Masaryk University
Faculty of Arts

**Department of English
and American Studies**

English Language and Literature

Miroslav Ježek

**Upton's Model of RP:
based on a research study into the
current awareness of speakers and
respondents of English**

Master's Diploma Thesis

doc. PhDr. Ludmila Urbanová, CSc.

2009

I declare that I have worked on this thesis independently,
using only the primary and secondary sources listed in the bibliography.

...

<u>Acknowledgements</u>

Table of Contents

List of tables

List of figures

List of Phonetic Symbols and Signs

- a   open front unrounded vowel—unmarked RP *man, bath*
- {   front vowel between open and open-mid—marked RP *man*
- 6   open central unrounded vowel—marked RP gear [γI6]
- A   open back unrounded vowel—RP *harsh*
- Θ   open back rounded vowel—RP *dog*
- b   voiced bilabial plosive—RP *bet*
- O   open mid-back rounded vowel—RP *caught*
- d   voiced alveolar plosive—RP *daddy*
- dZ   voiced palato-alveolar fricative—RP *John*
- Δ   voiced dental fricative—RP *other*
- e   close-mid front unrounded vowel—marked RP *bed*
- E   open-mid front unrounded vowel—umarked RP *bed*
- ≅   central unrounded vowel—RP initial vowel in *another*; umarked RP *nurse*
- 3   open-mid central unrounded vowel—marked RP *bird*
- f   voiceless labiodental fricative—RP *four*
- g   voiced velar plosive—RP *go*
- h   voiceless glottal fricative—RP *home*
- ι   close front unrounded vowel—RP *fleece*; umarked RP *happy*
- I   close-mid centralised unrounded vowel—RP *sit*; marked RP *happy*
- j   palatal approximant—RP *you*
- ρ   voiced post-alveolar approximant—RP *row*
- k   voiceless velar plosive—RP *car*
- l   voiced alveolar lateral approximant—RP *lie*
- 5   voiced alveolar lateral approximant with velarization—RP *still*
- m   voiced bilabial nasal—RP *man*
- n   voiced alveolar nasal—RP *no*
- N   voiced velar nasal—RP *bring*
- T   voiceless dental fricative—RP *think*
- p   voiceless bilabial plosive—RP *post*
- s   voiceless alveolar fricative—RP *some*
- Σ   voiceless palato-alveolar fricative—RP *shoe*
- t   voiceless alveolar plosive—RP *toe*
- tΣ   voiceless palato-alveolar affricate—RP *choose*
- u   close back rounded vowel—RP *sue*
- Y   close-mid centralised rounded vowel—RP *push*
- v   voiced labiodental fricative—RP *very*
- Ψ   close-mid centralised rounded vowel—RP fronted *foot* [φΨτ]
- ς   open-mid back unrounded vowel—RP *shut*
- w   labial-velar semi-vowel—RP *will*
- z   voiced alveolar fricative—RP *zest*
- Z   voiced palato-alveolar fricative—Eng. *seizure*
- ?   glottal plosive (also called glottal stop)—unmarked RP *football*
- ⊕   indicates tone-unit boundary
- :   indicates full length of preceding vowel—RP *caught* [kO:τ]

- ∧ indicates syllabicity—RP *station* [στεΙΣν∧]
- ∀ indicates primary stress—RP *put* [∀πΥτ]
- ⇔ indicates more rounded quality—London *price* [πρς⇔Ισ]
- © indicates raised quality—northern English strut [στρς©τ]
- ⁼ indicates off-glide—marked RP *door* [δΟ⁼]

    In order to make phonetic symbols and signs appear right on your screen, it is necessary to have the **IPA font** installed. This has been uploaded to the IS along with the diploma thesis; alternatively it can also be downloaded and installed from J C Wells' website: http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/ipa-unicode.htm

Introduction

This thesis would not have been written had it not been for a year abroad which I spent at Leeds University where I had the enormous privilege of working with prof. Clive Upton, one of the most eminent contemporary English linguists. It was his leadership as well as the first true opportunity to listen to the enormous variation across regional and social English accents which made me realise that the situation in RP is markedly different from the descriptions found in teaching materials widely available outside the United Kingdom. My first essay at Leeds scored very low because I had just repeated those myths about RP that had been considered common knowledge. The most urgent word of advice from Upton was to 'wag your ear' and 'see for yourself what the situation is like'. So I did and found many points where I had to agree with him.

I would thus like to introduce Upton's model of RP and argue for the necessity to take it into consideration whenever RP is being discussed. RP, like any other accent, shows considerable variation though many people hate to think so and would love to see RP completely petrified. Naturally, there are more prescriptive myths surrounding RP (e.g. people should speak the way they write or some sounds are better than others). These myths, however, have been dispelled by professional linguists and I do not deem it necessary to deal with them here once more (see for example Bauer 1998).

The year abroad at Leeds was also instrumental in the process of writing this thesis because I could use the outstanding facilities of Leeds University Library, which, in this respect, ranks among the top universities in the UK.

RP Forms

Every linguist is well aware of the variation within RP. This can be proved by a high number of terms that have been devised for the various forms of RP. There are usually two main trends although Wells (1982: 279) distinguishes as many as four. The two main ones,

however, are enough for the purposes of this thesis. The first form is labelled as 'traditional RP' (Upton 2008: 239-40), 'U-RP' (Wells 1982: 279), 'Refined RP' (Cruttenden 1994: 80) or 'marked RP' (Honey 1991: 38). The other one is called just 'RP' (Upton 2008: 239-40), 'mainstream RP' (Wells 1982: 279), 'General RP' (Cruttenden 1994: 80) or 'unmarked RP' (Honey 1991: 38). I decided against adopting Upton's terms on the grounds that the latter form of RP lacks a descriptive label. I understand why Upton is content with no label before his 'RP'. Since it is the mainstream variant, it can 'legitimately lay claim to the RP label without qualification' (Upton 2000a: 76). There is no need to label this form of RP in the same way people do not label ordinary dresses, for example. If we see two women while one is wearing a normal dress and the other one is wearing a long Victorian dress, then we will probably only need to label the latter type of dress and feel happy to leave the former one without qualification. Yet the distinction 'marked' vs. 'unmarked' is going to be used in the present thesis, chiefly because this distinction is well-known from other linguistic disciplines and will thus be the most easily understood one of all.

Honey (1991: 38) offers the following definitions of the two forms of RP: 'unmarked RP suggests a fairly high degree of educatedness, although the social class of its speaker need not be very exalted'. Honey goes on to say that primary school teachers, secretaries, doctors and solicitors often speak with this form of RP. Marked RP, on the other hand, evokes a privileged kind of education (at a public school, for example); this accent 'is associated not so much with an ''educated'' voice as with a ''cultured'' voice'; every syllable of the marked RP accent 'seems to assert a claim to a special degree of social privilege' (1991: 38-9).

The two forms of RP are crucial to bear in mind and, in my opinion, teaching materials aimed at a foreign market often appear as though there only was one, namely the marked form.

Thesis Outline

The first chapter of the thesis offers a diachronic insight into the history of accent prescriptivism and standardisation. It is vital to bear in mind the historical perspective for, as Milroy (2001: 31) puts it, RP is 'a product of a particular period of British history, during which time it served important social and political functions'.

The next chapter discusses the current status of Received Pronunciation in England and the Czech Republic. The differences between the perception and role of RP in the two countries are also crucial as will clearly be seen later. Moreover, the chapter contains a detailed description of Upton's revised model of RP with particular focus upon the most contentious points of his model.

The following two chapters deal with the practical study, which involved recording native speakers of British English, launching a website with these recordings and accompanying questionnaires and then assessing and evaluating the gathered data so that conclusions might be drawn.

Research Hypotheses

Apart from providing the theoretical background information about the birth and development of RP, this thesis seeks to consider the following hypotheses.

First, it is desirable to find out what roles RP fulfils in both England and the Czech Republic. Given that English is not the native language in the latter country (and the prestige accent there is totally dissimilar to RP in England), the differences should be substantial.

Second, a phonetic/phonological make-up of RP will be established. In this respect the question to what extent the Czechs and the English are aware of recent innovations is a crucial one. The English should be far better informed about them as they are native speakers of the

language (though not necessarily of the accent, of course) and have the latest publications at their disposal.

Third, the credibility of Upton's model of RP will be tested by both sets of respondents. Seemingly, unless they actively seek information about the latest trends in English social dialectology, the Czechs should not be aware of the model at all as its use has been limited to the English market so far.

In addition, the pros and cons of adopting this model in both England and the Czech Republic will be discussed; it is supposed that they will differ providing RP fulfils different roles in the two countries.

1. History of Accent Prescriptivism and Standardisation

1.1 Early Traces

Accent differences have been recognised since ancient times. There is a short story in the Bible which reminds one that speaking a certain accent could actually be a matter of life and death:

> 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)

The difference between the Gileadites and the Ephraimites was the (in)ability to pronounce /Σ/ in 'shibboleth' (saying /σ/ instead). The consequences for the Ephraimites were tragic.

Geoffrey Chaucer was well aware of the accent and dialect differences, too. His *Reeve's Tale* shows two Cambridge men, Aleyn and John, speaking in a northern accent; interestingly enough it is them who are educated and who outwit the miller, who speaks in a southern accent. However, the notion of 'standard' was absent in the fourteenth century and, as a consequence 'all dialects in Middle English assumed an equality they were never after to attain' (Mugglestone 1995: 8).

These stories bear witness to accent recognition; accent prescriptivism, however, is a relatively recent phenomenon. The first instance of the latter can be found in *Arte of English Poesie* by Puttenham published in 1589. He recommends that 'ye shall take the usuall speech

of the Court and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx myles' (qtd. in Beal 2004: 169). Puttenham does not define the standard; he assumes that people will acquire it naturally by just mixing with 'men civill and graciously behavoured and bred' (qtd. in Beal 2004: 169).

The seventeenth century saw an upsurge of interest in the matters of correct pronunciation; a number of orthoepists mention the pronunciation of London in this regard as well as the two existing universities.

1.2 'Good' Pronunciation in the Eighteenth Century

The single most influential event of the century in question is undoubtedly the Industrial Revolution, which brought about 'decisive reorganisation of society' (Williams 1976: 61). Likewise, 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'. As language is an integral part of society, it is then little surprising that the events of the eighteenth century brought about numerous changes in language attitudes and perceptions, too.

The eighteenth century was largely instrumental in establishing the notion of 'standard' in both written and spoken language (although the former had been much aided by the invention of printing and then two hugely popular books: *King James Bible* and *The Book of Common Prayer*, published in the 17th century). Early in the 18th century Swift called for establishing an institution similar to academies that had already been set up in France and Italy. Swift primarily occupied himself with grammar and he complained that 'in many instances it [Abuses and Absurdities] offends against every Part of Grammar' (qtd. in Bolton 1966: 108). Concurring with Swift's sentiments, Lowth in his book *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) attempts at fixing all those abuses and absurdities.

As far as lexis is concerned, Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755) managed to achieve what Swift had called for.

Before my attention turns to the best-known prescriptive manual for the eighteenth-century pronunciation of English, it has to be pointed out that all these people engaged in a truly Sisyphean task: they tried to suppress all forms of variation in language. Variation was seen as something evil, corrupt and to be avoided at all costs. The futility of such ambitions was actually realised by Johnson himself who admitted that 'sounds are too volatile and subtle for legal restraints' (qtd. in Bolton 1966: 152).

The whole atmosphere of eighteenth-century language prescriptivism is aptly summed up by Holmberg (1964: 20) who views good pronunciation as a marketable asset when he says: 'it is in the eighteenth century that the snob value of a good pronunciation began to be recognised'. Beal (2008: 23) links the increase in demand for 'good' pronunciation with 'the arrival in this period 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'.

Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary*, published in 1791, met such demands. It was so popular that it was reprinted over 100 times up to 1904; Mugglestone (1995: 41) has it 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.

The upwardly-mobile middle-class people got in Walker's dictionary a manual to avoid 'vulgar' and 'shameful' pronunciation; the pressure on middle-class people was to avoid being 'associated with the class immediately below him or her in the social hierarchy, or, indeed, the class from which he or she had risen' (Beal 2008: 24).

The difference between middle and working classes was not in the amount of social aspiration but rather in the means to obtain what ensures upward mobility. In the eighteenth century middle class, for the first time, had accumulated enough money as well as desire to pay not only for pronouncing dictionaries but also for elocution lessons offered by people such as Walker himself, Sheridan and others.

The whole phenomenon is described in similar terms by Honey; he, however, lays emphasis on the increase of education in the eighteenth century and talks about the rise of 'educated class' as the 'impetus to the development and spread of a standard accent' (1991: 17). This standard accent is not supra-regional (thus we cannot in any way speak of Received Pronunciation yet); it is usually associated with the capital.

The difference between the 18th and previous centuries lies in the fact that orthoepists in the 16th and 17th centuries had merely attempted to locate the 'correct' speech while in the 18th century Walker and others 'deliberately set out to define and "fix" an explicit standard'; the former recognised the inevitability of regional accents, the latter wanted to eradicate them (Beal 2004:171-2).

Walker uses two labels for those whose accent is 'improper' (Beal 2004:173): *vulgar* (for working-class Cockneys who have no excuse at all as they have access to polite speakers) and *provincial* (for other parts of England, mainly north and west, and Scotland, Ireland and Wales).

1.3 The Nineteenth Century and The Birth of RP

The 19th century fully exploited the market which had been created in the previous century. The incredible number of reprints of Walker's dictionary has already been mentioned. Moreover, the pressure from the lower classes for cheap pronunciation guides resulted in 'penny manuals': 'self-help books which concentrated on warning against the most obvious linguistic (and social) shibboleths' (Beal 2008: 26). These cheap leaflets (discussed in great detail in Mugglestone 1995) offer, among other things, numerous comical tales illustrating how embarrassing it is to, for example, misplace one's aitches:

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)

Such manuals were thick on the ground in the nineteenth century; a vast majority of them written by people of no linguistic education at all, thereby just spreading some popular myths and misconceptions. 'Poor letter H' was particularly susceptible to much criticism. The front page of another manual focussed on correcting the use of this unfortunate letter. *Poor Letter H: Its Use and Abuse* (published in 1854, qtd. in Mugglestone 1995:134) shows a respectable lady with an equally respectable gentleman who, obsequiously taking his hat off and holding a big letter H, says: 'Please, Ma'am, you've dropped something.'

A high number of manuals from this era were aimed at women, particularly young unmarried ones. It has been mentioned that accent had become a marketable commodity and unmarried ladies with 'wrong' pronunciation were seriously disadvantaged on the 'marriage market'. Hill (1902: 13) clearly thinks that 'good' pronunciation cannot be overestimated when he says that '[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'. Surely, the questions of home violence, drinking, gambling, infidelity etc. pale into insignificance when it comes to pronouncing or not aitches.

Public boarding schools are another immensely influential phenomenon that rose into prominence in the 19th century; this one, unlike penny manuals, is directly linked to the birth of Received Pronunciation. Despite popular belief, Ellis was not the first one to use the label *received*; the first instance comes from the eighteenth-century dictionary by Walker who uses the word several times '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' (qtd. in Beal 2004: 183). The difference between Walker and Ellis lies in the fact that the former only spoke about one sound while the latter about a whole variety. What, on the other hand, they have in common is the meaning of *received*: acceptable in polite society.

Ellis' definition of Received Pronunciation is well-known. Despite the fact that Ellis was not the very first to use the label, he is often credited with inventing the term:

> 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' definition is an interesting mixture of previous and subsequent definitions of pronunciation standards: he alludes to the non-localisability of the accent but, at the same time, locates it into the metropolis (London).

Public schools, some of them with a tradition stretching back to 14th century, were exactly the milieu Received Pronunciation needed to flourish and disseminate. Young boys were sent there at the age when the peer pressure is arguably the most intense. Furthermore, at

this age children demonstrate exceptional ability to change their accents. The public schools in question were boarding which meant that the students had almost all the ties with their home background severed. Honey (1991:25) quotes a parent who, in the 1860s, sent one of his sons to Eton maintaining 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'. It is clear what the main advantage of boarding education was: to keep one's sons from the 'vulgar', 'provincial' accents of their home background. All this resulted in almost complete uniformity of speech—although Honey (1991: 24) names a few exceptions who seem to have resisted, to a certain degree, the pressure of public boarding schools, most notably William Gladstone (educated at Eton in the 1820s).

It would, however, be rather mistaken to believe that education itself at boarding schools was responsible for the diffusion of RP. Honey claims that 'new boys with local accents were simply shamed out of them by the pressure of the school's "public opinion" ' (1991: 27). In other words, there has not been much of conscious effort on the teachers' part; the process appears to have been, to a considerable degree, unconscious and automatic. RP accent, Honey goes on to say, was the same sort of 'badge' as the famous school tie; it served as a means of verification that the person in question did attend a public school (1991: 28).

Honey's view is challenged by Milroy (2001: 21) who does not believe that 'a minority accent so uniform throughout the country could have been inculcated and maintained in any way other than consciously and deliberately'.

People educated at public boarding schools then went on to occupy the highest positions in Victorian society, thus their accent (RP) came to be associated with intelligence, education and prestige. Indeed, the 'possession of a particular accent [=RP], uniquely based on the public schools, must have appeared as a guarantee that the speaker was educated'

(Milroy 2001: 20). This would change in the 20th century and this change would bring about some necessary modification of the status of RP in British society.

The myth about the origin of RP as an upper-class phenomenon seems unlikely for at least two reasons:

a) 'the highest class accents are not involved in the origin of successful changes (they diffuse in the middle ranges of society)

b) 'RP seems to be a product of a high degree of upward social mobility among educated people (with much more often than before, prime ministers, bishops, army officers, higher civil servants etc. being of middle class background)

(Milroy 2001: 27)

Historically speaking, upper classes have not taken much notice of their accent; for instance, well into the 20th century they would keep pronouncing –ing endings as /ɪʋ/ and not /ɪN/, thus pronouncing these words the same way as working class people from all over Britain. They did not seem to mind at all. Hence one can fully agree with Milroy (2001:27) that '[t]he access of the Victorian *middle* class to a high standard of education seems to have been a vital factor in the establishment and diffusion of RP' (my italics).

It seems apposite to conclude this subchapter by pointing out the uniqueness of RP; RP, indeed, appears to have no equivalent in other countries in the world and some linguists account for this by referring to the uniqueness of public boarding schools where RP rose to prominence (Abercrombie [1951] 1965: 12).

1.4 The First Half of The Twentieth Century

The period in question saw many events influencing British society and, inevitably, the English language, too. Two world wars (particularly WWII) are today interpreted as great levellers of social class divisions (Honey 1991: 48). The process of decolonisation was started

in the inter-war period with most important 'wave' taking place in the aftermath of the WWII. Needless to say, such social changes do not (and did not) happen overnight and it was (as late as) in the 1960s that people started to observe them.

Indeed, even dialectologists living in the first half of the 20th century did not observe much change as far as RP was concerned. Beal (2004: 188) maintains that '[the] consensus as to the superiority of this variety seems to hold until the end of World War II'.

Abercrombie ([1951] 1965: 13) observes that the existence of R.P. makes 'the English more sensitive than most people to accent differences'. More crucially, though, he introduces one term often cited to illustrate the accent situation in around 1950:

> 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).

This 'accent-bar' is a term which is quoted in basically every paper/article/book on RP in the twentieth century. It was wittingly chosen by Abercrombie to evoke associations with the then-current term 'colour-bar', which had been coined to 'voice concerns about the discrimination against persons of colour in […] Britain' (Beal 2004: 188).

In many walks of life Received Pronunciation was a necessity. Honey (1991: 30-31) quotes several examples of army officers who testified that they or their friends had been promoted for the sole reason that they had been educated at public schools and spoke thus RP.

The Church of England is another institution which well into the 20th century insisted on their clergymen speaking RP. Honey (1991: 34) comes up with an interesting suggestion that up to 1959 one was able to guess clergymen's denomination by their accents only since

the Church of England only appointed people with impeccable RP, while others, especially Roman Catholics, had to make do with regional accents (often of Irish or continental origin).

In 1922 an institution was established which would have an immense influence upon the perception and further diffusion of RP: the British Broadcasting Corporation. The BBC came to be associated with Received Pronunciation to such an extent that for many RP equals 'BBC English'.

Many linguists as well as laymen believe that it is the BBC which helped enormously to spread RP within the British Isles. This is a highly contentious issue, though. Honey (1991: 31) represents the side which acknowledges the BBC as a great proponent of RP when he mentions 'the careful selection of announcers and presenters with RP accents' and the establishment of the BBC's *Advisory Committee on Spoken English* (1926), which advised those in doubt how to pronounce words. Honey is sure that 'from the 1920s to at least the 1960s many people from non-standard accent backgrounds were influenced in the direction of RP by the model presented by BBC radio' (1991: 33). Similar views are expressed by Beal (2004: 187.)

The opposing camp is best represented by Milroy who challenges the widely-held assumption that if people are exposed to a particular accent (from radio and, later, TV), they will start to pick up some of the accent's features. Milroy insists that mere 'exposure to RP may enable one to imitate it, but not to speak it habitually and carry on a full conversation in it' (2001: 30). Milroy's view (2001: 30) that '[t]he use of RP in broadcasting has probably had very little effect in spreading its use by speakers' is supported by Bell (1984) who, in his well-informed paper called *Language Style As Audience Design*, claims that broadcasters do not set new fashions; on the contrary, they follow them.

My personal experience with this role of media is, necessarily, limited to the Czech language where there is no equivalent of RP (the prestige accent is regionally based). I do not

think that the media can be as influential as to make people change their accent completely, though some minor modifications cannot be ruled out.

Moreover, the fact that the BBC used to deliberately choose only RP speakers (Wells 1982: 117) as its announcers and newsreaders has been contested, too. Abercrombie admits that

> [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)

Interestingly, Lord John Reith, the first director of the BBC (1927-38), did not speak RP at all; he was a Scot.

Whatever the exact role of the BBC in the diffusion and, later, modification of RP, it is, I believe, unquestionable to claim that the BBC played an important role in making the general public aware of what RP is (or rather, is thought to be). When asked, the British may not always come up with an elaborate definition of what RP is, but 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).

One more name has to be mentioned here, without which the picture of RP in the first half of the 20th century would not be complete. In 1917 Daniel Jones published the first edition of *An English Pronouncing Dictionary* (EPD); a book which immediately replaced Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (by then outmoded) and which, in 2006, saw the publication of its seventeenth edition. In the first edition Jones used the term 'Public School Pronunciation' (so close was the link between the prestige accent and public boarding

schools) but in the 1926 edition Jones returned to the traditional label **Received Pronunciation**.

Jones, unlike Walker and other authors of the pronouncing aids of the 18th and 19th centuries, tried to be descriptive (and not prescriptive). Jones clearly says in the Preface to EPD 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' (1917: viii). Unfortunately, as Milroy (1991: 9) points out, many people got hold of the wrong end of the stick and used Jones' dictionary prescriptively. H.C. Wyld is a case in point when he asserts 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).

But Jones, given the era in which he lived, could not have broken completely loose from the persistent tradition of prescriptivism. In 1909 Jones published *The Pronunciation of English* which was intended for

> English students and teachers, and more especially for students in training-colleges and teachers whose aim is to correct cockneyisms or other undesirable pronunciations in their scholars. […] 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)

Upton (2008: 237) describes Jones as a man 'living in a hierarchical, south-east focused and male-dominated world', therefore his (Jones's) 'stance on a model accent was understandable'. Upton's comment aptly sums up Jones's description of the model accent presented in EPD as

that 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 persons of education in the South of England who have not been educated at these schools.

<div align="right">(1917: viii)</div>

This quotation is worth citing in full because it not only confirms Upton's view of the early-twentieth-century society, but it also, for the first time, admits that Received Pronunciation can be acquired without actually attending one of the 'great public boarding-schools'.

Jones may have been taken prescriptively (rather than descriptively) by his contemporaries; what cannot be denied, however, is that he definitely helped to spark more liberated and democratic attitudes towards accents (however distant it, in retrospect, must have appeared in 1917 when EPD was first published).

2. Today's Status of RP

As has been mentioned in the Introduction several linguists have expressed the need for redefining Received Pronunciation and specifying the various forms of it. This stems from the fact that there were so many changes taking place in British society that it would be absurd to presume now that they did not affect the most prestigious accent at all. I would like to say a few words about the significant changes in the next subchapter.

2.1 Changes in The Attitudes to RP in The Second Half of The Twentieth Century

The effect of World War II and the demise of the British Empire was briefly discussed in chapter 1.4 above. It may have been the threat posed by the Nazis that made some people in the 1940s realise how beautiful England and the English language in all its accents and dialects were. Wilfred Pickles, often labelled as the first non-RP BBC announcer ever (for which he came in for a lot of criticism during WWII), accused the BBC of trying to teach Britain to talk in the same way. He went on to express his concern over the possible loos of 'our rich contrast of voices [which] is a vocal tapestry of great beauty and incalculable value, handed down to us by our forefathers' (1949: 146-7). He was not the only one with such concern and this led a group of dialectologists under the direction of Professor Harold Orton to undertake *The Survey of English Dialects* (the original idea dates back to 1946; the survey itself was carried out from 1950 to 1961). *The Survey of English Dialects* was a major breakthrough particularly for it showed that other accents (up until then and, sadly, sometimes even today called 'sub-standard') are worth academic research as well.

The ever-increasing role of education played an important part, too. In this regard, the Education Act 1944, which made secondary-school education free, was crucial. It enabled far more people than previously to achieve secondary education. Many of them would go on to

study at British universities, the number of which had increased significantly. As a consequence, RP was no longer one of the (if not the only) ways of finding out whether a person was educated or not. Abercrombie ([1951] 1965: 15) is right when he asserts 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'. In other words, the 1950s was basically the first decade when a person with a rather broad regional accent, who had not been educated at a public boarding school, could have the same sort of professional qualifications as someone who spoke almost perfect RP.

The 1960s was a decade of great liberation in almost all walks of life and people's attitudes to accents were no exception; all the more so as the process, practically, had been under way anyway. Abercrombie's quotation about the existence of the 'accent-bar' in British society (see p. 15) was challenged by Gimson who was rather reluctant to see only the bright side of possessing the RP accent as '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). There was an anti-Establishment literary movement (which started in the latter half of the 1950s and included writers such as John Osborne, Kinglsey Amis, John Braine and others) called 'Angry Young Men' who would certainly agree with Gimson's view. Barber, writing about the 'Angry Young Men' says that

> [t]he 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.
>
> (1962: 27).

