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Research results: quantitative and qualitative analyses

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6 RESEARCH RESULTS: QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.1 Samples: transcripts, analyses and selected research phenomena

Sample 1

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

ðə 'mɑ:kəʔ ɪz ɪntə'naʃnəl | əm ænd ði: ə'merɪkən 'dʒɔbz kʌm 'ʌp'fɜ:st ʌɪ 'endɪd
'ʌp 'steɪŋ | ə səʊ ʌv 'bɪn ðɛ: fə 'kwʌɪt ə'ləŋ tʌɪm nəʊ səʊ | ɪts kwʌɪʔ 'fʌni 'kʌmɪŋ
bæk hɪər ən 'fi:lɪŋ ə bɪʔ lʌɪk ə 'fɔrənə |

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

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

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

RP average scores – Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.3

EN respondents: 1.5

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.85

Table 2. Sample 1: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

Table 3. Sample 1: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

Sample 2

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

wi: 'hɛd lʌɪk ən ɪk'stɛndɪd 'hi:ʔwɛrv | and wi:d dʒʌst 'mu:vɪd 'haʊz | and wi:v gɒt ə 'lɪdʒ 'kɔ:ʔjɑ:d nɑʊ wɪð ə 'bɑ:bəkju: mɪʔ | səʊ wi: dʒəst həd 'bɑ:bəkju:z 'ɔ:ʔ ðə tʌɪm | ɛnd wi: wə dʒəst 'aʊʔ 'ðɛ:r ɪn ðə 'gɑ:dən | ənd əm dʒəst 'ri:əli 'əndʒɔɪŋ ɪʔ | wi: wɛnʔ 'daʊn tə 'wɪmblɛdŋ həd ə 'trɪp ðɛ:

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

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

RP average scores - Question 1

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

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.55

Table 4. Sample 2: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

Table 5. Sample 2: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

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

Sample 3

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

'nɒʔ ri:əli nəʊ ʌv 'nɒʔ | əm ə wɛt ʌ 'spɛnt ə 'fe: bɪd ə 'tʌɪmɪn 'speɪn ɪn ðə 'pɑst | ʌɪ
'dɪd 'spænɪʃ ɪn mʌ 'fɜ:st dɪ'gri: səʊ ʌ 'lɪvd ɪn 'speɪn fər ə 'fju: 'mənθs | bət 'nɒʔ ri:eli
'gɒd̥ ɪntə 'hɒlədeɪz ɪn ɪn sɔ:d̥ əv 'tɪpɪkəl 'gəʊɪŋ tə ə 'hɒt 'bi:tʃ kʌɪnd əv 'hɒlədeɪ |
ðats 'nɒʔ ri:eli mʌɪ 'θɪŋ

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

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

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

RP average scores – Question 1

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

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.95

Table 6. Sample 3: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

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

Table 7. Sample 3: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

Sample 4

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

ΛΙ sə'pəʊz mΛΙ 'meɪn 'xɒbi ə ɪz 'spɔ:t ən ɪn pə'tɪkjələ 'fʊtʃɒl | ΛΙ 'lAɪk tə 'pleɪ
 ən ΛΙ 'lAɪk tə 'wɒtʃ | əm ðɪz ɪz ə 'sʌbdʒekt wɪtʃ wɪtʃ ɪz əv sʌm sʌm sʌm 'sɔ:s
 əv kən'fju:ʒn tə 'mi: ɛs tə kwAɪ? wΛΙ | ə 'ræʃnəli spi:kɪŋ əv 'kɔ:s ΛΙ kən 'si:ðə?
 ði:ði: ΛΙ'dɪər əv 'gɛtɪŋ ɪk'sAɪtɪd ɔ: 'gɛtɪŋ dɪ'prest ə'bau? ðə pə'fɔ:məns əv ə
 'gru:p əv 'mɛn ðə ʌv nəvə 'mɛt | ə ɒnə 'pleɪŋ'fi:ʃd 'sʌmwɛ:r ɪn 'ɪŋɡlənd ə ɪz
 'rɑ:ðə 'stju:ptɪd

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

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

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

RP average scores - Question 1

CZ respondents: 0.65
 EN respondents: 1.95

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.85

Table 8. Sample 4: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

Table 9. Sample 4: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

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

Sample 5

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

səʊ ɪn 'dʒʌləɪ ən 'ɔ:gəst əm wi: 'dɪd ə 'fju: θɪŋz | bɪ'kɒz ʌv ɡɒʔ 'θri: 'kɪdz ənd ðeɪ wəz ɒn 'hɒlɪdeɪ frəm 'sku:l fər ə'baʊʔ 'sɪks 'wi:ks | ən ðən ʌ wəz əʔ 'wɜ:k fə 'sʌm əv ɪʔ bədʌθ 'mʌnədʒd tə ɡeʔ 'kwʌɪʔ ə bɪdʌθ əv 'tʌɪm 'ɒf | ən səʊ wi: dɪd kwʌɪʔ ə 'fju: θɪŋz ðə 'bɪgəst θɪŋg ʌɪ 'ɡes wəz wi: ɔ:l went ɒn ə 'faməli hɒlɪdeɪ ənd ən ɪʔ wəz 'ɡreɪʔ | ənd wi: 'mɛʔ səm 'ʌðə 'pi:pʔ ðe: wɪə 'nɒʔ pə'tɪkʃələli 'səʊʃəbʔ'pi:pʔ | wi: dəʊnʔ ʌɪʔ 'mi:tɪŋ 'pi:pʔ ɒn 'hɒlɪdeɪ bəʔ wi: dɪd wi: 'mɛʔ ə 'ri:əlɪnɪs 'faməli

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

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

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

RP average scores - Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.1
 EN respondents: 1.25

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.95

Table 10. Sample 5: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

Table 11. Sample 5: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

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

Sample 6

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

its 'pru:vɪŋ tə bi: 'hɑ:d 'wɜ:k bət 'veri 'ɪntrestɪŋ | ʌɪm ʌɪm 'di:lɪŋ wɪθ ði 'vɔɪsɪz
 'deɪtər ən ðɪz wəz ə 'bɪg 'prɒdʒekt 'rʌn bʌɪ ðə bi:bi:'si: | ən ðə 'deɪtər əz bɪn 'sen
 tu: 'li:dz fər əz tu: mə'nɪpjələɪt ənd ən 'rɪə:li ə 'stɑ:di ɪt səʊ ðə? wɪ: kən wɜ:k 'aʊ?
 hɑʊ 'pi:pəl ə: 'spi:kɪŋ ɪn ðə ju: 'keɪ ə? ðə brɪ'gɪnɪŋ əv ðə twenti 'fɜ:st 'sentʃəri | əm
 əm lʊkɪŋ 'fɜ:wəd tə 'aktʃəli 'gɛtɪŋ səm rɪ'zʌlts frəm ðɪs

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

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

RP average scores - Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.25

EN respondents: 1.65

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.9

Table 12. Sample 6: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

Table 13. Sample 6: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

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

Sample 7

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

ən 'meɪk ðə 'plɛɪəz 'ri:əlʌɪz ðɛ: prə'feʃənəl 'ɑ:θli:tɪz | fə ðə 'lɑ:st wɛt 'lɑ:st 'si:zən wi: həd ʌd seɪ ðɛ: wə 'θri: nəʊ ʌ kʊd seɪ ðə wə 'fɔ:r aʊt'stændɪŋ 'plɛɪəz ɪn ðə 'ti:m 'lɑ:st si:zən | əm wən wəz 'flɛtʃə 'strʌɪkə hɪz əʊnli dʒəst kəm 'bæk frəm 'ɪndʒəri 'plɛɪd ðə 'sekʌ 'hɑ:f əv ðə 'lɑ:st 'geɪm ən hi:z hi wəz 'veri gud 'lɑ:st si:zən əntɪl hi gɒdʒ 'ɪndʒəd

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

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

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

RP average scores – Question 1

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

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.85

Table 14. Sample 7: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

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

Table 15. Sample 7: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

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

Sample 8

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

'lɑ:s tʌɪm ʌ wen? tə 'frɑ:ns ʌɪ ɡɒ? 'bɪ?n θɜ:ti 'sevn tʌɪmz baɪ mə'ski:təʊz | ɪ? wəz ri:əli 'kʊl | ʌɪ həd ðəm ɔ:t 'ʌp mʌɪ 'leɪg | ən ʌɪ 'ɡɒ? wʌn ɒn ðə 'səʊl əv mʌɪ 'fʊ? | ðə? wəz ðə 'wɜ:st pleɪs 'evə | ɪts ri:əli 'aktʃəli kwʌɪ? 'ɪntrəstɪŋ | ɪts ri:əli 'bɪg ən wi dɪdŋ? 'hev ʌɪ? eni eni mə'ski:təʊ 'baɪ? 'stʌf səʊ ʌɪ dʒʌst'ɪtʃt ɔ:t 'wi:k | ə: ɡəʊ tə 'frɑ:ns ən ðen kʌm 'bʌk hɪə fər ə'baʊ? 'ten 'deɪz

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

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

Other interesting features include lowered letter (*ever*) and frequent happy tensing.

RP average scores - Question 1

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

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.25

Table 16. Sample 8: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

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

Table 17. Sample 8: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

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

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

Sample 9

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

bə? ʌd dʒəst 'mu:vɪd 'ɒfɪs br'fɔ:r ʌɪ 'keɪm hɪə səʊ naʊ ʌv gɒt? 'mʌɪ əʊn lɪdʒɪz 'ɒfɪs |
 ɪts gɒt? 'nəʊ 'wɪndəʊz ɪts kəm'pli:tli 'stʌfɪ ɪts 'təʊtəli 'hɒrɪbəl bə? ɪ? 'mi:nz 'nəʊwʌn
 kən 'bɒðə mi: | wɒt? jə 'ni:d tə 'du: ɪz dʒəst 'sti:ʃ ən 'aʊər ə 'deɪ ɔ: 'du: ɪ? ʌɪ? ðə?
 ʌɪ? 'bɪts ən 'pi:sɪz | 'dəʊn? 'θɪŋk ʌɪk wʌn 'deɪ ʌɪm gɒnə bi: 'fri: ənd ʌ wəʊn? həv
 'eniθɪŋ ɪn mʌɪ 'dʌɪəri | ðəz 'ɔ:ʃweɪz gɒnə bi: 'ti:tʃɪŋ ðəz 'ɔ:ʃweɪz gɒnə bi: 'stʌf 'gəʊɪŋ
 ɒn ə? 'həʊm ðəz 'ɔ:ʃweɪz gɒnə bi: 'trʌvlɪŋ | dʒəst ge? ju:st

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

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

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

6 Research Results: Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses

RP average scores – Question 1

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

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.85

Table 18. Sample 9: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

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

Table 19. Sample 9: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

Sample 10

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

əm ɹɪ 'fri:lɑnst fər ə 'kæpɫ əv 'jiəz 'kəvɹɪŋ 'fʊtbɔ:ɫ mɑtʃɪz | wɪtʃ ɪz ðə 'best 'dʒɒb ɑ
v ɛvə 'hɑd | kəz ɑd 'geʔ tə 'həʊɫd ə 'mɑɪkrəfəʊn ɪn 'frʌnt əv pi:pɫ | əm bəʔ 'pi:pɫ
əv ri:əɫ 'steɪtəs | jə 'nəʊ 'ɑ:sən 'wɛŋgər ən 'həʊzeɪ mə'ri:Jəʊ ən pi:pɫ | səʊ ðɑʔ wə
z ðɑʔ wəz dʒəst 'sɛksi ɪʔ wəz ɪʔ wəz 'lævli | ən əv 'kɔ:s jə 'geʔ tə 'hɪə ðə 'saʊnd ə
v jər əʊn 'vɔɪs əz wɛɫ | wɪtʃ kɑɪnd əv 'aftər ə 'wɑɪɫ ɪznʔ ɪznʔ kwɑɪʔ əz 'hɒrɪfɑɪɪŋ
əz ɪʔ əz ɪʔ mɑɪʔ 'lʌðwɑɪz ɔ:di'nerɪli bi: jə nəʊ tə ðə ən'ɪnɪʃteɪtɪd | səʊ ðɑʔ wəzðɑʔ
wəz kɑɪnd əv ə 'grɛɪʔ 'i:gəʊ 'trɪp ən ɪf ən'fɔ:tʃənəʔli dɪdnʔ fɪt ɪn 'veri wɛɫ wɪð 'hævɪŋ
ə 'jəŋ 'faməli | bɪ'kɒz 'jəŋ 'faməli ɪz 'gɒnə 'gəʊ tə 'sku:ɫ

