is optional.

CEPD does not include intrusive /r/ in its entries. As it is the case with the glottal stop, it provides information about this phenomenon in the Glossary (2011: 565). It says that intrusive /r/ occurs in BBC English but does not include any information regarding the degree of its acceptability in the prestige accent.

Yod-coalescence

In LPD *tune* is given as [tjuːn] and [tʃuːn]. The former comes first even though in the preference poll this variant only scores 44% (and less than 32% for people born since 1981; Wells 2008: 845). Wells also remarks that the coalesced sound is avoided in careful RP (2008: 52). CEPD reverses the order of the two variants, thereby preferring coalesced [tʃ].

ODP includes both variants, but it does not provide a hierarchy of variants in terms of acceptability. While it may be difficult to determine now which variant should be prioritised, the trend presented in Wells (2008: 845) strongly suggests that the coalesced variant will gain more and more ground.

The two variants occupy the same positions in CEPD and LPD for *gradual* (the difference between *tune* and *gradual* being the position of the word stress in relation to the coalesced syllable). The preference poll in LPD reveals that 51% of British English speakers prefer [dʒ]. ODP *gradual* is the same as *tune* (i.e. neither of the two variants is preferred to the other).

Both LPD and CEPD offer more information about this phenomenon in an extra information box and the Glossary respectively (Wells 2008: 350; Roach et al. 2011: 563). They point out that it can also occur across word boundaries, thereby giving *let you* [letʃu]. They agree that this belongs to RP.

Yod-dropping

Upton (2008: 250) notes that in RP /j/ is commonly dropped only after /s/ and /l/.

Indeed, LPD and CEPD prefer [suːt] to [sjuːt] in *suit*. The former supports its choice by citing a preference poll in which 72% of British English speakers drop /j/ in this word (Wells 2008: 790). ODP transcribes *suit* as [s(j)uːt]; the bracketed sound is viewed as optional.

With *new* the situation is different: LPD gives both options, but [nuː] is labelled § (non-RP). CEPD and ODP only give [njuː].

8 CONCLUSION

The present publication has aimed to present an updated model of Received Pronunciation and to test the feasibility of its adoption in a non-native environment as well. Moreover, particular focus has been placed on five selected variables.

It has been demonstrated that the model present in ELT textbooks has not changed significantly since the establishment of RP as a pronunciation model to be followed in those countries where British (rather than American) English is preferred. Since a high number of ELT recordings include young people with modern varieties of the prestige accent, there are more and more details in which the voices diverge from the model offered in textbooks and other teaching materials.

It should be clear from what has been maintained throughout the work that RP, despite numerous efforts to petrify it, is a constantly evolving accent. The nature of this change is societal, i.e. language changes especially at the level of *parole* (language in use).

The need to dust the model and present it in an updated version outside the native milieu is linked with the fact that the model is supposed to be widely intelligible (cf. Jones 1977: x, Cruttenden 2014). While the issue of intelligibility is discussed in detail below, intelligibility is understood as a general capacity to be understood with the minimal effort on the part of the receiver. The research results suggest that traditional RP does not fulfil the criterion of wide intelligibility as much as modern RP does.

Some of the results may seem questionable due to a low number of tokens. Above all, this applies to some linguistic contexts in which the glottal stop can appear. While it is true that a higher number of tokens would be needed to reach firm conclusions, I argue that the results presented here can be considered to

reveal certain tendencies regarding the perception of [ʔ] in the native and non-native environments.

The rest of this chapter discusses the findings based on the hypotheses set in the Introduction.

Hypothesis 1: there are differences between CZ and EN respondents regarding the mental categories that construct RP as well as regarding the level of tolerance towards variability in RP.

As expected in this hypothesis, CZ respondents have awarded a lower overall RP score than EN respondents. The differences between native and non-native ears may have played a part: CZ respondents do not recognise finer regional and social details that generally do not escape the natives. When they judge whether a particular voice is RP or otherwise, CZ respondents rely far more on intelligibility, which is largely influenced by the speed of utterance. The outdated model presented in the ELT world is also likely to have influenced the total RP scores.

As for the mental categories that construct RP in the minds of the respondents, the amount of data gathered from CZ and EN respondents varies considerably: the former set has provided 385 comments while the latter set has made 514 comments. Thus, every EN respondent has provided on average 6.45 more comments. Such numbers clearly reveal different levels of intensity with which both sets perceive the voices.

The category of intelligibility is only applied to CZ respondents. My previous research (Ježek 2009) firmly establishes its prominent position among all the categories, and it also proves the futility of asking native respondents to react to this category. This research shows that CZ respondents link RP with intelligibility so strongly that intelligible accents, irrespective of some non-RP features (e.g. raised STRUT in Sample 3) are, by and large, assigned high RP scores.

As regards CZ respondents, intelligibility is influenced mainly by the speed of utterance. This category is the only one where non-natives have made more comments than their native counterparts, as Table 88 shows.

If it were not for the category of speed, the categories of regionality, social status, education and poshness would occupy the same positions (in this order) for both sets of respondents.

Regionality has received the highest number of comments of all the categories; particularly EN respondents find this category crucially important. By way of explanation, I would like to highlight the discrepancy between the supposedly non-regional prestige accent and some regional features that are clearly part of

the RP repertoire without being accounted for in the model. My research shows that some regional features (especially short BATH) do not prevent voices from being labelled as RP.

Given the almost identical numbers of comments from both sets of respondents, social status and education play similar roles. As regards EN respondents, social status is prominent particularly in Samples 4 and 12 (traditional RP voices): 22 positive remarks out of the total of 86. Education is often mentioned in connection with northern voices where social status seems to play a less significant role.

It may be said that these two categories have merged to a considerable extent. Admittedly, the link between social status and education on the one hand and RP on the other used to be very strong, particularly in the first decades of the 20th century when the accent was called PSP (Public School Pronunciation; Jones 1917). Later, however, social status seems to have gained prominence and the overwhelming connotations were those of privileged upbringing rather than a high level of education. Now that the scope of RP has enlarged to include the sounds that educated speakers make (rather than what a preconceived model allows; cf. Upton 2000a: 78), the connotations of education have intensified.

It is nevertheless true that while the link between education and RP is still strong, the accent does not enjoy the same amount of exclusivity it used to have. There are many educated speakers who use a range of regional voices that are, more or less, removed from the prestige accent. Moreover, the present survey implies that traditional RP voices are not perceived to be any more educated than those containing certain regional features.

Poshness seems to be more prominent for female respondents and it is also associated with southern voices rather than with northern ones. The former difference is, however, not big and any conclusions would border on pure speculation. Southern voices are viewed as posher chiefly because of N EN respondents, who relatively often find southern voices posh. In contrast, S EN respondents do not use the label so often—especially not so in connection with northern voices.