The BBC, as has been argued in 1.4, follow rather than set new trends and the board of directors reacted to changes in people's attitudes to accents by appointing non-RP speakers in the early 1970s; thereby breaking the hegemony of RP which had lasted since 1922. Initially,

this new policy only applied to weather forecasters, comedians, policemen and servants in plays and serials etc.; newscasters were still required to speak RP. Thus Strang (1970: 45) still defines RP as 'the variety of speech heard from British-born national newscasters on the BBC'. The link between the BBC and Received Pronunciation was finally severed in the 1990s when the BBC appointed 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 2008: 29).

Giles's 'matched-guise technique' (for a detailed account of the method see Giles et al. 1990), developed in the 1970s, provides sociolinguists with an ingenious way to find what people's attitudes to accents are. Giles basically found out 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 2008: 29). To put it another way, regional voices (not too broad ones, though) have recently enjoyed what sociolinguists and dialectologists label as 'covert prestige', which is a precious asset particularly at call centres where '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 callers' (Beal 2006: 33). Call centres are a very good example of a workplace where RP is not an advantage at all; on the contrary, it is actually almost as bad as having an incomprehensible urban accent.

2.2 RP at The Beginning of The Third Millennium

What has been said so far might make some people believe that RP is not a coveted asset today. This is true only to a certain extent as numerous advertisements offering to help people overcome their accent deficiencies attest. Beal (2008: 33) analyses one such advertisement on the internet by The Central School of Speech and Drama, which offers elocution lessons informing 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 and expressive communication ensures that you get your 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)

Beal (2008: 33) finds it interesting that the advertising institution acknowledges the old-fashioned ring of the word 'elocution' as well as 'the juxtaposition of "softening" the accent with "vocal skills" and effective communication, as if those with unsoftened accents lack a skill'.

It is clear that the form of accent offered in these elocution lessons is unmarked RP (see p. 3 for the basic division of RP), perhaps with a soft touch of a local voice. Beal aptly compares this type of accent to 'career-wear' section in women's clothing at Marks and Spencer (skirts, trouser suits in dark shades and white blouses) which presents 'a bland inoffensive face to the public' (Beal 2008: 36).

At the beginning of the 21st century people are urged to work on their accent in a similar way as they try to improve their appearance with the help of cosmetic dentists and surgeons, image consultants, nutritionists etc. Beal (ibid.) calls this 'the culture of self-improvement' where accent is often considered part of corporate identity.

The conclusion at which Beal arrives may be surprising but not illogical: she argues 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 […] provide employment'

(2008: 38). The reason why some people want to improve their elocution skills is, she argues, the same in the 21st as it was in the 18th century: the fear of the underclass.

Milroy does not agree with Beal since he tries to see the whole issue from a different perspective. He points out that there is a considerably big group of people who view 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.
>
> (Milroy 2001: 29)

Milroy sees a decline in the salience of RP as a result of the democratisation of public and professional life; RP, in his opinion, is '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' (Milroy 2001: 31).

2.2.1 The Death of RP?

Several linguists have occupied themselves with the future status of RP. Wells (1982: 118) expresses a view similar to Milroy's when he sees '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' as the main reasons behind his prediction that 'RP is on the way out'. He also envisages the advent of a new accent to replace RP which may be 'likely to be based on popular London English' (ibid.). At the time of Wells's prediction this accent had been 'born' and two years later it would be given the name of Estuary English (this variety of English is discussed in detail below 2.2.2).

Trudgill (2002: 177-8) dismisses the rumours that RP is about to die and/or to be replaced by a new, potentially non-regional accent, as myths, for which he blames 'journalists

in need of something to write about'. The basic problem is that these journalists do not bear in mind the constant changeability of accents. RP, of course, is no exception; therefore what seems as the death of a particular accent is merely its modification. After all, it is well documented that in the nineteenth century the long back /A/ in BATH /βA:T/ was resisted by some conservative speakers of RP who thought this was just cockneyism (Mugglestone 1995: 194-99). This is just one of many proofs that RP is as variable as any other accent.

The fact that non-RP varieties can be heard in situations from which they had been banned in the previous decades is also a poor argument for the death of RP. This trend is merely the result of the democratising processes in the latter half of the 20th century; however, it does not mean that the number of RP speakers is on the decrease (anyway, to determine this number is a highly difficult task which depends largely on the chosen definition of what RP is).

2.2.2 An RP Competitor?

That accent 'based on popular London English' envisaged by Wells (1982: 118) is called Estuary English (EE), the term coined and defined by Rosewarne (1984). It has been rated favourably in the media and by the general public. EE has also received attention in academic circles although the reaction of dialectologists and sociolinguists has not always been a positive one.

Rosewarne (1984: 2) defines EE as

> a variety of modified regional speech [...] 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.

The focus now will be on the potential replacement of RP by EE; the feasibility of such a replacement as a model for foreign learners of English will be discussed in the next subchapter (2.2.3).

Przedlacka (2005: 19-22) mentions several salient features of EE, namely happY tensing, /t/-glottaling (in certain environments), /l/-vocalisation, and the lowering of /{/. On top of these, others (Wells 1992, Coggle 1993) had mentioned yod coalescence and diphthong shift (PRICE, GOAT, FACE). These features are, indeed, often included in scholarly descriptions of RP (see for example Upton 2008: 237-52). Ten years after he defined EE Rosewarne made a very bold claim about it in a paper where he asserts that Estuary English is due to replace RP as the educated accent of England (1994).

Eminent linguists have voiced grave reservations with regard to EE. Trudgill (2002: 177-8) is unhappy about the name itself which suggests that this variety is 'confined to the banks of the Thames Estuary' while it actually seems to include 'parts or all of Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire', too. He goes on to say that it may very well be the accent of a rather large region, but it will always remain a regional accent because the 'sociolinguistic conditions [mainly the unique nationwide network of residential public schools] are not such that it [=EE] could turn into the new RP' (2002: 178-9).

There are two recent studies (Przedlacka 2002 and Fabricius 2002) which show that RP accent is 'alive and well and still used in British institutions (Eton and Cambridge University were studied in the aforementioned papers) stereotypically associated with it' (Przedlacka 2005: 29). It is true that students at Eton nowadays do not speak the same way as their great-grandfathers eighty years ago; however, that does not mean that they speak Estuary English or that RP is dead. RP has done nothing else but what all accents have been doing for ages: it has changed.

One more linguist who has occupied himself with the question of EE is worth mentioning here. It is Upton (2004) who analysed very interesting research carried out by Houck in the 1960s in Leeds, Yorkshire. To cut a long story short, Houck came across a number of features (lowered /{/ > /ɑ/, back mid-open starting point of PRICE /çI/, SQUARE being realised as a monophthong /E:/, and monophthongised CURE /O:/) which are today recognised by a majority of linguists as RP features. Upton uses Houck's data to contest 'conventional wisdom [which] holds that London is the source of developments in, or replacements for, Received Pronunciation' (2004: 32).

Upton does not want to point to Leeds as a possible source of RP innovations; he, however, finds it reasonable to assume that 'this city, and so others too, have fully participated in its [RP's] development, testimony to the accent's status as a social rather than a regional entity' (2004: 38). To see popular London English as the source of RP innovations is, according to Upton, a 'simplistic geocentric assumption' (ibid.).

To conclude this subchapter I would like to point out some interesting information about the supposedly London (Cockney) features. The focus is on the glottal stop which is widely believed to be cockneyism. My research (2006) into the history of the glottal stop showed, however, that London and its environs seems to actually have been the last region affected by this now so prominent sound. To cut the long story short again, the glottal stop was first spotted by linguists in Scotland in the 1850s, then it was spotted in the north of England, the East Midlands and only then, in 1909, was there the first explicit mention of the glottal stop in Cockney. This short story only supports Upton's claim of simplistic geocentric assumptions. It would not be for the first time that capital-based people stake a claim to something that originated in regions distant from the capital (accents and dialects seem to be particularly susceptible in this regard).

2.2.3 The Role of RP As a Model for EFL Purposes

RP is unquestionably the model accent which is taught in those parts of the world where British English is the preferred version of English. It is estimated that there are over 300 million people who speak English as their first language. Only a tiny minority (the estimate is around 3-5%, according to Holmes (1992: 144), of the population of Britain, i.e. about 2-3 million people; although the figure largely depends on the preferred definition of RP) of them speak RP—whether as their native or adopted accent. Why teach RP to foreigners then?

The most apt answer is offered by Trudgill (2002: 172) who puts it very bluntly indeed: 'My own response to the question "why teach RP?" is "why not?" After all, we have to teach something'. Despite its poetic simplicity, this definition, I suspect, will not do.

RP is highly likely to remain the model accent for EFL (English as a Foreign Language) purposes due to one overwhelming advantage

> of being 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.

Gimson (1984: 53)

The same view is expressed by Przedlacka (herself a non-native speaker of English) in 2005: 29.

The question of intelligibility comes into the equation as well but one must not forget that there is nothing intrinsically more intelligible in RP than in other accents. The whole intelligibility argument holds true only because of the aforementioned exhaustive publishing of teaching materials in RP; to put it another way, had all those materials been published in,

say, working-class Geordie, then people would be saying now that RP is incomprehensible and they would like to learn working-class Geordie.

The sheer impracticability of replacing RP with any other accent for EFL purposes appears to be a strong enough argument to settle the issue. This is, however, not the end of discussion.

The question whether or not to teach RP is replaced by the question which variety of RP to teach? It has been mentioned several times that RP, as all accents, is not a monolith and linguists have identified several varieties of RP. What seems desirable, as far as teaching English abroad is concerned, is to avoid the paradoxical situation that 'most of our teaching is aimed at young people, but the model we provide them is that of middle-aged or old speakers' (Roach 2005: 394). As a matter of fact, the model with which EFL students are familiar is little different from the one found in Jones (1917).

It should be clear from what has been said so far that it is unmarked RP that almost everyone would (and should) be happy to hear in classrooms. After all, 'it is understandable that a young person might be reluctant to imitate a model which is a contemporary of their grandfather's generation and would prefer to be taught the speech of their peers (Przedlacka 2005: 30).

As early as 1984 Gimson called for redefining RP in order 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 […] 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).

This somewhat controversial task was undertaken by Upton in the 1980s and his redefinition of RP will be analysed in great detail in the next subchapter.

2.3 Received Pronunciation: Upton's Model

Upton's model has been used in a number of publications starting with the *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1993), then in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (9ᵗʰ ed. 1995, 10ᵗʰ, 1999), the *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998) and, last but not least, the *Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation for Current English* (2003). In addition, this model was adopted for the Oxford BBC Guide to Pronunciation (2006) so it can be said that the BBC, too, has officially acknowledged the need to update the model of RP transcription.

Before discussing the particularities of Upton's model, I find it fitting to present the pros and cons of it, as well as the motivation behind it.

2.3.1 Finding a new model

There had been calls urging dialectologists to redefine RP before Upton started to work on it (see the quote from Gimson 1984 on the previous page). Upton himself was particularly dissatisfied with 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). In other words, when someone mentions RP, the majority of the British population conjure up the image of a snobbish elite, which, inevitably, attracts much stigmatisation from the general public. Therefore call-centre managers are no longer interested in RP speakers and want educated regional voices instead (Beal 2008). It is not surprising then that Przedlacka (2005: 17-35) joins the camp of the discontented and wants to offer non-native speakers a model which will not be viewed as outmoded and elitist.

When making up the model of description and phonetic transcription, Upton applies as the criterion for the inclusion of sounds that are 'heard to be used by educated, non-regionally

marked speakers rather than [sounds] "allowed" by a preconceived model' (2000a: 78). This seems very wise, indeed, because, as Ramsaran (1980: 180) shrewdly observes, '[i]f one excludes certain non-traditional forms from one's data, how can one discover the ways in which the accent is changing?'.

The most important benefit of adopting Upton's point of view is that 'a larger group of people can lay claim to possession of an RP accent than has often hitherto been acknowledged' (Upton 2000a: 78).

As far as foreign learners of English are concerned, they will unquestionably benefit from learning this new redefined RP, too. Some seven years back I was told by an English teacher of English that I sounded very much like Prince Charles. It definitely was not meant as a compliment and I do not have to add that I was none too pleased about it. Likewise, a friend of mine (university student of English) gets often told about his accent that he sounds as though he was apologetic about not sounding exactly like the Queen. Personally, I tried hard to get rid of this 'aristocratic' air about my accent and I think I finally succeeded by adopting typically working-class features such as heavy glottalisation, mainly in intervocalic positions. Surely, why should any twenty-something-year-old want to sound like an eighty-year-old monarch?

To sum up Upton's motivation behind his redefining Received Pronunciation, one can say he attempted 'to objectively consider the notion of RP, and to ensure that the description of a late twentieth century version of the accent which, if anything, looks forward to the new millennium rather than back at increasingly outmoded forms' (Upton 2001: 352).

Despite many advantages, there have been a number of obstacles to smooth implementation of the redefined model.

One of the reasons (and, arguably, the most important one) why the RP model continues to be presented more as marked than unmarked is money. Apart from revising

dictionaries the 'embracing of phonological redescription would also require the revision of very many other non-dictionary texts in which pronunciation is discussed and phonetic transcription used' (Upton 2001: 355).

Two more reasons stem from the fact that little attention is being paid to phonetic issues on the part of lexicographers (though they are usually meticulous about semantic shifts, grammar and etymology). Firstly, very few lexicographers are phoneticians as well; consequently, they may not feel really competent to address phonetic issues. Secondly, lexicographers seem to think that dictionary users do not read those abstruse phonetic symbols anyway (Upton 2001: 355).

There are more objections to certain details of Upton's model of RP but these are concerned with particular phonetic and/or phonological issues and will be dealt with piecemeal as the model by Upton is presented here.

2.3.2 Phonology of Upton's Model of RP

Upton rightly observes that phonetic symbols are absolutes, therefore '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' (2008: 240).

2.3.2.1 RP Vowels

Upton's model of RP contains 19 stressed and two unstressed vowels. The whole vocalic system is clearly laid out in *Table 1* below. It must be remembered that in Upton's terminology 'RP' stands for the unmarked variety of the accent while 'trad-RP' stands for the outmoded model to which some contemporary dialectologists still adhere. The words in the left-hand column are 'standard lexical sets' as designed by Wells (1982).

Table 1. The vowels of RP and trad-RP

vowel	RP	shared RP/trad-RP	trad-RP
KIT		I	
DRESS	E		ɛ
TRAP	α		{
LOT		Θ	
STRUT		ς	
FOOT		Y	
BATH	A: ~ α		A:
CLOTH	Θ		Θ ~ O:
NURSE	≅:		3:
FLEECE		ι:	
FACE		ɛI	
PALM		A:	
THOUGHT		O:	
GOAT	≅Y		≅Y ~ oY
GOOSE		υ:	
PRICE	ςI		αI
CHOICE		OI	
MOUTH		αY	
NEAR		I≅	
SQUARE	E:		E≅
START		A:	
NORTH		O:	
FORCE		O:	
CURE	Y≅ ~ O:		Y≅
happY		ι	
lettER		≅	
commA		≅	

(Upton 2008: 241-2)

Not each and every vowel will be discussed here. These include the vowels shared both by 'RP' and 'trad-RP' (apart from KIT). This means that in the next few lines I will be discussing the innovations in the following lexical sets: TRAP, DRESS, BATH, CLOTH, NURSE, GOAT, PRICE, SQUARE, CURE, happY, and KIT & FOOT (in unstressed syllables only).

2.3.2.1.1 TRAP vowel

This vowel has been historically very unstable, with the pronunciation being 'realised by sounds at or between "aesc", i.e. [{], and primary cardinal vowel (PCV) 4, [α], at various

stages in the history' (Upton 2001: 356). Traditionally, the [{] realisation is the one associated with RP but in the past thirty years it has been observed that the trend might be reversing back to the lowered [α] variant.

Wells (1982: 292) predicts that 'it is a change which will carry RP further away from both American and southern-hemisphere accents of English'. Cruttenden (1994: 103) associates the [α] realisation with younger speakers of RP while Refined RP (marked RP in my terminology) speakers' realisation is usually [{], sometimes closer to [E] with a possible diphthongal glide [E͆].

Upton (2000a: 79) speculates that the acceptance of [α] in RP might be connected with the overwhelming presence of this variant in non-standard British English accents.

This change can best be illustrated by the way how younger and older members of the British Royal family pronounce their names: the latter insist on 'Princess [∀{v] and Prince [∀{vδρυ:]', while the former use the modern variant 'Princess [∀αv] and Prince [∀αvδρυ:]' (Upton 2000b: 44).

Wells (2001) objects that there is no need to replace [{] with [α]; one can keep the former and merely redefine it. It seems that that is what Upton did, and he realised that there is, accidentally, a more appropriate symbol for the given sound; hence his decision to change [{] to [α].

In my experience, this change has by now taken deep root in RP; my realisation of 'bad' as [β{δ] rather than [βαδ] was sometimes mistaken for 'bed'.

2.3.2.1.2 DRESS vowel

The change from [ε] to [E] in phonetic transcriptions of RP is a rather uncontroversial one. It seems to have been enabled by the lowering of the TRAP vowel to [α]. Wells remarks that 'old-fashioned types of […] RP tend to closer varieties than are now general' (1982: 128).

Wells (2001) acknowledges the accuracy of Upton's preference for the [E] but he points out that this transcription change is rather unnecessary as it is likely to confuse those foreign learners of English (for instance Japanese and Greek) who lack the distinction between mid-close and mid-open 'e', i.e. between [ε] and [E] respectively.

As far as I know, German and French, among others, both distinguish between the two vowels in question and no one has suggested they should simplify their transcriptions in a way proposed by Wells. Moreover, he suggests that should we choose just one of the two symbols, then the simpler one is preferred, i.e. [ε], in his opinion (ibid.). He does not state, however, what makes [ε] simpler than [E] so his argument seems to be rather uncorroborated.

<u>2.3.2.1.3 BATH vowel</u>

There are two standard lexical sets, namely BATH and STRUT, which are generally taken to divide England into two halves: the South pronounces the two vowels as [βA:T] and [στρςτ] while the North has got [βαT] for the former and [στρΥτ] for the latter. As far as the North is concerned, there is a crucial difference in how the two vowels are perceived: [στρΥτ] is purely regional and usually avoided by educated speakers; [βαT], on the other hand, is happily adopted even by northerners with a very high level of education.

These educated northerners whose accent matches RP in all details but the BATH vowel would be described as 'Near-RP' speakers in Wells (1982: 297). In Upton's model of RP they are given full RP status since Upton included the short 'a', □[α], in the BATH lexical set. Upton explains his decision by referring to the unanimously accepted point that 'RP is not to be considered as exclusively southern-British phenomenon' (Upton et al. 2003: xiii). With the BATH [α] having been included in the transcription of RP one can speak of matched **northern** and **southern RP** varieties, which is, it appears, the only way of making sure that RP shows no regional bias.

In fact, such a change was anticipated as long as twenty-five years ago when Gimson (1984: 53) called for 'a different set of criteria for defining RP […] which will result in a somewhat diluted form of the traditional standard'. Whatever this new diluted standard is, it is certainly no longer south-centric.

2.3.2.1.4 CLOTH vowel

Speakers of 'marked' RP sometimes use the long vowel in this lexical set, thereby pronouncing 'cloth' as [κλO:T]. Upton (2008: 244) comments that this variant is 'invariably judged risible by native British English speakers, RP and non-RP alike'.

2.3.2.1.5 NURSE vowel

This change is rather cosmetic; the traditional [3:] symbol is replaced with [≅:]. Wells (2001) presents two arguments against this change: [≅] is restricted to unstressed syllables and all other long-short pairs use distinct symbols as well as length marks. Whichever symbol is, in the end, applied, the consequence is not far-reaching and therefore I shall feel content to leave this matter open to further debate while sticking to the modern variant in my transcriptions in order to be fully consistent with Upton's transcription model.

2.3.2.1.6 GOAT vowel

This vowel is usually realised as [≅Y] though some older RP speakers may prefer [oY] or even [EY]. This last front realisation of the first element is, however, considered very old-fashioned and rather pretentious, too (Wells 1982: 294).

2.3.2.1.7 PRICE vowel

The change from [αI] to [ςI] was first spotted by MacCarthy (1978). Cruttenden (1994: 122) makes a similar observation. The original variant [αI], it has to be said, is not as obsolete as some other ones done away with by Upton.

Wells (2001) is highly critical of this change and labels it 'very unsuitable' although he does concede that in reality speakers vary widely in the realisation of the first element of the PRICE diphthong.

2.3.2.1.8 SQUARE vowel

According to Upton this vowel has undergone the process of monophthongisation; thus [E≅] has changed to [E:]. Cruttended (1994: 133) remarks that 'a long monophthong [E:] is a completely acceptable alternative in General [=unmarked] RP'. Upton (2000b: 45) believes that the older variant [E≅] sounds to most native British English speakers 'decidedly old-fashioned or affected'. He does, however, admit that some younger RP speakers may add a slight off-glide, thereby giving [E≅] (ibid.).

Upton (2001: 358) parallels this change with that of FORCE monophthongisation ([O≅]> [O:]).

Personally speaking, I deem Upton's choice of [E:] rather than [E≅] well justified with one little exception, namely at utterance-final positions, where the off-glide may be more prominent.

Wells (2001) admits that there are a big number of people who prefer the monophthongal variant of the SQUARE vowel. He emphasises, however, that many speakers still rely on the diphthong (rather than on length alone) when it comes to distinguishing minimal pairs such as 'shed' and 'shared'.

2.3.2.1.9 CURE vowel

Even Wells (1982: 162-3) stresses the importance of attaching the label 'conservative' to those who pronounce the CURE vowel as [Y≅]. The competing variant nowadays is [O:], which has evolved in the following way: first, the [Y≅] diphthong was lowered to [O≅] and then the same process which changed FORCE [O≅] to [O:] took place in the CURE set.

The shift from [Y≅] to [O:] is not universal though. As Ramsaran rightly points out there are some less common words (such as 'gourd') which keep the [Y≅] variant. Furthermore, this variant is retained where it keeps the contrastive role in a 'few minimal pairs such as ''dour'' [δY≅] and ''door'' [δO:] or ''cruel'' [κρY≅5] and ''crawl'' [κρO:5]' (1990: 181).

The monophthongised [3:] variant, mentioned by Gimson (1984: 49), was deemed 'an obsolescent affectation' by the writer himself, and is exceptionally rare these days.

2.3.2.1.10 happY vowel

Gimson (1984: 50) seems to be the first one to accept the [ι] symbol for the final unstressed 'i' in words such as 'happy' instead of the former [I] sound. He also predicts that 'it is likely to be a general feature early in the next century (ibid.). This prediction might have been a little bold but it is certainly true that many linguists now acknowledge the existence of tense [ι] (hence the name sometimes applied to the phenomenon: 'happY tensing'; e.g. Wells 1982: 257-8).

It is useful to remember, as Upton et al. (2003: xiv) remarks, that the 'less tense [I] occurs in RP when, for example, the suffix –*er* is added' which is, of course, reflected in the transcriptions in the *Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation for Current English* so that the word 'happy' is transcribed as [ηαπ|ι, –I≅ρ].

2.3.2.1.11 KIT & FOOT vowels in unstressed syllables

In 1977, when he started preparing the fourteenth edition of English Pronouncing Dictionary, Gimson thought it necessary to carry out a pilot investigation of the incidence of /I/ and /≅/ in RP (Gimson 1984: 50). The results confirmed that '/≅/ had indeed made inroads in certain weak syllables where amongst more conservative RP speakers /I/ is more typical (ibid.). To exemplify the point, a word such as 'system', which used to be pronounced [σIστIμ] is now realised by the vast majority of RP speakers as [σIστ≅μ]. Likewise, a number

of affixes have shown a similar development (e.g. *re-, de-, pre-, ne-*; *-less, -ness, -ity, -itive, -ate, -ite, -ily, -es, -ed, -et*, and many others).

Ramsaran (1990: 186) makes an identical observation concerning the unstressed FOOT vowel in words such as 'executive' or 'manufacture', which she transcribes as [Iγ∀ζεκϕ≅τIϖ] and [μ{νϕ≅∀ϕ{κτΣ≅] respectively.

There is a great deal of variability which makes it extremely difficult to predict with any accuracy whether such and such phonetic environment will make the speaker realise the unstressed syllable as [I] or [≅] and [Y] [≅]; Upton's solution seems therefore very inspired: he applies two composite symbols, [□] and [≈], to indicate both possible realisations; thus, for instance, 'happily' is transcribed as [ηαπ□λι], the reader then can make a choice between [ηαπIλι] and [ηαπ≅λι]. See Upton et al. (2003: xviii) for precise details of the approach.

2.3.2.2 RP Consonants

Consonants in most languages are not nearly as volatile as vowels; for that reason the RP model proposed by Upton includes only a few features which have attracted a considerable amount of attention (see Cruttenden 1994: 196 for a full account of RP consonants as well as their text frequencies).

Such features include 'glottalisation', 'yod coalescence & deletion', 'intrusive and linking /r/' and the 'whale-wale merger'.

2.3.2.2.1 Glottalisation

Glottalisation is a feature which has been discussed by scholars and laymen alike for a very long time. It is popularly believed that it is a Cockney sound but this myth has been dispelled (Ježek 2006, among others). The change then can be viewed as social in its origin rather than regional.

There are two basic types of glottalisation, namely 'glottal reinforcement' and 'glottal replacement'. As the names suggest, the former only reinforces the release of the following

voiceless plosive (as in 'Gatwick' [γα?τωΙκ]) whereas the latter replaces it ('Gatwick' [γα?ωΙκ]). Both types are extensively discussed in Jespersen (1909: §14.93). Here the focus is on glottal replacement.

Glottal replacement is an allophonic change where voiceless plosives ('p', 'k' and, crucially, 't') are replaced with the glottal stop [?]. It was noticed to be an RP feature as long ago as in 1921 when Jones remarked that the use of the glottal stop was 'a noticeably spreading fashion among educated speakers all over the country'. He also predicted that 'in a hundred years' time everybody would be pronouncing mutton as [μς?ν]' (qtd. in Crystal 2005: 417).