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

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

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

6 Research Results: Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses

RP average scores – Question 1

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

Intelligibility average score – Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.1

Table 20. Sample 10: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

Table 21. Sample 10: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

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

Sample 11

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

wi: 'wen? tə ðis ðis 'pleis ən ɪ? w ʌd 'hɜ:d tə bi 'ɒnəst ʌd hɜ:d 'bəd 'ðɪŋz ə'baʊt
 ɪ? | ɪ? wɒzŋ? sə'pəʊs tə 'bi: ðə? 'gʊd | ɪ? wɛz sə'pəʊs tə 'bi ri:əli 'kraʊdɪd ænd ə |
 jə 'nəʊ lɪ? tu: ɪk'spensɪv ən 'evrɪθɪŋ wɛz jə 'nəʊ 'kɒst ə 'lɒpʃ əv 'mʌni ənd əm |
 'ɒbvɪəsli fɜr ʌs ðə 'hʌɪlɪ? əv ðə 'həʊf 'hɒlɪdeɪ wɛz 'gɛʊɪŋ tu: 'həri 'pɒtə | ənd jə
 'nəʊ je ɪts klʌɪnd əv | ðə həʊf ðə həʊf 'ðɪŋ 'ɒbvɪəsli jə 'nəʊ veri 'tɔ:rəsti ən veri |
 bə? 'ðəts ðə həʊf 'ðɪŋ wɪð wɪð 'dɪzni ʌ 'nəʊ ɪt 'ɪzŋ? 'dɪzni ɔ:'lændəʊ ə 'stju:diəʊz bə?
 wɪð əm ju:nɪ'vɜ:sɪf 'stju:diəʊz ɪn ɔ:'lændəʊ

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

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

6 Research Results: Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses

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

- FOOT/GOOSE fronting: *good*

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

RP average scores - Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.2

EN respondents: 1.2

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.9

Table 22. Sample 11: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

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

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

Table 23. Sample 11: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

Sample 12

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

ðə 'fɜːst tʌɪm ɪ gɒt 'həʊm ɪ gɒt 'ɒf maɪ 'blaɪk ən evrɪθɪŋ ən wəz ɔktʃəli
 ʌn'duːɪŋ ðə frʌnt 'dɔːə ənd 'lʊkt ət ðə 'wɪndəʊ | ðɔː'gɒd ʌm ʃɔːr ʌ dɪdn? 'liːv | ðə
 və'niːʃn 'blʌɪnd wəz ɔːt 'krʊkɪd ən 'bent | ɪ 'kɑːnt həv 'left ɪt lʌɪk 'ðæt | ən ʌd
 ɔktʃəli gɒt ðə 'dɔːr ʌn'lʊkt bɪ'fɔr ɪ iːvŋ 'rɪəlɪzɪd wɒt ɪt wɒz ðə həd ə'kɜːd | ən ɪ
 went 'ɪn ən ðə wəz vɛrɪ ɪtʃ 'mes ən end 'grɑdʒəli ɪ 'nəʊtɪst wɒz wəz 'mɪsɪŋ | ðə
 'vɪdɪəʊ rɪkɔːdə rɪ'mɪːdʒətli | bʌz 'dʒuːrɪŋ ðə 'kɔːs əv ði 'iːvɪŋ ɪ keɪpt 'flaɪndɪŋ 'mɔː
 ðɪŋz ðæt wə nəʊ 'lɒŋg ðɛːə

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

– lowered TRAP: *actually*, *gradually*

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

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

RP average scores - Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.7

EN respondents: 2.0

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.8

Table 24. Sample 12: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

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

Table 25. Sample 12: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

Sample 13

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

əm ɹɪ 'lʌɪk ðə 'tʃɛk rɪ'pʌblɪk ɹɪ 'lʌv 'lɪvɪŋ hɪə | ɹɪ 'lʌɪk ðə 'kɒntrəst əv maɪ 'lʌɪf
 ɹɪ mʌs 'seɪ | ɹɪ ɹɪ ɹɪ hʌv ðə? 'dʒu:əʔ θɪŋ 'gəʊɪŋ ɒn | əv ɡɒ? maɪ 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ 'frendz ən
 'fʌməli əf 'kɔ:s | ən ɹɪ ɔ:ʔəsʊ lɪv 'hɪə 'məʊst əv ðə 'tʌɪm | səʊ əm ɹɪ 'lʌɪk ðət əm

dʒu'æləti | its gʊd tu: ə ɫi kən ɪ'skeɪp hɪə fər ə 'wʌɪt ən 'gəʊ tə 'ɪŋɡlənd | ən wʌɪt əm ɪn 'ɪŋɡlənd ɑ 'ge? tə 'ðə? 'pɔɪn? ɑ:ftə ə'baʊ? 'tu: 'mʌnθs wen əv 'kʌɪnd əv 'hʌd ɪ'nʌf ən ɫi kʌm 'bʌk ən 'ɛvriðɪnz 'dɪfɪrnt? ə'geɪn | ən ɫi 'du: ɫɪk ðə? ə'baʊ? mʌɪ 'lʌɪf

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

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

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

RP average scores - Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.05

EN respondents: 1.1

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.7

Table 26. Sample 13: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

Table 27. Sample 13: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

Sample 14

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

'si:said ri'zɔ:ts a:r ə'nɔ:məs ən jə 'nəʊ ðə rɔ:əlz ju:st tə 'teɪk ðe: 'hɒlɪdeɪz ə? ðə
'si:said ən 'ðɪŋz laɪ? ða? | æn səʊ ə'lə? əv 'mʌni ɡɒ? wɛf ðeɪ dʒəst hæd ə lɒ? əv
'mʌni 'kʌmɪŋ ɪntə 'ɔ:f ðə tʌɪm səʊ | ðeɪ 'brɪ? ði:z 'ɔ:f mʌst pə'leɪf? 'flʌts ə'lɒŋ ðə
'si:frʌn? ən ðɪŋz laɪ? ða? | laɪ? 'fʌɪv 'stɔ:ri 'mʌnʃnz sɔ:dʌ əv 'hɒlɪdeɪ 'həʊmz fə
'pi:pɪ | ənd ðeɪ wɛd ki:p 'kʌmɪŋ 'bʌk ænd | əm je 'nəʊ 'lɒts əv 'pi:pɪ wɛd dʒəst

'kʌm ən 'spænd 'mʌni in ðə 'sʌməɹ ən əm | kəz ɪt wəz ðɪz ʌɪ'dɪər əv 'gəʊɪŋ tə ðə
'si:sʌɪd wəz 'gʊd fə jə 'hɛɪθ

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

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

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

RP average scores - Question 1

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

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

- CZ respondents: 1.55

Table 28. Sample 14: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

Table 29. Sample 14: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

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

Sample 15

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

en ðen əm wɒ? 'ɛls dɪd wi 'du: | wi wɛn? ɑ:ftə ðə? wi: hɑd 'vɛ:riəs 'ðɪŋz ɡəʊɪŋ 'ɒn | kəz 'ðen 'ðas ɪ? wi wɛn? tə ðə 'vɛ:riəs 'ɡrɑnpɛ:rənts 'hɑuzɪz | əm kəz 'wʌn sɛdʃ əv 'ɡrɑnpɛ:rənts ðə 'kɪdz 'ɡrɑnpɛ:rənts 'lɪv ɪn ɪn 'weɪlz | ə ri:eli 'nʌɪs 'ɛ:riər əv 'weɪlz səʊ wi 'wɛn? əʊvə 'ðɛ: | ðə? wəzɡʊd | ænd 'ðen ɔ:ʃsəʊ 'ðə? wəz 'ɪ? | kəz mʌ 'wʌɪf 'tʊk ə mʌ 'tu: 'ɡɜ:ʃz ʌ ɡʊ? 'tu: 'ɡɜ:ʃz ən 'wʌn 'bɔɪ

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

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

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

RP average scores - Question 1

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

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

- CZ respondents: 1.95

Table 30. Sample 15: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

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

Table 31. Sample 15: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

Sample 16

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

ənd 'ðɑ? ɪz ðə? ɹɪ rə'si:vɪd ə 'fʌɪnɪʔ 'nəʊtɪs fɔ: ə 'peɪmənt əv ðə'gɑ:bɪdʒ 'taks | wɪʃ ɹɪ wəz 'ɹɪtɪ 'fɔʃt bʌɪ | bɪ'kɔ:z 'nəʊ wʌn həd 'təʊld mi: ðəd ɹɪ 'ni:drɪd

tə 'pei 'gɑ:bidʒ 'taks | 'nəʊ wʌn həd 'sent mi: ə 'brɪ də'mɑ:ndɪŋ 'peɪmənt
 | ən 'ɔ:l AI 'gɒʔ wəz ə 'letə 'seɪŋ | ju: ɑ: 'gəʊɪŋ tə 'gəʊ tə 'kɔ:t ɪf ju: dəʊn 'pei ðɪs
 | səʊ ɑd 'laɪk tə 'seɪ ɪts 'absəlu:tli dɪs'gʌstɪŋ ðəʔ 'nəʊbədi m'fɔ:mz ju: | 'bʌt ʌv 'hɜ:
 :d ðəʔ ə'kɔ:dɪŋ tə 'tʃɛk 'lɔ:rɔ: 'sʌmθɪŋ | əz 'lɒŋ əz ðeɪ 'pəʊst ɪt 'sʌmwɛ: ju: dəʊn 'h
 av tə ə 'ðeɪ dəʊn 'hʌv tə m'fɔ:m ju: 'pɜ:sɪnli

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

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

RP average scores - Question 1

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

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

CZ respondents: 2.0

Table 32. Sample 16: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

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

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

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

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

Table 33. Sample 16: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

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

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

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

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

Sample 17

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

ʌm 'lʌki ɪ'nʌf tə əv pleɪd 'fɜːst ti:m 'hɒki ən 'krɪki? | ʌɪ dəʊn? kwʌɪ? 'nəʊ 'hʌʊ | əm
 ɛnd ʌɪ 'ɔːtʃəsʊ plɪə ðə vɪ'ɒlɪn ənd ʌɪ plɪə ɪn ðiː 'klɒθwɜːkəz 'hɔːl hɪə | ə ʌɪ 'lʌvd

'ɪŋgləʃ ɪn 'tʌɪm|ɪʔ wəz mʌɪ 'feɪnrəʔ 'mɒdʒu:ʔ əɪn mʌɪ 'həʊʔ drɪ'gri: | əm ʌɪ 'lʌvɪ
 lʊkɪn 'bʌk ət ði: 'hɪstri əv ðə 'lʌŋgwədʒ | əm brɪ'kɒz ʌ 'θɪŋk ɪts'fʌsənertɪŋ tə 'si: wɛr
 ɪts 'kʌm frɒm | əm ɛnd ðəʔ 'mɒdʒu:ʔ 'teɪks ju: rʌɪt θru: frɒm 'fɔ: 'fɪftɪ tu: 'prɛzn?
 'deɪ səʊ əm ʌɪ ʌɪ ri:əli ɪn'dʒɔɪd 'ðət

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

- lowered TRAP: *back, language, fascinating, that*
- glottal stop: *cricket for* (across word boundaries preceding a fricative), *cricket* (utterance final position); *don't quite, present day* (across word boundaries preceding a stop); *quite know, that module, favourite module* (across word boundaries preceding a nasal); *it was* (across word boundaries preceding a continuant)

Other interesting features are happyY tensing (*lucky, history, fifty, really*) and yod-coalescence (*module*).