Poshness divides the two sets of respondents very sharply: while CZ respondents define this category mainly via negative remarks (i.e. a voice does not sound posh enough to be considered RP), their EN counterparts' comments are largely positive (i.e. a voice is posh and RP). It is thus concluded that CZ respondents expect poshness more than EN respondents do. This is in line with the overall RP scores from both sets of respondents (Figure 1): EN respondents' perception of RP is less exclusive and tolerates more variability. As a consequence, EN respondents label many accents as RP even though posh overtones are not present (or at least not mentioned). If a voice is found to be posh, the RP label remains but it is a marked variety of the prestige accent that often makes the natives point out the undesirable social connotations connected with the posh elements. Reactions

to Sample 12 exemplify the prevailing attitude to traditional RP: a large number of EN respondents deem it necessary to add comments regarding the outdated, old-fashioned and pretentious character of this variety of RP.

Speed is the most divisive category of all. It is only of marginal importance for EN respondents (they only comment on this category in connection with traditional RP voices: Samples 4 and 12) whereas CZ respondents regard it crucial, for speed largely determines to what extent a given voice is intelligible. The close relation between speed and intelligibility explains the chasm between the two sets of respondents. EN respondents have hardly any difficulty understanding the voices in the present survey; the category of speed would, in all likelihood, be more relevant to native respondents if the voices were much more regional, thereby creating considerable problems in terms of intelligibility.

The general pattern seems obvious: the slower the speech, the more intelligible and, therefore, the more RP. Yet, there may be exceptions to this rule; namely Sample 4, which is so slow that many non-native respondents find it regional or even a non-native accent of English.

Hypothesis 2: the selected variables are part of the RP repertoire in both the native and non-native environments

This hypothesis is partially confirmed. The native environment seems to accept the variables, though there are some important issues to deal with as far as short BATH and the glottal stop are concerned. The non-native environment has not entirely accepted the changes; the reasons for this are discussed below.

From the perspective of native speakers, the research confirms that TRAP [a], intrusive /r/ and fronted FOOT/GOOSE belong to the RP repertoire unquestionably. Native speakers do not feel any stigma attached to these variants and their reaction to them is thus minimal.

The glottal stop, however, is such a complex phenomenon that it cannot be treated as a binary (either/or) phenomenon. Various phonetic environments must be distinguished with their varying degrees of acceptability attached to them. Also, it appears that the glottal stop in RP is only acceptable as a replacement of /t/; the other two plosives (/p/ and /k/) remain stigmatised regardless of the linguistic context.

According to the results presented here, the glottal stop is questionable as an RP sound in the following positions:

— across word boundaries preceding vowels (*quite easy*),
— pre-pausally (*Quite!*),
— word-medially preceding a syllabic nasal (*button*).

Despite there being no token of word-medial [ʔ] in an intervocalic position (or preceding a syllabic [t̪]), it seems valid to conclude that this type is utterly unacceptable in RP. This conclusion is based on the social status of the speakers in my research (they are university educated and middle class) as well as the fact that there is no glottal stop in this position in more than 60 minutes of authentic speech from which the samples have been selected.

I am convinced that short BATH deserves its place in the model of RP owing to the fact that northern speakers keep this sound, which has lost the stigma it used to be endowed with, even though they otherwise completely modify their regional accents in the direction of RP. The comments from S EN and N EN respondents as well as their RP scores bear it out beyond doubt. While it is possible to deny such speakers the RP label (and call them Near-RP; Wells 1982: 287) or RGB (Cruttenden 2014: 81), it appears rather controversial to restrict a supposedly supraregional accent to a specific region. It seems fairer to me to agree with Upton et al. (2003: xiii) that there are two equal varieties of RP (northern and southern) and stop viewing the accent as non-localisable. Whether RP BATH is [ɑː] only or both [a] and [ɑː] does not prevent RP from being affiliated with a particular region.

It is extremely difficult to establish a pattern for non-native respondents and their comments regarding the variables under investigation. It is remarkable that all the scores fall in the area from 20% to 28.5%. The scores are so close to one another that no hierarchy of variables and their acceptability in RP can be established. The majority of CZ respondents mention all the variables but they do not mention them more than three times. Also, they rarely mention more than one variable per sample. I would like to offer the following explanations: CZ respondents may not be used to such a type of listening activity, there may be too much effort for a non-native ear, or they think they are supposed to spot one 'mistake' and once they do, their attention flags.

Generally speaking, CZ respondents are more likely to spot variables providing they appear in a given sample more than once. This is arguably linked with the reasons outlined above.

Furthermore, it is concluded that CZ respondents display a certain reluctance to accept the studied variables as RP sounds. It seems, however, that this reluctance does not stem from social values attendant upon the variables. A comparison of CZ results for short BATH and raised STRUT provides corroborating evidence for the claim that CZ respondents do not distinguish between non-stigmatised (short BATH) and stigmatised (raised STRUT) variants: CZ scores for these two variables, unlike the EN ones, are almost identical. Likewise, CZ respondents do not pay much attention to phonetic environments in which the

glottal stop may appear—they react to [ʔ] in absolute terms; in other words, [ʔ] is either present (and that often marks the accent down in terms of RP-ness) or it is not.

I interpret the reluctance as a reaction to sounds that do not comply with the model presented in ELT teaching publications (e.g. TRAP should be [], intrusive /r/ is not 'there' in the spelling, and short BATH as a regional sound has no place in a non-localisable accent such as RP). Yet, when CZ respondents hear the sounds that the model in ELT publications includes (Sample 4), their RP score is rather low. Upton (2008: 238) claims that '[t]he RP model with which [...] learners continue to be confronted is ultimately, of course, a matter of *sounds'*. Despite the symbols, which have not changed in ELT materials for decades, CZ respondents must by now have got used to modern RP sounds—to such an extent, in fact, that they have difficulty spotting and understanding traditional RP, i.e. the accent many of them are supposed, judging by the model found in teaching materials, to embrace and promulgate in the classroom.

Generally speaking, CZ respondents tend to perceive the prestige accent (individual sounds as well as the mental categories) in absolute terms. For instance, the glottal stop is thus either present or it is not. This is the biggest difference between them and their EN counterparts, who take a much more relative stance. They perceive the prestige accent with its features more as a scale; they discriminate between individual variants. It might be concluded that their mindset is different and this may always present the biggest obstacle when a native prestige accent is supposed to perform the role of a model in a non-native environment. Following Crystal and Davy (1969) non-native learners do not possess an inherent intuition concerning various styles, hence the absolute/relative mindset differences. This applies, above all, to pronunciation. While different styles in written discourse are discussed in ELT publications, various styles of pronunciation (e.g. the four styles distinguished by O'Connor 1948: 4) are largely neglected and the matters of pronunciation typically focus on what O'Connor labels a 'formal colloquial style'. Such a narrow focus explains why the glottal stop is rejected by CZ respondents without discussing its use in less formal styles.

Hypothesis 3: the updated transcription model of RP created by Upton brings benefit to both native and non-native speakers of English.

It is hard to deny that professionals in the ELT world should be aware of innovations that affect RP. The introduction of lowered TRAP appears eminently desirable since the effort to learn traditional RP [æ] (a rather difficult sound from a non-native perspective) is rather unnecessary: TRAP [a] is now a firmly established sound in RP and has more positive social connotations than [æ],

which is being increasingly perceived as outdated. In addition, the position of [a] outside the native milieu is now likely to become stronger as more publications have adopted the feature (most notably Cruttenden 2014).