In the course of the last century there were many conservative (and not much informed) people who expressed outrage at the increase in the frequency of the glottal stop. McAllister (1963: 34), to cite just one out of many, is sure that only 'careless speakers use it' and she calls it 'a degenerate tendency in modern speech [which] detracts from intelligibility'. Less conservative linguists seem to have acknowledged the ever-increasing prominence of the glottal stop in speech of the educated. Christophersen (1952: 168) notices the glottal stop in younger RP speakers and he predicts that 'it [=the glottal stop] will have to be reckoned in the teaching of English as a foreign language'. Exactly half a century later Trudgill (2002: 179) makes a similar comment when he says that he 'would advocate rather strongly teaching […] some of the forms of /t/-glottaling at least to advanced students'.

Trudgill's recommendation mentions one crucial thing when it says 'some of the forms' because the glottal stop (replacing a voiceless plosive) can be considered an RP sound only in certain phonetic environments. Wells (1982: 260-1) devises a table of potential phonetic environments in which the glottal stop can occur and maintains that only in *quite good* [κωαΙ?γΥδ], *quite likely* [κωαΙ?λαΙκλΙ], *curtsey* [κ3:?σΙ] and, for some younger RP speakers, even *quite easy* [κωαΙ?ι:ζΙ].

Ramsaran (1990:187) restricts the acceptability of the glottal stop in RP to 'the voiceless alveolar plosive [i.e. 't'] not only before obstruents but also before sonorant consonants as in phrases such as *fruit yoghurt* [ɸρυ:?□φΘγ≅τ], *what now?* [ωΘ?□ναY], *not long* [νΘ?□λΘN] and *hatrack* [η{?ρ{κ]'.

Cruttenden (1994: 155-6) confirms what Wells and Ramsaran had said before. However, he admits one more environment to fall within RP, namely before syllabic 'n' as in *cotton* [κΘ?ν=]. The same does not apply to syllabic 'l' as in *little* [λI?5=], which is still considered to be non-RP. So is the use of the glottal stop in intervocalic positions such as *water* [ωO:?≅].

Upton (2008: 249) is in agreement with the scholars cited above; he adds that some traditional (i.e. marked) RP speakers use the glottal stop in positions where unmarked RP speakers would use 'intrusive /r/', such as *drawing* [δρO:?IN]. These conservative speakers try desperately to avoid what they think a slovenly sound (intrusive /r/) and instead, unconsciously, employ another one which they normally try hard to avoid (the glottal stop).

In spite of some popular ill-informed beliefs, the glottal stop is an established RP sound and has been so for a number of decades now. It has been only accepted in RP so far as a replacement for 't' even though more voiceless plosives may follow suit in due course. There is still a great deal of stigma attached to the use of the glottal stop in intervocalic positions but this may very well change, too. The change is hardly linked with any particular region; it is very much social in its character.

2.3.2.2.2 Yod coalescence and deletion

The term 'yod' comes from Hebrew where it refers to the palatal approximant [φ]. This palatal approximant may be preceded by an alveolar plosive or an alveolar fricative (i.e. /tj/, /dj/, /sj/ and /zj/) both word-internally and across word boundaries. Sometimes these consonant clusters can coalesce into the following forms: [τΣ], [δZ], [Σ] and [Z]. Thus words such as *tune*, *duke*, *issue* and *usual* may be realised as [τΣυ:ν], [δZυ:κ], [ΙΣυ:] and [φυ:Zυ≅5] respectively. Some words are now almost exclusively heard in the coalesced form (e.g. *usual*), others (the remaining three from the abovementioned quartet) still show considerable variability. To give a few more examples of yod coalescence across word boundaries, one can only think of the ever-increasing realisation of *don't you* or *this year* as [δ≅ΥντΣυ] and [ΔΙΣ□φΙ≅].

Upton (2008: 250) maintains that marked RP speakers may express certain resistance to yod coalescence 'word initially and before stressed vowels (*dune*, *reduce*)'. He thus concurs with Ramsaran (1990: 188) who claims that in RP 'the noun *produce* may be heard as [∀πρΘδZυ:σ], whilst the verb *produce* [πρ≅∀δφυ:σ] far less often exhibits coalescence'. It seems reasonable to expect that tolerance towards the coalesced forms has increased since 1990 when Ramsaran published her paper. The only group of words where the non-coalesced forms still prevail is lower-level lexical items: for example '*pendulate* is likely to be [∀πΕνδφΥλεΙτ] as well as [∀πΕνδZΥλεΙτ]' (Upton 2008: 250).

Yod deletion is the process of deleting (rather than coalescing) the 'yod' sound; it is particularly common for words 'where historically /λφυ:/ occurred' (Upton 2008: 250). This /j/ is preserved in very careful speech of marked RP speakers whereas unmarked RP speakers regard *lute* and *loot* as homophonous ([λυ:τ] for both). Moreover, the same process has taken place in RP in 'such words as *super* and *suit*, where [σφυ:] is found variably with [συ:] in trad-RP' (ibid.).

Other instances of 'yod deletion', e.g. after n- as in *new* [νυ:] or after alveolar plosives as in *tune* [τυ:ν] or *duke* [δυ:κ], have to be regarded as regional and, consequently, non-RP.

2.3.2.2.3 intrusive /r/

'Intrusive /r/' has got to be distinguished from 'linking /r/' despite the fact that the two phenomena are very similar indeed. The difference is that the latter is supported by orthography while the former is not (in *Table 1* linking /r/ is given as lettER, intrusive /r/ as commA). In RP *poor* is pronounced [πO:] in utterance-final or pre-consonantal positions—i.e. the 'r' is silent. When, however, followed by a vowel as in *the poor of today*, the 'r' is not silent any longer [Δ≅□πO:ρ□≅ϖ□τ≅∀δεI]. Analogically, unmarked RP speakers insert 'r' after /≅/, /A:/, or /O:/ even where orthographically there is not any as in *law and order* [λO:□ρ≅ν□∀O:δ≅].

Intrusive /r/ is considered slovenly by those whose speech for some unsubstantiated reason relies on orthography. Wells (1982: 284-5) identifies these people as 'speech-conscious 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 et al. 2003: xiii). Interestingly, to cite an example from Wells (1982: 285), these speech-conscious adoptive-RP speakers avoid linking /r/ as well; they tend to pronounce *more and more* as [μO:□≅ν(δ)□∀μO:] whilst native RP speakers realise the same expression as [μO:□ρ≅μ□∀μO:].

The use of intrusive /r/ is not restricted to across-word-boundaries positions; it often occurs word-internally, too, as in drawing [δρO:ρIN].

It is not always 'r' that is interposed between two adjacent vowels; marked RP speakers often use the glottal stop to fill that intervocalic hiatus, thereby giving [λO: ?≅νδ ∀O:δ≅] for *law and order* (Upton 2008: 249).

Trudgill (2002: 179) recommends that intrusive /r/ be taught to advanced students of English (he says the same about /t/ glottalisation, as has been mentioned).

Upton et al. (2003) is, to date, the only pronouncing dictionary which indicates clearly the existence of intrusive /r/ in RP. It, of course, shows linking /r/ as well, thus the word *clawer*, which enables both linking and intrusive /r/, is transcribed as [∀κλO:(ρ)≅(ρ)]. The first /r/ in the transcription is intrusive and is, to distinguish it from the linking one, italicised.

In conclusion, intrusive /r/ is a well-established RP sound which is used by '[r]elaxed, confident RP speakers [who] do not articulate by rule, but speak in a fluent, flowing manner' (Upton 2000b: 45).

2.3.2.2.4 'whale-wale merger'

The /wh/ consonant cluster used to be realised as the voiceless labiovelar fricative [Ω], sometimes transcribed as just [ηω], which is undoubtedly much more comprehensible to those unfamiliar with the IPA symbols. This sound is nowadays extremely rare in RP (though it is the usual realisation of the /wh/ cluster in Scottish English).

While Wells (1982: 228-9) thinks that the usage of [Ω] is 'widely considered correct, careful and beautiful', Cruttenden (1994: 194-5) remarks that '[Ω] as a phoneme has declined rapidly' and limits its usage in RP to very careful verse-speaking. Upton (2008: 250) maintains that in mainstream RP the pronunciation of /wh/ 'is invariably [ω]'. Speaking about the [Ω] variant he observes the 'somewhat rarified and self-conscious status now attaching to the feature' (ibid.).

By way of conclusion it can be said that for the overwhelming majority of RP speakers on an overwhelming number of occasions *whale* and *wale* are now homophonous.

3. Research Methodology

In the present chapter I offer a methodological description of the practical part of my research into the current status of RP, in which I would like to give reasons why I decided to embrace certain methods and discard others.

The main objective was to compare the perception of Received Pronunciation in the UK and the Czech Republic—to find out what is thought to fall within the realm of RP in the given countries. As has been mentioned in Introduction, the chief incentive was my year abroad spent at Leeds in 2006-07 where I was alerted to certain differences in the perception of RP in the UK and other European countries.

3.1 Voices

The first important task was to collect a number of voices which covered the complete range between RP and a clearly regional voice. Apart from recordings 4 and 6 I made the recordings in Leeds/the Czech Republic using Meizu X6 Digital MP3 Player with a built-in Microphone and the memory of 1GB. This Player offers several advantages over an ordinary tape machine—it is lighter, has bigger capacity and, most importantly, the recordings are of far better quality. Recordings 4 and 6 were taken from Collins et Mees (2003: 4) and Hughes et al. (2005: 54-5) respectively. In my view, the former is a very nice example of modern non-regional pronunciation and the latter of marked RP, both of which I was not able to record myself.

As my study is focused on modern RP, I decided to use speech as authentic as possible. The other option was to have my speakers read a passage (the same for everyone); both options have their advantages and disadvantages.

A reading passage would ensure that the recordings are readily comparable and that they contain all 'problematic' sounds but it is rather studied and the danger is that speakers

may modify their speech. Free-flowing, unprepared speech, on the other hand, is more likely to result in an authentic performance (as authentic as it can possibly be given the fact that the speakers have a flashing little gadget held approximately 20 inches in front of their mouths). It is clear, however, that some controversial sounds may be missing altogether.

After carefully weighing up both options I decided to take up the latter one, which promised that there would as little modification as possible in the recordings.

Throughout the thesis individual speakers are referred to with the capital letter 'S' and the given number, thus speaker 1 is S1.

3.2 Respondents

While it was relatively easy to find the sufficient number of respondents in the Czech Republic, it was not so easy to find respondents in England where I had to rely on university teachers to get in touch with their students.

There was only one criterion for Czech respondents, namely that they had to be university students of English—I deemed it irrelevant whether their specialisation was linguistics, translatology, literature or cultural studies as all students of English at Masaryk University, Brno, get at least some basic linguistic training during the first year.

As far as the English respondents are concerned, there were two criteria upon which I had to insist—the first was the same as with Czech ones (university students of English) and the second made sure that they were native speakers of British English.

Throughout the thesis individual respondents are referred to with the capital letter 'R' and the given number, thus respondent 1 is R1.

3.3 Website

After collecting the recordings and preparing questions for my respondents I launched a website, the content of which can be seen here: http://receivedpronunciation.wz.cz/ . The

site contains some introductory information about the test, the RP Test itself and a contact page.

3.3.1 The RP Test

This test is, unquestionably, the core of my practical study. Thus, it is only too appropriate that I should provide a step-by-step guide commenting on each item in the test.

3.3.1.1 Personal Questionnaire

The questionnaire is aimed at obtaining important information about respondents' background. Some items, such as name, age and e-mail, were included for purely referential reasons. Age, moreover, was expected to be more or less the same for all respondents given the fact that they are all university students (I did include it in the questionnaire to find out some possible older students, i.e. older than the usual age of 20-30).

Regional and social backgrounds are important pieces of information about the English respondents only; these two surely exerting much influence upon people's perception of a prestige accent such as RP.

The next question was included with a view to finding out whether the respondent in question speaks RP himself/herself or whether (s)he prefers this accent.

The last question was aimed at the Czech respondents only and the objective was to find out whether students who speak with e.g. an American accent might evaluate British accents in a different way to those who have been taught/tend to speak with a British accent.

3.3.1.2 Recordings

The eight recordings were put in such an order as to avoid two highly similar accents (in terms of 'RP-ness') next to one another. Of course, this was based on my personal evaluation and, in fact, it turned out that speakers 3 and 4 got a rather similar score among the

Czech respondents. The recordings can either be downloaded or listened to directly from the site. Each recording, moreover, has five accompanying questions which were posed in such a way as to elicit more specific information about the given recording.

3.3.1.2.1 Question 1 'How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?'

This check-box question was aimed at both Czech and English sets of respondents.

I do not view RP as an 'either/or' matter; I firmly believe that it is a 'more-or-less' phenomenon, much the same way as any other accent is, in fact. Therefore, I never entertained the idea of asking whether a speaker in question spoke RP or not. What I was interested in was to what extent his or her speech could be considered representative of RP. Of course, this question relies heavily on individual speakers' interpretation of it. Thus, one respondent's score of 4 may actually mean closer to RP than another respondent's score of 5. This is, however, danger that can hardly be eliminated in scaling-type questions; as my supervisor correctly pointed out it is a 'vis maior'.

3.3.1.2.2 Question 2 'How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?'

This check-box question was aimed at the Czech respondents only since, despite numerous differences between accents within the UK, there are very few accents causing considerable difficulties for native speakers and such an accent was certainly not amongst my recordings.

For all foreigners studying English the question of intelligibility is a crucial one and, as it turned out, my Czech respondents were no exception to this rule. RP is often thought to be the best accent for non-native students on the grounds of intelligibility so the underlying assumption was that the less RP a given accent is adjudged to be, the lower the score on the intelligibility scale will be.

3.3.1.2.3 Question 3 'Would you like to speak like this speaker?'

Like the previous question, this one was also aimed at the Czech respondents only as asking native speakers of English whether they would like to speak like the recorded person would necessarily imply that their accent is imperfect and such a question might be offensive to some speakers who view their accent as an integral part of their identity. Actually, one UK respondent probably did not read the instructions properly and answered this question, too. There was one and only answer for all eight speakers: 'No, I am happy with mine!'

As far as the Czech respondents are concerned, this question addresses the issue of practicability; hardly any foreign student would turn down the offer to speak like a native speaker of English but would it be practicable for e.g. teaching purposes? Moreover, this question was included to induce respondents to comment on their own accent preferences.

This is the only question in the Test which combines the check-box and write-in types of questions.

3.3.1.2.4 Question 4 'What is your overall impression of this speaker?'

This write-in question was aimed at both the Czech and the English respondents. The objective was to find out whether the degree of 'RP-ness' will affect the way a given speaker is perceived in the UK and the Czech Republic.

Also, impressions undoubtedly play a very important role in one's evaluation of other people's accents.

3.3.1.2.5 Question 5 'Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question 1?'

Again, this write-in question was aimed at both sets of respondents. The main objective was to induce respondents to comment on distinctive particularities (of phonetic/phonological nature). I did not want to influence the respondents in any way so I opted against asking specific questions such as 'What do you think about the TRAP vowel in this recording?'. In my experience, most respondents would not know what the TRAP vowel

is anyway; furthermore, this would prolong the test considerably (there would have to be at least 10 questions for each recording = at least 80 in total) and by pre-arranging the questions I would run a risk of missing out on some information that I had not thought of when thinking the questions up.

Therefore I thought it best to ask an open type of question, thereby giving respondents complete freedom to comment on any distinctive features.

4. Research Results: Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis

First, I have to admit that my research suffered a setback by not getting enough people from the UK. Despite contacting literally dozens of people there (most of them university teachers who undoubtedly teach hundreds of students), there were only ten responses from the UK. The focus was always going to be on the Czech set of respondents but this unfortunate incident was rather disappointing all the same.

I certainly did not want to throw away the data from the English respondents (scarce and heterogeneous as they are) because some precious comments and tendencies can be drawn from them. Moreover, the most precious set from England was from Upton himself whose model of RP I am advocating here and his comments are therefore absolutely invaluable.

I enjoyed more success with the Czech respondents as I was able to contact them directly (most of them are my friends/acquaintances). I gathered questionnaires from a total twenty of students who form a neat group because they are all university students of English (Department of English and American Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno) of a similar age, mostly 24-25 years of age, with a Bachelor's degree, and a similar interest in the matters of pronunciation. As far as gender is concerned, there were thirteen females and seven males in the set, which, in my experience, accurately reflects the ratio of male and female students at the department. A few sample questionnaires are in Appendix 2.

The first two questions from the RP Test are easily quantifiable in terms of numbers. The next three provided me with a motley collection of comments and evaluations which I had to go through and sort out the useful ones from others. I certainly did not censor anyone's comments; by this 'sorting out' I mean excluding comments such as 'no particular impression' (Respondent 2 about Speaker 6, question 3 in the RP Test). Such comments clearly have no information value.

Some respondents thought it better to leave a question unanswered when they did not feel their contribution would be useful to me; which is tantamount to the aforementioned comment.

Having read through the data, I deemed it crucial to create a number of criteria which would help me to get all those various comments into some order and help me interpret them. After careful consideration the following criteria were chosen for the analysis: intelligibility, regionality, social status, appropriateness, education, authenticity, poshness, speed, euphony and rhythmicality (for their definitions look at Glossary at the back of this work). Here I drew inspiration from Downes (1998: 34) who devises a radial picture of a standard language. It was not possible for me to copy his categories as Downes talks of a standard language (not a standard accent) and, more importantly, his model is not based on any particular research. I had to provide my own criteria as only some of those mentioned by Downes were applicable to my research while some of my categories were not mentioned in his model at all. What Downes' and my model do have in common is the fact that the given criteria are in no hierarchical order. No given criterion is intrinsically more prominent in the definition of RP than any other one; it is rather interplay of all of them with different categories being preferred by individual respondents. Not only are there substantial differences between the English and Czech sets of respondents, but respondents within the two countries differ to a large extent from one another, too.

In order to maintain clarity, the criteria are presented in the form of a table with three possible marks: plus '+', minus '-' and plus/minus '+/-' (see Glossary for what these signs indicate with individual criteria).

I will first present the results speaker by speaker (including phonetic transcriptions) and respondent by respondent. Then, I will try to create an overall picture as well as to draw conclusions from the gathered data.

4.1 Speakers

4.1.1 Speaker 1

Okay, ehm, so I'm gonna talk about my experiences in the Czech Republic, ehm, I've been here since 2004 so that's just, well, nearly four years exactly now. Ehm, I've had a very positive experience; I don't know whether that's because I've been integrated into the society because of my husband or whether it's because people's attitudes to foreigners and English people in this country is, is a positive one. Ehm, I, I really don't know but I have to say that I'm very impressed, ehm, everybody has gone out of their way to try and help me with everything that I try and do. I think they appreciate the fact that I'm trying to speak Czech, which obviously helps, but even when they can see I'm struggling, they'll either try and use their very bad English or will, kind of, you know, come to some kind of agreement and they'll try and help me with what I'm trying to say.

Ehm, I do actually have one negative thing to say about Brno and I'm going to have a bit of a rant now if you don't mind 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, ehm, which I find a bit bizarre because if you want money from someone, I think you have to ask them.

Ehm, so that would be my only complaint about Brno and the way things are run here but other than that I think life in the Czech Republic is fantastic. I have no desire to go back to the UK and to bad services such as the healthcare system there and transport and, yeah, my four years have been an incredible experience and I hope they continue to be incredible, my years here.

≅Υ∀κεI | ≅μ σ≅Υ Αμ ∀γΘν≅ ∀τΟ:κ ≅∀βαΥ? μςI ≅κ∀σπI≅ρI≅νσIζ Iν Δ≅ ∀τΣΕκ ρ≅∀π ςβλIκ | ≅μ Αϖ ∀βι:ν ηI≅ σIνσ τυ: ∀ΤαΥζν= ≅ν ∀φΟ: | σ≅Υ ∀Δατσ δΖ≅στ ωΕ5 νI≅λι ∀φΟ: φI ≅ζ Ιγ∀ζακτλι ναΥ | ≅μ ςIϖ ∀ηαδ ≅ ∀ϖΕρι ∀πΘζΙτΙϖ ≅κ∀σπI≅ρI≅νσ | ςI ∀δ≅Υντ ∀ν≅Υ ωΕΔ ≅ ∀Δατσ βι∀κΘζ ςIϖ βι:ν ∀Ιντ≅γρεΙτΙδ Ιντ≅ Δ≅ σ≅∀σαI≅τι βI∀κΘζ ≅ϖ μςI ∀ηςζβ≅νδ | Ο : ωΕΔ≅ ρΙτσ βI∀κΘζ ∀πι:π5=ζ ∀ατΙτΣυ:δζ τυ ∀φΘρΙν≅ζ ≅νδ ∀ΙνγλΙΣ πι:π5= Ιν ∀ΔΙσ κ ςντρι Ιζ Ιζ ≅ ∀πΘζΙτΙϖ ωςν | ≅μ ςI ςI ∀ριλι δ≅Υν ∀ν≅Υ β≅? ςI ∀ηαϖ τ≅ σεΙ Δ≅δ Αμ ∀ϖΕρ ι Ιμ∀πρΕστ | ≅μ ∀ΕϖρΙβΘδι η≅ζ γΘν ∀αΥ? ≅ϖ ΔΕ: ∀ωεΙ τ≅ ∀τρςI ≅ν ηηΕ5π μι: | ωΙΔ ∀Εϖ ρΙΤΙΝ Δ≅δ ςI ∀τρςI ≅ν ∀δυ: | ςI∀ΤΙνκ ΔεI ≅∀πρι:ΣιεI? Δ≅ ∀φακτ Δ≅δ Αμ ∀τρςιιΝ τ≅ ∀σ πι:κ ∀τΣΕκ | ωΙτΣ ∀οβϖι≅σλι ∀ηΕλπσ | βς? ∀ι:ϖν= ωΕν ΔεI κ≅ν ∀σι: Αμ ∀στρςγλΙΝ ΔεΙλ ∀ι:Δ≅ ∀τρςI ≅ν ∀φυ:ζ ΔΕ: ∀ϖΕρι ∀βαδ ∀ΙνγλΙΣ | Ο: ∀ωΙ5 κςΙνδ≅ φ≅ ∀ν≅Υ ∀κςμ τ≅ σ≅μ κς Ινδ ≅ϖ ≅∀γρι:μ≅ντ | ≅ν ΔεΙ5 ∀τρςI ≅ν ηηΕ5π ∀μι: ωΙΔ ωΘδ ≅μ ∀τρςιιΝ τ≅ ∀σεI |

≅μ ςI ∀δΥ: ∀ακτΣΥ≅λι η≅ϖ☐∀ωςν☐∀νΕγ≅τΙϖ☐∀ΤΙΝ☐τ≅☐∀σεI≅☐∀βαΥ?☐∀βρνο | ≅ ν Αμ ∀γ≅ΥΙΝ τ≅ ∀ηαϖ ≅ ∀βΙδ ≅ϖ ≅ ∀ραντ ναΥ | Ιφ ∀φυ: δ≅Υν μςΙνδ☐|≅νδ ∀Δα? Ιζ Δ≅? ςI ρ≅∀σι:ϖδ ≅ ∀φςΙν5= ∀ν≅ΥτΙσ φΟ: ≅ ∀πεΙμ≅ντ Δ≅ ∀γΑ:βΙδΖ☐∀τακσ | ωΙτΣ ςI ως ∀ςτ≅λ ι ∀ΣΘκτ βςI | βΙ∀κΘζ ∀ν≅Υ ωςν η≅δ ∀τ≅Υ5δ μι: Δ≅δ☐ςI∀νι:δΙδ τ≅☐∀πεΙ ∀γΑ:βΙδΖ☐∀τακ σ☐|☐∀ν≅Υ☐ωςν η≅δ ∀σΕντ μι:☐≅☐∀βΙ5 δ≅μΑ:νδΙΝ☐∀πεΙμ≅ντ |☐ν☐∀Ο:λςςI☐∀γΘ?☐ ω≅ζ≅☐≅∀λΕτ≅ ∀σεΙιΝ| φυ: Α:☐∀γ≅ΥΙΝ☐τ≅☐∀γ≅Υ☐τ≅☐∀κΟ:τ☐Ιφ☐ φυ:☐δ≅Υν ∀πεΙ☐ΔΙσ☐|☐σ ≅Υ☐Αδ☐∀λςΙκ☐τ≅☐∀σεΙ☐Ιτσ☐∀αβσ≅λυ:τλι☐δΙσ∀γςστΙΝ☐Δ≅?☐∀ν≅Υβ≅δι☐Ιν∀φΟ:μζ☐ φυ: ☐|☐∀βςτ☐Αϖ☐∀η3:δ☐Δ≅?☐≅∀κΟ:δΙΝ☐τ≅☐∀τΣΕκ☐∀λΟ:☐ρΟ:☐∀σςμΤΙΝ☐|☐≅ζ☐∀λΘΝ≅ζ☐Δ εΙ☐∀π≅Υστ☐Ιτ☐ ∀σςμωΕ:☐φυ:☐δ≅Υν☐∀ηαϖ☐τ≅☐≅☐∀ΔεΙ☐δ≅Υν☐∀ηαϖ☐τ≅☐Ιν∀φΟ:μ ☐φυ:☐∀π3:σν=λι☐|≅μ ωΙτΣ☐ςI☐∀φςΙνδ☐≅☐ βΙ?☐βΙ∀ζΑ:☐|☐βΙ∀κΘζ☐Ιφ☐φ≅☐ωΘντ☐∀μςνι☐φ ρ≅μ☐∀σςμωςν☐ςI☐∀ΤΙνκ☐φ≅☐∀ηαϖ☐τ≅☐∀Α:σκ☐Δ≅μ |

≅μ σ≅Υ ∀Δα?☐ωΥδ☐βι:☐μςΙ☐∀≅Υνλι☐κ≅μ∀πλεΙντ≅☐∀βαΥ?☐∀βρνο☐≅νδ☐Δ≅☐∀ωεΙ ☐ΤΙΝζ☐≅☐∀ρςν☐∀ηΙ≅☐|☐β≅? ∀ςΔ≅☐Δ≅ν☐∀Δα?☐ςI☐∀ΤΙνκ☐λςΙφ☐Ιν Δ≅ ∀τΣΕκ ρ≅∀πςβλΙκ☐Ι ζ☐φαν∀ταστΙκ☐|☐ςΙ☐η≅ϖ☐∀ν≅Υ☐ δΙ∀ζαΙ≅☐τ≅☐γ≅Υ☐∀βακ☐τ≅☐Δ≅☐φυ:∀κεΙ☐ανδ☐τυ:☐ ∀βαδ☐∀σ3:ϖΙσΙζ☐∀σςτΣ≅☐ζ☐Δ≅☐∀ηΕ5ΤκΕ:☐σΙστ≅μ☐ΔΕ:☐ ≅ν☐∀τρανσπΟ:τ | ανδ☐φΕ μςΙ ☐∀φΟ:☐φιζ☐∀ηαϖ☐βιν ≅ν Ιν∀κρΕδ≅βλ= ≅κ∀σπI≅ρI≅νσ ≅νδ☐ςI☐∀η≅Υπ ΔεΙ κ≅ν∀τΙνφυ:☐ τ≅☐∀βι: μςΙ☐∀φιζ☐∀ηΙ≅

54

Question 1: CZ Ø **5.7**, UK Ø **5.7**

Question 2: CZ Ø **6.7**

Question 3 (the ratio of YES/NO answers): **19/1**

The overwhelming number of respondents wishing to adopt this speaker's accent might be explained away by the fact that most of them know the speaker, who teaches at Brno. This, however, should not overshadow the positive comments which mainly stress intelligibility and clarity. Two respondents appreciate the fact that the accent is neither too regional nor too RP, thereby being easily comprehensible and yet not sounding affected.