RP average scores - Question 1

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

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.1

Table 34. Sample 17: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S17, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+		+			+	+				+			+			+	+		
Soc. Status		+						+-		+						-				
Education	+			-			+				+-			+		+		+		
Poshness		-			-								-							+-
Speed		+	+			+		+			+	+	+		+	+				

Unfortunately, I need to admit that the evaluation of this sample may have been adversely influenced by the content of it: the speaker talks about her degree and one of the modules she took while studying. Yet, her educated northern voice is something I did not want to miss out on and no other part of the whole recording I made with her includes so many of the variables under investigation.

CZ respondents stress the regional aspect of this voice. The remaining categories are probably influenced by the content; though the poshness category hopefully remains intact in this respect. The speed of utterance is an extremely important factor for the overall intelligibility score, which is joint record low.

Many respondents react to the lowered TRAP vowels. The glottal stop only attracts a little less attention.

Table 35. Sample 17: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S17, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality	+	+		+		+	+		+		+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
Soc. Status		+			+			+-			+	+			+		+			
Education	+			+						+			+			+				+
Poshness		-				-					+-				-		-		+-	
Speed			+						+					-				+		

Also EN respondents regard the accent as highly regional. Predictably enough, there is a greater tolerance towards some regionalisms from N EN respondents rather than from the S EN group.

Here, too, some of the comments seem to be influenced by the content. Lowered TRAP fails to register a comment, unlike the number of glottal stops: a few respondents explicitly state that there are ‘too many glottal stops’. It is not the exact phonetic environment that plays the crucial role, it is rather the quantity. Furthermore, high rising terminals are mentioned twice, denying the accent a full RP status.

Sample 18

Well, I'm here for ten days after I come back from France anyway and then we go to Orlando on the first of August, for two weeks, come back, then I get my results and if they're good, then I'm happy, and if they're not good, then I spend the next six weeks working to do resits and then end of September go to university.

wɛl əm hɪə fə 'tɛn deɪz ɑ:ftə ʌ kʌm 'bæk frəm 'frɑ:ns 'eniweɪ | ən 'ðɛn wi: gəʊ tə
 ɔ:'lændəʊ ɒn ðə 'fɜ:st əv 'ɔ:gəst fə 'tu: 'wi:ks | kʌm 'bæk ðɛn ʌɪ 'gɛʔ mʌɪ rɪ'zʌlts | ən
 ɪf ðɛ 'gʊd ðɛn əm'hæpi ən ɪf ðɛ 'nɒʔ gʊd ðɛn ʌ 'spɛnd ðə nɛkst 'sɪks 'wi:ks 'wɜ:kɪŋ
 | tu 'du: 'ri:sɪts | ɛn ðɛn 'ɛnd əv səp'tɛmbə 'gəʊ tə jʊnɪ'vɜ:səti

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

- lowered TRAP: *back, Orlando, happy*
- glottal stop: *get my* (across word boundaries preceding a nasal), *not good* (across word boundaries preceding a stop)
- FOOT/GOOSE fronting: *good*

RP average scores - Question 1

CZ respondents: 1.0
 EN respondents: 1.35
 S EN respondents: 1.5
 N EN respondents: 1.2

Intelligibility average score - Question 4

CZ respondents: 1.2

Table 36. Sample 18: sociolinguistic categories for CZ respondents

S18, CZ	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality				+						+				+						
Soc. Status		-										-			+-			-	+	
Education								+					+				-			+-
Poshness			+-			-				-							-			
Speed				+			+				+-					+		+		

This sample shows the voice of the same speaker as in Sample 8. The intelligibility score from CZ respondents is almost identical for the two samples: it is rather low. This score is no doubt affected by the speed of utterance.

It is perhaps due to the low number of tokens that the glottal stop does not receive the highest amount of attention; instead, it is the lowered TRAP which assumes the top position. The glottal stop is in fact third, for fronted FOOT leapfrogs it. A lot of inconsistency can be seen from the responses as far as the social status and education are concerned; the accent is considered devoid of any posh connotations.

Table 37. Sample 18: sociolinguistic categories for EN respondents

S18, EN	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	R12	R13	R14	R15	R16	R17	R18	R19	R20
Regionality				+		+			+			+			+		+		+	
Soc. Status			+ -				+ -			+			.	+			+			-
Education		+			-			+				+ -			+			+ -		-
Poshness			-					+							-		+			
Speed				+										+						

EN respondents find the accent conspicuously regional. In comparison with CZ respondents, their roster demonstrates a much higher number of pluses, so the accent makes a more positive overall impression. Only some N EN find the amount of regionality in this sample excessive.

Apart from one exception fronted FOOT and lowered TRAP do not attract any adverse comments. Word final glottal stops are more prominent in this respect with 6 mentions.

A number of Near-RP responses also remark that the accent is very close to being full RP; yet the rather casual tone is considered too relaxed for an RP label. One respondent even suggests that a new label be offered: a relaxed RP. This might actually correspond with Upton's motivation behind his modernised model of RP (Upton 2001: 352).

6.2 Respondents: sociolinguistic and personal characteristics

This part analyses the gathered data with the focus placed on the respondents. CZ respondents are the first ones to be analysed; the first ten are female respondents; respondents 11–20 are male.

As far as EN respondents are concerned, the first ten are southern and the remaining ones are northern. As regards gender, respondents 1–5 and 11–15 are male while 6–10 and 16–20 are female. Regional background turns to be far more important than gender; hence the decision to group EN respondents according to their regional background.

6.2.1 Czech respondents

CZ Respondent 1

This respondent, unlike the other CZ respondents, pays the biggest amount of attention to regional features. Since I know this respondent relatively well, I find it not surprising at all since she is deeply involved in academic research concerning pronunciation standards, RP, pronunciation in the ELT area, etc. What is more intriguing though is the conspicuous absence of comments in the remaining categories.

Regional features mentioned by this respondent include northern sounds like short BATH, raised STRUT, extremely closed /i/ (influenced by Brummy), and even some Australian features (Sample 2: flapping and monophthongal SQUARE).

Table 38. CZ Respondent 1: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R1	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+		+			+			+					+		+	
Soc. Status																		
Education							+										+	
Poshness															-			
Speed																		

CZ Respondent 2

This respondent pays less attention to regionality than to the other categories, none of which can be said to be dominant, though. There are an unusually high number of comments on social status and poshness; in fact, the numbers are higher than for most EN respondents. The latter category is seen as a typical RP feature (albeit a bit old-fashioned as the respondent stresses in one comment).

Speed gets five mentions. Nevertheless, it does not seem to influence intelligibility very much.

Table 39. CZ Respondent 2: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R2	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+					-								-				
Soc. Status		+		+	+			-			-	+					+	-
Education				+	+					+		+				+		
Poshness				+	-	+					-		-	-				
Speed		+		-				+								-	+	

CZ Respondent 3

CZ respondent 3 stresses mainly the social connotations of RP in her answers. Moreover, her answers in the poshness category comment on whether the accent is (or is not) posh enough to warrant the RP label.

Only three regional voices are in the survey according to this respondent—particularly Sample 17 is seen as ‘strongly regional’ (unfortunately without any hint as to what region it is) with lowered TRAP and the glottals (word final positions) being the reason behind the label.

Table 40. CZ Respondent 3: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R3	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality								+							+		+	
Soc. Status	+		+			+			-				-	+				
Education		-												+				
Poshness	+							-		-		-				-		+/-
Speed			-							+							+	

CZ Respondent 4

This respondent comments chiefly on the regional aspects of the samples, which is often seen as a reason to deny a full RP score. In this respect, she often remarks on northern features present in the samples (short BATH, raised STRUT, lowered TRAP, and monophthongal qualities of some diphthongs). Southern features are only mentioned twice: /l/-vocalisation and /t/-glottaling seen as cockneyisms.

Moreover, speed turns out to be an important category, in particular in cases where it decreases intelligibility.

Table 41. CZ Respondent 4: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R4	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		-		+	+		+			+		-	+					+
Soc. Status							-								+			
Education						+			-			+						-
Poshness									-		+							
Speed	-								+			-	+	+				+

CZ Respondent 5

While all five categories receive three or more mentions, the two most prominent ones are regionality and speed. Surprisingly, regional features are not always seen as a serious impediment to labelling the accents in question as RP. Also, most of the features mentioned are southern rather than northern according to the respondent: FOOT/GOOSE fronting, yod-coalescence, /l/-vocalisation and /t/-glottaling (even in positions now accepted in RP like *that we*, cf. 3.2.2.1).

As for speed, it is a category which does not have a significant impact on the RP score.

Table 42. CZ Respondent 5: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+					+		+		+	+			+				
Soc. Status					-					-						+		
Education	+							-					-			+		
Poshness													-	+				-
Speed		+		-	+			+			-							

CZ Respondent 6

Regional features play an important part in this respondent’s comments with speed and education not far behind. Interestingly enough, regional features mostly include the glottal stop, which seems to contradict the overwhelming opinion regarding the universality of this phenomenon in current British English (cf. 3.2.2.1). Also, some northern phenomena get mentioned as well: most notably short BATH and raised STRUT.

Social connotations do not draw much attention; unlike speed influencing the degree of intelligibility and, consequently, the overall RP score.

Table 43. CZ Respondent 6: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R6	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18	
Regionality		+	+	+			+				+	+						+	
Soc. Status								+			-	+							
Education			-		+					-				+	-				
Poshness												+							-
Speed						-	-			+					+			+	

CZ Respondent 7

This respondent does not mention any of the categories more than four times. The categories mentioned most often are speed, regionality (almost exclusively the glottal stop), and poshness. Such a low number of detailed responses is, in all likelihood, brought about by the fact that the respondent considers a lot of samples to be RP (there is thus little to remark on).

Table 44. CZ Respondent 7: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R7	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18	
Regionality									+				+					+	
Soc. Status	+					+													
Education												+						+	
Poshness	+									-									-
Speed				-				+						+					+

CZ Respondent 8

This respondent regards regionality to be the crucial criterion with social status not far behind. Regional features mentioned the most are short BATH and raised STRUT. Furthermore, the glottal stop is commented upon several times (in almost all the positions and it is also seen as a feature typical of the Cockney or Estuary English). Likewise, voices assessed as not educated enough and/or as not belonging to a higher social stratum are deemed Near-RP or Non-RP.

Table 45. CZ Respondent 8: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R8	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+				+			+		.		+	+			
Soc. Status		-						-		+			.			+	+-	
Education		-							-		+				-			+
Poshness					+			-						.				
Speed										+						-	+	

CZ Respondent 9

CZ respondent 9 gives considerable prominence to social status, education, and speed. Generally speaking, there are a lot of RP responses, regardless of the fact that the samples in question are found either regional or not belonging to higher social strata.

Speed, however, influences the responses to a large extent: all three samples with a minus in this category are marked as Non-RP.