The glottal stop is only recommended to those non-natives who are aware of the various phonetic environments in which [ʔ] can appear and of the social values attendant upon the sound.

Shot BATH is a purely regional feature and it is not to be expected in a non-native accent unless the given speaker has certain northern affiliations.

Fronted FOOT/GOOSE and intrusive /r/ may seemingly bring little benefit to non-native learners if one adopts a purely phonetic/phonological stance and views the whole issue solely from the perspective of the crucial non-native category: intelligibility. Admittedly, the same can be said about the other variables studied here. But it has been demonstrated that natives are particularly sensitive to variation in accents and the prestige accent is no exception. While non-natives will not make themselves any more intelligible if their repertoire includes some glottal stops, TRAP [a] and intrusive /r/, these sounds undoubtedly bring other benefits: they do not carry negative social connotations and they signal that the learner has mastered the language (or at least its pronunciation) to a very high degree.

In conclusion, the selected variables are difficult to order in terms of their benefit to non-native learners of English. However, one can hardly step out of line if only what has already been accepted in at least some native models is accepted in a non-native model as well. Therefore, lowered TRAP [] and intrusive /r/ seem to be suitable candidates. Due to the reasons discussed above, the other three variables are not likely to appear in a non-native model of RP in the near future, although the inclusion of short BATH would be especially beneficial, because it would radically alter the way RP is perceived (as a consequence, it would bring RP more in line with the prestige accents of other languages, which are largely based on supraregional standards of pronunciation).

Native RP speakers undoubtedly benefit from the updated model that includes new sounds and transcriptions faithfully mirroring the linguistic reality. In fact, most of them use most of the innovations anyway and they hardly need any outside incentive (such as a pronouncing dictionary) to adopt these features. In the native environment, the crucial question is not whether to accept particular variables but whether to reflect them in the transcription model offered to the public. As Chapter 6 details, there is still considerable disagreement among native linguists and the models they offer.

The repertoire of RP sounds has changed considerably in the past decades and it seems desirable to change the model in such a way as to reflect the changes.

The 'hard-won uniformity' (Wells 2001) of transcription needs to be changed if it does not correspond with the truth any more. While some symbols may only be considered as transcriptional preferences with little impact on the way the accent and its model are perceived (e.g. Upton's DRESS and NURSE), other symbols may play an important role in establishing a model that, as has been mentioned, 'looks forward to the new millennium rather than back at increasingly outmoded forms' (Upton 2001: 352). TRAP [a] is a case in point.

The inclusion of short BATH is also quite revolutionary. I believe that it ultimately does away with the long-upheld axiom of non-localisability. It is hoped that this research reveals the benefits of short BATH as an RP sound. Whether one accepts the sound or not, it does not change the fact that RP now inevitably contains regional elements.

In the future, fronted FOOT/GOOSE may replace the traditional [ʊ] and [uː] to reflect its quality more accurately. On the one hand, the change seems rather straightforward in terms of its practicality. On the other hand, though, it would introduce a new symbol on the RP scene, which would no doubt stir up a heated debate in academic circles—especially since the symbol [ʉ] may seem rather abstruse to non-native learners of English.

The presence of the glottal stop in today's British English is overwhelming. Nonetheless, its appearance in a modern model of RP would entail a number of obstacles. Most importantly, it has been demonstrated that the sound is endowed with a significant amount of social value linked with various phonetic environments, which is a fact that largely escapes non-native learners. It suffices to add, as is the case with most of the pronouncing dictionaries to date, an explanatory note that informs learners of the existence of [ʔ] and briefly explains the complexity of this sound in modern British English.

Intrusive /r/ has already made way into some models of RP (Upton et al. 2003 and Wells 2008). It has now lost much (if not all) of the stigma and its inclusion in more RP models is possibly only a matter of time.

Apart from the concluding remarks that are directly related to the hypotheses, the present publication also tries to establish the present status of RP.

Beal (2008a: 35) demonstrates that we witness 'in the 20th and early 21st centuries the proliferation and popularisation of a whole range of prescriptive texts', which makes her conclude that the demand for 'proper' pronunciation is as strong as it used to be. She goes on to remark, however, that 'the ideal being offered in elocution classes today is not RP but a "softer", "neutral" accent which will offend nobody, by being associated neither with the upper nor the lower classes' (2008a: 34). It is hard to deny that traditional RP is hardly an option if such criteria are to be met. The present survey shows that in terms of education there is essentially no difference between a soft regional voice and traditional

RP—social connotations are nonetheless completely different. A modern model of RP that puts up an inoffensive set of sounds thus does not seem to make a mistake if it includes a regional sound like short BATH. Recently, Upton has also suggested in personal communication that he is increasingly more and more inclined to accept a 'fudge' in STRUT as an RP norm ('fudge' is a northern way of realising the vowel where the vowel is only slightly raised above [ʌ] and not rounded at all, thereby producing [ɤ], cf. Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 110). This attitude, however, is not shared in my survey where even 'fudged' STRUT (see Sample 10, for example) receives rather unfavourable comments.

Sociolinguistic research has demonstrated that it seems rather erroneous to think that if native speakers modify their speech, it is always in the direction of RP (cf. Wells 1982: 104). As a result, one can hardly blame RP for the erosion of traditional dialect forms (Wales 2006: 171). As Milroy observes, this academic belief 'may well come from spending too much time in universities' (2001: 29). Wales (2006: 172–4) reports several studies that notice the disappearance of traditional (i.e. rural or urban) forms in the North. What is immensely interesting is the fact that speakers in these areas do not adopt RP variants; instead, they opt for supra-local norms. FACE and GOAT diphthongs are examples of this: the traditional [ɪə] and [ʊə] have been replaced not with RP [eɪ] and [əʊ] but rather with monophthongal [eː] and [ɔː]. Watt and Milroy (1999: 26) call this process 'counterurbanisation': upwardly mobile middle-class people adopt variants that are prestigious supra-locally (e.g. Tyneside, Yorkshire, etc.), thereby retaining certain markers of regional identity. Such variants have also been called 'pan-Northern' (Ihalainen 1994: 260) and in sociolinguistics the process is generally known as 'dialect levelling' (Williams and Kerswill 1999). Crucially, although many regional dialects in the North are being levelled, it is not in the direction of RP.

It is obvious that monophthongal FACE and GOAT retain a considerable degree of prestige; in these areas they are considered to be educated and middle-class (Wales 2006: 173). In this respect, they perform the same role as RP forms perform elsewhere. With the two equal varieties of RP in mind, it seems fitting to conclude that in the future it is likely to expect more region-based standard forms that will fulfil the roles previously occupied by one non-localisable prestige accent. No longer do people seem willing to betray their own identity and sever all the linguistic links with their regional background. Instead, they increasingly retain those regional linguistic features that are not stigmatised.