Table 2: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 1 acc. to Czech respondents

Speaker 1	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Intelligibility	+		+	+	+			+	+			+	+		+	+		+		+
Regionality						+			+					+		+				
Social Status		+			+						+									
Appropriateness										+		+	+				+			
Education							+	+											+	
Authenticity		+	+	+					+			+								
Poshness			+					+						+			+/-			
Speed			+									+								
Euphony	+				+	+	-	+			+		+		+		+	+		+
Rhythmicality	+																+	+		

Czech respondents stressed intelligibility and euphony as the two outstanding characteristics of the speaker's speech; it was both easily comprehensible and likeable according to the majority of the respondents. Some located the accent to the South of England. Also, the accent was considered natural, though a little posh. The other criteria were mentioned as well but only by a tiny minority of the respondents.

Table 3: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 1 acc. to English respondents

Speaker 1	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10
Intelligibility										
Regionality	+						+	+		+
Social status		+/-	+						+/-	
Appropriateness					+		+			
Education	+									
Authenticity										
Poshness		-	+							
Speed										
Euphony				+						
Rhythmicality					+		+			

UK respondents, unlike their Czech counterparts, focused primarily on the regional and social aspects of the accent. Intelligibility was not mentioned at all, euphony once only. Respondent 3 remarked that the accent lacks 'posh overtones' to be 100% RP. Interestingly enough, this comment implies that one has to have posh overtones in one's voice to be classified as pure RP.

4.1.2 Speaker 2

Eh, I came to Leeds in 2000, eh, to be an undergraduate student, ehm, and I started off being part-time and then I went full-time so that I could do an Erasmus year and I went to Italy for a year and studied American literature, which was wonderful, and then came back and got very interested in dialectology and since I, ehm, was offered a grant to stay here. I, ehm, I spent another year doing an M.A., eh, on Joseph Wright and Dialect Dictionary and then the Voices project came out of that, ehm, and that's what I'm doing at the moment; I'm a Ph.D., Ph…bluh, Ph.D. student.

And I've got another two years to go before the Ph.D. finishes, ehm, and 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 to 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, ehm, and I think it'll be very exciting. People have been so interested in actually sending in their dialect, their dialect words, ehm, and taking part in this and I think it it's something I think dialect is something that people are, eh, very, eh, they feel very, very close to dialect because it defines who they are and where they're from and, it's, it's a very personal thing and I've only got to go to the bank and say that 'I'm studying dialect' and I get into conversation with, with the people who are supposed to be there officially giving me money or not and, ehm, and all they want to talk about is what their grandmother used to say for certain, certain things ehm, and, and it's a real, really good way of connecting with people.

≅□ςI ∀κεImτ τ≅ ∀λι:δζ Iν ∀τυ:□∀ΤαΥζν=δ≅≅ τ≅ ∀βι:□≅ν ςνδ≅∀γραδZΥ≅τ ∀στφυ:δν= τ□|□≅μ□ανδ□ςI□στΑ:τΙδ□∀Θφ βι:IN πΑ:∀τςIμ□≅ν□Δ≅ν□ςI□ω≅ντ□∀φΥ5τςIμ□σ≅Υ□Δ≅τ□ςI□ κ≅δ□∀δυ:□≅ν□I∀ραζμ≅σ□φI≅ | ≅νδ∀□ωΕν τ≅ ∀Ιτ≅λι φ≅ρ ≅ ∀φI≅ ≅ν ∀στςδΙδ ≅∀μΕρΙκν= □∀λΙτρΙτΣ≅ ωΙτΣ ω≅ζ ∀ωςνδ≅φ5=□□Εν□Δ≅ν

κεΙμ ∀βακ ανδ ∀γΘ? ∀ϖΕρι ∀Ιντρ≅στΙδ□Ιν□δςΙ≅λ≅κ∀τΘλ≅δZι□| ανδ ∀σΙνσ ςΙ ≅μ ω≅ζ ∀ο φ≅δ ≅   ∀γρΑ:ντ τ≅ ∀στεΙ ηι≅□|□≅μ□ςι ≅μ ςΙ ∀σπΕντ ≅∀νςΔ≅ φΙ≅ ∀δυ:ΙΝ ≅ν ≅μ ∀εΙ □|≅≅ □Θν□∀δZ≅ΥζΙφ□∀ρςΙτ□≅ν□∀δςΙ≅λ≅κτ ∀δΙκΣ≅νρι |ανδ ΔΕν Δ≅ ∀ϖΟΙσΙζ□∀πρΘδZΕκτ κεΙ μ ∀αΥτ ≅ϖ ∀Δατ□|≅≅μ□ανδ□Δατσ□ ωΘτ□Αμ□∀δυ:ΙΝ ≅? Δ≅ ∀μ≅Υμν=τ | ςΙμ≅≅πι: εΙτΣ ∀δ ι: πι: εΙτΣ β5≅□πι: εΙτΣ ∀δι: ∀στφυ:δν=τ□ □

ανδ Αϖ ∀γΘτ ≅∀νςΔ≅ ∀τυ: φΙεζ τ≅ ∀γ≅Υ βΙ∀φΟ:□Δ≅ πι: εΙτΣ ∀δι: ∀φΙν≅ΣΙζ |□ανδ□ ≅□Ιτσ□   ∀πρυ:ϖΙΝ τ≅ βι: ∀ηΑ:δ ω3:κ β≅τ□∀ϖΕρι□∀ΙντρΕστΙΝ□|ςΙμ ςΙμ ∀δι:λΙΝ ωΙτ Δι ∀ϖΟΙσΙζ ∀δεΙτ≅ ρ≅ν Διζ ω≅ζ ≅ ∀βΙγ ∀προδζΕκτ ∀ρςν βςΙ Δ≅ βι:βι:∀σι: |≅ν Δ≅ ∀δεΙτ≅ ρ≅ζ βι:ν ∀σΕν τυ: ∀λι:δζ φ≅ρ ≅ζ τυ: μ≅∀νΙπφ≅λεΙτ ≅νδ ≅ν ∀ρι:λι ≅ ∀στςδι Ιτ σ≅Υ Δ≅? ωι: κ≅ν ω3:κ∀αΥ? ηαΥ ∀πι:π5 Α: ∀σπι:κιΝ Ιν Δ≅ φυ: ∀κεΙ ≅? Δ≅ βΙ∀γΙνΙΝ ≅ϖ Δ≅ τωΕντι ∀φ3 :στ□∀σΕντΣ≅ρι

≅μ□Αμ□λΥκΙΝ□∀φΟ:ω≅δ□τ≅□∀ακτΣ≅λι□∀γΕτΙΝ σ≅μ ρΙ∀ζς5τσ φρ≅μ ΔΙσ□|≅μ□≅ν δ ςΙ ΤΙνκ Ιτ5=βι: ∀ϖΕρι ≅κ∀σςΙτΙΝ□|∀πι:π5= ≅ϖ□βι:ν ∀σ≅Υ ∀ΙντρΕστΙδ□Ιν ∀ακτΣ≅λι ∀ σΕνδΙΝ Ιν ΔΕ ∀δςΙ≅λ≅κτ ΔΕ   ∀δςΙ≅λ≅κτ ω3:δζ| ≅ν ∀τεΙκΙΝ ∀πΑ:τ Ιν Δισ ≅ν ςΙ ΤΙνκ Ιτσ σςμΤΙΝ ςΙ ΤΙνκ ∀δςΙ≅λ≅κτ Ι   ∀σςμΤΙΝ Δ≅ πι:π5= Α: ≅ ∀ϖΕρι ≅ ΔεΙ ∀φι:5 ∀ϖΕρι ∀ϖ Ερι ∀κλ≅Υζ τ≅ ∀δςΙ≅λ≅κτ βΙ∀κΘζ Ιτ□δΙ∀φςΙνζ   ηυ: ΔεΙ Α: ≅ν ∀ωΕ: ΔΕ: φρΘμ□|≅νδ Ιτσ□Ιτσ ≅ ϖΕρι ∀π3:σν=5=□ΤΙΝ□|≅ν□∀ςϖ≅Υνλι□∀γΘ? τ≅ ∀γ≅Υ τ≅ Δ≅ ∀βανκ ≅ν∀σεΙ □Δ≅? Αμ ∀στςδιΝ ∀δςΙ≅λ≅κτ□|≅νδ ςΙ ∀γΕτ Ιντ≅ ∀κΘνσ≅∀σεΙΣν=□ωΙΤ□ωΙ Δ≅ ∀πι:π5=□ ηυ: Α: σ≅∀π≅Υστ τ≅ ∀βι: ΔΕ:ρ ≅∀φΙΣ≅λι ∀γΙϖΙΝ μι: ∀μςνι ≅ ∀νΘτ |□Ενδ ≅μ ≅ν ∀Ο:5□ΔεΙ ∀ωΘν τ≅ ∀τΟ:κ ≅∀βαΥτ Ιζ ∀ωΘ? ΔΕ: ∀γρανμςΔ≅□∀φυ:στ□τ≅□∀σεΙ□φ≅ ∀σ3:?ν=□∀σ3:ν =□∀ΤΙΝζ□|≅μ ≅νδ Ιτσ Ιτσ ≅ ∀ρι:≅5 ≅ ∀ρΙελι γΥδ ∀ωεΙ ≅ϖ κ≅∀νΕκτΙΝ ωιΤ πι:π5 =

Question 1: CZ Ø **5.85**, UK Ø **5.44**

Question 2: CZ Ø **6.6**

Question 3 (the ratio of YES/NO answers): **13/7**

Respondents likened this accent to the first one as far as intelligibility and clarity are concerned. Most of those willing to adopt it also labelled the accent as 'pleasant', almost of the quality associated with the BBC accent.

Those seven negative responses centred around the artificiality of the accent. Respondent 6 put it bluntly when he described it as 'way too RP'. This comment inadvertently confirms the correctness of my decision to approach RP not in qualitative (either/or) but quantitative (more or less) terms.

Table 4: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 2 acc. to Czech respondents

Speaker 2	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Intelligibility	+				+			+	+			+	+		+	-		+		+
Regionality														+						
Social Status						+		+/-											+	
Appropriateness																				
Education		+					+	+				+							+	
Authenticity												+				-	-			-
Poshness												+					+			
Speed																				
Euphony	+				+		-				+				+			+	+	
Rhythmicality									-			+								

As with Speaker 1, intelligibility and euphony were the two most prominent categories as was, this time, education. The speaker was, according to a quarter of the respondents, well-educated. This probably made three respondents view the accent as somewhat unnatural and artificial; one of them wrote in that the speaker sounded like 'a phonologist/dialectologist who was ashamed of her dialect so she swapped it for RP' (Respondent 6).

Table 5: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 2 acc. to English respondents

Speaker 2	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10
Intelligibility							+			
Regionality	+					+	+	+	+	
Social status									+/-	+/-
Appropriateness										
Education	+			+						+
Authenticity										
Poshness			-							
Speed										
Euphony										
Rhythmicality						+				

The UK respondents proved to be more highly observant since they noticed even diminutive details which betrayed the speaker's origin (none of the CZ respondents noticed them). They, however, differed in the interpretation of the regional traces: one identified the speaker as a northerner in origin while another one thought that the person was a southerner and had adopted a few northern features due to the fact that the speaker had lived in the North for a considerable period of time.

Apart from the regional background, the speaker is judged to be middle-class and well-educated.

4.1.3 Speaker 3

Okay, so I'm a Ph.D. student here at Leeds, ehm, I'm in towards the end of the third year of my Ph.D. in sociolinguistics, eh, and I also teach here on undergraduate modules in School of English and Department of Linguistics and Phonetics.

Ehm, I've lived in Leeds for about eight years now and before I came to do my Ph.D., I was an accountant, chartered accountant, ehm, and that was the reason I came to Leeds for my job, eh, so I did that for four years but really hated it and decided to leave and come back into academia where I'm much happier.

Ehm, okay, ehm, what else to talk about? So, I've been helping out with this conference; I also presented on Wednesday morning and that went well and I enjoyed it, I enjoy presenting, ehm, and on Sunday I'm going to Ireland for the week, ehm, I'm having a week off, a week's holiday, which I haven't had for quite a long time so, ehm, I'm very much looking forward to that, ehm, I'm flying in to Cork and hiring a car with three my friends and we're driving around Cork and Kerry and then we're gonna make our way off to Dublin for the weekend because we have a friend who lives there and then I'm flying back to Leeds. Do I need to carry on?

O∀κεI□σ≅□μ ≅ πι: ειτΣ ∀δι: ∀Στφυ:δν=? ηι:ρ ≅? ∀λι:δζ |□≅μ□ςIμ□Iν τ≅∀ωΟ:δζ Δι ∀
Ενδ ≅ Δ≅ ∀Τ3:δ□ΖI≅ρ□≅ϖ□μς πι: εΙτΣ ∀δι: Iν σ≅ΥσI≅Υλ≅ν∀γωIστ≅κσ□|≅□≅ν ςI□∀Ο:5σ≅
Υ□∀τι:τΣ ηI≅ Θν   ςνδ≅∀γραδΖΥ≅? ∀μΘδΖυ:5ζ Iν ∀σκυ:5□≅ϖ ∀Iνγλ≅Σ ≅ν δI∀πΑ:?μν
≅ϖ ∀λΙνγω≅στ≅κσ ≅ν   φ≅∀νΕτ≅κσ

≅μ ςϖ ∀λΙϖδ Iν ∀λι:δζ φ≅ρ ≅∀βαΥτ ∀εI? ∀φι:εζ ναΥ ≅νδ βΙ∀φΟ:ρ ςΙ ∀κεΙμ τ≅ ∀δυ:
μς πι: εΙτΣ ∀δι: ςI ω≅ζ ≅ν ≅∀καΥντν=τ ∀τΣΑ:?≅δ ≅∀καΥν?≅ντ | ≅μ ≅ν ∀Δα? ω≅ζ Δ≅ ∀ρι:ζ
ν=□ςI κεΙμ τ≅ ∀λι:δζ φ≅ μςI ∀δΖΘβ |≅□σ≅ ς δΙδ ∀Δα? φ≅ ∀φΟ: φ≅:ζ β≅? ρ≅λι ∀ηε:τ≅δ ≅τ
≅ν δI∀σςIδIδ τ≅ ∀λι:ϖ ≅ν κ≅μ ∀βακ Iντ≅ ακ≅∀δι:μI≅□ωΕρ□ςμ□μ≅τΣ□∀ηαπI≅□

≅μ□≅Υ∀κεI ≅μ ωΘ?□∀Ε5σ τ≅ ∀τΟ:κ ≅∀βαΥτ |□σ≅Υ Αϖ βι:ν ∀ηΕ5πIΝ ∀αΥ? ≅? ΔIσ
   ∀κΘνφ≅ρ≅νσ□|□ςI ∀Ο:5σ≅Υ□πρIζΕντIδ Θν ∀ωΕνζδι ∀μΟ:νIΝ ≅ν Δα? ω≅ν ∀ωΕ5□|
□≅νδ ςI ≅≅νφΟΙδ ≅? ςI ≅ν∀φΟΙ πρI∀ζΕντIΝ|□≅μ□ανδ Θν ∀σ≅νδΕ ςIμ ∀γ≅ΥIΝ τ≅ ∀ςI≅λ≅ν
δ φ≅ Δ≅ ∀ωι:κ |□≅μ Αμ   ∀ηαϖIν ≅ ωι:κ ∀Θφ ≅ ωι:κσ ∀ηΘλIδεI ωΙτΣ Α ηαϖν=? η≅δ φ≅ κω
ςI? ≅ ∀λΘΝ ∀τςIμ |□≅μ ςIμ   ∀γ≅ΥIΝ τ≅ ∀ςI≅λ≅νδ φ≅ Δ≅ ∀ωι:κ |□≅μ Αμ ∀ηαϖIν ≅ ωι:κ
∀Θφ ≅ ωι:κσ ∀ηΘλIδεI ωΙτΣ Α ηαϖν=? η≅δ φ≅ κωςI? ≅ ∀λΘΝ ∀τςIμ |□σ≅: ≅μ ςμ ϖΕρι μ≅τ
Σ λΥκIν ∀φΟ:ω≅δ τ≅ ∀Δα?□≅μ□ςIμ ∀φλςIΙΝ   Iν τυ: ∀κΟ:κ ≅νδ ∀ηςIρIν ≅ ∀κΑ: ωI ∀Τρι:
μςI ∀φρΕνδζ ≅νδ ω≅ ∀δρςIϖIν ≅∀ραΥνδ ∀κΟ:κ□≅ν□∀κΕρι ≅ν Δ≅ν ωι: γΘν≅ ∀μΕ:κ Α: ∀ω
Ε: Θφ τ≅ ∀δ≅βλIν φ≅ Δ≅ ωι:κ∀Ενδ□βΙ∀κ≅ζ□ωι η≅ϖ ≅ ∀φρΕνδ ηυ: ∀λΙϖζ ΔΕ: |≅νδ Δ≅ν ς
μ φλςΙΙν ∀βακ τ≅ ∀λι:δζ□|□δΥ ς ∀νι:δ τ≅ καρι ∀Θν

62

Question 1: CZ Ø **3.45**, UK Ø **2.7**

Question 2: CZ Ø **5**

Question 3 (the ratio of YES/NO answers): **7/13**

Lack of intelligibility was the main reason for negative responses to the question. The accent was labelled as 'regional' by many respondents and there were fears that non-natives would not understand it well. The harshest comment was from Respondent 19 who maintains that the accent 'does not indicate a high degree of education' (despite the speaker talking about finishing her third year of her Ph.D. studies and teaching at School of English at Leeds University).

The other camp (arguably those who do not work as teachers of English in the Czech Republic) found the accent rather friendly and relaxed and would be happy to pick it up. Respondent 12 wrote that it didn't matter the accent sounded less RP; it was still 'natural, relaxed and intelligible' and therefore the respondent would happily adopt this accent.

Table 6: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 3 acc. to Czech respondents

Speaker 3	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Intelligibility	-	-	-	-		-		+	-			+	-			-	-			+
Regionality	+	+			+	+		+											+	
Social Status																				
Appropriateness																				
Education																			-	
Authenticity												+					+			
Poshness								-				-								
Speed	+	+	+	+		+	+							+	+					
Euphony	-					-												-		
Rhythmicality	-												-		-					

As has been mentioned above, the accent was unpopular with Czech respondents as it was difficult to understand, mainly due to the fact that the accent was markedly regional and the speaker spoke very quickly indeed.

Table 7: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 3 acc. to English respondents

Speaker 3	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10
Intelligibility										
Regionality	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+
Social status										
Appropriateness										
Education				+						
Authenticity										
Poshness										
Speed										
Euphony					+	+				-
Rhythmicality										

The overwhelming majority of the English respondents commented on the clearly regional accent of this speaker. Most of them could locate the accent with reasonable accuracy. One very interesting comment mentioned that the Speaker was well-educated, even though not RP, which 'shows that not only RP speakers sound intelligent but also speakers with stronger regional accents' (Respondent 4).

4.1.4 Speaker 4

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. I'm supposed to get a job to pay my Dad back all the money that I owe him, except no one wants to give me a job, so I'm going to have to be a prostitute or something, I don't know.

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.

∀λΑ:σ τςΙμ ς ωΕν? τ≅ ∀φρΑ:νσ ςΙ γΘ? ∀ΒΙ?ν=□Τ3:τι ∀σΕϖν=□τςΙμζ βςΙ μ≅∀σκι:τ≅ Υζ |□Ι? ω≅ζ ρΙλι ∀κυ5 |□ςΙ η≅δ Δ≅μ Ο:5 ∀ςπ□μςΙ ∀λΕγ | ≅ν ςΙ ∀γΘ? ωςν Θν Δ≅ ∀σ≅Υλ ≅ϖ μςΙ ∀φΥ? |□ Δα? ω≅ζ Δ≅ ∀ω3:στ πλεΙσ ∀Εϖ6 |□Ιτσ ρΙλι ∀ακτΣ≅λι κωςΙ? ∀Ιντρ≅στΙΝ□|□Ιτ σ ρΙλι ∀βΙγ ≅ν ωι δΙδν=? ∀ηΕϖ λςΙ? Ενι Ενι μ≅∀σκι:τ:Υ ∀βςΙ? ∀στςφ σ≅Υ ςΙ δΖςστ ∀ΙτΣτ Ο:5 ∀ωι:κ |□

≅:□γ≅Υ τ≅ ∀φρΑ:νσ ≅ν ΔΕν κςμ ∀βακ ηΙ≅ φ≅ρ ≅∀βαΥ? ∀τΕν ∀δεΙζ |□ςμ σ∀π≅Υστ τ ≅ γΕ? ≅ ∀φΘβ τ≅ πεΙ μςΙ ∀δαδ ∀βακ Ο:5 Δ≅ ∀μςνι Δ≅? ςΙ ∀≅Υ ηΙμ |□∀σεπ ∀ν≅Υωςν ωΘντ σ τ≅ ∀γΙϖ μι≅ ∀φΘβ σ≅Υ ςμ γΘν≅ ∀ηαϖ τυ: βι: ≅ ∀πρΘστΙτφυ:? ≅ σςμΙΝ |□ςΙ δ≅Υν? ∀ν≅Υ

ωΕ5 ςμ ηΙ≅ φ≅ ∀τΕν δεΙζ Α:φτ≅ ς κςμ ∀βακ φρ≅μ ∀φρΑ:νσ ∀ενιωεΙ |□≅ν ∀ΔΕν ωι: γ ≅Υ τ≅ Ο:∀λανδ≅Υ Θν Δ≅ ∀φ3≅στ ≅ϖ ∀Ο:γ≅στ φ≅ ∀τυ: ∀ωι:κσ |□κςμ ∀βακ ΔΕν ςΙ ∀γΕ? μςΙ ρΙ∀ζςλτσ | ≅ν Ιφ ΔΕ ∀γΥδ ΔΕν ςμ ∀ηαπι ≅ν Ιφ ΔΕ ∀νΘ? γΥδ ΔΕν ς ∀σπενδ Δ≅ νΕκστ ∀σΙ κσ ∀ωι:κσ ∀ω3:κΙΝ |□τυ ∀δυ: ∀ρι:σ≅τσ |□Εν ΔΕν ∀Ενδ ≅ϖ σ≅π∀τΕμβ≅ ∀γ≅Υ τ≅ φυνΙ∀ϖ3: σ≅τι

Question 1: CZ Ø **3.45**, UK Ø **5.1**

Question 2: CZ Ø **4.75**

Question 3 (the ratio of YES/NO answers): **5/15**

This accent was the least popular of all. Though a few respondents admitted it is natural, they turned it down as too regional, too casual (not enunciating properly) and not intelligible enough. Respondent 19 summed the comments up very neatly by saying that 'it was easy to understand, but I can't really imagine the speaker asking for direction in any non-English speaking country'.

Respondent 17 was one of the few who would like to adopt the accent although he, too, conceded that he probably wouldn't use it much.

Table 8: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 4 acc. to Czech respondents

Speaker 4	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Intelligibility	-		-		+	+		-	-			-	-		-	-			-	-
Regionality			+					+								+				
Social Status								-												
Appropriateness				-		+		-	-				-							
Education								+/-						+					-	
Authenticity																				+
Poshness																				
Speed		+		+								+				+			+	
Euphony	-					-			-	-							+	-		
Rhythmicality	-	-			+											-				

The speaker's accent was deemed rather unintelligible and this, alongside with the quick tempo, is the reason why many disliked the accent. A few respondents mentioned the fact that speaker was probably from around London.

The respondents' views differed in the interpretation of the speaker's alleged casualness: one camp interpreted it as carelessness while the other as a sign of self-confidence.

Table 9: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 4 acc. to English respondents

Speaker 4	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10
Intelligibility										
Regionality	+	+	+	+			+	+		
Social status						+			+	+
Appropriateness										
Education	+			+					+	
Authenticity										
Poshness									+	
Speed										
Euphony										-
Rhythmicality										

The speaker was clearly regional but this did not stop the English respondents from labelling him as well-educated. In fact, and in this respect the English respondents differed from their Czech counterparts, the speaker was thought to have come from a very affluent background.

4.1.5 Speaker 5

Okay I did something very similar to this to a friend of mine, actually, ehm, as an undergraduate and he, he found it very very strange and I kind of found listening to him on a phone-in by phone-in basis very strange, too, so this is quite odd in of itself in terms of the BBC which I'm bound to enthuse about so you'll get, you'll get me quite naturally, I guess.