Table 46. CZ Respondent 9: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R9	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+				+										+		
Soc. Status					+			-	+		+-				+			
Education	+		-							+			.	.		+		
Poshness								-				.						
Speed	+		-	-			-							+				

CZ Respondent 10

This respondent provides the lowest number of detailed responses, but she was the most generous respondent in terms of assigning the RP status: no fewer than 13 samples are given this label. Strikingly enough, only one sample is found to be regional or educated.

Table 47. CZ Respondent 10: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R10	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality																		+
Soc. Status	+	+										+					+	
Education							+											
Poshness						-	-				-							-
Speed										+		-						

CZ Respondent 11

This respondent resembles EN respondents insofar as he prefers the category of regionality (a half of his responses). He pays a lot of attention to northern features: he considers short BATH, raised STRUT, lowered TRAP as northernism generally not compatible with RP. Another feature, though not tied to any specific region, is the glottal stop in a number of linguistic contexts (even those now considered to fall within RP; cf. 3.2.2.1). As far as the South is concerned, he mentions the vocalisation of /l/ three times and lip rounding of the PRICE vowel; these are Estuary English features according to him.

Unlike his EN counterparts, he completely ignores social status and poshness. He also mentions speed a lot of times. This is another aspect that ties him in closely with the other CZ respondents.

Table 48. CZ Respondent 11: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R11	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality			+	+	+		+			+	+		+		+		+	
Soc. Status																		
Education				+				-				+					+	
Poshness																		
Speed					+			+	+						-	-	+	+

CZ Respondent 12

As far as regionality and social status are concerned, this respondent stands in total contrast to the previous respondent. To a large extent, he links the degree of RP-ness with the social status of the speaker in question.

Speed is a vital criterion for this respondent as well: one sample is assessed not to be ‘fast enough for RP’ while another one is ‘far too fast for RP’. One wonders whether an appropriate interpretation of such a comment could be that the sample in question is too fast for the respondent to understand (and, as a consequence, it is denied the RP status).

Table 49. CZ Respondent 12: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R12	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality												.						
Soc. Status					.				.					.	+	+		.
Education					.	+												
Poshness												+	.		.			
Speed	+				+	.	.				.						+	

CZ Respondent 13

Regionality prevails in this respondent’s comments: lowered TRAP, in particular, turns out to be the main obstacle to a higher number of RP labels while northern features are almost all accepted (or at least not mentioned in the comments). One exception is short BATH in Sample 7 (the word *last* repeated five times).

As regards social status, the glottal stop (in a wide range of phonetic environments) signals a rather low position in the social hierarchy. Speed also plays an important role, especially if it impedes intelligibility of the given accent.

Table 50. CZ Respondent 13: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R13	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+						+	+				+		+		+		
Soc. Status							+	.		.	.	+	+					
Education											.							+
Poshness		.															.	
Speed				.				+		+		.				+	+	

CZ Respondent 14

This respondent considers education and speed to be the most important categories. The latter proves to be the reason (if the speech is too fast) why the accent cannot be called RP while the former does not seem to guarantee a full RP status.

Regionality and poshness are only mentioned twice (glottal stops and FOOT/GOOSE fronting—both taken for features closely associated with the London area).

Table 51. CZ Respondent 14: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R14	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality																	+	+
Soc. Status		-	+			+							+					
Education	+				-		+		+	+								+
Poshness							-		+									
Speed		+		-				+						+	+			

CZ Respondent 15

Three categories prevail in this respondent's answers: regionality, social status, and speed (even though the numbers of responses in these categories are far from high).

Most of the respondent's answers regarding the degree of RP-ness are Near-RP. The main reason behind the denial of a full RP status is the presence of the glottal stop—even in positions which are now accepted in many native perceptions of the accent (3.2.2.1).

Table 52. CZ Respondent 15: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R15	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	-			+										+	+			
Soc. Status					-						+			+		+		+
Education					-													
Poshness										-		+						
Speed										+			+			-	+	

CZ Respondent 16

This respondent's attention is spread evenly across most of the categories, with only poshness slightly lagging behind. Yet, this category is a truly intriguing one because the respondent seems to feel that a genuine RP accent should possess a good deal of poshness. Educated voices and those belonging to a high social stratum are generally seen as RP.

Furthermore, regional features are seen as an obstruction: short BATH (not raised STRUT), and FOOT/GOOSE fronting are mentioned in this respect; the glottal stop is also mentioned three times without stating what region it should be associated with.

Table 53. CZ Respondent 16: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R16	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+		+			+	+		+	+							
Soc. Status	+								-	+		+					-	
Education			+				+							+		+	+	
Poshness		-						-							-			
Speed									+			-			+		+	+

CZ Respondent 17

CZ Respondent 17 also demonstrates a basically equal distribution of categories. He frequently mentions the glottal stop and short BATH as the reason why he cannot view an accent as RP.

Moreover, he sometimes denies an RP label indicating that the voice is 'not educated enough' or it does 'not sound posh like RP'.

Even though he also mentions the last category four times, most of his comments concern certain slowness that makes him think the accents are not RP. It seems RP speakers need to be, according to this respondent, confident speakers who do not hesitate too much and do not spend a lot of time looking for the right word.

Table 54. CZ Respondent 17: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R17	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality							+		+	+		-						+
Soc. Status					+		+				+			+	-			
Education		-								+		+	-		-	+		-
Poshness						+			-					-				-
Speed			-								-	-	-	+				-

CZ Respondent 18

This respondent's answers include the category of speed most often (7x). As usual, it is connected with intelligibility: all but one of the samples with a plus in this category are marked as 'intelligible with minor difficulties'. This respondent provides the lowest overall intelligibility score for all the samples. Of course, it is possible that if he has problems understanding the samples, then he may miss out on some salient features this survey focuses on.

Other categories receive less attention—most notably regionality and social status (twice each). Accents marked as educated receive a full RP score.

Table 55. CZ Respondent 18: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R18	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality						-											+	
Soc. Status															+			-
Education				+			+				-				+		+	
Poshness	+				-			-			-					-		
Speed		+		-				+		+				+	-			+

CZ Respondent 19

Very little attention is paid to the categories of regionality and education by this respondent. Instead, his detailed answers contain information about the social status of the speakers and the speed of utterance. Interestingly, he finds some of the voices too slow to be marked RP (does that mean there is a lack of confidence or too much hesitation?).

Generally speaking though, the respondent does not hesitate to mark many of the samples as RP, thereby providing considerably less information than the others.

Table 56. CZ Respondent 19: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R19	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality								+										
Soc. Status						+		-		-	+	+						+
Education											+							
Poshness														-				+-
Speed				-					+		-	-						

CZ Respondent 20

The last CZ respondent provides the least amount of information of all respondents (both CZ and EN sets). Not surprisingly, more than half of the samples are labelled as RP.

No comments are made concerning the first two categories. Significantly though, the prevailing category is the last one (speed). None of the samples with a plus or a minus in this category are labelled as RP (they are found either too slow or too fast for this model accent).

Table 57. CZ Respondent 20: sociolinguistic categories

CZ R20	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality																		
Soc. Status																		
Education						+					-							+-
Poshness															-	+		
Speed		+		-			+	+		+		-						

6.2.2 English respondents

EN Respondent 1

While regionality is the dominant category for EN Respondent 1, the other two categories are not far behind. Nevertheless, the most revealing is the total absence of any comments in the very last category. As far as regionality is concerned, the biggest amount of attention is paid to short BATH vowels while the category of social status is influenced mostly by the glottal stop (across word boundaries preceding a vowel, as is explicitly stated several times).

An interesting comparison between CZ respondents and EN Respondent 1 reveals that regionality and education are not necessarily two mutually exclusive categories for the latter. Also, four of the eight samples with some regional features are given the full RP status. This respondent thus does not view regionality as a door-closing phenomenon as far as RP is concerned.

Table 58. EN Respondent 1: sociolinguistic categories

EN R1	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+	+	+				+		+	+	+							+
Soc. Status		-	+									+		-	+			
Education			+	+			+										+	
Poshness										-	-	+						
Speed																		

EN Respondent 2

Although regionality is an important category for EN Respondent 2 as well, it is not the top category (surpassed by education by one comment). As for speed, it gets two mentions, one of which is for Sample 12. Since this sample is an example of an extremely careful speech, EN respondents mention it relatively very often (7x). Short BATH is only mentioned once by this respondent, the other notorious northernism (raised STRUT) is mentioned on every single occasion. This respondent shows the varying degrees of sensitivity the two phenomena entail in the native environment (cf. 5.3.3.6).

Table 59. EN Respondent 2: sociolinguistic categories

EN R2	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+					+	+	+		-					+	
Soc. Status				+				-					-				+	
Education				+	+			-		+		+		-		+		+
Poshness				+													-	
Speed												-				-		

EN Respondent 3

Social status, regionality and education appear to play equally important roles for this respondent. Surprisingly, speed gets mentioned more than poshness. It may be a result of the respondent’s deep involvement in ELT activities.

As regards the variables under examination, FOOT/GOOSE fronting is mentioned twice (a rather high number given the total number of tokens); the glottal stop is generally accepted except for two occasions: both across word boundaries preceding a vowel.

Table 60. EN Respondent 3: sociolinguistic categories

EN R3	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+	+				+			+	+		+	+		+		
Soc. Status			+		+		-+		-	+		+						+-
Education	+	+-		+		+						+	+		-			
Poshness	+													-				-
Speed				-				+					-	-			+	

EN Respondent 4

This respondent appears to place more emphasis on the category of poshness than any other respondent. Regionality gets the same number of remarks, but the total numbers for regionality and poshness are markedly different; that is why the score for the latter category truly stands out. The elements of poshness often determine whether the sample is worthy of an RP tag or not.

As for the variables, no single variable is mentioned more than the others.

Table 61. EN Respondent 4: sociolinguistic categories

EN R4	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality			+				+	+				-			+		+	+
Soc. Status	+													+	+			
Education											-						+	
Poshness		+		+	-				-			+	+			+-		
Speed						-												+

EN Respondent 5

This respondent's comments mostly centre on regional features and those related to the level of education. He uncompromisingly rejects short BATH, raised STRUT and lowered TRAP as northernisms not falling within the scope of RP. Interestingly enough, the respondent is not so strict regarding lowered TRAP in southern accents of English.

Even though social status and poshness do not generate such a wealth of comments, one comment is certainly worth citing in full: 'an upper-class snob whose accent is even stronger than RP' for Sample 12.

Table 62. EN Respondent 5: sociolinguistic categories

EN R5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+		+		+			+			+					
Soc. Status	+											+	.			+	+	
Education			+				+		.	+			.	.				.
Poshness				+			.				+				+			
Speed					+	.												

EN Respondent 6

There are an unusual high number of remarks in the speed category. This may be linked with the fact that the respondent used to work as a teacher of English in a non-native country, albeit for one year only. Yet, the highest number of responses is linked with regional features, especially the glottal stop (taken to be a feature typical of the South-East of England) and northernisms like short BATH and raised STRUT.

Table 63. EN Respondent 6: sociolinguistic categories

EN R6	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality							+	+	+	+				+		+	+	+
Soc. Status		.						.	.	+								
Education				+	+							+						
Poshness									.	.	+						.	
Speed		+				.	.			+	.	.						

EN Respondent 7

EN Respondent 7 pays more attention to social rather than regional aspects of the samples. Interestingly, she takes into account northern features in some samples (7 and 17), while completely ignoring the same features in the others (3 and 10). This inconsistency may be put down to the fact that, judging by her responses, this respondent really appears to see RP as a predominantly social phenomenon. One response (no doubt a tongue-in-cheek one) is worth citing here: Sample 14 cannot be viewed as RP, for it ‘ain’t posh enuff’.