Linguists do not like being prescriptive about their discipline. They probably dislike it even more if they are asked to prophesy what will happen in the future. The fact that RP, under this name or another one, will keep changing seems indisputable. If more regional and social sounds are accepted into it, there will probably be even more varieties of RP than there are today. Whilst this might frustrate a few, I am more than happy to join the authors of *Oxford Dictionary of*

Pronunciation for Current English in their appeal, which I deem a most fitting ending to my publication:

> Finally, we appeal to our readers, the living speakers of contemporary English, whether native or later acquired, to listen to the pronunciation of English around them and to revel in the endless variety of English voices and accents that they will hear. [...] We will join you, our readers, in the appreciation of the multitude of accents and voices [...] and assert as well their own great value for the subtlety and richness of our English language. (Upton et al. 2003: viii)

RÉSUMÉ

Sociophonologie de la Received Pronunciation

Cette publication traite de la prononciation soutenue de la langue anglaise (dite Received Pronunciation) et de sa perception par les locuteurs anglais (c'est-à-dire natifs) et tchèques (non-natifs). Elle examine également les rôles que le modèle de prononciation joue dans les deux milieux.

La partie introductive de la thèse présente un cadre théorique diachronique et synchronique qui s'appuie sur plusieurs publications spécialisées contemporaines et historiques et qui analyse la Received Pronunciation en utilisant des termes sociolinguistiques, en particulier dans le domaine de la prescription linguistique et de la standardisation. Cette partie présente également le modèle de prononciation créé par Clive Upton pour les besoins d'Oxford University Press; ce modèle innove dans certains détails importants le modèle traditionnel qui est toujours valable en particulier dans le milieu où l'anglais est enseigné comme une langue étrangère.

Dans la partie théorique j'analyse également des changements régionaux qui sont souvent expliqués dans la littérature populaire et aussi dans la scientifique comme des changements causés par la Received Pronunciation ou éventuellement par la variété du Sud-Est, connue sous le nom d'Estuary English (avec une grande influence de Londres en tant que centre culturel, économique et administratif du pays). Cependant, comme le montrent les recherches récentes sociolinguistiques menées dans de nombreuses régions du Royaume-Uni, ces explications sont largement simplistes, car ces changements semblent être principalement dus au développement interne des dialectes régionaux, à leur organisation phonologique et aux changements dans la perception du prestige des différents phénomènes.

La partie pratique est constituée d'une recherche effectuée au moyen d'un site Internet avec 18 enregistrements et un questionnaire supplémentaire. Ces enregistrements sont évalués par 20 répondants anglais et 20 tchèques. On tient particulièrement compte des cinq phénomènes présélectionnés qui sont représentés à des degrés divers dans les enregistrements. La recherche porte également sur les catégories sociolinguistiques qui aident à créer une construction d'idées du registre soutenu.

Les résultats montrent qu'il existe des différences significatives entre les répondants natifs et non-natifs. Les locuteurs natifs, grâce à l'intuition héritée et à la sensibilité plus élevée, acceptent les variations qui sont encore stigmatisées dans une certaine mesure dans le milieu non-natif. En même temps, ils abordent les phénomènes étudiés en valeurs relatives, tandis que les locuteurs non-natifs ont tendance à évaluer les phénomènes en valeurs absolues.

Les résultats confirment en outre qu'il n'est pas approprié de considérer la Received Pronunciation comme une norme monolithique non-localisable, car il existe des différences significatives entre les répondants natifs du nord et du sud de l'Angleterre. Il semble beaucoup plus approprié de diviser la norme de prononciation en variétés du nord et du sud.

Les résultats de la recherche soulignent également la nécessité de mettre à jour au moins dans certains aspects le modèle de prononciation présenté dans les pays où la langue anglaise n'est pas la langue maternelle.

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LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

a	open front unrounded vowel—modern RP *man, bath*
æ	front vowel between open and open-mid—traditional RP *man*
ɐ	near open central unrounded vowel—traditional RP *gear* [gɪɐ]
ɑ:	open back unrounded vowel—RP *harsh*
ɒ	open back rounded vowel—RP *dog*
b	voiced bilabial plosive—RP *bet*
ɔ:	open mid-back rounded vowel—RP *caught*
d	voiced alveolar plosive—RP *daddy*
dʒ	voiced palato-alveolar fricative—RP *John*
ð	voiced dental fricative—RP *other*
e	close-mid front unrounded vowel—traditional RP *bed*
ɛ	open-mid front unrounded vowel—modern RP *bed*
ə(:)	central unrounded vowel—RP initial vowel in *another*; modern RP *nurse*
ɜ:	open-mid central unrounded vowel—traditional RP *bird*
f	voiceless labiodental fricative—RP *four*
g	voiced velar plosive—RP *go*
h	voiceless glottal fricative—RP *home*
i(:)	close front unrounded vowel—RP *fleece*; modern RP final vowel in *happy*
ɪ	close-mid centralised unrounded vowel—RP *sit*
j	palatal approximant—RP *you*

ɹ	voiced alveolar approximant—RP *row*
k	voiceless velar plosive—RP *car*
l	voiced alveolar lateral approximant—RP *lie*
ɬ	voiced alveolar lateral approximant with velarisation—RP *still*
m	voiced bilabial nasal—RP *man*
n	voiced alveolar nasal—RP *no*
ŋ	voiced velar nasal—RP *bring*
θ	voiceless dental fricative—RP *think*
p	voiceless bilabial plosive—RP *post*
s	voiceless alveolar fricative—RP *some*
ʃ	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative—RP *shoe*
t	voiceless alveolar plosive—RP *toe*
tʃ	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate—RP *choose*
uː	close back rounded vowel—RP *sue*
ʊ	close-mid centralised rounded vowel—RP *push*
v	voiced labiodental fricative—RP *very*
ɨ	close central unrounded vowel—modern RP fronted *foot* [fɨt]
ʉ	close central rounded vowel—modern RP fronted *foot* [fʉt]
ʌ	open-mid back unrounded vowel—RP *shut*
w	labial-velar semi-vowel—RP *will*
z	voiced alveolar fricative—RP *zest*
ʒ	voiced palato-alveolar fricative—RP word medial *seizure*
ʔ	glottal plosive (also called glottal stop)—modern RP *Gatwick*
|	indicates tone-unit boundary
ː	indicates full length of preceding vowel—RP *caught* [kɔːt]
̩	indicates syllabicity—RP *station* [steɪʃn̩]
ˈ	indicates primary stress—RP *put* [ˈpʊt]
ᵊ	indicates off-glide—traditional RP *door* [dɔːᵊ]