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 gotta go to school and have weekends off and football commentators work at weekends in the evenings so I saw very little of my sons, ehm, so it stopped, which is a matter of great regret. My wife found out that I considered it a hobby as much as a job or an income stream. She was, eh, she put her foot down at that point and said as a hobby it doesn't pay that well and you've got a family and if you want to keep one, then spend more time at home so that's what happened and, as a consequence, I've ended up doing a Ph.D.

≅∀κεΙ□Α δΙδ σ≅μ≅ ϖΕρι□∀σΙμ≅λ≅□τ≅□∀ΔΙσ□τ≅□≅□∀φρΕνδ ≅ϖ ∀μςΙν ∀ακτΣ≅λι□|
□≅μ ≅ζ□≅ν□   ςνδ≅∀γραδΖΥ≅?□≅ν□ηι:□ηι:□∀φαΥνδ Ι?□∀ϖΕρι ∀ϖΕρι ∀στρεΙνδΖ□|≅ν□
ςΙ κςΙνδ ≅ϖ ∀φαΥνδ ∀λΙσν=ΙΝ τ≅
∀ηΙμ Θν□≅□∀φ≅Υν Ιν βςΙ ∀φ≅Υν Ιν ∀βεΙσΙζ ∀ϖΕρι ∀στρεΙνδΖ τυ:□□σ≅ ∀ΔΙσ Ιζ κωςΙ? ∀Θ
δ□Ιν Θϖ   Ιτ∀σΕ5φ Ιν□∀τ3:μζ□≅ϖ Δ≅ βι:βι:∀σι: |□ωΙτΣ□Αμ ∀βαΥνδ τυ Ιν∀Τφυ:ζ ≅∀βα
Υτ σ≅Υ φυ5□γΕ? φυ5□∀γΕ? μι:□κωςΙ?□∀νατΣ≅λι□ςΙ□∀γΕσ□□

≅μ□ςΙ□∀φρι:λανστ φ≅ρ ≅ ∀κςπ5 ≅ϖ ∀φι≅ζ ∀κςϖρ=ΙΝ ∀φΥτβΟ:5□ματΣΙζ□|□ωΙτΣ□Ι
ζ□Δ≅□∀βΕστ□φΘΒ□Αϖ□Εϖ≅□∀ηαδ□□κ≅ζ Αδ ∀γΕ? τ≅ ∀η≅Υ5δ ≅□∀μςΙκρ≅φ≅Υν□Ιν ∀φρς
ντ ≅ϖ πι:π5□|□≅μ□β≅?□∀πι:π5□≅ϖ□ρι:5□∀στεΙτ≅σ□|□φ≅□∀ν≅Υ□Α:σ≅ν□∀ωΕνγ≅ρ ≅ν ∀η
≅Υζ εΙ□μ≅∀ρι:ϑ≅Υ□≅ν□πι:π5□|□σ≅Υ□Δα?□ω≅ζ□Δα?□ω≅ζ□δΖ≅στ□∀σΕκσι□Ι?□ω≅ζ□Ι?□ωε
ζ□∀λ≅ϖλι□|□≅ν□≅ϖ□∀κΟ:σ□φ≅□∀γΕ?τ≅□∀ηΙ≅ Δ≅ ∀σαΥνδ□≅ϖ□φ≅ρ□≅Υν□∀ϖΟΙσ≅ζ□
ωΕ5□|□ωΙτΣ□κςΙνδ□≅ϖ□∀αφτ≅ρ□≅□∀ωςΙ5□Ιζν? Ιζν? κωςΙ? ≅ζ ∀ηΘρΙφςΙιΝ ≅ζ□Ι?□≅ζ□Ι?□μ
ςΙ?□   ∀ςΔ≅ωςΙζ□Ο:δΙ∀νΕρΙλι□βι:□φ≅□ν≅Υτ≅□Δ≅□≅νΙ∀νΙΣΙεΙτΙδ

σ≅Υ□Δα? ω≅ζ Δα? ω≅ζ κςΙνδ ≅ϖ ≅ ∀γρεΙ? ∀ι:γ≅Υ ∀τρΙπ ≅ν Ιφ ≅ν∀φΟ:τΣ≅ν≅?λι δΙδν
? φΙτ Ιν ∀ϖΕρι ωΕ5□ωΙΔ ∀ηαϖΙΝ ≅ ∀φ≅Ν ∀φαμ≅λι□□βΙ∀κΘζ□∀φ≅Ν ∀φαμ≅λι Ισ ∀γΘτ≅
∀γ≅Υ τ≅ ∀σκυ:5≅ν□η≅ϖ ωι:κ∀Ενδζ ∀Θφ□|≅ν ∀φΥ?βοΥ ∀κΘμ≅ντεΙτ≅ζ ∀ω3:κ ≅? ωι:κ∀
Ενδζ Ιν Δι: ∀Ι:ϖνΙΝζ□|□σ≅Υ□Α□∀σΟ:□   ∀ϖΕρι ∀λΙτ5=≅ϖ□μςΙ□∀σ≅νζ □|≅μ σ≅Υ Ι? ∀στ
Θπτ ωΙτΣ Ιζ ≅ ∀μ≅τ≅ρ ≅ϖ γρεΙ? ρΙ□∀γρΕ? μςΙ□∀ωςΙφ□   φαΥνδ ∀αΥ? Δ≅? ςΙ κ≅ν∀σΙδ≅δ Ι?
≅ ∀ηΘβι ≅ζ μ≅τΣ ≅ζ ∀δΖΘβ Ορ ≅ν ∀Ινκ≅μ στρι≅μ | Σι: ω≅ζ ≅ Σι: ∀πΥ? η≅ ∀φΥ? δαΥν ≅?
Δα? ∀πΟΙντ ≅ν σΕδ ≅ζ ≅ ∀ηΘβι Ι? δ≅ζν? ∀πεΙ ∀Δα? ωΕ5□|≅ν□φυϖ   ∀γΘ? ≅ ∀φαμ≅λι ≅ν Ι
φ φυ ωΘν? τ≅ ∀κι:π ∀ωςν | Δ≅ν ∀σπΕνδ μΟ: ∀τςΙμ ≅? ∀η≅Υμ σ≅Υ Δατσ   ωΘ? ∀ηαπ≅νδ□|
≅ν Εζ ≅ ∀κΘνσ≅κω≅νσ ςϖ Ενδ≅δ ∀≅π ∀δυ:ΙΝ ≅ πι: εΙτΣ ∀δι:

70

Question 1: CZ Ø **4.75**, UK Ø **4.6**

Question 2: CZ Ø **4.7**

Question 3 (the ratio of YES/NO answers): **10/10**

The reaction to this speaker could hardly have been more ambivalent. Comments oscillate from a rather emphatic 'YEEES please!' (19) to a categorical refusal that '[i]t would be ridiculous if a foreigner tried to speak like that' (15).

The speaker is perceived as a skilful rhetorician with a rapid tempo (he admits to working as a reporter for the BBC in the recording). This fast-flowing speech of his is the target of much criticism on the grounds that it makes the accent hard to comprehend. Some respondents would not mind speaking with such an accent but they point out that it would prove somewhat impractical since not many non-natives would understand them.

Table 10: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 5 acc. to Czech respondents

Speaker 5	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Intelligibility	-		-	-		+		-	-	-		-	+			-				-
Regionality	-													-						
Social Status		+																		
Appropriateness		+						-				-								
Education	+																		+	
Authenticity																				
Poshness																				
Speed	+		+		+			+	+	+				+		+				+
Euphony		+	+			+	+				+				+		+	-		
Rhythmicality			+		+											-				

The most prominent criterion was the speaker's immense speed which might be due to the speaker's former job as a BBC reporter. Speed was surely to be blamed for almost half of the respondents judging the accent as unintelligible, yet, strangely enough, as many respondents found the accent likeable and appealing.

Table 11: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 5 acc. to English respondents

Speaker 5	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10
Intelligibility							+			
Regionality	+	+	+		+		+		+	+
Social status				+					+/-	
Appropriateness										
Education				+			+	+		
Authenticity										
Poshness				+						
Speed										
Euphony		+			+	+				+
Rhythmicality										

Although the English respondents paid, in general, far less attention to matters of euphony, four of them stressed the likeability of this accent. The accent was clearly perceived as regional but well-educated and it can clearly be seen that this sort of accent enjoyed much more popularity with the English respondents than non-regional (but affected) accent of Speaker 6.

4.1.6 Speaker 6

The advantages are that you don't need a car, there's quite good shopping, it's been landscaped absolutely superbly, with beautiful roads, and if you live in any of the houses, you don't know the roads are there, just 'cause of the way they've built them. Ehm, it's new and it's clean, ehm.

Some of the disadvantages are that the people are horrible and unfriendly, ehm, they're brusque and ill-educated nouveau riche, ehm, thugs, basically, rich, thick thugs, ehm, who make life really miserable, ehm, on things like the roads, with a lot of bellyaching and V-signs and insults.

Ehm, there's quite a lot of unemployment. Certainly, five years ago it had the highest suicide rate of any city in Britain, I don't know whether that's still true, ehm, and it's now old enough for bits of it to be falling apart and the bits that are falling apart are doing so in a horrible and really seedy, ugly way. So there's a lot of, eh, depressed and unhappy and very poor people there as well.

So you've got, ehm, it's a kind of reflection of the nation. You've got, eh, rich with no worries at all, and deeply poor and ground down.

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.

Ehm, there were only four things altogether, I think the video, eh, Sony Walkman, ehm, and a couple of other things which I can't remember. But the second occasion was much worse.

Eh, there was a hell of a mess, ehm, with upturned gear, eh, all the covers opened and the stuff pulled out, ehm, even in the kitchen where the stuff is very boring, ehm, and everything that had any value at all seemed to me to have been taken. And very carefully, which contrasted with the mess.

The hi-fi had all its cabling neatly tacked down, running around the skirting boards. It'd been pulled up incredibly neatly, so that not only did they take the gear but also all the cabling as well. Eh, and so far, ehm, the dealings with the insurance company have been fraught with sort of misunderstanding and, ehm, lack of progress.

Διⵁ≅δ∀ϖΑ:ντ≅δΖΙσ Α: Δ≅ φυ δοΥν? νι:δ ≅ ∀κΑ: | ΔΕ:ζ κωςΙτ γΥδ ∀ΣΘπΙΝ | Ιτσ βιν
∀λ{≅νδσκεΙπτ ∀αβσ≅λΥτλι σφυ:∀π3:βλι ωΙΔ ∀βφυ:τΙφ5= ∀ροΥδς |ⵁ≅ν Ιφ φυ ∀λΙϖ Ιν ε
νι ≅ϖ Δ≅ ∀ηαΥσΙς φυ δοΥν? νοΥ Δ≅ ∀ροΥδς ≅ ∀ΔΕ: |ⵁδΖ≅στ κ≅ζ ≅ϖ Δ≅ ωεΙ ΔεΙϖ ∀βΙλτ Δ
≅μ |ⵁ≅μ Ιτσ ∀νφυ≅ ≅ν   Ιτσ ∀κλι:ν ≅μ

σ≅μ ≅ϖ Δ≅ ∀δΙσ≅δϖΑ:ντ≅δΖΙσ Α: Δ≅τ Δ≅ ∀πι:π5= Α ∀ηΘρΙβ5= ≅νδ ςν∀φρΕνδλι | ≅
μ ΔΕ:≅   ∀βρΥσκ Ενδ Ιλ∀ΕδΖΥκεΙτΙδ νυ:ϖοΥ∀ρι:Σⵁ≅μⵁ∀Τςγς βεΙσΙκλι ∀ρΙτΣ ∀ΤΙκ ∀Τ
ςγζⵁ|ⵁ≅μ ηυ: ∀μεΙκ   ∀λςΙφ ρΙλι ∀μΙσρ=≅β5=ⵁ≅μⵁΟν ΔΙΝζ λςΙκ Δ≅ ∀ροΥδς |ⵁωΙΔ ≅ λΘτ ≅
ϖ ∀βΕλιεΙκΙΝ ≅ν ∀ϖι:ςςΙνζ ≅νδ   ∀Ινσςλτσ

≅μ Δ3:ζ κωςΙτ ≅ λΘτ ≅ϖ ςνΙμ∀πλΟΙμ≅ντ |ⵁ∀σ3:τν=λιⵁφςΙϖ ∀φ≅:ζ ≅∀γοΥ Ιτ η{δ Δ≅
∀ηςΙ≅στⵁ∀συΙσςΙδ ρεΙτ ≅ϖ ενι ∀σΙτι Ιν ∀βρΙ?ν=ⵁςΙ δοΥν νου ωΕΔ≅ ∀Δατσ στΙ5 ∀τρυ:ⵁ|
ⵁ≅μⵁ{νδ Ιτσ ναΥ ∀οΥ5δⵁΙ∀νςφ φΟ: βΙτσ ≅ϖ Ιτ τ≅ βι: ∀φΟ:λΙΝ ≅∀πΑ:τ ≅ν Δ≅ βΙτσ Δ≅ ≅ ∀φ
ΟλΙΝ ≅∀πΑ:τ ≅ ∀δυ:ΙΝ σοΥ Ιν ≅ ∀ηΘρΙβ5 Ενδ ρΙλι ∀σι:δι ∀ςγλι ωεΙⵁσ≅ ΔΕζ ≅ λΘτ ≅ϖ ≅
δΙ∀πρΕστ ≅ν ςν∀η{πι ≅ν ϖΕρι ∀πΟ: πΙ:π5=ⵁΔΕ:ρ ≅ζ ωΕ5

σ≅ φυϖ γΘτ ≅μ Ιτσ ≅ κςΙνδ ≅ϖ ρ≅∀φλΕκΣν=ⵁ≅ϖ Δ≅ ∀νεΙΣν=ⵁⵁφυϖ γΘτ ≅ ∀ρΙτΣ ωΙ
Δ νοΥ   ∀ωςρΙ≅ζ ≅τ Ο:5ⵁ≅νδ ∀δι:πλι πΟ:ρ ≅ν γραΥνδ ∀δαΥν

Δ≅ ∀φ3:στ τςΙμ ςΙ γΘτ ∀ηοΥμ ςΙ γΘτ ∀Θφ μςΙ ∀βςΙκ ≅ν ΕϖρΙΤΙΝ ≅ν ω≅ς ακτΣ≅λι
ςν∀δυ:ΙΝ Δ≅ φρςντ ∀δΟ:≅ ≅νδ ∀λΥκτ ≅τ Δ≅ ∀ωΙνδοΥ |ⵁΔΟ: ∀γΘδ ςμ ΣΟ:ρ ς δΙδν? ∀λι:
ϖ |ⵁΔ≅   ϖ≅νι:Σν=ⵁ∀βλςΙνδⵁω≅ς Ο:5 ∀κρΥκΙδ ≅ν ∀βΕντⵁⵁςΙ ∀κΑ:ντ η≅ϖ ∀λΕφτ Ιτ λςΙκ
∀Δ{τ |ⵁ≅ν ςδ ακτΣ≅λι   γΘτ Δ≅ ∀δΟ:ρ ςν∀λΘκτ βΙ∀φΘρ ςΙ ι:ϖν=ⵁ∀ρΙ≅λςΙζδ ωΘτ Ιτ ωΘς Δ
≅ η≅δ ≅∀κ3:δⵁ|ⵁ≅ν ςΙ ωΕντ ∀Ιν ≅ν Δ≅ ω≅ς ϖΕρι λΙτ5=ⵁ∀μΕσⵁ≅ν Ενδ ∀γραδΖ≅λι ςΙ ∀νοΥτ
Ιστ ωΘ? ω≅ς ∀μΙσΙΝ |ⵁΔ≅ ∀ϖΙδΙ≅Υ ρΙκΟ:δ≅   Ι∀μι:δΖΙ≅τλι |ⵁβς? ∀δΖυ:ρΙΝ Δ≅ ∀κΟ:σ ≅ϖ Δ
ι ∀ι:ϖνΙΝ ςΙ κΕπτ ∀φςΙνδΙΝ ∀μΟ: ΔΙΝζ Δ≅τ ω≅ νοΥ   ∀λΘνγ≅ ΔΕ:≅

≅μ Δ≅ ω≅ρ οΥνλι ∀φΟ: ΔΙΝζ Ο:5τ≅!γΕΔ6 |ⵁςΙ ΔΙνκ Δ≅ ∀ϖΙδΙ≅Υ ≅ σοΥνι ∀ωΟ:κμ{ν
≅μ ≅ν ≅ ∀κςπ5=ⵁ≅ϖ ∀ςΔ≅ ΔΙΝζ ωΙτΣ ς κΑ:ντ ρΙ∀μΕμβ6 |ⵁβςτ Δ≅ ∀σΕκ≅νδ ≅∀κεΙΖν= ω≅ς
μςτΣ ∀ω3:σ

≅ ΔΕ ω≅ς ≅ ∀ηΕ5 ≅ϖ ≅ ∀μΕσ ≅μ ωΙΤ ∀ςπτ3:νδ ∀γι:6 ≅ | Ο:5 Δ≅ ∀κςϖ≅ς οΥπν=δⵁ≅ν
Δ≅   ∀στςφ πΥ5δ ∀αΥτⵁ| ≅μ ∀ι:ϖν=ⵁΙν Δ≅ ∀κΙτΣΙν ωΕ6ⵁΔ≅ ∀στςφ Ισ ϖΕρι ∀βΟ:ρΙΝ |ⵁ≅μ
Ενδ ∀ΕϖρΙΤΙΝ Δ≅τ η{δ ενι ∀ϖ{λφυ: ≅τ ∀Ο:5ⵁσι:μδⵁτ≅ μι: τ≅ η≅ϖ βι:ν ∀τεΙκν=ⵁ|ⵁ≅νδ ϖΕ
ρι ∀κΕ:φλ=ι ωΙτΣ κ≅ν∀τρΑ:στιδ ωΙΤ Δ≅ ∀μΕσ

Δ≅ ∀ηςΙφςΙ ηΕδ Ο:λ Ιτσ ∀κεΙβλΙΝ ∀νι:τλι τ{κτ ∀δαΥν |ⵁ∀ρςνΙΝ ≅∀ραΥνδ Δ≅ ∀σκ3
:τΙΝ βΟ:δς |ⵁΙτ≅δ βι:ν πΥ5δ ∀ςπ Ιν∀κρΕδ≅βλι ∀νι:τλι σ≅ Δ≅ ν≅τ ∀οΥνλι δΙδ ΔεΙ ∀τεΙκ Δ≅
∀γΙ6 β≅τ ∀Ο:5σ≅Υ   Ο:5 Δ≅ ∀κεΙβλΙΝ ≅ς ωΕ5 |ⵁ≅ ≅ν σ≅Υ φΑ: ≅μ Δ≅ ∀δι:λΙΝζ ωιΤ Δι Ιν∀Σ
Ορ≅νσ ∀κςμπ≅νι ηΕϖ βιν   ∀φρΟ:τ ωιΤ σ≅τ ≅ϖ μΙςςνδ≅∀στ{νδΙΝ ≅νδ ≅μ ∀λακ ≅ϖ ∀προ
ΥγρΕσ

74

Question 1: CZ Ø **5**, UK Ø **6.3**

Question 2: CZ Ø **5.6**

Question 3 (the ratio of YES/NO answers): **5/15**

This accent is almost as unpopular as that of Speaker 4. If the previous speakers got some points deducted for a high tempo, then this one is penalised for a very slow and monotonous performance, giving the impression that 'he is going to fall asleep any second' (Respondent 11).

Those few respondents whose reaction was positive stressed the easy intelligibility and clarity.

Table 12: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 6 acc. to Czech respondents

Speaker 6	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Intelligibility	+		+		+	+			+			+	+							
Regionality	+	+										-		+		+				
Social Status							+													
Appropriateness																				
Education						+	+												+	
Authenticity												+				-				
Poshness						+	+				+				+		+			
Speed	-		-	-							-							-		
Euphony					+	-					-									-
Rhythmicality	-				-	+		+	+		-			-						-

This accent was, according to the majority of CZ respondents, odd. Some mentioned the painful tediousness with which the speech was delivered, others blamed it on regionality (Respondent 14 located the accent to Yorkshire) and others still thought the accent sounded very posh.

The only clearly positive thing about this speaker was his easy comprehensibility.

Table 13: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 6 acc. to English respondents

Speaker 6	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10
Intelligibility										
Regionality	+									
Social status							+			+
Appropriateness										
Education				+				+		
Authenticity		-	-							
Poshness			+	+	+	+	+			
Speed			-				-	-		
Euphony		-				-				+
Rhythmicality					+					

The most prominent characteristic about this speaker is his poshness. Although the accent is regarded as well-educated, it is universally condemned as unnaturally affected. Respondent 2 put it very bluntly when she asked whether the speaker was putting the accent on. Overall, the speaker would not find many friends among the English respondents.

4.1.7 Speaker 7

Ehm, well, ehm, I, my, my hobbies, mainly sport, ehm, I play hockey and cricket for the uni teams and 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, which we've had the ple..plenary sessions in and ehm, then I try doing my degree at the same time.

I think I've probably spent a lot more time doing extracurricular activity than I do, ehm, than I, than I probably should and I probably don't do enough reading for my degree but I still managed to get to my B.A. in 'English Language and Literature' and like you said we did 'English in Time and Space'. 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, ehm, and I got my best mark, which always helps.

Ehm, and I also like studying dialects, which is how I've got, how I know Clive so well, ehm, and he was my dissertation supervisor, eh, at B.A. and I'm, eh, certainly more of a phonologist than a grammarian, eh, put it that way; grammar I'm not so good at and phonology I, I really enjoy.

≅μ ωE5⬚≅μ⬚ϛΙ μϛ μϛΙ ∀ηΘβι:ζ μεινλι ∀σπΟ:τ |⬚≅μ ϛΙ ∀πλεΙ ∀ηθκι ≅ν ∀κρΙκΙ? φΟ:
Δ≅   ∀φυ:νι τι:μζ |⬚Ενδ ϛμ ∀λϛκι Ι∀νϛφ τ≅ ≅ϖ πλεΙδ ∀φ3:στ τι:μ ∀ηΘκι ≅ν ∀κρΙκΙ? |⬚ϛΙ δ≅
Υν? κωϛΙ?   ∀ν≅Υ ∀ηαΥ |⬚≅μ Ενδ ϛΙ ∀Ο:5σ≅Υ⬚πλεΙ Δ≅ ϖϛΙ∀λΙν ≅νδ ϛΙ πλεΙ Ιν Δι: ∀κλΘΤ
ω3:κ≅ζ⬚∀ηΟ:5⬚ηΙ≅⬚|⬚ ωΙτΣ⬚ωιϖ ηαδ Δ≅ ∀πλι: ∀πλι:ν≅ρι σΕΣν=ζ ∀Ιν⬚ανδ ≅μ ΔΕν ϛΙ τρϛΙ
 ∀δυ:ΙΝ μϛΙ δΙ∀γρι: α? Δ≅ σειμ ∀τϛΙμ

ϛΙ⬚∀ΤΙνκ⬚Αϖ⬚∀πρΘβ≅βλι⬚∀σπΕντ⬚≅ ∀λΘ? μΟ: ∀τϛΙμ ∀δυ:ΙΝ Εκστρ≅κ≅∀ρΙκφ≅λ
≅ρ ∀ακτιϖ≅τι: Δ≅ν ϛΙ δυ: ≅μ Δ≅ν ϛΙ Δ≅ν ϛΙ ∀πρΘβ≅βλι ∀ΣΥΔ Ενδ ϛΙ ∀πρΘβλι δ≅Υν ∀δυ: Ι
∀νϛφ ∀ρι:δΙΝ φ≅ μϛΙ   δΙ∀γρι: |⬚βϛτ ϛΙ ∀στΙ5⬚∀μαν≅δΖδ τ≅ ∀γΕ? τ≅ μϛΙ βι: ∀εΙ Ιν ∀Ινγλ≅
Σ ∀λανγωΙδΖ ≅ν ∀λΙτρ≅τΣ≅ ≅ν   λϛΙ? φυ: σΕδ ωι: ∀δΙδ ∀Ινγλ≅Σ Ιν ∀τϛΙμ ≅ν ∀σπεΙσ⬚⬚≅ ϛΙ
 ∀λϛϖδ ∀Ινγλ≅Σ Ιν ∀τϛΙμ |⬚Ι? ≅ζ μϛΙ   ∀φεΙϖρ≅? ∀μΘδΖυ:5 ≅ Ιν μϛΙ ∀η≅Υ5⬚δΙ∀γρι:⬚|⬚≅μ
⬚ϛΙ ∀λϛϖδ λΥκΙν ∀βακ⬚ατ Δι: ∀ηΙστρι ≅ϖ Δ≅   ∀λανγωΙδΖ |⬚≅μ βΙ∀κΘζ ϛ ∀ΤΙνκ Ιτσ ∀
φασ≅νεΙτΙΝ τ≅ ∀σι: ωΕρ Ιτσ ∀κϛμ φρΘμ |⬚≅μ Ενδ Δα?   ∀μΘδΖυ:5⬚∀τεΙκσ φυ: ρϛΙτ ... τυ
: ∀πρΕζν=? ∀δεΙ σ≅Υ ≅μ ϛΙ ϛΙ ρι:λι Ιν∀δΖΟΙδ ∀Δατ | ≅μ ≅ν ϛ ∀γΘ? μι ∀βΕστ ∀μΑ:κ ωΙτΣ ∀
Ο:5ωεΙζ⬚∀ηΕ5πζ ⬚

≅μ Ενδ ϛΙ Ο:5σ≅Υ λϛΙκ ∀στϛδιΙΝ ∀δϛΙ≅λ≅κτσ ωΙτΣ Ιζ ∀ηαΥ ϛϖ !γΘ? ∀ηαΥ ϛ ∀κν≅Υ
∀κλϛΙϖ σ≅Υ ∀ωΕ5⬚|⬚≅μ⬚≅ν ηι: ωζ μϛΙ δΙσ≅∀τεΙΣν=⬚∀συ:π≅ϖϛΙζ≅⬚≅ α? βι: ∀εΙ | Ενδ ϛΙμ
≅ ∀σ3:τν=λι   μΟ:ρ ≅ϖ ≅ φ≅∀νΘλ≅ΔΖΙστ Δ≅ν ≅ γρ≅∀μΕ:ρΙ≅ν ≅ |⬚πΥτ Ι? ∀Δα? ωεΙ |⬚∀γραμ
≅ ϛμ νΘτ σ≅Υ γΥδ ∀ατ Ενδ Δ≅ φ≅∀νΘλ≅δΖι ϛΙ ϛΙ ρι:λι Ιν∀δΖΟΙ

Question 1: CZ Ø **4.2**, UK Ø **5.22**

Question 2: CZ Ø **5.3**

Question 3 (the ratio of YES/NO answers): **8/12**

The reaction to this speaker was rather ambivalent though not to such an extent as to the previous one. Many respondents considered the voice as unattractive and uninteresting, without giving many specific reasons for such comments. Some did not think her accent was altogether clear, others mention the fact that she sounded too casual, and others still just liked some other accents in the RP Test better.