Significantly, especially if compared with CZ respondents, there is no response in the category of speed.

Table 64. EN Respondent 7: sociolinguistic categories

EN R7	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+					+				+	-			+		+	
Soc. Status				+	+		+	+			-	+		-		+-		+-
Education	+									+	+	+	-					
Poshness	+			+				-				+		-				
Speed																		

EN Respondent 8

This respondent places the biggest emphasis on regionality: she does not consider features revealing a northern background to fall within the range of RP (crucially though, there was not a single mention of short BATH or lowered TRAP, the comments focus mainly on raised STRUT and monophthongal tendencies in some RP diphthongs).

Unlike in the previous respondent’s answers, the three samples that are not regarded as posh are given an RP tag in Question 1. This respondent thus does not see posh overtones in an accent a necessary RP ingredient.

Table 65. EN Respondent 8: sociolinguistic categories

EN R8	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+	+	+		+	+	+			+		-	+					
Soc. Status		-	+		-							+			-		+-	
Education		-						-								-		+
Poshness		-		+	-					+						-		+
Speed				-					+						+			

EN Respondent 9

This respondent seems to spread her responses across all the categories evenly, only the last category slightly lagging behind.

Interestingly, the northern voices are labelled as non-RP. Short BATH is not seen as the main problem though (raised STRUT is cited most often). The respondent also makes numerous comments about the glottal stop in intervocalic positions across word boundaries. Generally, those samples with a plus in social status and education are regarded as RP.

Table 66. EN Respondent 9: sociolinguistic categories

EN R9	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+	+				+		+	+							+	+
Soc. Status	+			+						+		+	+	-		+		
Education			+	+			+					+		+	-			
Poshness				+		-		-			-	+	-					
Speed				-				+				-					+	

EN Respondent 10

Being one of the least informative EN respondents, the last S EN respondent pays particular attention to features related to educated voices. Other comments concern the regional and social aspects of the voices. The former include comments about the glottal stop (word-final positions in particular), lowered TRAP (only in northern voices though) and, remarkably enough, happyY tensing as well (one of only two mentions of it among all 40 respondents).

Table 67. EN Respondent 10: sociolinguistic categories

EN R10	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality							+	+		+	+			+	+			
Soc. Status												+						+
Education			+		+	+	+			+	+		-				+	
Poshness				+												-		
Speed																		

EN Respondent 11

Social status and regionality are the top two categories for this respondent (the first N EN respondent). He mentions a lot of northern features but makes a very clear distinction between short BATH and other northernisms (particularly raised STRUT): while the former does not prevent him from assigning a full RP status, the other northern sounds are not looked on so favourably.

Generally speaking though, he does not find regional features (barring two exceptions) compatible with a high social status and RP.

Table 68. EN Respondent 11: sociolinguistic categories

EN R11	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+				+			+		-	+			+	+	
Soc. Status	+			+	-	+			+			+		+	+		+	
Education								+	+									
Poshness						+			+-					-	+		+-	
Speed											-				-			

EN Respondent 12

Half of this respondent’s answers include some comment on regional aspects of the samples. Unlike the previous respondent, regional features do not deny access to a full RP status. Short BATH is not mentioned at all, unlike other northernisms.

Social status is the second most important category: sometimes regional features are linked with a high social status (Samples 3 and 17 in particular). Whilst three samples are regarded as posh, two are regarded as not posh: these are marked Near-RP. Speed is almost completely ignored by this respondent.

Table 69. EN Respondent 12: sociolinguistic categories

EN R12	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+	+		+		+	+		+					+	+	+	+
Soc. Status			+					-			+	+	+-	-		+	+	
Education	+			+								+		-				+-
Poshness				+		-				-		+		+				
Speed												-						

EN Respondent 13

Educated voices are very much preferred by this respondent in his assessment of their degree of RP-ness. Interestingly, educated voices are, according to this respondent, the ones without regional features (apart from Sample 17—might there be possible influence of the content?).

He pays a lot of attention to regional features as well. Apart from the usual northern ones, he also reacts to some glottal stops (word final and across word boundaries intervocalic positions). The latter are rejected as cockneyisms (cf. the discussion of the issue in Jezek 2006). The remaining two categories are barely mentioned at all; yet, the comment in Sample 12 is charmingly straightforward: ‘unbelievably snooty!!!’

Table 70. EN Respondent 13: sociolinguistic categories

EN R13	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality			+				+	+	+	+				+			+	
Soc. Status		+					+			+				.				.
Education				+	.						+	+	+		+	+	+	
Poshness				+	.							+						
Speed									+									

EN Respondent 14

The top two categories for this respondent are regionality and social status. While the former includes a lot of comments on the glottal stop and other southern features (e.g. the quality of diphthongs), the latter category sees the prevalence of southern accents (all the six pluses in the category of social status are linked with southern voices).

Three out of five educated voices are also marked as regional. One regional voice (Sample 16) is even deemed to be posh (affected).

Table 71. EN Respondent 14: sociolinguistic categories

EN R14	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+				+			+		.	+	+		+		
Soc. Status				+					.		+	+			+	+		+
Education			+	+			+							+	+			
Poshness								+				+		.		+		
Speed													.				.	+

EN Respondent 15

This respondent pays the highest amount of attention to the very first category (8 comments), the next three categories then get the same score (6 comments). This respondent's perception of RP is strongly linked with poshness: on four occasions he declines the option to award a full RP status on the grounds the accent is not posh.

Regional features mentioned by this respondent include glottals (utterance final positions), raised STRUT, FOOT/GOOSE fronting (characteristic of southern regions according to this respondent), and [æ] seen as an old-fashioned RP and southern-based sound.

Table 72. EN Respondent 15: sociolinguistic categories

EN R15	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+			+					+	+				+	+	+	+
Soc. Status	+	-			-							+	-				+	
Education		-				+		+	+	+								+
Poshness				+	-								+		+		-	-
Speed				-	+							-						

EN Respondent 16

This respondent regards regionality as the main criterion in terms of numbers (half of her responses mention it). As for northern features, she does not mention short BATH at all; she only sometimes comments on raised STRUT. Southern sounds she objects to are /t/-flapping, /l/-vocalisation. Also, she mentions the speed of Samples 4 and 12 (though this has little to do with region, of course).

Social status and education sometimes occur in connection with regional features, though no firm pattern can be established. Sample 12 is viewed as extremely posh by this respondent but also those samples which are not regarded as posh are generally looked on very favourably and get a full RP score in Question 1.

Table 73. EN Respondent 16: sociolinguistic categories

EN R16	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+	+	+			+	+	+			-	+	+		+		
Soc. Status			+					+		+		+			+			
Education			+				+						-	+	+			+
Poshness				+					+	-		+						-
Speed				-								-						

EN Respondent 17

This respondent is unique insofar as she puts such a lot of emphasis on the category of poshness. Interestingly, she passes a remark about posh overtones or a lack of them for all the samples from number 12 upwards; almost as if this ‘veeery posh’ Sample 12 has made such a strong impression on her that she then feels the urge to mention poshness in all the remaining samples.

Regionality receives the same score as poshness; her responses are the most critical of all N EN regarding northern features (she even rejects short BATH). Not many samples are labelled as RP by this respondent. None of these include any regional features.

Three of those samples which are thought to reveal a high social status are only labelled as Near-RP.

Table 74. EN Respondent 17: sociolinguistic categories

EN R17	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality	+		+			+	+			+				+	+		+	+
Soc. Status					+		+							-		+	+	+
Education				+							+	+						
Poshness		-	+									+	+	+	-	+	-	+
Speed												-						

EN Respondent 18

Regionality and education are mentioned in almost half of the samples. The latter category seems to be a really important category for the degree of RP-ness because almost all the samples marked as RP in Question 1 are also regarded as educated.

Regional features most often mentioned by this respondent are the glottal stop (Estuary English overtones), /l/-vocalisation, and some diphthongal qualities (e.g. PRICE or MOUTH, both linked with the South-East of England). As for the northern voices, most of them are marked as regional, yet those that are found to be educated get the full RP score. Posh voices get the full RP score, too; nonetheless, they are generally not received well and are rather looked on as something to avoid.

Table 75. EN Respondent 18: sociolinguistic categories

EN R18	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18	
Regionality			+		+		+		+	+	+	-	+					+	
Soc. Status				+	-			+				+	-		-				
Education	+	+	+	+	-		+			+		+					+		+/-
Poshness					+	-		+	+/-		+	+							
Speed										+								+	

EN Respondent 19

EN Respondent 19 stresses two categories: poshness and regionality. Posh accents get the RP label in Question 1 and are (with the exception of Sample 12) generally received well; i.e. the posh overtones are seen as something to be expected of RP.

As far as regional aspects are concerned, /l/-vocalisation is the biggest problem, along with the glottal stop in intervocalic positions across word boundaries. Indeed, none of the voices with regional sounds are labelled as RP. Surprisingly, some clearly regional samples (3 and 7, for example) are left without any comments in the category of regionality and are therefore given the RP status.

What is also worth noting is that not all the samples assigned to a high social stratum are labelled as RP (Samples 4 and 8 are the two in question).

Table 76. EN Respondent 19: sociolinguistic categories

EN R19	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality		+								+		-		+		+	+	+
Soc. Status				+			+	+				+		-				
Education					+				+									
Poshness	+	-			+							+		+		+/-	+/-	
Speed																		

EN Respondent 20

Educated voices and voices revealing a high position in the society are the ones to be in harmony with this respondent's expectations regarding RP. Regional features appear to be an obstacle as only one voice is marked as RP in spite of the fact that it contains sounds linked with a particular region.

Like with the other EN respondents, speed is almost completely ignored, while poshness receives four mentions. Sample 12 is singled out as an example of a very old-fashioned and posh variety of RP.

Table 77. EN Respondent 20: sociolinguistic categories

EN R20	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18
Regionality					+		+	+	+	+		-						
Soc. Status	+	+				+					-	+				+		-
Education		+	+	+			+								+	+	+	-
Poshness				+								+		+	+			
Speed								+										

6.3 Research Questions and Results

In this part data is analysed according to the research questions (cf. 4.4.2) and the main area these questions cover.

6.3.1 The Degree of RP-ness: Research Question 1

Research Question 1: What would you label this accent:

If all respondents provided only 'RP' answers, the overall score would be 2 points while if all of them went for 'Non-RP', the overall score would be 0.

As has been anticipated in Hypothesis1, EN respondents turn out to be more tolerant and their overall average RP score is higher than that of their Czech counterparts. EN respondents have the obvious advantage of being native speakers and their perception of the prestige accent is based on direct contact rather than on a model presented in a book. Since the model available in books in non-native countries is rather outdated, it is only to be expected that CZ respondents feel that the accents they can hear are not in full accordance with the model; hence the lower scores.