GLOSSARY

accent	1/ indicates pronunciation features common to a group of people 2/ see word stress
affricate	is a consonant that starts as a stop but is finished with characteristic friction
age-grading	refers to variation that repeats itself generation after generation at an early stage of one's life and disappears later
allophone	refers to a variant used to produce a single phoneme, this variant does not bring about a change in meaning, e.g. [ʔ] in *later*
alveolar	refers to articulation close or against the alveolar ridge, e.g. alveolar plosive [t] in *sit*
approximant	refers to a consonant that is articulated with the articulators approaching (but not touching) each other, e.g. lateral approximant [l] in *less*
aspirated	refers to the release stage of a consonant that is released with a burst of air, e.g. [t^h] in *tin*
bilabial	refers to a consonant that is articulated with both lips, e.g. [b] in *butter*
cluster	is a group of consonants with no vowel, e.g. [stɹ] in *string*
coalescence	refers to articulation that merges two adjacent phonemes into one, sometimes producing a completely different one, e.g. [tʃ] in *tune*
continuant	refers to a consonant that is produced with an incomplete closure of the articulators; often a term that encompasses both fricatives and approximants
dental	refers to articulation that involves the tongue against the upper teeth, e.g. [ð] in *this*

diachronic	is that part of linguistics that investigates variation and change over time
dialect	a term indicating grammar, lexis and pronunciation features common to a group of people
diffusion	is the regional and social spread of linguistic innovations
diphthong	combines two adjacent vowels within one syllable, e.g. [aʊ] in *mouth*
dropping	refers to what is popularly believed to be the disappearance of a sound, where in fact the sound is realised differently, e.g. /g/-dropping: an alveolar rather than velar realisation of word-final /n/ in *shooting*. In spelling the 'missing' sound is often indicated by means of an apostrophe, thus *shootin'*.
fronting	refers to articulation which is closer to the front of the vocal tract than some reference point, e.g. fronted [ʉ] in *foot*
glide	a synonym for a semivowel; a sound phonetically similar to a vowel but performs the role of a syllable boundary
glottal	is a sound articulated by means of the glottis, i.e. the opening of the vocal folds, e.g. the glottal fricative [h] in *house*
hiatus	refers to adjacent vowels in two syllables that are not separated by a consonant, e.g. [sɔːɪt] in *saw it*
idiolect	refers to an individual's distinctive pronunciation (or the use of language)
indicator	is a variant that demonstrates considerable variation but with little or no social import
intrusive	refers to the process of including a sound where it is not supported by orthography, e.g. intrusive /r/ in [sɔːɹɪt] *saw it*
isogloss	is a geographic boundary of a particular linguistic variable, e.g. the short and long BATH vowels in the South and the North of England
langue	refers to the abstract, systematic set rules that govern *parole*, i.e. language in use in the form of specific utterances
lax	is articulation that lacks tenseness, e.g. [ɪ] in *kit*
levelling	refers to the assimilation and eradication of certain distinctive dialect or accent features
lexical set	is a set of words that share one feature, originally devised by Wells (1982), marked with capital letters, e.g. the TRAP vowel
liaison	refers to articulation of a word-final consonant that is otherwise silent; generally, the purpose is to enable easier pronunciation
linking	is a synonym to liaison
liquid	is a type of a consonant that is either lateral (/l/) or rhotic (/r/)

lowering	Is articulation with the tongue lower than some reference point, e.g. lowered TRAP [a]
marker	is a variant that demonstrates considerable variation but with significant social import, i.e. it is sharply socially stratified
merger	refers to the act of joining two sounds into one, e.g. *whale* and *wale* merger
monophthong	is a sound that consists of only one vowel
non-regional	refers to features that do not indicate the regional background of the speaker
nasal	is a type of consonant that is articulated with a lowered velum so that the air is allowed to escape through the nose
obstruent	refers to such consonants whose articulation involves obstructing the airflow; they include plosives, fricatives and affricates
orthography	is a set of rules and conventions that apply to written discourse
orthoepy	is a set of rules and conventions that define the 'correct' pronunciation
parole	refers to language in use, i.e. specific utterances governed by the abstract system called *langue*
phoneme	is one of the smallest sounds that distinguish one word from another; if there is only one different phoneme in a pair of words, it is a minimal pair, e.g. *tap* and *lap*.
plosive	refers to a consonant that is produced by stopping the airflow by an articulator, sometimes it is also called a stop
raised	refers to articulation with the tongue raised higher than some reference point
retracted	refers to articulation that is pronounced farther to the back of the vocal tract than some reference point
rhoticity	refers to the pronunciation that includes the historical rhotic consonant /r/ in postvocalic (i.e. immediately after a vowel) positions
rounding	refers to articulation of vowels with round lips
segment	is a discrete unit that can be identified and analysed in pronunciation, typically a phoneme
semivowel	a sound phonetically similar to a vowel but performs the role of a syllable boundary
shibboleth	is a variable whose variants are used to differentiate between groups of speakers, typically with a great amount of values attendant upon them
smoothing	refers to monophthongal articulation of diphthongs and triphthongs, e.g. traditional RP [fɑ:] *fire*

sociolect	is a variety of language that is associated with a particular social group
sonorant	is a sound produced with continuous airflow in the vocal tract, here they include approximants and nasals
speech event	is a social interaction involving communication (the use of language)
stereotype	is a variant that users are especially aware of; i.e. it has become part of common knowledge
supraregional	refers to features that are common to more regions, especially in opposition to some more localised variants, e.g. supraregional northern [eː] in FACE rather than more localised, traditional [ɪə].
suprasegmentals	sometimes called prosodic features; they are contrastive elements that apply to larger units of speech than segments (e.g. syllables and words). They typically include intonation, stress, tone and rhythm.
synchronic	is that part of linguistics that investigates variation and change at a specific time in the past
tensing	refers to articulation of vowels with narrower mouth width, e.g. word-final [i] in *happy*
unrounding	refers to articulation of vowels with lips not rounded, i.e. spread or neutral
uvular	refers to articulation with the back of the tongue touching the uvula, i.e. further back in the mouth than the velum
variable	is a linguistic feature that has at least two possible realisations (i.e. variants) that have social significance
variant	is one of at least possible realisations of variable, e.g. -ing endings are typically realised as alveolar nasal [n], velar nasal [ŋ], or velar nasal + /g/ [ŋg] in various English regional and social accents
variety	A term covering both 'accent' and 'dialect' without further specification to what features (grammar, lexis or pronunciation) the reference is made
velar	refers to articulation with the back part of the tongue touching the soft palate, i.e. the back of the roof of the mouth
vocalisation	refers to the change of a consonant into a vowel, e.g. vocalised /l/ [mɪʊk] in south-eastern *milk*
voiced	refers to articulation which involves the vibration of vocal cords, all vowels and some consonants are voiced, e.g. /b/, /d/, /g/, and /z/
voiceless	refers to articulation which does not involve the vibration of vocal cords, some consonants are voiceless, e.g. /p/, /t/, /k/, and /s/
word stress	refers to relative emphasis placed upon some syllables in a word symbolised by [ˈ] in phonetics, e.g. *admit* is stressed on the second syllable, thus [ədˈmɪt]

APPENDIX 1

Sample 1

Name:	B. S.
Age:	late 20s
Regional background:	South-East of England
Social background:	middle-class

Samples 2, 9, 14

Name:	S. H.-E.
Age:	early 30s
Regional background:	Hastings, Kent, UK
Social background:	middle class

Samples 3, 7

Name:	P. C.
Age:	early 40s
Regional background:	the North-East (Newcastle, Sunderland) and Yorkshire (York)
Social background:	middle class

Sample 4

Name:	M. H.
Age:	late 30s
Regional background:	North London, rural Cambridgeshire
Social background:	upper working/lower middle class

Sample 5, 11, 15

Name:	R. D.
Age:	late 30s
Regional background:	Hertfordshire
Social background:	lower middle class

Sample 6

Name:	A. T.
Age:	late 30s
Regional background:	diverse (periods spent various locations in the North as well as the South)
Social background:	middle class

Samples 8, 18

information not available; recording taken from Collins and Mees (2003)

Sample 10

Name:	W. T.
Age:	late 30s
Regional background:	East Midlands
Social background:	middle class

Sample 12

information not available; recording taken from Hughes et al. (2005)

Sample 13

Name:	J. G.
Age:	early 40s
Regional background:	diverse (childhood in Manchester, then the South of England, the past 20 years in the Czech Republic)
Social background:	working class

Sample 16

Name:	N. F.
Age:	early 30s
Regional background:	London (but studied in Birmingham and Bournemouth, the past 15 years in the Czech Rep.)
Social background:	middle class

Sample 17

Name:	E. T.
Age:	mid 20s
Regional background:	West Midlands
Social background:	middle class

All samples are available in open access mode in the Digital Library of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, at the following link: https://digilib.phil.muni.cz.