Positive comments appreciate the fact that the accent is 'neither too posh, nor too careless' (Respondent 17). Respondent 9 answered the question positively because the accent was clear and easily comprehensible.

Table 14: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 7 acc. to Czech respondents

Speaker 7	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Intelligibility	+				-			-	+			-	+		+	-				-
Regionality					+								+	+						
Social Status																				
Appropriateness								-				-								
Education	+							+/-												
Authenticity				+								+								
Poshness																	+/-			
Speed														+						
Euphony	+	+					-	-			+		+				-	-	-	
Rhythmicality	+			+			-										-		-	-

Four respondents found the accent intelligible, five unintelligible. The very same numbers of speakers liked/disliked the accent. Not many respondents spotted regional traces in the speaker's speech. Al in all, it can be said that this speaker made no particular impression on the Czech respondents.

Table 15: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 7 acc. to English respondents

Speaker 7	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10
Intelligibility								+		
Regionality	+	+			+		+		+	+
Social status		+/-							+/-	
Appropriateness										
Education				+						
Authenticity										
Poshness										
Speed										
Euphony					+	+				+
Rhythmicality										

Regional features in this speech did not pass unnoticed by the English set of respondents. Apart from that, the accent failed to leave them with a strong impression (even though as many as three of them found the accent likeable).

4.1.8 Speaker 8

Hi, my name's Julian. I'm thirty-nine years old. I'm from England. I live, at the moment, in the Czech Republic where I've been living for the last twelve or something years. I'm an English teacher; my wife and I run a language school here in Trebic; ehm, my hobbies: I like music, I play the guitar, eh, I write my own songs which aren't particularly good but I'm trying. Ehm, I have a daughter, she takes up lots of my time, too, Zuzana, my little princess, she's three years old.

We try to get home to England three times a year, usually twice if we're lucky and I must say her English is coming along very well; she's, eh, she's starting to translate now at three years old, which is quite frightening. She, eh, she came into the kitchen the other day and, eh, asked me in English what I was doing so I told her that I was making a drink and I asked her to ask her mother if mother wanted one. So off she trots to the kitchen, eh, asks her mother in Czech, comes back to me and, eh, replies to me in English that mum says yes and she'd like coffee, please. Ehm, yes, it's quite frightening; my mouth was open.

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. It's quite, quite an advantage, quite a, quite a privilege, really, to have that dual thing going on.

Question 1: CZ Ø **5.3**, UK Ø **4.8**

Question 2: CZ Ø **6.25**

Question 3 (the ratio of YES/NO answers): **12/8**

The score for this speaker was similar to that for the previous one, with the numbers reversed (the positive reactions slightly outnumbered the negative ones).

The more numerous group found the speech clear, neat and fluent; the person was then described as nice and friendly.

The members of the other group often failed to provide any specific information as to why they disliked the accent; they restricted themselves to merely stating that they just did not like the accent (Respondents 1, 7, and 11). Those few who did give a reason almost invariably mentioned problems with comprehensibility.

Table 16: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 8 acc. to Czech respondents

Speaker 8	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Intelligibility	+			+	+	+		+	-			+	+		+		+	+		+
Regionality	-	+				+								+						
Social Status								+												
Appropriateness													+				+			
Education							+	+												
Authenticity	-											+								
Poshness																				
Speed																			-	
Euphony	-					+	-				-		+					+		
Rhythmicality				+	+				-					-		+				+

Although more than half of the respondents found the speech intelligible, the number of positive and negative answers in the 'euphony' section is the same (three). Other criteria (namely rhythmicality, regionality and authenticity) provoked rather ambivalent reactions.

The speaker was also thought to be well-educated but the number of answers concerning education is far from representative.

Table 17: sociolinguistic categories for Speaker 8 acc. to English respondents

Speaker 8	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10
Intelligibility										
Regionality	+	+	+				+		+	
Social status				+/-						
Appropriateness										
Education										
Authenticity										
Poshness			-						-	
Speed										
Euphony						+				-
Rhythmicality										

As with many other speakers, regionality was the criterion which was by far the most prominent one. Two respondents found the accent not posh/affected.

4.2 Czech Respondents

This thesis is focused as much on the speakers as on the respondents who, after all, should provide the mental image of RP in both the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom. I will now present the data respondent by respondent in order to show how consistent (most of the time) they were in commenting on only a few of the offered criteria.

4.2.1 Czech Respondent 1

Table 18: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 1

Respondent 1	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
Regionality			+		-	+		-
Social status								
Appropriateness								
Education					+		+	
Authenticity								-
Poshness								
Speed			+		+	-		
Euphony	+	+	-	-			+	-
Rhythmicality	+		-	-		-	+	

It is clear from the table above that Czech Respondent 1 considered intelligibility the crucial factor when assessing the recordings. Moreover, euphony and rhythmicality played important part, too.

It is as informative to take into consideration the categories an individual respondent does comment on as it is to notice those criteria he did not mention at all. As far as Czech Respondent 1 is concerned, lack of comment on the social status of the speakers is certainly noteworthy.

4.2.2 Czech Respondent 2

Table 19: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 2

Respondent 2	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility			-					
Regionality			+			+		+
Social status	+				+			
Appropriateness					+			
Education		+						
Authenticity	+							
Poshness								
Speed			+	+				
Euphony					+		+	
Rhythmicality				-				

This respondent, in contrast with the previous one, regarded intelligibility as an unimportant feature (in this respect he was a striking exception within the set of Czech respondents). Apart from poshness, he commented on every criterion but it was only regionality that was mentioned more than twice.

4.2.3 Czech Respondent 3

Table 20: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 3

Respondent 3	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility	+		-	-	-	+		
Regionality				+				
Social status								
Appropriateness								
Education								
Authenticity	+							
Poshness	+							
Speed	+		+		+	-		
Euphony					+			
Rhythmicality					+			

Intelligibility and speed were the two most prominent criteria for this respondent although he did, occasionally, mentioned other criteria as well.

4.2.4 Czech Respondent 4

Table 21: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 4

Respondent 4	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility	+		-		-			+
Regionality								
Social status								
Appropriateness				-				
Education								
Authenticity	+						+	
Poshness								
Speed			+	+		-		
Euphony								
Rhythmicality							+	+

Intelligibility was the crucial category for this respondent, too, closely followed by speed, authenticity and rhythmicality. Interestingly enough, regionality and social status did not get any mention whatsoever.

4.2.5 Czech Respondent 5

Table 22: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 5

Respondent 5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility	+	+		+		+	-	+
Regionality			+				+	
Social status	+							
Appropriateness								
Education								
Authenticity								
Poshness								
Speed					+			
Euphony	+	+						
Rhythmicality				+	+	-		+

Predictably, this respondent considered intelligibility the vital criterion; however, rhythmicality was mentioned a number of times, too.

4.2.6 Czech Respondent 6

Table 23: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 6

Respondent 6	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility			-	+	+	+		+
Regionality	+		+					+
Social status		+						
Appropriateness				+				
Education								
Authenticity								
Poshness								
Speed			+					
Euphony	+				+	+		+
Rhythmicality						+		

It can be concluded from the table above that both intelligibility and euphony enjoyed the equal share of prominence. Regionality was also important.

4.2.7 Czech Respondent 7

Table 24: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 7

Respondent 7	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility								
Regionality								
Social status								
Appropriateness								
Education	+	+				+		+
Authenticity								
Poshness						+		
Speed			+					
Euphony	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Rhythmicality						-		

This respondent is exceptional insofar as he deemed euphony (mentioned in all eight speakers) and education (four mentions) the two most important categories. Other criteria, popular with other Czech respondents, were completely neglected.

4.2.8 Czech Respondent 8

Table 25: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 8

Respondent 8	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility	+	+	+	-	-		-	+
Regionality			+	+				
Social status		+/-		-		+		+
Appropriateness				-	-		-	
Education	+	+		+/-		+	+/-	+
Authenticity								
Poshness	+		-			+		
Speed					+			
Euphony	+						-	
Rhythmicality								

This respondent was the most generous of all giving the biggest amount of information. Apart from intelligibility, education and social status (often neglected by other Czech respondents) got mentioned a high number of times.

4.2.9 Czech Respondent 9

Table 26: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 9

Respondent 9	R9	R9	R9	R9	R9	R9	R9	R9
Intelligibility	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
Regionality	+							
Social status								
Appropriateness				-				
Education								
Authenticity	+							
Poshness								
Speed					+			
Euphony								
Rhythmicality		-				+		-

Intelligibility was the only really important criterion for this respondent. Rhythmicality was mentioned three times, too; the remaining criteria were only mentioned once, if at all.

4.2.10 Czech Respondent 10

Table 27: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 10

Respondent 10	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility					-			
Regionality								
Social status								
Appropriateness	+							
Education								
Authenticity								
Poshness								
Speed					+			
Euphony				-				
Rhythmicality						+		

This respondent was the least informative of all; only five times did he give any comment at all.

4.2.11 Czech Respondent 11

Table 28: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 11

Respondent 11	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility								
Regionality								
Social status	+							
Appropriateness								
Education								
Authenticity								
Poshness						+		
Speed						-		
Euphony	+	+		-	+	-	+	-
Rhythmicality								

Only euphony was an important criterion for this respondent. Other mentions are extremely scarce.

4.2.12 Czech Respondent 12

Table 29: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 12

Respondent 12	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
Regionality						-		
Social status								
Appropriateness	+				-		-	
Education		+						
Authenticity	+	+	+			+	+	+
Poshness		+	-					
Speed	+			+				
Euphony								
Rhythmicality		+				-		

This respondent did mention intelligibility on every single occasion; authenticity, however, was crucially important for her, too. Out of the remaining criteria, appropriateness was the only one mentioned more than twice.

4.2.13 Czech Respondent 13

Table 30: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 13

Respondent 13	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
Regionality							+	
Social status								
Appropriateness	+			-				+
Education								
Authenticity								
Poshness								
Speed								
Euphony	+						+	+
Rhythmicality			-					

Intelligibility was the major factor for this respondent. Appropriateness and euphony were also mentioned three times.

4.2.14 Czech Respondent 14

Table 31: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 14

Respondent 14	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility								
Regionality	+	+			-	+	+	+
Social status								
Appropriateness								
Education				+				
Authenticity								
Poshness	+							
Speed			+		+		+	
Euphony								
Rhythmicality								-

This respondent resembles the English respondents' answers insofar as she deemed regionality the crucial criterion. Otherwise, she only mentioned speed more than once, which is one of the criteria almost completely ignored by the English set of respondents.

4.2.15 Czech Respondent 15

Table 32: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 15

Respondent 15	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility	+	+		-			+	+
Regionality								
Social status								
Appropriateness								
Education								
Authenticity								
Poshness						+		
Speed			+					
Euphony	+	+			+			
Rhythmicality			-			-		

As with the majority Czech respondents, intelligibility and euphony were the two most noteworthy categories for Respondent 15.

4.2.16 Czech Respondent 16

Table 33: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 16

Respondent 16	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility	+	-	-	-	-		-	
Regionality	+			+		+		
Social status								
Appropriateness								
Education								
Authenticity		-						
Poshness								
Speed				+	+			
Euphony								
Rhythmicality				-	-			+

Once again, intelligibility was by far the most prominent factor. Regionality, rhythmicality and speed got a few mentions as well; what is notable is the fact that euphony is completely ignored.

4.2.17 Czech Respondent 17

Table 34: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 17

Respondent 17	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility			-					+
Regionality								
Social status								
Appropriateness	+							+
Education								
Authenticity		-	+			-		
Poshness	+/-	+				+	+/-	
Speed								
Euphony	+	+		+	+		-	
Rhythmicality	+						-	

Euphony and, interestingly enough, poshness were the two most influential criteria for this respondent. Intelligibility was mentioned, too, but not nearly as many times as by other respondents (for instance, authenticity scored one more than intelligibility).

4.2.18 Czech Respondent 18

Table 35: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 18

Respondent 18	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility	+	+						+
Regionality								
Social status								
Appropriateness								
Education								
Authenticity								
Poshness								
Speed								
Euphony	+	+	-	-	-		-	+
Rhythmicality	+							

Rhythmicality was mentioned once but apart from this, it was intelligibility and, most importantly, euphony which most influenced this respondent's assessment.

4.2.19 Czech Respondent 19

Table 36: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 19

Respondent 19	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility				-				
Regionality			+					
Social status		+						
Appropriateness								
Education	+	+	-	-	+	+		
Authenticity								
Poshness								
Speed				+		-		-
Euphony							-	
Rhythmicality							-	

This respondent is another exception because education is the vital factor, closely followed by speed. Other criteria do get mentioned but always once only (if at all).

4.2.20 Czech Respondent 20

Table 37: sociolinguistic categories for Czech Respondent 20

Respondent 20	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility	+	+	+	-	-		-	+
Regionality								
Social status								
Appropriateness								
Education								
Authenticity		-		+				
Poshness								
Speed					+			
Euphony	+					-		
Rhythmicality						-	-	+

The last Czech respondent was in agreement with the majority as he deemed intelligibility as the most prominent category. Rhythmicality also appeared more than twice, euphony and authenticity did just twice.

4.3 English Respondents

4.3.1 English Respondent 1

Table 38: sociolinguistic categories for English Respondent 1

Respondent 1	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility								
Regionality	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Social status								
Appropriateness								
Education		+		+				
Authenticity								
Poshness								
Speed								
Euphony								
Rhythmicality								

This respondent clearly viewed regionality as the defining factor for assessing the speakers. Education got also mentioned, though twice only.

4.3.2 English Respondent 2

Table 39: sociolinguistic categories for English Respondent 2

Respondent 2	R2	R2	R2	R2	R2	R2	R2	R2
Intelligibility								
Regionality				+	+		+	+
Social status	+/-						+/-	
Appropriateness								
Education								
Authenticity						-		
Poshness	-							
Speed								
Euphony					+	-		
Rhythmicality								

This respondent agreed with the previous one about regionality being the most prominent criterion. This one, however, included more criteria in her analysis mentioning euphony and social status twice.

4.3.3 English Respondent 3

Table 40: sociolinguistic categories for English Respondent 3

Respondent 3	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility								
Regionality			+	+	+			+
Social status	+							
Appropriateness								
Education								
Authenticity						-		
Poshness	+	-				+		-
Speed						-		
Euphony								
Rhythmicality								

Poshness and regionality were the two criteria to which this respondent attached an equal share of importance. Other categories were only mentioned once, if at all.

4.3.4 English Respondent 4

Table 41: sociolinguistic categories for English Respondent 4

Respondent 4	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility								
Regionality			+	+				
Social status					+			+/-
Appropriateness								
Education		+	+	+	+	+	+	
Authenticity								
Poshness					+	+		
Speed								
Euphony	+							
Rhythmicality								

This respondent was rather exceptional in stressing the role of education in her assessment. Three more criteria (including regionality again) were mentioned twice.

4.3.5 English Respondent 5

Table 42: sociolinguistic categories for English Respondent 5

Respondent 5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility								
Regionality			+		+		+	
Social status								
Appropriateness	+							
Education								
Authenticity								
Poshness						+		
Speed								
Euphony			+		+		+	
Rhythmicality	+					+		

This respondent was like the Czech respondents in attaching a considerable amount of importance to euphony, but was unlike them in equally stressing regionality.

4.3.6 English Respondent 6

Table 43: sociolinguistic categories for English Respondent 6

Respondent 6	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility								
Regionality		+						
Social status				+				
Appropriateness								
Education								
Authenticity								
Poshness						+		
Speed								
Euphony			+		+	-	+	+
Rhythmicality		+						

Euphony is by far the most prominent criterion for this respondent. Other mentions are rather scarce.

4.3.7 English Respondent 7

Table 44: sociolinguistic categories for English Respondent 7

Respondent 7	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility		+			+			
Regionality	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
Social status						+		
Appropriateness	+							
Education					+			
Authenticity								
Poshness						+		
Speed						-		
Euphony								
Rhythmicality	+							

Regionality was mentioned as many as seven times; other categories are only mentioned once with the notable exception of intelligibility (twice), the appearance of which was truly rare among the English respondents.

4.3.8 English Respondent 8

Table 45: sociolinguistic categories for English Respondent 8

Respondent 8	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility							+	
Regionality	+	+	+	+				
Social status								
Appropriateness								
Education					+	+		
Authenticity								
Poshness								
Speed						-		
Euphony								
Rhythmicality								

Regionality was, once again, the leading feature in this respondent's analysis (although its dominance was not as overwhelming as with other English respondents). Education was mentioned twice, intelligibility once.

4.3.9 English Respondent 9

Table 46: sociolinguistic categories for English Respondent 9

Respondent 9	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility								
Regionality		+	+		+		+	+
Social status	+/-	+/-		+	+/-		+/-	
Appropriateness								
Education				+				
Authenticity								
Poshness				+				-
Speed								
Euphony								
Rhythmicality								

This respondent regarded regionality as important as social status (both five times). Poshness was mentioned more than once, too.

4.3.10 English Respondent 10

Table 47: sociolinguistic categories for English Respondent 10

Respondent 10	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
Intelligibility								
Regionality	+		+		+		+	
Social status		+/-		+		+		
Appropriateness								
Education		+						
Authenticity								
Poshness								
Speed								
Euphony			-	-	+	+	+	-
Rhythmicality								

Euphony was the most prominent category for this respondent, closely followed by regionality and social status. The other criteria were rather ignored with only education mentioned at all.

4.4 The Sociological Make-up of RP in the UK and the Czech Republic

It should be clear from the quantitative analysis above that the two sets of respondents vary dramatically in their reactions to the recordings. From their reactions (from what they deemed worth commenting upon) one can create a mental image of RP that exists in England and the Czech Republic.

In this respect it has to be mentioned that the image cannot represent reality with pinpoint accuracy. The researcher can always work with the data he/she has received. This does not mean that categories that have been neglected by respondents should be dismissed as unimportant. To give an example from my own research, intelligibility was mentioned as many as 85 (out of possible 160) times by the Czech respondents while the same set of respondents only mentioned regionality 28 times. It thus seems that intelligibility was for this set of respondents more than three times as important as regionality. Yet, the situation may not be as simple as that. It is likely that some of the respondents would have included more information about the speakers' regional background had they been able to locate the given speaker with any accuracy. If so, then a blank space would not mean that they completely ignored the question of regionality but rather that they were unable to make any meaningful (in their opinion) contribution.

The two figures below show, in the form of a pie chart, what respondents in the Czech Republic and England respectively reacted to and how frequently the opinions reflected the same expectations.
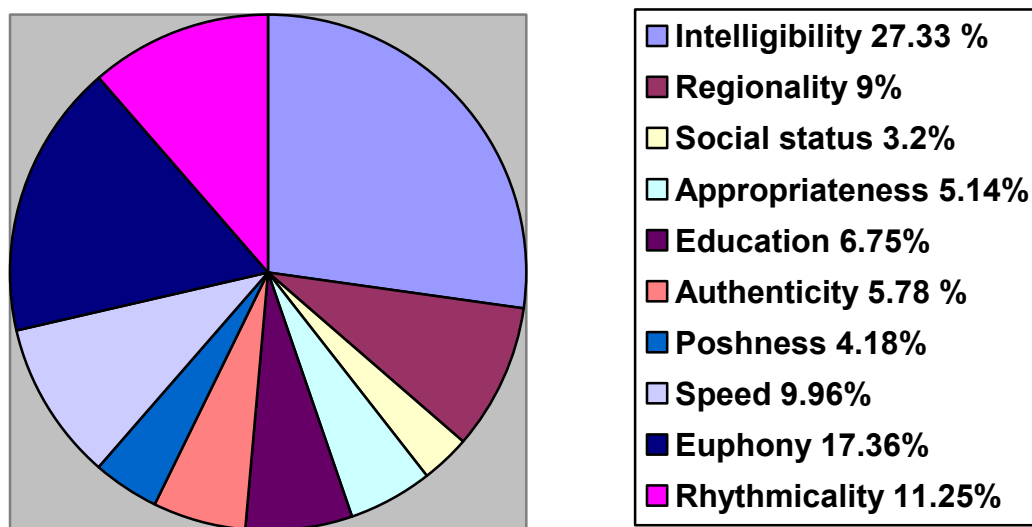
Figure 1: the sociological make-up of RP according to the Czech respondents
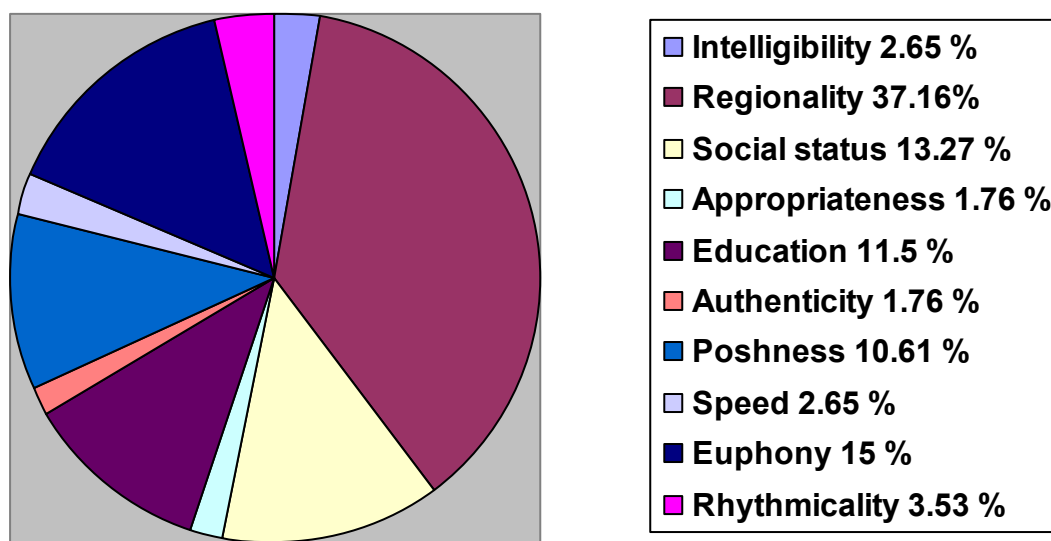
Figure 2: the sociological make-up of RP according to the English respondents

INTELLIGIBILITY: this was the crucial criterion for almost every Czech respondent. The English respondents, on the other hand, deemed it completely unimportant. This chasm is hardly surprising; intelligibility is always a very important notion to bear in mind for all non-native speakers whereas native speakers scarcely come across an accent which they find difficult to comprehend (there certainly was no such accent in the RP Test).

Moreover, many Czech respondents work as teachers of English therefore they often turned down an accent, which they otherwise found very appealing, as their students would have difficulty understanding it.

REGIONALITY: it cannot be stated that regionality was unimportant to the Czech respondents but this criterion was not nearly as relevant to the Czech respondents as it was to their English counterparts. It was by far the most important criterion for latter set. Not only did they comment on any regional traces in the recordings, but they also often found it necessary to stress that they had failed to spot any. There is no doubt that native speakers' ears are far better equipped for spotting minute regional differences and this will be shown to an even greater extent in the discussion about the phonetic/phonological particularities.

SOCIAL STATUS: British society is often described as class-bound; in my experience the situation has changed but certain class stratification can still be perceived. The results show that the Czech respondents paid very little attention to the question of social status whereas for their English counterparts this was the third most prominent category (after euphony). This is hardly surprising considering the extent to which the two cultures perceive social differences through language use.

APPROPRIATENESS: Neither of the two sets placed much importance on this criterion. The Czech respondents' score was a little higher but 5.14% can still be interpreted as rather irrelevant. This shows the respondents' awareness of the fact that the notion of a universally 'proper' accent is a prescriptive scourge, which should be condemned as a thing of the past. The word 'proper' did occur in a few responses; it, however, always appeared in inverted commas as if to suggest that the notion of 'proper accent' is indeed a problematic one. Of course, certain accents/dialects can be expected in certain situations. It is the universality with which 'proper' accent used to be connected that poses a number of problems: first of all, it takes for granted that there is one accent (RP in England) which is

always preferable to other accents, which simply is not true and never has been. Secondly, it keeps alive the 'either/or' dichotomy which modern dialectology/sociolinguistics have tried to do away with since Labov's pioneering studies in New York (Labov 1972).

EDUCATION: this criterion was not as important for the Czech respondents as it was for the English ones. The reasons are very similar to the ones discussed under 'social status' as education and social status are undoubtedly very strongly related.

AUTHENTICITY: the results for this criterion are almost identical with the ones for appropriateness; again they are rather too low to be considered important. Still, the Czech set of respondents mentioned this criterion a few times more, which is hardly surprising as to a native ear the question of authenticity is mostly irrelevant—every native accent is considered to be authentic.

POSHNESS: this criterion, too, is intimately linked to social status. It is, without any doubt, the presence of Speaker 6 which made many respondents mention this category. Both sets of respondents found the accent somewhat odd, it was the English set, though, which was left in no doubt as to why: the speaker sounded too affected and posh. A few Czech respondents were misled by some strange sounds and they mistook them as signs of regionality (rather than of affectedness and privileged background).

SPEED: this category was more often mentioned by the Czech respondents as too quick an accent may surely pose a risk of incomprehensibility. Natives, on the other hand, rarely experience a problem of that sort. The former group chiefly complained about the tempo being too high, with the notable exception of Speaker 6, whose speech was often labelled as too slow. The latter group of respondents would not have used this category at all had it not been for Speaker 6; all three comments from the English respondents mention the slow speed of this speech.