Overall average RP score for 20 CZ and 20 EN respondents:

CZ respondents:	1.15
EN respondents:	1.28

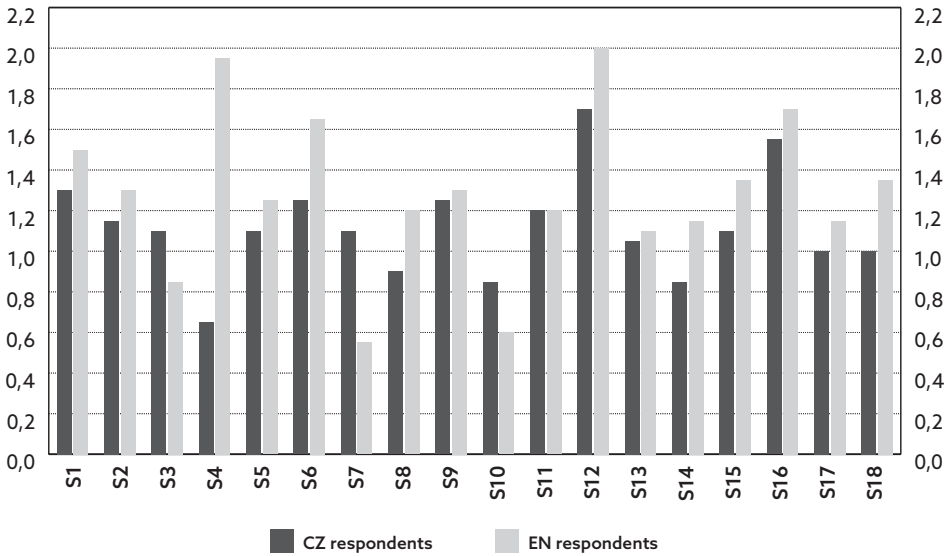
Even though the overall average scores reveal some general tendencies in both groups' perception of the pronunciation standard, much more is revealed if the scores are analysed individually.

The individual RP scores for 20 CZ and 20 EN respondents can be found in Figure 1 on p. 210. The main trend seems to be clear: 14 out of the total of 18 samples have received a higher RP score from EN respondents, there is one equal score from both sets of respondents and only three samples are looked upon more favourably in terms of RP-ness by CZ respondents. Generally speaking, the majority of samples do not display any significant differences between EN and CZ respondents (less than 0.3) and these will not be commented upon. I would like to turn my attention to the samples where the differences are higher than 0.3 (Samples 4 and 6) and those samples which have received a higher RP score from CZ respondents (Samples 3, 7, and 10). Interestingly enough, the latter group of samples are all northern voices.

Samples 3 and 7

These two samples are dealt with in one section because they were produced by just one speaker. It is thus little surprising that the differences between CZ and EN respondents are similar (0.85 for S3 and 0.55 for S7). While the differences are rather similar, the scores are far from similar: S3 has scored 1.7 (CZ) and 0.85 (EN) whereas S7 has only received 1.1 (CZ) and 0.55 (EN). It is therefore necessary to attempt to answer two questions: why is there such a significant gap between CZ and EN respondents and why has S3 received such significantly higher scores than S7?

As far as the former question is concerned, CZ respondents do not take into account raised STRUT and short BATH (the two most salient northern features; cf. Beal 2008b: 131–2) as much as EN respondents. Their comments (rare as they are) include mainly glottal stops and lowered TRAPs. EN respondents, on the other hand, mention raised STRUT 15 times (short BATH only 6 times, almost all of these comments made by S EN respondents). This sound has proved to be the reason why EN respondents' score is so low. Furthermore, the sample is very easy to understand for CZ respondents (intelligibility score: 1.95 out of 2), which appears to have contributed to the high RP score assigned by CZ respondents.

Figure 1. RP scores by samples and respondents

I believe that the latter question is connected with the quantity of the relevant features in S 7: short BATH was present 5 times (only one word: *last*; it could hardly be any more conspicuous) and raised STRUT 3 times (both variables are only present once in S3). That is why this sample has received remarkably lower RP scores than S3.

There is one more observation based on the difference between CZ and EN respondents and their evaluation of S7: while CZ respondents pay the biggest deal of attention to the very frequent short BATH *last*, EN respondents consider raised STRUT to be the outstanding regional feature.

There is also a considerable difference between S EN and N EN respondents' RP scores (and their evaluation of the crucial variables on which the scores are undoubtedly based). This, however, is discussed in detail in 5.3.3.6.

Sample 4

This sample is remarkable because it represents the biggest difference between CZ and EN respondents: 1.3 points (CZ: 0.65, EN: 1.95). The explanations for this extreme perceptive span seem to be manifold.

First of all, the speed of utterance is extremely low. EN respondents interpret this phenomenon as careful diction often found with traditional RP speakers whereas some of their CZ counterparts are convinced that the person is actually

not a native speaker of English at all. The speed is, in their opinion, a signal of the person's inability to express himself in English fluently. Other CZ respondents find some features deemed to be regional/non-standard: the intrusive /r/, the glottal stop replacing /t/, extremely close /i/, velar/uvular initial sound in *hobby*, and vocalised /l/.

Interestingly enough, the sample presents only a very few features which might possibly be labelled as near-RP or non-RP. It is the speed that appears to have played the crucial role in determining to what extent the accent is or is not RP. Moreover, EN respondents (more than a half of them) find the sample to be quite posh, which is naturally another important factor for the overall RP score.

This sample is also exceptional insofar as it has received a very high intelligibility score (2.95); still, its RP score is the lowest of all as far as CZ respondents are concerned. It seems to be the case that for CZ respondents this accent is so easy to understand that they think it cannot possibly be a native speaker. Why could a non-native speaker of English not speak RP though? RP is surely not limited to the native milieu; especially in view of the fact that it is presented as the model in non-native countries as well.

Sample 6

The difference in the RP scores for this sample is 0.4 (CZ: 1.25, EN: 1.65). CZ respondents' comments include several phenomena that prevent a higher RP score: lowered TRAP, a few glottal replacements of /t/ and intrusive /r/. On the other hand, these are completely neglected by EN respondents in their comments; some of them have only decided not to award a full RP status on the grounds that the accent lacks posh overtones.

The RP score for this sample may also have been influenced by the content of the sample (possibly some academic work, data analysis, etc.), but that should be the same for both sets of respondents.

Sample 10

This is the last of the three samples which have received a higher RP score from CZ respondents (CZ: 0.85, EN: 0.65). The difference is, admittedly, far from dramatic but the two scores are still worth investigating.

The low score from CZ respondents is undoubtedly linked with the intelligibility score: a very low one at 1.1. The main reason why this sample has received such a low intelligibility score is the speed of utterance. Furthermore, the sample includes a number of regional markers.

The voice is judged to be clearly regional by EN respondents as well: only three fail to include a comment about that. Raised STRUT proves to be the main hindrance to a higher RP score (with short BATH receiving only half as many comments).

It seems that this sample has got a higher RP score from CZ respondents mainly because raised STRUT is an unacceptable sound in RP and EN respondents are particularly sensitive to it. Otherwise, a number of them find the sample educated and of a high social status; they do not seem to have had any other reason why to mark the accent down to such an extent.

6.3.2 Selected variables: Research Question 2

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

This open question has been included with a view to eliciting information about features that do not fall within the scope of Received Pronunciation. Despite having pre-selected a set of variables, I have decided against forming specific questions focused on particular variables. Instead, I have made use of open questions to avoid influencing my respondents and to keep the door open for any other variables that have not been included in my pre-selected set. Thus, I am able to conclude, for example, that while short BATH should be included in the RP model, raised STRUT (the other salient northernism) should definitely not. I have included the former while leaving out the latter in my pre-selected set of variables; yet, due to the open form of the question, respondents have been able to pass comments on both variables (see 6.3.2.5 for more details about these variables).

I will now proceed to discuss the selected variables in relation to the data gathered in my research.

6.3.2.1 Lowered TRAP vowel

The TRAP vowel is a very frequent sound and it is present in all the samples. Only one sample (S4) does not include any lowered TRAP vowel (i.e. cardinal vowel no. 4 [a]). Naturally, the whole phenomenon cannot be viewed on the either/or (black or white) basis only. As details 2.5.2, it is often much more revealing to approach linguistic data quantitatively (rather than qualitatively) since a particular user does not always use only one possible variant while completely ignoring the other(s). In my research, a number of speakers (Samples 1, 5, 11,

12, 14, and 15) make use of both variants on offer as far as TRAP is concerned: [a] and [æ].

Significantly, all the enumerated samples above come from speakers from the South of England. It would thus be tempting to come to the conclusion that a categorical use of [a] is a northern feature. Such a conclusion would, indeed, be in line with other research dealing with the TRAP vowel (cf. Beal 2008b: 130). This aspect of the issue is not, however, one of the aims of my research.

I would now like to answer the question whether lowered TRAP [a] is an RP sound along with the well-established [æ].

Before I present the results of my study for TRAP though, I would like to stress that I am aware of the fact that this particular vowel occurs in high-frequency grammatical words like *had, has, and* as well as in content words like *family, gradually, grandparents* (all these examples come from the samples). To avoid skewed results because of this, each sample contains grammatical words as well as content words—only Sample 2 is an exception as it only contains words *and* and *had* (the latter both as an auxiliary as well as a full verb).

The vowel in question is present in 17 samples, there are 47 instances in total; two samples only have one token while one sample has five tokens, which is the highest of all. It could potentially have been mentioned 340 times by both sets of respondents if every single respondent had reacted to a lowered TRAP vowel in every single sample. That would, however, be a very high number and the actual numbers are considerably lower, of course:

Table 78. Lowered TRAP [a] by respondents

Lowered TRAP [a]	Results in numbers	Results in %
CZ respondents	82	24
EN respondents	7	2.05

The number of mentions is significantly higher for CZ respondents. The data reveals that no respondent has singled out this variable more than the others.

As far as the North and South divide is concerned, 7 comments is obviously too low a number to reveal any pattern.

The findings confirm what can be found in many sources (e.g. Wells 1982: 129, Wells 2001, Cruttenden 2014: 119, Upton 2000a: 79): the TRAP vowel in contemporary RP has the quality of the cardinal vowel no. 4. What is different, though, is the perception of this particular sound among CZ and EN respondents.

It is clear that for EN respondents lowered TRAP has fixed its position in RP. The problematic issue now is the adequate symbol for it. Wells (2001) calls for sticking with the old symbol and merely redefining it; in other words, he seems to

propose that we should keep using the [æ] symbol while including a remark that its actual realisation has shifted to [a]. However, it seems more appropriate to me to adopt a symbol that perfectly matches the modern variant of the phoneme.

CZ respondents, on the other hand, find the phoneme more difficult to accept. Although the total number of comments may not seem so high, it does reveal certain reluctance towards lowered TRAP in RP.

First of all, the reluctance may be the result of the overwhelming presence of [æ] in all ELT materials. Non-native language professionals are used to it and they do expect to hear the sound in what they believe to be RP. The ELT world seems rather conservative (Upton 2001: 355) but the important question to ask is whether it is conservative because it wants to be like that (an inherent urge of some sort) or because it works with materials that present conservative forms. Admittedly, some academics feel strongly about maintaining a ‘hard-won uniformity’ when it comes to transcription preferences (Wells 2001). Personally, I do not think that there is some conservative conspiracy going on though because teaching materials are very expensive to make and changes are typically only reflected once they have been thoroughly analysed and accepted by the academic community. As can be seen, there is no unanimity of opinion among the academics as far as the proper symbol for TRAP is concerned.

Then, as the [æ] sound does not exist in the Czech language, the Czechs face a dilemma in their own language when it comes to English words that also exist in Czech—typically proper nouns like *Gareth* and *Barry*. Thus, Czech commentators, for example, need to make up their mind as to which sound to use whenever *Gareth Bale* (a Welsh football player) touches the ball—unless they produce [æ], which would undoubtedly please many teachers of English, but it would sound rather odd in an otherwise perfectly Czech environment, of course. They basically have two options: [a] and [ɛ]. The tradition dictates that the latter variant is adopted; Gareth is then [gɛrɛt] (Czechs also do not reduce unstressed vowels and /th/ becomes an alveolar plosive). The habit is so strong that it even makes Czechs use [ɛ] for English words which also exist in Czech with [a]. As a result, funnily enough, *Patrik Elias* (Czech ice-hockey player) is then [patrik] while *Patrick Swayze* is [petrik]. Needless to say, this choice of the vowel in question is rather unfortunate as it may bring about considerable confusion in English in minimal pairs like *latter/letter* or *bad/bed*. I think it would be beneficial to encourage students who follow the British model of pronunciation to adopt [a] for TRAP words. It is so common in regional accents of English in this day and age and the foothold [æ] used to have in RP seems to have weakened now considerably as well.