APPENDIX 2

Czech Respondent 1

CZ R1	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S1	RP				easily intelligible	
S2	NearRP		the flapping and the final monophthong in "there" make it sound a bit Australian		easily intelligible	
S3	RP				easily intelligible	
S4	NearRP		An extremely closed vowel „i" makes it sound a bit Brummy.		easily intelligible	
S5	RP				easily intelligible	
S6	RP				easily intelligible	
S7	NearRP		Deninitely a well-educated Northener, judging by "last season".	If RP is defined by its non-regionality then this speaker displaying certain northernisms is out. Then again, other definitions say RP is an artificial, almost non-existent concept.	easily intelligible	
S8	NearRP		Slight glottalizations.	Once glottaling is accepted in RP it´ll be a revolution. Or rather, will Estuary English replace RP?	easily intelligible	
S9	RP				easily intelligible	
S10	NearRP		A Northener - „lovely", „young".		easily intelligible	

CZ R1	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S11	RP				easily intelligible	
S12	RP				easily intelligible	
S13	RP				easily intelligible	
S14	NearRP		Glotalling final consonants as in „like that"		easily intelligible	
S15	NearRP		Sounding a little Welsh and sloppy ("thassit").		easily intelligible	
S16	RP				easily intelligible	
S17	NearRP		A Northener, judging by extremely open ashes in "back", "language". Educated.		easily intelligible	
S18	RP				easily intelligible	

Czech Respondent 5

CZ R5	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S1	RP				easily intelligible	From the South. Well educated, well intelligible.
S2	NearRP		Too fast to be RP. Learner may have difficulties.		easily intelligible	Friendly, self-confident person.
S3	RP				easily intelligible	He sounds okay, ut there's nothing special about him.
S4	NearRP		The first sound of 'hobby' was weird. And 'football' (the glottal stop and last sound was like /u/)		easily intelligible	Kind of slow, takes a long time until he gets to the point.

CZ R5	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S5	NearRP		He pronounces very well, but sometimes swallows sounds (especially /t/) and sometimes speaks quickly.		easily intelligible	Probably coming from a low social background- but don't know why...
S6	RP				easily intelligible	Nice pronunciation, vowels and consonants, even though I would say she is from the South.
S7	NearRP		'last' is short /a/. Some other voewls also not really RP.		easily intelligible	
S8	NearRP		Talking to fast, he talks a little bit like 'whatever' and does not pronounce clearly. I think he is from London. And does not have a high degree of education. He has not been exposed to any other accents. His 'good' has a strange vowel-more like /i/		intelligible with minor difficulties	Self-confident and active person.
S9	NearRP		Way too many glottal stops 'got, get'. And /a/ in 'travelling'.		easily intelligible	
S10	NearRP		Too regional for me and does not indicate a high social status.		intelligible with minor difficulties	Wasn't easy to understand or pelasant to listen to...
S11	RP				easily intelligible	Although regional as well (Cockney, lots of glottal stops, e.g. 'highlight, it' and /l/ more like /u/), it is much more intelligible than the previous one. Perhaps coz it's not very high tempo.

CZ R5	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S12	RP				easily intelligible	Clear and very easily understandable accent.
S13	RP				easily intelligible	A strange mixture of uneducated things like 'time' with /oi/ and very formal diction, almost like trying hard to sound posh, ie. above his 'level'
S14	NearRP		Despite the effort of speaking with RP, her accent still sounds a bit regional (Southern). /j/ sounds quite coalesced.		easily intelligible	She seems to be from a privileged family.
S15	NearRP		Too casual for RP. Vowels and /l/ like /u/.		easily intelligible	
S16	RP				easily intelligible	The accent sounds very sophisticated and indicates a good position in society. It is also very mild.
S17	RP				intelligible with minor difficulties	Sounds correct without appearing affected or pompous.
S18	RP				easily intelligible	A young modern voice which could be too relaxed for some non-natives.

Czech Respondent 8

CZ R8	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S1	NearRP		Regionally coloured (open „a" in international), some glottal stops-probably Cockney		easily intelligible	
S2	NonRP		Glottal stops (much more than the first speaker, heatwave, out).	Hard to understand sometimes.	intelligible with minor difficulties	Very lazy. Lower level of education. Lower social position.
S3	RP		Northern but very easy to understand so still more rp than not.		easily intelligible	I spent three months in Newcastle and never met such a well-spoken person there
S4	NearRP			It's not individual sounds really. More the general tendency not to pronounce words properly.	intelligible with minor difficulties	Very confident.
S5	NearRP		If there are fewer glottalised „t"s then rp. And the final „i" in family should be less prominent I think.		easily intelligible	Sounds quite posh.
S6	RP				easily intelligible	No, everything seems rp about her accent.
S7	NearRP		Northern „a" in last and also „u".		intelligible with minor difficulties	
S8	NearRP		Not pronouncing some vowels or endings properly (glottalized „t" in bitten, or bite), rather causal or negligent pronounciation.		intelligible with minor difficulties	He is probably from a lower social class and the accent is thus not posh enough to be rp

CZ R8	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S9	NonRP		The amount of glottalizations makes the voice sound a bit uneducated. Again final „i" more like „i:".		not easily intelligible	Sometimes really difficult to understand.
S10	RP			A bit northern I guess. But because naturalness and comprehensibility is the priority for me, I gave rp.	easily intelligible	Fast tempo and the speaker probablymaintains a high-profile role.
S11	NearRP		touristy with long „o", the vowel „u" in good		easily intelligible	Young, active, educated.
S12	NearRP		Lengthening vowels and the rhytm of speech – pauses in sentences.	Very regional and unusual accent that is difficult to speak with.	intelligible with minor difficulties	
S13	NearRP			Almost careless pronunciation. From lower classes.	easily intelligible	He seems to be a bit nervous.
S14	NearRP		Comes from a region with a rather local pronunciation but mainly sticks to the RP rules (the exception might occasional glottal stops)		intelligible with minor difficulties	I expect rp to sound „posher" ☺
S15	NonRP		Very regional (many glottal stops so I guess it's Cockney: that, got). Might be less intelligible for less experienced non-native learners of the English language.		easily intelligible	Intelligent but far too regional.