EUPHONY: this was the second most prominent criterion for both sets of respondents. It probably shows that euphony has to be taken into consideration more than sociolinguistics would like to admit. After all, people often judge other people's accents solely on how they like or dislike this or that particular accent without being able to say what the reason for their evaluation is. Moreover, the RP Test was not devised in such a way as to exclude such responses (would it have been possible at all?). The problem with these answers is that they are probably the most subjective of all and therefore to interpret them any further and come to some general conclusions is not tenable.

RHYTHMICALITY: this category is mentioned more often by the Czech respondents while their English counterparts almost completely ignore it. This may again be explained by native intuition. There may have been certain aspects of a given accent (rhythm, word and sentence stresses, intonation, pitch etc.) which sounded unnatural to the non-native respondents purely because these respondents were not familiar with them. The native respondents, who naturally have lived in an English-speaking country all their lives, will unquestionably have built up a much wider repertoire of speech patterns and they thus found far fewer elements to comment upon.

It is safe to conclude that RP is certainly not an unknown term in both selected countries; its roles and connotations, however, differ significantly. Euphony is the only category with a similar amount of importance in both the UK and Czech Republic, but from the rigorous point of view it is, as has been said, a very clumsy category to deal with.

RP in the Czech Republic has hardly any social and regional connotations. It is the norm taught to all students at schools, and unless they spend some time in England—thus getting exposed to non-RP accents—they remain oblivious to the enormous regional variety that exists in England. Furthermore, they also remain largely unaware of the social

connotations this accent has had ever since its beginnings. Even if they are told of the possible 'posh overtones' RP may evoke in native speakers, there is a vast difference between knowing something and intuitively feeling it. For Czech students of English it is intelligibility which is the crucial aspect as is anything that may influence it, particularly the speed as my research proved.

Native speakers of English almost totally neglect intelligibility and focus their comments upon the social and regional background; to a number of them RP (certainly in its old-fashioned form) often sounds rather posh. It is exactly this that Upton's updated model of RP tries to do away with by redefining the main features of RP, thereby ridding it exactly of those sounds that may, and often do, get associated with poshness and affectation.

In no way is RP the only accent available to native speakers (as is often the case with non-natives) and very rarely is it their native accent. There is then no wonder that not everyone relates kindly to it. Moreover, it is associated with the upper class to which the overwhelming majority of the English population does not belong (particularly marked RP, of course).

On the other hand, upwardly mobile people in the UK have always tried to speak 'better' and when people do modify their accents it is almost invariably in the direction of RP. In the same way people buy new clothes so as to project a more favourable image of themselves they try to adopt a more prestigious accent. I fully concur with Beal (2008: 36) who makes this comparison between one's accent and clothes.

The situation which has arisen is rather complicated as there are two opposing tendencies at work: on the one hand, the desire to climb up the social ladder is as urgent as ever, but, on the other hand, the image of RP is increasingly one of a dated accent (see reactions from the UK respondents to Speaker 6). I firmly believe that this is exactly why certain jobs (e.g. call centres) no longer require an RP accent from the applicants; the

connotations of affectation and pomposity simply outweighed those of education and the upper class, and call centre managers find the former more important than the latter.

Upton's updated model of RP offers a way of reconciling the two opposing tendencies. It makes RP less exclusive, less upper-class and less dated. Surely, in the era of unprecedented democratisation this must be regarded an eminently desirable goal.

4.5 The Phonetic/Phonological Make-up of RP

Table 48: phonetic/phonological singularities acc. to Czech and English respondents

		CZECH RESPONDENTS		ENGLISH RESPONDENTS
S1	i. ii. iii.	shifted GOAT and CHOICE diphthongs the TRAP vowel is lowered 'no strong glottalization' which, in fact, implies there is some (although some insisted on no glottalization at all)	i. ii. iii.	glottalisation (differing views whether it is present or absent) TRAP vowel lowered (no old-fashioned [{] acc. to R5) STRUT vowel [ɕ]—no dialectal raising
S2	i. ii. iii. iv. v.	lowered TRAP vowel (mentioned as many as three times) intrusive /r/; Respondent 9 was not sure about it being a 'proper' RP sound or not yod realised as /φʊ:/ diphthongal pronunciation of 'year' KIT vowel in 'very' closer and fronter	i. ii.	STRUT vowel raised southern BATH vowel [A:]
S3	i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi.	raised STRUT vowel GOAT and FACE diphthongs monopthongised considerable, though not excessive, glottalisation lowered TRAP vowel palatalisation of /s/ alveolar nasal /–ing/ realised as [Iv]	i. ii. iii. iv. v.	STRUT vowel raised FOOT vowel fronted alveolar nasal /–ing/ realised as [Iv] GOAT and FACE diphthongs monopthongised glottalisation
S4	i. ii. iii. iv.	the second element of NEAR is lowered to [6] the lowering of TRAP vowel heavy glottalisation fronted FOOT vowel	i. ii. iii. iv.	FOOT vowel fronted glottalisation GOAT onset rounded [oY] TRAP vowel not lowered
S5	i. ii. iii.	raised STRUT vowel glottalisation lowered TRAP vowel	i. ii. iii.	glottalisation short BATH vowel [α] STRUT vowel raised
S6	i. ii. iii. iv. v.	lettER vowel lowered to [6] yod coalescence diphthongal realisation of FORCE vowel diphthongal realisation of SQUARE vowel TRAP vowel not lowered	i. ii. iii. iv.	GOAT onset rounded [oY] short happy vowel [I] PRICE onset retracted [ɕI] no glottalisation
S7	i. ii. iii. iv. v.	glottalisation lowered TRAP vowel yod coalescence GOOSE fronting the second element in GOAT	i.	STRUT vowel raised

		fronted		
S8	i. ii. iii. iv. v.	glottalisation TRAP vowel lowered yod preserved lettER vowel lowered to [6] second elements in GOAT and MOUTH diphthongs not pronounced	i. ii. iii. iv. v.	BATH vowel both [α] and [A:] STRUT vowel raised FOOT vowel fronted PRICE onset retracted [ςI] some glottalisation

The main task is to decide whether the given phonetic/phonological observation is interpreted by the respondents as an RP or non-RP feature. Also, I had to compare the comments with the overall mark for RP-ness since not every comment could be interpreted as a deviation from the model of Received Pronunciation.

Most importantly, though, I had to carry out an in-depth analysis of the recordings to see whether the observations are correct in the first place. It is of course deducible from my IPA transcriptions above, but to save the reader from ploughing through the mass of phonetic symbols I will now offer a speaker-by-speaker analysis where I will comment on the credibility of the respondents' observations as well as add my own observations, if necessary. Words in italics signify that the example is taken from the given recording.

It should be stressed that only those features that appear in my own analysis will be evaluated further since I obviously cannot interpret something that, in my opinion, is not present in the recordings.

Also, I feel it necessary to sum up the marks for RP-ness once more as I will often refer to them in my analysis:
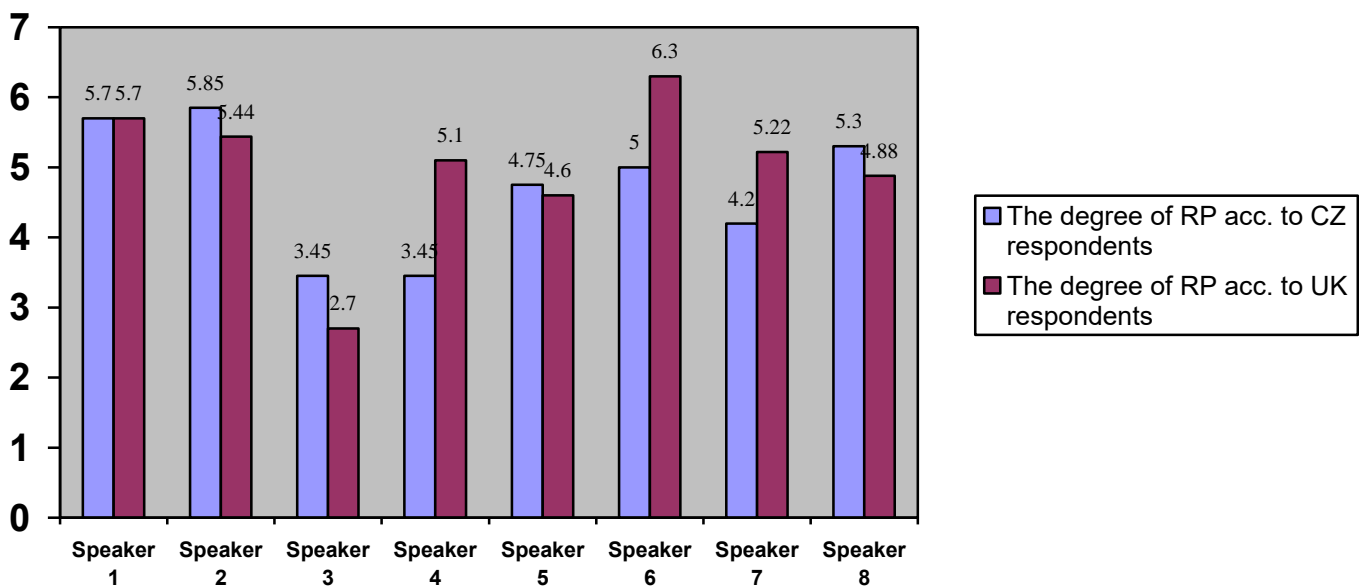
Figure 3: the degree of RP-ness according to the Czech and English respondents

4.5.1 Speaker 1

Two major features stand out in the analysis of both sets of respondents: glottalisation and lowered TRAP vowel.

I cannot agree with those respondents who did not find any instances of the glottal stop in the recording. In fact, a number of examples with glottalised /t/ can be found, namely *about*, *but*, *out*, *appreciate*, *that* and others. As has been said, in certain phonetic environments the glottal stop was found acceptable some time ago by a number of phoneticians, e.g. Wells (1982), Cruttenden (1994). For one group of respondents the glottal stop in this recording only occurred in these unmarked environments, thus they thought there was none. The other group did spot some glottal stops replacing /t/ but, as the overall marks for both sets of respondents strongly suggest, none of them occurred in a non-RP position.

The lowering of the TRAP vowel means that this vowel is no longer realised as [{] but rather as Cardinal vowel 4 [α]. Speaker 1 almost invariably uses the latter vowel. The English

111

respondents are aware of the change taking place as one of them (Respondent 5) observed that this speaker did not use the 'old-fashioned [{]'.

There is one clear instance of intrusive /r/ (*law or something*) but this interesting feature passed entirely unnoticed.

On the other hand, the comment about shifted GOAT and CHOICE diphthongs does not reflect the reality: they are both realised as [≅Y] and [OI] respectively, clearly complying with both rivalling models of RP.

4.5.2 Speaker 2

This speaker, according to the Czech respondents, also lowers the TRAP vowel to [α]. The English respondents do not mention this particular feature; it does not mean, however, that it is not present. In all likelihood, the English respondents simply do not consider lowered TRAP worth mentioning (they only comment on it twice in total).

Intrusive /r/ is present in this recording, too. This time, it did not pass unnoticed as Czech Respondent 9 mentioned that she was not sure whether it was an RP sound or not. No one else notices it. I am thus convinced that it is a feature which falls within the scope of RP (if it were not, particularly the English respondents would surely have mentioned it).

Similarly, the KIT vowel being closer and fronter [ɪ] at word-final positions is only mentioned by two Czech respondents (8 and 13). The overall RP-ness score (5.85 from Czech respondents—the highest of all speakers) is indicative of the feature in question being considered an RP sound.

Two more realisations that appeared in the analysis by the Czech respondents, namely *student* [ɸʊ:] and diphthongal *year* [ɸI≅], can safely be considered as RP features with no special significance.

What escaped the attention of the Czech respondents but is mentioned as many as seven times (out of possible ten) by their English counterparts is the raised STRUT vowel.

This speaker certainly does not pronounce *studied* as [στΥδΙδ], therefore the appropriate transcription should be [στς©δΙδ]. The raising is so slight that not a single Czech respondent noticed it. Yet it is present there as the high number of English respondents testifies. However slight the raising is, it certainly explains why this speaker's mark from the English respondents is lower than from the Czech ones (5.44).

4.5.3 Speaker 3

There are four features that both sets of respondents have mentioned. The first one is the raising of the STRUT vowel, this time to the point that the appropriate transcription is, in my opinion, the schwa vowel: *Dublin* [δ≅βλΙν]. There is very little lip-rounding to transcribe it as [Υ]. In fact, the schwa vowel is often adopted by educated Northerners who are not willing to go all the way towards [ς].

The second feature is the monophthongisation of FACE and GOAT diphthongs so the realisations of *hated* and *so* are [ηΕ:τΙδ] and [σΟ:]. Admittedly the former is much more audible than the latter. This northern giveaway is definitely the main reason why this speaker's score for RP-ness was only 3.45 (Czech) and 2.7 (English); FACE and GOAT monophthongisations are beyond the scope of RP.

Another clearly non-RP sound is the /g/-dropping: the replacement of the velar nasal [Ν] with its alveolar counterpart [ν], e.g. morning [μΟ:νΙν]. This sound has social, not regional, connotations; it is regarded as part of a generally working-class accent.

The last feature mentioned by both sets of respondents is the glottalisation, though it does not occur in non-RP phonetic environments.

In addition, the Czech respondents mentioned the palatalisation of /s/ and, once more, TRAP lowering.

The English respondents commented on one more feature, namely the fronting of the GOOSE vowel: *school* close to [σκΨ5]. This is considered to be common now in RP, particularly among young speakers (Upton 2008: 245).

4.5.4 Speaker 4

The two sets of respondents varied enormously in their reactions to this speaker. 3.45 is the score from the Czech one while the English respondents' mark is 5.1. This is the most distinctive lack of balance between the Czech and English respondents.

The two sets of respondents did not agree on the presence or absence of TRAP lowering. One of the English respondents (3) thought that *Orlando* had the /a/ vowel 'raised higher than RP TRAP to an [{]'. Czech Respondent 8, on the other hand, heard the vowel in *happy* and *back* as more open. I agree with the latter opinion which is also reflected in the transcription.

What the two sets did agree on was glottalisation and FOOT fronting. The speaker glottalises more than any other speaker; he uses it even in positions which fall beyond the scope of RP, e.g. sentence-final *foot* [ɸΨ?].

FOOT fronting, like GOOSE fronting, is common particularly among young speakers of RP. The same symbol is used for both GOOSE and FOOT fronting: [Ψ].

The offset of NEAR is lowered to [vI6] according to Czech Respondent 3. Upton (2008: 246) has it that the 'diphthong glides to a mid- to low-central position' so this phenomenon is in no way an obstacle to the accent being labelled as RP.

The last feature to be discussed in relation to Speaker 4 is the onset of the GOAT diphthong which two of the English respondents (1 and 3) described as rounded [oY]. Respondent 3 maintains that this particular feature makes the speaker sound more posh. It may be the reason why the speaker's score for the English respondents was much higher than

for their Czech counterparts, particularly since this GOAT rounding passed completely unnoticed by the Czech respondents.

4.5.5 Speaker 5

The scores on the RP scale for this speaker are very similar: 4.75 (Czech) and 4.6 (English). The speaker comes from Nottinghamshire (East Midlands) and his accent reflects that insofar as it is half-southern and half-northern. The speaker does not monophthongise GOAT and FACE, for example (like Speaker 3 does), but his STRUT vowel is definitely raised to the area of schwa: *young* [φ≅N]. This was observed by both sets of respondents as was glottalisation, which included a few non-RP uses, e.g. in pre-vocalic positions across word boundaries: *quite as* [κωςI? ≅ζ].

The Czech respondents also observed that the TRAP vowel is lowered while the English ones remarked on the shortening of the BATH vowel: after [αφτ≅]. The latter feature is very interesting and deserves further comments.

Short BATH and raised STRUT form the dividing line between the North and the South of England. As has been mentioned in the theoretical section (p.35) the latter is still non-RP while the former is now devoid of all negative connotations and is retained in the accent of those Northerners who otherwise are undistinguishable from the southern RP speakers (therefore Upton et al. 2003: xiii speaks of two varieties of RP: southern and northern). For some reason short BATH was completely neglected by the Czech respondents; not only in this speaker but also in Speaker 8.

I would like to offer two possible explanations: first, they may be aware of the situation in England and tolerate short BATH as a modern RP sound or, second, they, possibly under the influence of American English, do not view it as something extraordinary and thus did not comment upon it. Let us not underestimate the influence of American English in this respect with almost every one of the respondents watching American TV series

and films. The first explanation would presuppose deep knowledge of the current phonology of RP (which seems unlikely to me), therefore the other one sounds plausible.

4.5.6 Speaker 6

The scores for this speaker are markedly different (almost as much as for Speaker 4): 5 (Czech) and 6.3 (English). The accent is considered as rather odd by both sets but the English one managed to better recognise the cause: the speaker is an upper-class man speaking with a rather dated accent. That is the reason why the English score is by far the highest of all.

A number of features make this accent sound dated and rather affected, too. First of all, almost no glottalisation—the only exception being *Britain* [βρI?v=], which, however, is one of the words that are glottalised by almost every single person in England; others include for example 'football' or 'Gatwick'.

The GOAT onset is rounded to [oY], which was also hinted at in Speaker 4. There it was not as prominent as it is in this speaker's speech where GOAT rounding is clearly audible.

Further, the happY vowel is [I] and not, as is nowadays almost universally accepted in RP, [ɪ].

Also, the TRAP vowel is not lowered while lettER is lowered to [λΕτ6].

The last phenomenon contributing to the overall picture of a dated, affected accent is, according to Czech Respondent diphthongised FORCE and SQUARE vowels. While the former is usually monophthong [O:] and this speaker does appear to have an off-glide there (so much so that it may interpreted by some as diphthongisation), the latter has traditionally been transcribed as diphthong [E≅] so it is truly surprising that the respondent found the diphthongised SQUARE unusual. According to Upton (2008: 246), the centring diphthong [E≅] has been replaced by [E:] with slight off-gliding not totally ruled out.

All the afore-mentioned features point to the traditional model of RP. There are, however, some features which the researcher would look for in the latest (i.e. Upton's) model, namely yod-coalescence: *gradually* [γρ{δZ≅λι] and retracted and raised PRICE onset [ςI].

The accent in its entirety falls within the scope of RP and the English score of 6.3 is thus richly deserved. However, the number of dated features is so dominant that the accent was only the fourth most intelligible one as far as the Czech respondents are concerned (behind Speakers 1, 2 and 8). This speaker proves that speaking RP ensures higher intelligibility only to a certain extent and the more dated version one speaks, the less intelligible he/she becomes, even to the point of being mistaken for a non-RP speaker.

4.5.7 Speaker 7

Only one specific feature is mentioned by the English set of respondents, namely the raising of STRUT. Overall, however, the speaker scored high on the RP scale: 5.22.

The Czech set found much more to comment upon: lowered TRAP vowel, fronted GOOSE, yod-coalescence, glottalisation and the rounded GOAT offset [≅Ψ]. All these features have been discussed in the previous speakers. Neither of the features, apart from some extensive glottalisation (sentence-final *cricket* [κρIκ≅?]), prevented the Czech respondents from awarding a higher number of points. The reason for this low score lies in the fact that the accent fails to attract the Czech respondents, many of whom find it dull, boring and unattractive. A few more found it difficult to understand, too, hence the low overall score.

In this regard it should be added that this is the only speaker that was awarded the full seven points by Upton and that Upton is the only respondent (out of the total of thirty) that awarded the full seven points to this speaker.

4.5.8 Speaker 8

A number of features did not go unnoticed but not a single one was mentioned by both sets of respondents.

The Czech set mentioned glottalisation (not heavy but a few examples from what would many deem non-RP environments can be found, e.g. *quite a* [κωςI?□≅]), lowered TRAP, yod not coalesced, and lettER lowered to [6].

Also, one respondent remarks that the diphthongs GOAT and MOUTH have the offset phases significantly shortened (to the point that they both sounded as monophthongs). Having listened to the recording a number of times I do not give any credit to this comment presuming that the respondent fails to appreciate the fact that second elements in English diphthongs are always released less audibly and may thus sound to the uninitiated as monophthongs. The overall score for this speaker from the Czech respondents is relatively high: 5.3.

The English respondents think the accent is less RP, with the overall mark at 4.88. It is therefore to be expected that their comments will be concerned with more controversial phenomena which, in the end, prevent a higher mark.

The speaker was born in Manchester but lived in the South of England for a high number of years before moving to the Czech Republic in the 1990s. The attentive native ear did not fail to spot some very slight STRUT raising, which gives away the speaker's original background and is also the key factor in the English respondents' assessment.

Further, the FOOT vowel is fronted and some glottalisation is present as well. More importantly, the speaker has variable BATH vowels, pronouncing *asked* [A:σκτ] but *contrast* [κΘν∀τραστ], which undoubtedly reflects his mixed regional background.

The PRICE diphthong deserves comment as well for the onset is not only lowered and retracted but also rounded so the accurate transcription of *twice* should be [τωOIσ] rather than

[τωςIσ]. This PRICE rounding is popularly believed to be a Cockney feature and undoubtedly some respondents react to this by deducting a point or two.

Upton (2008: 251) accompanies his model of RP with several study questions, one of which is vital to bear in mind when assessing the phonetic/phonological particularities. He asks '[t]o what extent can any differences [between his and other models of RP, e.g. Wells (1982) and Cruttenden (1994)] be accounted for as transcriptional preferences only, and to what extent are they linguistically meaningful'? *Table 1* on p. 33 clearly shows the differences but not every difference from *Table 1* appears in the RT Test questionnaire. Those which did not get any mention in the questionnaire may be considered instances of transcriptional preference, namely DRESS [ɛ] > [E] and NURSE [3:] > [≅:].

There are other innovations which have taken such deep roots that they do not occur in the recordings at all, namely CURE [Y≅] > [O:] and CLOTH [Θ~O:] > [Θ]. Particularly the long vowel in CLOTH is obsolete (Upton 2008: 244) while CURE as [Y≅] remains either regional (e.g. Tyneside, Wells 1982: 374) or very conservative, judging by the fact that even the otherwise conservative Speaker 6 pronounces *poor* as [πO:].

The remaining innovations are, to use Upton's words, linguistically meaningful and deserve to be dealt with piecemeal.

The lowering of the TRAP vowel

 This particular innovation is the most prominent one of all, mentioned by the Czech set of respondents on every occasion, with speakers scoring as much on the scale of RP-ness as 5.85 so in no way can it be regarded a non-RP vowel. The English respondents only mentions this variable twice: first, when it is not lowered (clearly raised TRAP, i.e. [{], is now

the marked variant for them) and second, when it is lowered and Respondent 5 comments that the speaker does not use 'some of the more old-fashioned RP vowels, such as the higher /a/ in words like *that*'.

It can be safely concluded form the gathered data that the lowered TRAP vowel is now the unmarked variant while [{] is now considered conservative. In my view, it does not mean that either of them should be abandoned altogether but rather the modern variant [α] should no longer be considered non-RP (clearly it is not by both sets of respondents).

<u>The monophthongisation of the SQUARE vowel</u>

It has to be borne in mind that long monophthongs may have a slight off-glide, which, however, does not necessarily mean that the transcription must be diphthongal. For instance, Speaker 6 does have an off-glide in δooρ, yet my transcription keeps the monophthongal [δO:] although there is a way of transcribing off-glides, here *door* would most accurately be transcribed as [δO᪾].

The situation with SQUARE is a case in point. I have only decided to transcribe it diphthongally when it is unquestionably realised in this way; the rest are transcribed as monophthongs even if there may have been a slight off-glide. There is one clear instance of diphthongal *there* [E≅] in a sentence-final position in Speaker 6 but apart from that the most common realisation is a monophthongal one. Interestingly enough, one of the Czech respondents comments on the diphthong in SQUARE in Speaker 6 claiming that this made her give 6 rather than 7 to the speaker in question. This respondent may be an exception but it shows beyond doubt that for this respondent monophthongal SQUARE is the common variant.

The English set of respondents does not mention the SQUARE vowel at all; it is to be assumed then that for them, too, the monophthong is now unmarked and they thus do not feel any urge to comment upon its presence in the recordings.

<u>The rounding of the GOAT diphthong</u>

The more usual variant is [≅Y] with [OY] being considered conservative/dated (Upton 2008: 245). Both Speakers 4 and 6 are, according to a number of English respondents, characterised by this rounded variant. While it is not surprising to find this variant in the speech of the latter speaker (who is otherwise a perfect example of a conservative RP speaker), the former speaker's accent presents many modern RP forms which are not usual alongside rounded [OY]. The explanation is found in the respondents' evaluations of the speaker: several English respondents label the speaker's accent upper-class, 'probably went to a fee-paying school' (English Respondent 9). Rounded GOAT is, indeed, indicative of a privileged background.

<u>The retracted and lowered PRICE diphthong</u>

[ςI] is the only variant in the recordings; even the conservative RP Speaker 6 prefers this realisation to the dated [αI]. Speaker 8 adds slight lip-rounding to the onset, [ς⇔I~OI], which does not fall within the scope of RP. On the evidence of the available data, [ςI] is the unmarked RP form for PRICE.

<u>The tensing of the happY vowel</u>

The only speaker who retained [I] in happY words was Speaker 6, whose conservatism has already been commented upon. The remaining seven speakers use invariably the tenser [ι] variant. This has long been part of RP as Wells (1982: 294) maintains that the final vowel in *city* is identified with the [ι:] of FLEECE rather than with the [I] of KIT, though, of course, the [ι] of happY is shorter than the [ι:] of FLEECE.

<u>The shortening of the BATH vowel</u>

 Short BATH and the reasons for its inclusion in the modern model of RP have been extensively discussed on p. 35. Upton (2008: 243-4) included short BATH in his model as it has lost its negative social connotations (unlike raised STRUT, the other symbol of the

North/South divide). Northern speakers with otherwise impeccable RP sounds will retain it because they no longer perceive it as a sign of low education and social background. If short BATH were still outside RP, then there would soon be no RP speakers in the North of England. Upton is fundamentally opposed to making RP exclusive in this way, hence the inclusion of short BATH in his model of RP.