Sample 4 is the only one where TRAP is not lowered at all (admittedly, there are only two instances in total). The social background of the speaker (see Appendix 1) and his long stay abroad as a teacher of English may suggest why.

While the TRAP words are completely ignored by CZ respondents, EN respondents mention it twice that the sound is ‘old-fashioned’ and typical of ‘traditional RP’. This sound undoubtedly also contributes towards the fact that as many as eleven EN respondents find the accent rather posh; only one CZ respondent thinks so as well.

6.3.2.2 Intrusive /r/

The sound is rather rare (especially when compared with the glottal stop or TRAP words). As a consequence, in all the eighteen samples there are only five tokens of intrusive /r/. All of them are produced by speakers with southern accents of English. However, I would call this pure coincidence (cf. e.g. Foulkes 1997 and Barrass 2010, who firmly confirm the existence of intrusive /r/ in northern voices as well).

Since intrusive /r/ is present five times, the maximum number of comments from one set of respondents was 100. The results are the following:

Table 79. Intrusive /r/ by respondents

Intrusive [r]	Results in numbers	Results in %
CZ respondents	26	260
EN respondents	0	0

Not a single comment from EN respondents is an unmistakable sign of the fact that intrusive /r/ has now won a firm place in the RP repertoire. This confirms what academics have been claiming for several decades (e.g. Wells 1994: 3.4, Upton 2008: 249 and Cruttenden 2014: 316). See 6.2 for an analysis of pronouncing dictionaries and their reflection of this phenomenon.

CZ respondents’ score, on the other hand, is 26%. Those CZ respondents who provide further comment on this phenomenon mention the issue of spelling several times (it would, for example, be difficult to teach this sound if it is not ‘there’; i.e. in the spelling). Others simply state that the sound does not ‘belong to RP’. Two respondents have asserted that it is unnecessary to teach this sound because it only seems to complicate things and it does not bring any benefits in terms of intelligibility.

Indeed, the presence or absence of intrusive /r/ in one’s accent makes little difference as far as intelligibility is concerned. Nevertheless, I would not agree with the view that the use of intrusive /r/ does not bring any benefits at all. Trudgill (2002: 179) suggests that foreigners should be encouraged to adopt in-

trusive /r/. I am convinced that this sound can immediately inform a native speaker of the non-native speaker's sound knowledge of English (pronunciation). It signals to native speakers that they can speak freely and they do not have to modify their speech to accommodate to the level of the recipient; this can certainly win a few extra points (literally or not, e.g. in a job interview). While some nations (the Czechs, for example) are pleased whenever they hear a foreigner trying to speak their language, other nations, including the English, probably hear dozens of such attempts every single day. Surely, the presence of such distinctive features as intrusive /r/ might bring a considerable benefit insofar as it may guarantee a high level of English and it may possibly break the ice in a conversation with an English person.

6.3.2.3 FOOT/GOOSE fronting

This variable is present in four samples (8, 11, 15, 18). The first of them includes two words with this vowel, which means that the total number of words with fronted FOOT/GOOSE is five. Fronted GOOSE is present only once (*cool*) while fronted FOOT is present four times (*good* 3x and *foot*).

Since there are four samples with the variable in question, the maximum number of comments from one set of respondents was 80. Here are the actual results:

Table 80. FOOT/GOOSE fronting by respondents

FOOT/GOOSE ronting	Results in numbers	Results in %
CZ respondents	16	20
EN respondents	6	7.5

This vowel is now attested in RP (Cruttenden 2008: 125). I treat both lexical sets together here because the long GOOSE vowel is not only fronted, but it is also often shortened (the word *cool* in Sample 8 is a prime example of this). Upton (2008: 245) maintains that the sound is typical of young RP speakers. In my research, fronted FOOT/GOOSE is produced by 2 speakers only, one evidently very young (university student), the other is in his forties. Their overall RP scores from both sets of respondents are, however, rather low.

The results reveal that for EN respondents fronting FOOT/GOOSE is hardly a problem. It only gets six mentions and the comments include information about a 'too casual' accent or one where 'not enough attention is paid to pronunciation'.

CZ respondents make a remark about this vowel much more frequently. They, also, comment on the fact that it is 'sloppy', 'casual', 'too laid-back'.

6.3.2.4 The glottal stop

This variable is not as straightforward as the others. What needs to be borne in mind is the fact that the glottal stop can appear in a number of phonetic environments, and the environment itself affects its acceptability in RP.

In my research I use the oft-cited classification found in Wells (1982: 260) to deal with the glottal stop (keeping the abbreviations designed by Wells apart from two changes, cf. p. 107; hereinafter the abbreviations are typed in *italics*):

	/ p /	/ t /	/ k /
(a) __#true C	<i>stop talking</i>	<i>quite good</i>	<i>look down</i>
(b) __#L or S	<i>stop worrying</i>	<i>quite likely</i>	<i>look worried</i>
(c) __#V	<i>stop eating</i>	<i>quite easy</i>	<i>look up</i>
(d) __pause	<i>Stop!</i>	<i>Quite!</i>	<i>Look!</i>
(e) __true C	<i>stopped, capsule</i>	<i>nights, curtsey</i>	<i>looks, picture</i>
(f) __L or S	<i>hopeless</i>	<i>mattress</i>	<i>equal</i>
(g) __[m n ŋ,]	<i>(happen)</i>	<i>button</i>	<i>(bacon)</i>
(h) __V or [!]	<i>happy, apple, stop it</i>	<i>butter, bottle, get 'im, ticket, buckle, lick it</i>	

The samples confirm that the glottal stop is now a very common sound. The total number of glottalised /t/s in all the samples is 107. Only Sample 7 does not contain any glottalised plosive at all. Although /t/ is by far the most glottalised plosive, there are seven instances of glottalised /k/ (mainly the high-frequency word *like*). The following table, based on the classification in Wells (above) reveals the pattern for all the samples:

Table 81. The number of [ʔ] tokens by samples and linguistic contexts

Glottal stop	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18	Total
__#true C	1	2	1		4	2		3	5	3	4	1	4	4	2		3	1	40
__#L or S				1	4	1		3	7	2	3	1	2		3	2	4	1	34
__#V	1				2			2	2	3			2	1	3	3			19
__pause		2	1		2			1			1				2		1		10
__true C				1															1
__L or S		2																	2
__Syl N								1											1
__V or Syl /l/																			0

The table reveals a very high frequency of the glottal stop in the top two categories; then there is a significant gap dividing *_#true C* and *_# L or S* from *_#V* and *_pause*. The remaining four categories are not represented by more than two words. In fact, the last one (word-medial in between vowels) does not have a single token. It is hardly surprising, though, as this usage is still restricted to highly regional, nonstandard voices (Cruttenden 2014: 184).

Of course, the table is only illustrative. I have selected only some parts of the recordings I made. Yet, this variable is the only one where I have not included all (or almost all) of the tokens present in the recordings. I have made sure that the other variables are selected and I have mostly simply included the glottal stops present in the vicinity of the other variables. The only conscious effort I made was to include those glottal stops in the bottom half categories. Nonetheless, it is easy to see that [ʔ] in these categories is rather infrequent in educated speech.

Since the variable in question was present in 17 samples, the total number of possible comments from each set of respondents in my research is 340. The results are the following:

Table 82. The glottal stop [ʔ] by respondents

The glottal stop [ʔ]	Results in numbers	Results in %
CZ respondents	97	28.5
EN respondents	66	19.4

Though the numbers show that CZ respondents take a stricter stance to the occurrence of the glottal stop in Received Pronunciation, the results can only elucidate the issue properly if the phonetic environments are taken into account. Before these details are offered, it seems apposite to bring to mind what prominent linguists claim about the glottal stop in relation to its status in RP.

Wells (1982: 261) maintains that the following categories from his classification above belong to RP: *_#true C*, *_#L or S*, and *_true C*. Ramsaran (1990: 187) adds one more category in her list of RP sounds: *_L or S*. Cruttenden (1994: 155–6) and Upton (2008: 249) agree with the categories stated above, and they also include category *_Syl N* words like *Luton* and *cotton*.

Not every single respondent includes specific information as to which phonetic environment they deem unacceptable. Sometimes, the answers are rather general like ‘the glottals’, ‘/t/-glottalisation’, or ‘the glottal stop’. While such a lack of specific examples does not pose any problems for the other variables, the glottal stop does need such specification. Nevertheless, there are enough respondents who have given specific examples of those tokens where [ʔ] is unacceptable in RP: 58 specific tokens (max. 97) mentioned by CZ respondents and 40 (max. 66)

mentioned by EN respondents. I believe that the results are thus representative enough.

Table 83. CZ respondents' reactions to [ʔ] by linguistic contexts

CZ respondents: Linguistic contexts for [ʔ]	Results in %
<i>_#true C</i>	13.4
<i>_#L or S</i>	12.4
<i>_#V</i>	11.3
<i>_pause</i>	9.3
<i>_true C</i>	5.1
<i>_L or S</i>	3.0
<i>_Syl N</i>	5.1
<i>_V or Syl /l/</i>	0

Table 84. EN respondents' reactions to [ʔ] by linguistic contexts

EN respondents: Linguistic contexts for [ʔ]	Results in %
<i>_#true C</i>	1.5
<i>_#L or S</i>	3.0
<i>_#V</i>	16.6
<i>_pause</i>	15.1
<i>_true C</i>	9.0
<i>_L or S</i>	1.5
<i>_Syl N</i>	13.6
<i>_V or Syl /l/</i>	0

The two tables display a dramatic difference. While CZ respondents' scores decrease as one moves from top to bottom, EN respondents give prominence to three categories: *_#V*, *_pause*, and *_Syl N*. It seems that CZ respondents are influenced by the quantity as their most frequent responses are in those categories with the highest numbers of tokens in the samples: *_#true C*, *_#L or S*, *_#V* and *_pause*. EN respondents, on the other hand, seem to have reacted to the quality. In other words, they do not cite examples from the categories with abundant tokens but they focus on those phonetic environments that appear to be out of the RP range.

The interpretation I offer here is that those CZ respondents who do not regard the glottal stop as an RP sound (and all 20 CZ respondents mention the glottal

stop at least once) do not really distinguish between various phonetic environments; i.e. they just react to the glottal stop they can hear, particularly if it is present in the sample a number of times. Naturally, the most common mentions relate to the most frequent tokens.

In the non-native milieu, it thus does not seem appropriate to speak about different phonetic environments in which the glottal stop can occur. CZ respondents simply react to the glottal stop as such and the score (when compared with the other variables) is far from low. They clearly think that the glottal stop remains a sound the presence of which is rather disputable in RP.

EN respondents, on the other hand, seem to take phonetic environments into consideration. Their most frequent categories are *_#V*, *_pause*, and *_Syl N*. Interestingly enough, the total number of tokens in these three environments is 30, i.e. fewer than in each of the top two categories: *_#true C* with 40 and *_#L or S* with 34 tokens.

EN respondents confirm the abovementioned views which claim that the glottal stop is an RP sound before consonants (both across word boundaries or word internally). There are considerable reservations regarding its presence in RP before vowels and preceding a pause as well as word-medially before a nasal. The last category would, however, surely need to be represented by more than just one word (*bitten*) to make the results more convincing.