CZ R8	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S16	RP				easily intelligible	Sounds natural, very RP, more or less intelligible. It is a very upper-class accent.
S17	NonRP			Rather fast tempo and not easily intelligible. Some speech impediment?	not easily intelligible	I'm not sure about the status of this speaker.
S18	NearRP		An educated speaker that retains some features (too open vowels) that make his accent less comprehensible than rp needs.		intelligible with minor difficulties	

Czech Respondent 13

CZ R13	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S1	NearRP		Seems southern to me. Glottal stop in market.		easily intelligible	A friendly and well-spoken person.
S2	NonRP		Many cases of glottalization too (that, about) as well as very open TRAP.	RP generally sounds more stylised and affected and this one certainly lacks any such associations.	easily intelligible	No
S3	RP				easily intelligible	Respectable person.
S4	RP				easily intelligible	Careful and thoughtful person, more RP than the previous man. Lots of hesitation.

CZ R13	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S5	NonRP		It is far too casual, for example L-vocalisation in people. Fully open TRAP vowel.		easily intelligible	No
S6	RP				easily intelligible	No
S7	NearRP		Hints of northernisms: last with short /a/.		easily intelligible	This speaker tries to RP, but he is not entirely successful. He may try to signal his high social position.
S8	NonRP		Colloquial and regional English, not so intelligible. A lot of massive reductions (glottal stop: quite) and very open TRAP.		intelligible with minor difficulties	Sounds quite working class.
S9	NonRP		A very ordinary accent and vowels not RP.		easily intelligible	No
S10	NearRP		Natural open TRAP.		easily intelligible	Speed of delivery was high. In addition I doubt he belongs to middle class or higher.
S11	NonRP		She does not sound sophisticated or cultivated at all. Frequent glottals (like in that)!		easily intelligible	No
S12	RP				easily intelligible	Definitely RP! Careful speech, quite slow. Very 'proper' and privileged accent. Difficult to see where the speaker is from but I'd say Thames Estuary (yod coalescence?).

CZ R13	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S13	NearRP		Like number 12: yod coalescence.		easily intelligible	(Upper) Middle class.
S14	NonRP		A lot of regional giveaways, the glottal stop and even intrusive /r/.	Estuary English maybe, but certainly not RP.	easily intelligible	No
S15	NearRP		Intrusive /r/ in area of. Otherwise quite RP.		easily intelligible	No
S16	RP		A nice English accent, a touch of Estuary again (shifted diphthongs).		easily intelligible	She sounds very likeable. Good tempo (neither too fast nor slow)
S17	NearRP			Fast tempo, less intelligible for non-natives.	easily intelligible	No posh overtones.
S18	NonRP		Good is more like gid. A bit sloppy at times (vowels and consonants alike).	Must be educated but his accent does not signal that much.	easily intelligible	No

Czech Respondent 14

CZ R14	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S1	NearRP		Glottal stop in 'market' is not rp. The rest seems to be.	-	easily intelligible	An intelligible and cultivated speech.
S2	RP			Rp because I can't identify any mistakes. But it's kind of low profile rp, maybe learnt by someone from the working-class.	intelligible with minor difficulties	Fast tempo and thus somewhat hard to understand sometimes.
S3	RP		An established person with a high income.	-	easily intelligible	Clear and friendly speech.

CZ R14	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S4	NonRP		First sound in 'hobby' was just strange. 'Football' glottalized and /l/ was more like /u/, to be honest.	-	easily intelligible	Very slow. Was it a native speaker at all?
S5	RP		-	-	easily intelligible	Not cultivated much but extremely easy to understand so probably rp.
S6	NearRP		Simply the way the speaker pronounces /t/ and /r/ inserted in 'data has'.	-	intelligible with minor difficulties	Well established person.
S7	RP		'last' was short /a/ but it did not affect intelligibility at all.	-	easily intelligible	Educated person
S8	NearRP		He tended to skip groups of short words.	I think this was too fast speech to be given rp.	not easily intelligible	-
S9	RP		-	-	easily intelligible	The speaker is an educated person that got to 'wear off' their accent via their education. A bit 'posh' too.
S10	NonRP		Although it is a cultivated person (TV work), his speech is hard to understand ->Non-RP. Strange sentence stresses, vowels too open.	-	not easily intelligible	-
S11	NearRP		Easy to understand but some vowels were not quite rp: e.g. too open /a/ in 'harry' and /u/ in 'good'. Not careful enough.	-	easily intelligible	-
S12	NearRP		Strange vowels: final /e/ in 'there' and 'gradually' with /dž/.	I tihnk rp should be more confident and fluent.	easily intelligible	Otherwise quite nice to listen to.

CZ R14	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
S13	NearRP		again a lot of breaks. Some glottal stops.	-	intelligible with minor difficulties	Despite some imperfections, the speaker is probably an uper class person.
S14	NearRP		-	-	easily intelligible	Quite fast but rp sounds mostly.
S15	NearRP		-	-	easily intelligible	See the previous recording.
S16	RP		-	-	easily intelligible	The closest to my idea of rp so far.
S17	NearRP			Sounds a bit regional but it is hard for me to say why (can't specify the region, maybe the north?).	intelligible with minor difficulties	She's altogether quite sophisticated and serious.
S18	RP		Some regional features (sounds like Cockney or Estuary English) like glottal stops 'get' and 'good' very muhc like 'i'.	-	easily intelligible	Thanks to its easy intelligibility I gave rp.

English Respondent 1

EN R1	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q5
S1	NearRP	We'd have to define RP- I am in the 'RP is an evolving code' camp	The /a/ of „and" was a bit open and long, sounded more South East to me, maybe North London... Maybe also the glottal stop at end of „market" - I'd have expected a /t/ linking with the initial vowel	The /a/ sound in RP is shorter, pore open. At least it is in the way it's described in most books and the way I teach it. But then again, it is only a model...	
S2	RP				Regional but difficcult to locate, not so up in society, yet most of it is in place
S3	NonRP		„past" was a short front /a/ not a back open long /a/- northern (please excuse th elack of IPA fonts. Also a couple of glottal stops.		Northern, educated (university?) voice, occupies a good position
S4	RP				Educated, cultured voice
S5	NearRP		Plenty of glottal stops, e.g. at the end of „I've got"		
S6	RP				
S7	NonRP		Open front short /a/ vowel on several „last"s, /i:/ vowel on „we" not very tense / tensing, /ei/ vowel on „place" a bit less tensing than RP.	All a bit Northern, really... educated (same as 3?)	educated (same as 3?)
S8	NearRP		More glottal stops (even to replace a velar plosive) than RP	OK, back to the „what is RP?" question. He's young and has a very relaxed style of speech I suppose. But too much to serve as a model of RP.	