Short BATH is the most controversial sound in Upton's model; its critics claim that it has abolished the regional neutrality of RP. Admittedly, it is true—Upton speaks of two equal varieties of RP, namely the southern (with long BATH [A:]) and the northern (with short BATH [α])—but with northern speakers not adopting the long BATH vowel any more, RP would become a regional accent anyway.

The BATH vowel is not mentioned many times by the English set of respondents (three times) and the Czech respondents did not mention it at all. Those English respondents who did notice short BATH in speakers 5 and 8 then went on to give the two speakers relatively high marks (5, 6 and 7) so the short BATH in their speech was clearly not felt to be a non-RP feature.

Yod-coalescence

Speaker 6 often coalesces the yod, e.g. *ill-educated* [Iλ∀EδZΥκεIτIδ] or *immediately* [I∀μι:δZI≅τλι]. Speaker 8, on the other hand, retains the yod in his speech when he pronounces *duality* [δφυ∀αλ≅τι]. The possible explanation is that he, as a teacher of English to non-native speakers of English, tries to eliminate the modern features from his accent. Also, the former examples contain the yod in unstressed positions while the latter one in a stressed position. Ramsaran (1990: 188) gives the example of produce as a verb and a noun. The former exhibits coalescence in RP less often than the latter.

Glottalisation

122

The recordings contained a high number of glottalisations, all of which were instances of /t/-glottalisation. Other voiceless plosives (/p/ and /k/) are glottalised as well but not in RP. Never has an instance of intervocalic glottalisation occurred, which would be a still highly stigmatised non-RP feature. Most of the glottalisations can be deemed as acceptable in RP as they occur in those environments which Wells (1982: 261) considers to be falling 'within current mainstream RP'.

What is undeniably true is that glottalisation cannot be regarded a non-RP phenomenon any longer; the question one always has to ask is in what phonetic environment the glottal stop occurs and only then can it be decided whether the particular instance falls within the scope of RP or not.

Intrusive /r/

Only two instances of intrusive /r/ occur in all eight recordings but this generally is such a rare feature that two is, in fact, sufficient. The English respondents totally neglect it in their comments; one Czech respondent ask the question whether intrusive /r/ is or is not an RP feature. In my view, the answer is a positive one. I refer to Upton (2008: 249) who insists that RP speakers insert an /r/ where a hiatus of adjacent vowels occurs and by inserting this /r/ they avoid the glottal stop which would otherwise occur in this position (and, as has been said, the glottal stop in intervocalic positions is a highly stigmatised sound).

I concede, however, that my opinion is largely based on the experience from a year spent in England rather than purely on this research, where intrusive /r/ is only present twice and such evidence is fairly inconclusive.

5. Conclusion

The research has shown that comparing the role of RP in the Czech Republic and England is not nearly as straightforward as one might think since the accent fulfils two markedly different roles in the two countries.

Regional and social connotations prevail in England whereas it is intelligibility which is the crucial category for the Czechs. This is not surprising but it has to be borne in mind in every account of today's RP. Upton's model of RP with all its implications is, in my opinion, extremely useful in England because it rids the accent of its 'posh overtones' as English Respondent 3 puts it. This is the main advantage of Upton's model: it reconciles the two opposing tendencies at work in contemporary British society, namely the desire to speak 'better' and yet, at the same time, not to sound old-fashioned and affected.

Moreover, and this is arguably the strongest argument in favour of Upton's model, it reflects the recent innovations which, as this research has also confirmed, have found their way into RP. Even members of the British Royal Family are now heard to say Prince Andrew [ανδρυ:] and not [ʏνδρυ:] (Upton 2000: 44). It does not, of course, mean that this is now the preferred variant for every speaker of RP but [α] in TRAP words is an RP sound without a shadow of a doubt.

Upton would not have gone into so much trouble to redefine and then defend a new model of RP it if were a merely autotelic play with, to the majority of the uninitiated anyway, some strange symbols appearing in dictionaries. It has been admitted that some changes (DRESS [E] and NURSE [≅:]) in Upton's model are transcriptional preferences but the majority of his innovations are well-justified and reflect the changes in speech of educated English people. Upton et al. (2003: viii) claims that his ultimate aim is to create a pronunciation model which avoids 'slavish imitation of the dictates of self-appointed arbiters

of taste and style in language' and in this respect he has succeeded in achieving it. Speakers of this accent can be assured that they will 'be understood and will attract no adverse judgements' (Upton et al. 2003: vii).

The question that has to be asked is of what value this updated variety of RP is to non-native learners of English and what benefits they will obtain from speaking it. As far as intelligibility is concerned, both varieties RP are easily understood so the value lies almost solely in the social connotations they carry. This research, however, shows that these social connotations are only strongly perceived by native speakers. Consequently, Upton's model of RP is to be recommended to non-native learners who are in daily contact with the natives and thus may like not to attract adverse judgements about their accent.

On the other hand, native speakers show higher tolerance towards foreigners and do not judge them so harshly as they do other English people; in a way they may even expect foreign students to speak with a little dated accent. After all, the epicentre of linguistic innovation is invariably in a place where the language/accent is spoken as the mother one so foreigners must always lag behind to a certain extent.

More importantly, though, it is likely that the majority of non-native learners of English will not become familiar with Upton's model of RP because it has rarely been published outside the UK. The reason is very simple indeed: it is too costly. Upton's model of RP has been the preferred one in Oxford Dictionaries since the early 1990s (Upton 2000: 44). These dictionaries, however, are targeted at the native speaker market, which means that only those foreign students who actively seek information about the latest trends and developments stand a chance of getting acquainted with it. English as a Foreign Language teaching materials, widely available outside the UK, have retained the older model as it would be too expensive to have the vast numbers of teaching aids re-edited and republished.

This may well show the difference, which has been discussed earlier in this chapter, between native and non-native focus. Not only would it be too expensive to republish all EFL teaching materials, it might also not be as crucial as it was in the UK. I fully understand why Upton decided to redefine RP and its model but I am not utterly convinced that it is as necessary to do so in the world of EFL.

Having weighed the pros and cons I do not think that active teaching of the modern model of RP is ultimately desirable; it would be a very difficult task without proper teaching aids anyway. What is crucial, though, and I sincerely hope that this thesis contributes to achieving it, too, is to raise awareness about there being another model of RP, which is in certain ways different to the one found in an overwhelming majority of teaching materials outside the UK. Particularly university students of English would undoubtedly benefit from such knowledge as they might otherwise be under the illusion that Received Pronunciation has not changed in the past sixty, seventy years. Every single accent has changed over such a long stretch of time and RP cannot be any exception; Upton's model is a testament to it.

Upton started work on his model in the early 1980s. He continued working on it for the following ten years or so but essentially his model is now more than twenty-five years old. Such is the speed of language change that there might very soon be need to update this updated model of Upton's. For instance the glottal stop now accepted in certain positions in RP (e.g. *football* [ɸY?βO:5]) calls for its inclusion in RP in the same way intrusive /r/ was included in it some time ago.

A most fitting concluding remark is the following passage from the editors of *Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation* which very aptly sums up my own feelings about the English language

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)

GLOSSARY

accent A term indicating pronunciation features common to a group of people

authenticity Accent features that make the accent sound natural

'+': authentic
'-': unauthentic

appropriateness A term indicating the given variety or form is considered suitable or possible in a given social situation

'+': appropriate
'-': inappropriate

dialect A term indicating grammar, lexis and pronunciation features common to a group of people

education Accent features indicative of the speaker's level of education

'+': high level of education (well-educated)
'-': low level of education (uneducated)
'+/-': middle level of education (neither well-educated nor uneducated)

euphony Accent features contributing to the likeability of the accent in question

'+': likeable
'-': dislikeable
'+/-': neither likeable nor dislikeable

fronting Articulation which is closer to the front of the vocal tract than some reference point

glottalisation Substitution of a consonant (typically /t/) by the glottal stop

glottal stop Consonantal sound made by a complete closure of the vocal folds followed by sudden release

intelligibility Accent features that make the accent easy/difficult to understood

'+': (easily) intelligible
'-': unintelligible
'+/-': neither easily intelligible nor totally unintelligible

intrusive /r/ A type of liaison between two vowels by means of [r] sound where, from an orthographic point of view, there is no /r/; e.g. *law and order* [λO:□ρ≅ν□∀O:δ≅]

lowering Articulation with the tongue lower than some reference point (commonly IPA Vowel Chart)

marked RP The form of RP which is judged (particularly by native speakers of British English) to be rather pretentious, affected and old-fashioned; strongly indicative of a privileged background

off-glide A movement of vocal organs from one speech sound towards the position required for the following speech sound

offset Closing segment of a linguistic unit (e.g. syllable, diphthong etc.)

onset Opening segment of a linguistic unit (e.g. syllable, diphthong etc.)

palatalisation Articulation involving the addition of front tongue raising towards the palate

poshness A term for accent features which are redolent of a high social class, often carrying strong connotations of affectation and datedness

'+': posh
'-': common
'+/-': neither posh nor common

raising Articulation with the tongue raised higher than some reference point (commonly IPA Vowel Chart)

regionality Accent features which are universally recognised as indicative of a specified regional background as opposed to those which do not give away one's regional background

'+': regional
'-': not regional

rhythmicality Accent features connected with the overall oral performance, e.g. intonation, pitch, loudness, rhythm, and word stresses

'+': sound ability to use the abovementioned features
'-': lack of the ability

social status Accent features indicative of the speaker's social status

'+': upper-class
'-': middle-class
'+/-': working-class

speed The tempo of a speech

'+': quick
'-': slow
'+/-': neither quick nor slow

<u>unmarked RP</u> The form of RP which, for native speakers of British English, is indicative of education and sophistication but lacks the negative connotations that marked RP has; mainly it does not evoke a privileged background

<u>variety</u> A term covering both 'accent' and 'dialect' without further specification to what features (grammar, lexis or pronunciation) the reference is made

<u>yod coalescence</u> Articulatory process where two adjacent sounds ([t], [d], [s] or [z] + [j]) influence the pronunciation of one another, they coalesce; thus ε.γ. [τ] + [φ] > [τΣ] in *don't you*

<u>APPENDIX 1</u>

Sociolinguistic characteristics of the speakers:

<u>Speaker 1</u>
Age: early 30s
Regional background: originally from London, studied in Birmingham and Bournemouth
Social background: middle-class

<u>Speaker 2</u>
Age: late 30s
Regional background: very diverse (lived in the South/North and abroad for considerable
                    periods of time)
Social background: middle-class

<u>Speaker 3</u>
Age: mid 20s
Regional background: North-East, studied in Leeds
Social background: upper working class

<u>Speaker 4</u>
Information not available—recording taken from Collins et Mees (2003)

<u>Speaker 5</u>
Age: late 30s
Regional background: East Midlands, studied in Leeds
Social background: middle class

<u>Speaker 6</u>
Information not available—recording taken from Hughes et al. (2005)

<u>Speaker 7</u>
Age: mid 20s
Regional background: West Midlands, studied in Leeds
Social background: middle-class

<u>Speaker 8</u>
Age: early 40s
Regional background: diverse (born in Manchester, lived in the South of England, now in the
                    Czech Republic
Social background: working class

Appendix 2

Only two sample questionnaires from the Czech and English sets of respondents are included here due to limited space. Naturally, one of the selected questionnaires is Upton's.

Czech Respondent 8

Name: Z. K.
Age: 25
Gender: female

(UK) Regional background:
(UK) Social background:
(UK) How would you label your own accent? Is RP your preference? Why (not)?:
(CZ) Which accent have you been taught/do you tend to speak (British/American)?: Trying to speak British, but mix Br and Am pronunciation
----
Recording 1:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 5
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 6
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:Sounds very well. Clearly understandable. Sounds polite and elegant...sophisticated but still casually and friendly
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: as above. Sounds sophisticated, well educated, but not posh
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: because of for example \'for\', \'bill\', \'everybody\', \'struggling\',\'told\'...pronunciation of the wovels and r especially, indication os glottal stop, and use of expressions that doesn\'t sound regional. (therefore well understandable for me as a non-native speaker)

Recording 2:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 6
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 7
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:her speach was perfectly understandable. clear, every word easily distinguishable
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Educated, middle class background probably,
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: \'year\', \'very\' (r pronunciation)\'conversation\' , no glottal stops, less voicing then I would expect in RP

Recording 3:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 3
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 4
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: no
text:as a teacher with this accent I might me not so well understood, although you just have to get used to it a bit.
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Casual speach, comprehensible but with regional hints
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: enging -g and -ing (resenting, morning,...), linking of words resulting in tʃ and ʃ sounda, wovels e.g. in D(U)blin
----
Recording 4:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 3
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 3
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: no
text:sounds regional, not well comprehensible to all speakers
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: too casual, in the middle of the \'educational ladder\',

probably lower background, but not far from middle

5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: especially vowels (cOme, bAck, hAppy)and linking of words (FOR TWO days, GOT BITTEN)

Recording 5:

1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 3

2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 3

3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: no

text:Not clear, too quickly speaking

4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: like a football commentator too fast, not always comprehensible, enthusiastin, but not highly concerned whether he\'s understood

5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: the chain of speech, pronunciation of the following words (the pronunciation of the parts of words I am concerned about is in capital letters)lOvely,fOOTball,gOt,HappenD

Recording 6:

1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 6

2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 5

3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: no

text:sounds too posh

4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Higher class, educated, conservative

5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: few words that I consider posh and not much used today,pronunciation e.g. dOOR, occURED, thERE, remembER,...the rhythm of the speech

----
Recording 7:

1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 3

2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 5

3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: no

text:sounds average in every aspect, not interesting, too casual, not always well understandable

4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: middle class, average student,

5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: pronunciation e.g. of hOckey,crickEt, linking of words

----
Recording 8:

1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 5

2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 6

3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes

text:well comprehensible, clear

4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: young, energetic, middle class background, well educated, liberal

5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: pronunciation of e.g. heRE, of cOURSE, abOUT, fAmily

Czech Respondent 17

Name: M. P.
Age: 26
Gender: male

(UK) Regional background:
(UK) Social background:
(UK) How would you label your own accent? Is RP your preference? Why (not)?:
(CZ) Which accent have you been taught/do you tend to speak (British/American)?: British

----

Recording 1:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 5
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 6
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:Because it\'s neither too mannered, nor too careless.
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Amiable. She speaks very clearly and distributes the clauses into natural segments.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: She pronounces deep \"a\" instead of \"e\"

Recording 2:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 6
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 7
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: no
text:I bit too studied and artificial.
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: As I said before, it\'s way too studied, affected and numb
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: I could\'t hear any traces of any regional features.

Recording 3:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 3
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 4
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: no
text:Because I would be unintelligible for most ESL speakers. My primary aim is to communicate, that is to render ideas, not to boast with fantastic dialect nobody can understand.
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Just as the previous lady sounded too artificial, this one sounds too natural, however agreeable it is for me to listen to her.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: Pronounces \"š\" at certain places insted of \"s\", than the same \"a\" instead of \"e\".

Recording 4:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 2
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 2
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:I\'d like to be able to speak like this although I wouldn\'t use it much.
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Likeable. Put\'s a lot of emotion \"between the lines\". Emphatic.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: Shortening of certain syllables, strong \"c\" when pronouncing \"t\", linking words into blocks.

Recording 5:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 2
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 2
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:The same like before, \'t be nice to speak like this although I wouldn\'t use it.
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Likeable. No sentimental tune, yet by no means brusque.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: Glottalization, leaving out some anticipated phonemes, \"a\" instead of \"e\".

Recording 6:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 7
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 7

3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:Hell no!
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: To laboured, too studied. Seems like if he were consciously looking for the best option in pronouncing every single word.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: No traces of regional features. Polished stress put on expectable places, no surprise.

Recording 7:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 4
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 6
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:Because it\'s neither posh, nor too careless.
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: A litle numb.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: The flow of words/rhythm in units is weird. Glottals, \"a\" instead of \"e\"

Recording 8:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 6
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 7
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:Because it\'s very clear and everybody could understand me.
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Well adjusted to speaking to foreigners, maybe.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: No traces of dialect at all.

English Respondent 1

Name: Clive Upton
Age: 62
Gender: male

(UK) Regional background: South Birmingham, c.30 years in Yorkshire
(UK) Social background: University Professor, public school, son a a butcher
(UK) How would you label your own accent? Is RP your preference? Why (not)?: RP overlying some distinct West Midland variables
No natural preferences: access to different styles found to be a distinct advantage in different settings
(CZ) Which accent have you been taught/do you tend to speak (British/American)?:

Recording 1:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 6
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: educated, southern rather than northern RP
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: glottals
----
Recording 2:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 6
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: educated northern rather than southern

5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: tendency to a raised STRUT

Recording 3:

1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 1

2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 3

3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes

text:

4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: distinct northeast with modifications

5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: long GOAT, glottal/preglottal, alveolar nasal -ing, raised STRUT

Recording 4:

1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 5

2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1

3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes

text:

4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: educated southern, young speaker with likely age-graded features

5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: fronted FOOT, glottals, rounded GOAT onset

----

Recording 5:

1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 6

2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1

3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes

text:

4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: northern RP

5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: short BATH, glottals

----

Recording 6:

1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 6

2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1

3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes

text:

4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: somewhat oldfashioned (trad) RP southern, with some more modern features

5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: elongated short vowels, short happY, but modern PRICE

Recording 7:

1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 7

2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1

3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes

text:

4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: cannot be located from this extract

5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: all in place, nothing marked beyond a very slight STRUT raising

----

Recording 8:

1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 4

2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1

3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: close to RP, with regional--seemingly Midland--overtones
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: variable long/short BATH, raised STRUT, fronted FOOT, lowered/backed PRICE

English Respondent 4

Name: N. C.
Age: 19
Gender: female

(UK) Regional background: Nottinghamshire (East Midlands)
(UK) Social background: Middle class
(UK) How would you label your own accent? Is RP your preference? Why (not)?: Not RP. I don\'t use some vowels of RP and use glottal stops sometimes. This is due to my regional accent.
(CZ) Which accent have you been taught/do you tend to speak (British/American)?:

Recording 1:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 6
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Seems quite upper class, or middle class with \'posh\' accent.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: The use of the RP sound (phonetic symbol upside down v) rather than more dialectal upsilon. Also the pronunciation of t rather than dropping it.

Recording 2:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 6
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Sounds well educated and respectable.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: pronounces every letter, no syllable dropping etc. Again uses RP vowels.

Recording 3:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 1
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 4
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Still sounds well educated, even though not RP. Shows that not just rp speakers sound intelligent but also those with stronger dialect accents.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: T dropping, pronunciation of \'years\' is more regional and less rp. Also uses more northern \'u\' rather than r.p. Pronunciation of \'cork\' also more norhtern.

Recording 4:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 4
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:

4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Seems confident and clever. Maybe gained some regional dialect from travelling?
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: \'ever\' and \'results\' - none RP pronunciations. But does have some vowel sounds of RP.

Recording 5:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 5
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Seems well-educated and middle/upper class.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: inconsistent with t pronunciation and dropping. Sounds \'posh\' and has many RP vowel sounds.

Recording 6:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 6
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Highly educated, long, prestigious words!
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: Very careful pronunciation, RP vowel sounds. posh accent.

Recording 7:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 5
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Sounds friendly and clever.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: Careful pronunciations. R.P. vowels.

Recording 8:
1. How much does the speaker sound RP (1-highly regional, 7-RP)?: 4
2. (CZ) How intelligible does this speaker sound to you (1-not intelligible at all, 7-easily intelligible)?: 1
3. (CZ) Would you like to speak like this speaker (whichever you choose please indicate why in the box on the right)?: yes
text:
4. What is your overall impression of this speaker?: Maybe careful pronunciation because of being in Czech republic? When speaking english to people there has to have understandable language.
5. Can you comment on any particular details which helped you make up your mind in question no. 1 (no need to use phonetic symbols; just use your own words)?: Careful pronunciations, some t dropping and \'asked\' k dropped. RP vowel sounds.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABERCROMBIE, David. 1965. *Studies in Phonetics and Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ABERCROMBIE, David. 1991. RP R.I.P.?. In Beverley Collins & Inger Mees. 2003. *Practical Phonetics and Phonology*. London: Routledge, 202-6.

BARBER, Charles. 1964. *Linguistic Change in Present-day English*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

BAUER, Laurie. 1998. *Language Myths*. London: Penguin.

BEAL, Joan. 2004. *English in Modern Times*. London: Hodder Arnold.

BEAL, Joan. 2006. *Language and Region*. London: Routledge.

BEAL, Joan. 2008. Shamed by Your English?. In Joan Beal et al. (eds) *Perspectives on Prescriptivism*. Bern: Peter Lang, 21-40.

BELL, Allan. 1984. Language Style as Audience Design. In Nikolas Coupland & Adam Jaworski (eds). 1997. *Sociolinguistics: A Reader and Coursebook*. Palgrave: Basingstoke, 240-50.

BOLTON, W.F. 1966. *The English Language: Essays by English and American Men of Letters 1490-1839*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CHRISTOPHERSEN, Paul. 1952. The Glottal Stop in English. *English Studies*. 33: 156-63.

COGGLE, Paul. 1993. *Do You Speak Estuary?*. London: Bloomsbury.

COLLINS, Beverley et Inger Mees. 2003. *Practical Phonetics and Phonology*. London: Routledge.

CROWLEY, Tony. 1991. *Proper English? Readings in Language, History and Cultural Identity*. London: Routledge.

CRUTTENDEN, Alan. 1994. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*, 5th ed. London: Arnold.

CRYSTAL, David. 2005. *The Stories of English*. London: Penguin.

DOWNES, William. 1998. *Language and Society*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ELLIS, Alexander. 1869. *On Early English Pronunciation*. London: The Philological Society.

FABRICIUS, Anne. 2002. Ongoing Change in Modern RP. Evidence for the Disappearing Stigma of t-glottaling. *English World-Wide* 23/1, 115-136.

GILES, Howard et al. 1990. The Social Meaning of RP. In Susan Ramsaran (ed) *Studies in the Pronunciation of English: A Commemorative Volume in Honour of A. C. Gimson*. London: Routledge, 191-211.

GIMSON, A.C. 1962. *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*. London: Arnold.

GIMSON, A.C. 1984. The RP Accent. In Peter Trudgill (ed) *Language in the British Isles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 45-54.

HILL, Geoffrey. 1902. *The Aspirate*. London: T. Fisher.

HOLMES, Janet. 1992. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. London: Longman

HOLMBERG, Borje. 1964. *On the Concept of Standard English and the History of Modern English Pronunciation*. Lund: Lund University Press.

HONEY, John. 1991. *Does Accent Matter?*. London: Faber and Faber.

HUGHES, Arthur et al. 2005. *English Accents and Dialects*. London: Hodder Arnold.

JESPERSEN, Otto. 1909. *Grammar of English*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.

JEZEK, Miroslav. 2006. *Glottalisations in Today's London English*. Brno: Masaryk University.

JONES, Daniel. 1917. *An English Pronouncing Dictionary*. London: Dent.

LABOV, William. 1972. Linguistics and Sociolingustics. In Nikolas Coupland & Adam Jaworski (eds). 1997. *Sociolinguistics: A Reader and Coursebook*. Palgrave: Basingstoke, 23-4.

MACCARTHY, Peter. 1978. *The Teaching of Pronunciation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MCALLISTER, Anne. 1963. *A Year's Course in Speech Training*. London: University of London Press.

MILROY, James. 1991. *Linguistic Variation and Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.

MILROY, James. 2001. Received Pronunciation: Who 'Receives' It and How Long Will It Be 'Received'?. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*. 36: 15-33.

MUGGLESTONE, Lynda. 1995. *Talking Proper: The Rise of Accent As Social Symbol*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

PERKIN, Harold. 1969. *The Origins of Modern English 1780-1880*. London: Routledge.

PICKLES, Wilfred. 1949. *Between You and Me*. London: Werner Laurie.

PRZEDLACKA, Joanna. 2002. *Estuary English? A Sociophonetic Study of Teenage Speech in the Home Counties*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

PRZEDLACKA, Joanna. 2005. Models and Myth: Updating the (Non)standard Accents. In Katarzyna Dzubialska-Kolczyk & Joanna Przedlacka (eds) *English Pronunciation Models: A Changing Scene*. Bern: Peter Lang, 17-35.

RAMSARAN, Susan. 1990. RP: Fact and Fiction. In Susan Ramsaran (ed) *Studies in the Pronunciation of English: A Commemorative Volume in Honour of A. C. Gimson*. London: Routledge, 178-90.

ROACH, Peter. 2005. Representing the English Model. In Katarzyna Dzubialska-Kolczyk & Joanna Przedlacka (eds) *English Pronunciation Models: A Changing Scene*. Bern: Peter Lang, 393-9.

ROSEWARNE, David. 1984. Estuary English. *Times Educational Supplement*. 19, October 1984.

ROSEWARNE, David. 1994. Estuary English: Tommorow's RP?. *English Today*. 37: 3-8.

STRANG, Barbara. 1970. *A History of English*. London: Meuthen.

TRUDGILL, Peter. 2002. *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

UPTON, Clive. 2000a. Maintaining the Standard. In Robert Penhallurick (ed) *Debating Dialect: Essays on the Philosophy of Dialect Study*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 66-83.

UPTON, Clive. 2000b. [ηατ], [η{τ], and all that. *English Today*. 61: 44-6.

UPTON, Clive. 2001. Revisiting RP. In Malcolm Jones (ed) *Essays in Lore and Language: Presented to John Widdowson on the Occasion of His Retirement*. Sheffield: National Centre for English, 351-68.

UPTON, Clive et al. 2003. *The Oxford Dictionary of Pronunciation for Current English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

UPTON, Clive et al. 2004. Leeds 1966: Some Early Evidence of 'new RP'?. *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics*. 10: 32-39.

UPTON, Clive. 2008. Received Pronunciation. In Clive Upton & Bernd Kortmann (eds) *Varieties of English: The British Isles*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 237-52.

WILLIAMS, Raymond. 1976. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

WELLS, J. C. 1982. *Accents of English* (3 vols). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

WELLS, J. C. 1992. Estuary English?!?.
        <http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/estuary- screech-query.htm>
        [accessed May 2009]

WELLS, J. C. 2001. IPA Transcription Systems for English.
        <http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/ipa-english-uni.htm>
        [accessed May 2009]