EN R1	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q5
S9	NearRP		alveolar tap on „little" - plus the word final glottal stops („that", etc.)	alveolat tap is a bit American / relaxed English to be called an RP feature.	
S10	NearRP		front open short /a/ for „freelance". Strut vowel a tad too closed.	A bit Northern / Midlands...	Not as posh as what people believe is RP
S11	RP				London area? Not very posh RP though.
S12	RP		I feel it's important to state that this is the way RP was spoken 20+ years ago if not more, and there's no where else I can say this. Some people still speak like this, but not very many young peoplke - I would say anyway. So this is classic privileged RP with a posh touch.		
S13	NearRP		the diphthong in „life" was a bit rounded...		
S14	NearRP		/i:/ in „seaside" not tense enough, strut vowel („front") not open enough. Lots of word final glottal stops		A bit of a mashup, this one. Maybe just relaxed RP. Not prominent social connotations.
S15	NearRP		Lots of word-final glottal stops.		A bit too relaxed for RP...but higher social positon.
S16	NearRP		A few too many HRTs... Don't think that's considered RP yet :-)		

EN R1	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q5
S17	NearRP		Lots of RP. Nearly every TU in fact… Plus lots of glottal stops.	I don't think HRT is very RP. Plus a bit Northern. But hey, she's young and educated…	
S18	NearRP		Word-final glottal stops	OK, could call this a relaxed RP, but I still think it's too relaxed to be deemed canonical RP.	

English Respondent 2

EN R2	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q5
S1	RP				I guess RP though a bit regional (London)
S2	RP				
S3	NonRP		a short in last, northern u		
S4	RP				Very posh. High quality education. Huigh social position
S5	NearRP		Many glottals		Probably educated.
S6	RP				
S7	NonRP		u in come		
S8	NearRP		Again glottals.	Southern, low class, not really an cultured accent. Too modern	
S9	RP				Some regional traces
S10	NonRP		Too northern young but educated.		
S11	RP				
S12	RP				No regional features. Public School? Slow tempo.
S13	NearRP		some vowels (time)		Social status not marked, rather low.
S14	NearRP		Glottals (like), vowels	Not the elvel of education to be RP.	

EN R2	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q5
S15	NearRP		good like gid	Not RP (yet).	
S16	RP				Sounds intelligent. Not fast
S17	NearRP		Northern twang	Northern twang, maybe Midlands...	Lacks the posh overtones even though upper middle class, maybe...
S18	RP				Well spoken and intelligent, a bit to modern

English Respondent 6

EN R6	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q5
S1	NearRP		just a couple of vowels but difficult to pinpoint		
S2	RP		not a rich background I think		rather slow but vowels and consonants in place, modern, young
S3	NonRP		vowels not in place: past and months		
S4	RP				seems well educated and middle/ upper class
S5	NearRP		also educated but a few glottals make it sound less rp (than the previous one)		
S6	RP				quite slow but most of it is rp
S7	NonRP		vowel sounds (short 'a' in last and 'u' in come) show a clear regional accent though not as strong as some I have heard		a bit slow again

EN R6	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q5
S8	NearRP		mainstream lower class student sort of accent, london or close to london? many glottalized /t/s (bitten)		sounds friendly and fun
S9	NearRP		glottalized /t/s again (what)	someone from south-east england! Not a strong accent but definite southern emphasis, lower class?	
S10	NonRP		vowel sounds (/u/ in covering and /a/ in freelanced) indicate a northern accent that has considerably mellowed though	See above	fast speech (no surprise due to his tv career), solid position in soceity, accent warm and friendly, not posh like rp sometimes is
S11	RP		glottals but still young rp		unnecessary hesitations
S12	RP				highly educated, careful pronunciation, rp vowel sounds, posh accent (veeery slow)
S13	NearRP		doesn't overpronounce his vowels, some glottalization	See above	
S14	NearRP		clearly from south-east, too casual for rp, lots of glottals (lot of and like)		
S15	RP				
S16	RP		a bit regional (london) but not too much I guess		
S17	NearRP			that's a soft northern voice	he doesn't have a posh accent (to be rp)
S18	RP		another person from south-east england! not so clear and well spoken as others but lots of modern rp stuff		

English Respondent 12

EN R12	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q5
S1	RP				Well-spoken, expressive, articulate, intelligent
S2	NearRP		Regionless to a large extent, yet some glottals and intonation not quite RP--southern		
S3	NearRP		Also regional (the word 'months') but belongs to a person with a rather high place in society here in the North		
S4	RP				That's definitely RP! Reveals a high quality education and it's quite posh.
S5	RP				Southern RP, I'd say. A bit too casual but still more RP than not.
S6	NearRP				Clear voice lacking posh overtones
S7	NearRP		Northern, /u/ in e.g. 'come'		
S8	NearRP		His long vowels in 'France' and the way he pronounces 'good'	He's from the South of England, probably London	I'm a bit prejudiced against this accent!
S9	NearRP		Too many glottal stops to be RP.		
S10	NearRP		A slight northern accent but I can't identify the area.		
S11	RP				A rich person. Upper middle class, I'd say.
S12	RP				Posh Enlgish person with pretensions and maybe some self-dillusions of grandness. He thinks he's upper class, if not upper crust. Slow speeech. Public school education, no doubt.

EN R12	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q5
S13	NearRP		Some /t/ dropping	careful pronunciations, maybe because of being in the Czech Republic? When speaking English to people there has to have understandable language.	Middle class.
S14	NearRP		Quite a posh southern accent. Not very cultivated though, sounds like she's putting it on.		Lower middle class or upper working class.
S15	RP				I've heard the voice here before! Southern, confident.
S16	RP				Well spoken, clear and precise. I would guess she is from a privileged family from South-East England – home counties, not London.
S17	NearRP		Northern vowles and intonation.	Sporty but from a well-off family here in the North. Lancashire?	
S18	RP				A young southern accent. Seemingly educated but maybe just putting it on.

English Respondent 16

EN R16	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q5
S1	RP				She knows what she wants, ambitious.
S2	NonRP		lots of T-glottaling and flapping.	Far too regional (the south) and casual.	
S3	NearRP		Regional as well. Clearly northern but a cultivated and not as causal as the previous one. Probably quite well-off despite the northen /u/.		
S4	RP		A slightly southern voice (/l/ in 'football'). But his extremely slow delivery sounds very posh.		
S5	RP				Modern variety of RP
S6	RP				
S7	NonRP		Northern /u/, sometimes even diphthongs.	regional	Friendly and cultivated.
S8	RP				Sounds young and likes having fun. Sounds also like he comes from a well-off family in the South.
S9	NonRP		Have I heard this speaker before? A bit affected, a southerner. Marked T-glottaling.		
S10	RP				He doesn't have a posh accent. Used to speaking in public. Sound as if he is not from lower classes.
S11	RP				Almost near-RP but lots of RP sounds.

EN R16	Q1	Q1-other	Q2	Q3	Q5
S12	RP				I find it very difficult to determine where he grew up. Not only wealthy, but from an upperclass background. Too pompous though and quite slow to show off his background.
S13	NearRP		Short vowels not RP (quite Midlands I think)	not cultivated enough to be RP.	A bit dull. Tries to make his life more interesting than it is.
S14	NearRP		Southern, sounds intelligent.		
S15	NearRP		Too much T-glottaling to be called RP.	Too relaexed as well and glottals	A well-off person from the South. Intelligent.
S16	RP				Her accent doesn't have any regional vowels; I couldn't say where she was from, though at a guess would put her in the south of England or the home counties. She doesn't have some of the more old-fashioned RP vowels, such as the higher /a/ in words like 'that'.
S17	NearRP		Not quite RP in terms of vowels and intonation		Sporty but intelligent
S18	NearRP		A lot of T-glottaling. /u/ in 'good' almost like /i/		

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Miroslav Ježek

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