The overall numbers of words representing individual categories are worth having a closer look at. In total, my respondents listened to over 8 minutes of authentic speech. But I had made recordings stretching over 60 minutes. In those 60 minutes there is not a single token of *Syl N* category word—the only example in Sample 8 comes from Collins and Mees (2003: 4). Furthermore, there is only one word in the *_true C* category: *football*; two words in the *_L or S* category: *heat-wave* and *courtyard*; and no word in the *_V or Syl /l/* category. Needless to say, had there been more words in these categories, I would not have hesitated to include them in my research. But the recordings simply do not include them. I am convinced that this very fact speaks volumes about the frequency and distribution of the glottal stop in educated speech.

6.3.2.5 Short BATH

Unsurprisingly, all of the voices with this variable are northern ones; the variable is present in four samples: 3, 7, 10, and 13. In total, there are nine instances of this variable (most notably the word *last* repeated five times in Sample 7).

Since there are four samples with the variable in question, the maximum number of comments from CZ respondents is 80. Since this variable sharply divides S EN and N EN respondents, their group is divided into 2 subgroups

(10 members in each group) with 40 as the total number of responses. Here are the actual results:

Table 85. Short BATH [a] by respondents

Short BATH [a]	Results in numbers	Results in %
CZ respondents	19	23.8
S EN respondents	23	57.5
N EN respondents	2	5.0

For N EN respondents short BATH seems to present no problems and they do not, except for a few exceptions, regard the sound as non-RP. The reason is that the feature is not stigmatised and does not imply a lack of education or sophistication. Consequently, even northerners attempting to modify their accent towards the standard retain this feature.

S EN respondents, on the other hand, find the sound problematic as regards its acceptance in RP. The score is, indeed, a very high one and it provides clear evidence that the notion of RP divides England into two halves: Northern RP (with short BATH) and Southern RP (without short BATH). To make the results more telling, I have also counted the results for raised STRUT. Although it is not one of the studied variables, it is the other variable dividing the South from the North. The results clearly reveal the difference in perception between raised STRUT and short BATH (the total number is 30 as this variant is present in 3 samples only (3,7,10)).

Table 86. Raised STRUT by EN respondents

Raised STRUT	Results in numbers	Results in %
S EN resp.	20	66.6
N EN resp.	17	56.6

For N EN respondents raised STRUT is almost as unacceptable in RP as short BATH for S EN respondents. The numbers are very high, and one cannot admit raised STRUT in the current model of RP. Short BATH, however, is a different case: for S EN respondents it is not an RP sound at all; their N EN counterparts do not think that BATH [a] is stigmatised.

CZ respondents seem to take notice of the variable mainly when it is present (repeated) a number of times (Sample 7). The voices containing short BATH generally receive a very high intelligibility score and, as a result, are considered

to be relatively close to the RP label (with the exception of Sample 10, which remains much closer to Near-RP). I believe that the high intelligibility score is directly linked with the degree of RP-ness CZ respondents assign to these samples. Though this is discussed in greater detail in 6.3.4, I would like to say here that CZ respondents do not appear to take into account regional or social aspects of the accent (certainly not as much as their EN counterparts); what they do consider crucial is intelligibility. This is in line with the definition of RP to be found in *Everyman's English pronouncing dictionary*: 'it [=RP] has a regional, geographical basis and a wide intelligibility' (Jones 1977: x). Thus, if CZ respondents understand the accent easily, the RP score is high regardless of the number of regional or social aspects present in the accent.

My research confirms that Upton's division of RP into northern and southern varieties is based on a solid foundation. Unless short BATH is allowed to enter the realm of Received Pronunciation, this accent remains an 'exclusively southern-British phenomenon' (Upton 2003: xiii). Moreover, it seems no longer possible to adhere to the axiom of non-localisability of RP. If short BATH is rejected, RP then becomes an accent strongly linked with the South of England. If short BATH is accepted in the model, then one needs to distinguish between its southern and northern varieties.

6.3.2.6 Summary: selected variables—CZ and EN respondents

With the selected variables having been discussed separately, it is now fitting to compare the two sets of respondents. It is possible to treat EN respondents as one compact group for all the variables with the notable exception of short BATH.

Table 87. Five selected variables by respondents

Five selected variables	CZ respondents	EN respondents	
Lowered TRAP	24.0%	2.0%	
Intrusive /r/	26.0%	0%	
The glottal stop	28.5%	19.4%	
FOOT/GOOSE fronting	20%	7.5%	
		S EN r.	N EN r.
Short BATH	23.8%	57.5%	5.0%

The percentages in the table above are seemingly rather low (except for the S EN score at the bottom); yet, one has to remember that it would be wholly exceptional if a particular variable should get a score approaching 100%. To give an

example, stigma attached to the raised STRUT vowel as far as the pronunciation standard in Britain is concerned is still strongly felt; nonetheless, it ‘only’ received 66.6% from S EN respondents and 56.6% from their northern counterparts. In retrospect, it would certainly have been beneficial if the samples had included an even more stigmatised (i.e. than raised STRUT) sound in order that we might see how high the percentages could possibly reach—an intervocalic word-medial glottal stop (*water* [wɔ:ʔə]) would be a suitable representative. However, I aimed to offer for analysis a set of educated voices that were middle-of-the-road in terms of regional as well as social features. Clearly, the glottal stop in *wa’er* would be incompatible with such requirements.

It seems extremely surprising that all the scores from CZ respondents fall within such a close range (from 20% to 28,5%). CZ respondents fail to focus on any particular variable. My explanation I tentatively put forward concerns the fact that non-native respondents seem unable to pick more than one variable in short samples like the ones present in the survey. Only rarely does a particular sample draw more than one CZ comment concerning the variables (even including those that were not selected for analysis); in this respect there is a marked difference between CZ and EN respondents. The analysis does not reveal any pattern for CZ respondents; all of them mention almost all of the variables under investigation at least once but very few of them mention one variable more than three times. Another possible explanation does not see the crux of the matter in non-native respondents’ inability to spot more than one variable, but rather in their overall approach to the research. It seems that they may have approached it in a ‘spot-the-one-mistake’ manner; as a result, when/if they did spot the ‘mistake’ (the feature not compatible with RP), their attention may have flagged.

Even such a prominent regional feature as raised STRUT has failed to raise more than 16 comments from CZ respondents (26.6%). In my opinion, such a score (along with the scores for the other variables) implies that non-natives focus on speed and intelligibility so much that regional features are only observed somewhat sparsely. I cannot conclude that any of the studied variables is accepted in the non-native model of RP. Nor can I say that it does not belong to RP at all. The percentages are inconclusive; particularly given the fact that such a stigmatised sound as raised STRUT receives an almost identical score as the other variables.

As regards EN respondents, they seem to have little or no problem at all with lowered TRAP, intrusive /r/ and FOOT/GOOSE fronting. The BATH vowel, sharply dividing S EN and N EN respondents, is discussed in greater detail elsewhere (6.3.2.5), as is the glottal stop (6.3.2.4), where one needs to take into consideration the various phonetic environments in which the glottal stop may appear. CZ respondents (unlike their EN counterparts) do not seem to pay a great deal of attention to the phonetic environment in which the glottal stop appears.

This might be due to a considerable lack of exposure to native accents as well as a lack of sensitivity that is attached to the glottal stop in various phonetic environments.

In conclusion, the evidence shows that CZ respondents do not differentiate much between individual variables and their regional and social connotations. Instead, they approach them as identical (the very small differences in the percentages in Table 87 supports this claim). The same might be said about the glottal stop: they simply react to its presence or absence without making any further/deeper differentiation.

With EN respondents the situation is far from straightforward as they pay close attention to individual variables and, in the case of the glottal stop, to exact phonetic environments, too. Such a result can be argued to have been influenced by 'trained ears' that natives are naturally endowed with. Despite the less straightforward patterns, EN respondents' scores leave little doubt as to whether a given sound is or is not to be considered RP.

6.3.3 Sociolinguistic Categories of RP: Research Questions 3 and 5

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

Research Question 5: Would you like to make any (more) comments on this accent?

These two questions are discussed together because they largely provide a similar type of data: reasons why specific sounds (mainly Question 3) or entire accents (mainly Question 5) can or cannot be considered RP. Such information can then be used to identify the basics of RP; in other words, it is hoped that it is possible to create a mental image of the accent for both sets of respondents.

The information gathered via these two questions has been sorted into five categories, the definitions of which are provided below. The survey does not affect respondents as it does not reveal precisely what kind of information it focuses on.

The five categories in this analysis are the ones most frequently mentioned in Questions 3 and 5. The category of intelligibility is analysed separately in 5.3.4.

While I can hardly discuss what the categories mean to my respondents, I can provide my own understanding of the categories that seem to define Received Pronunciation. My own definitions of the notions are offered here; the actual results are discussed further below.

Figure 2. RP categories by CZ respondents

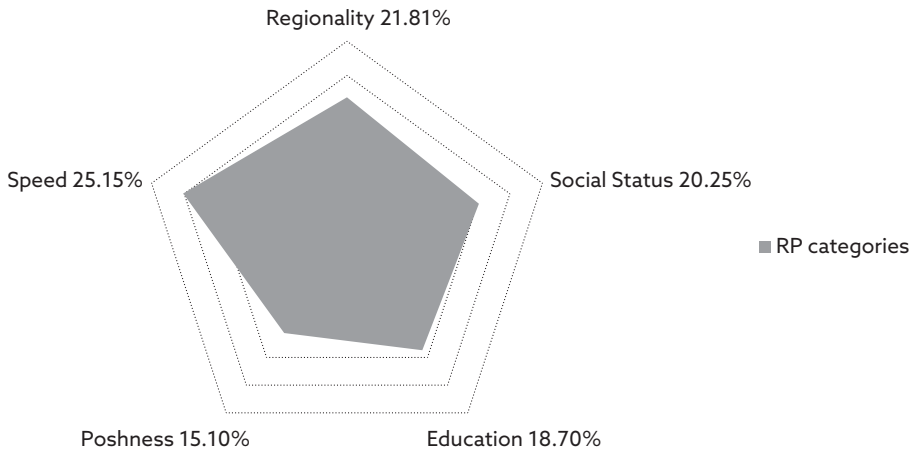
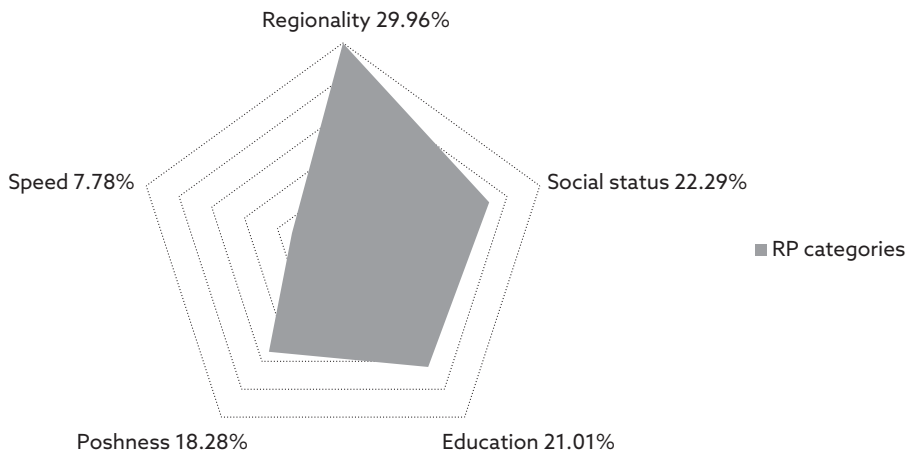


Figure 3. RP categories by EN respondents



Regionality

This category entails features that appear to betray the speaker’s regional affiliation. Many respondents believe that RP is strictly non-localisable (i.e. purely social) and regional traces mark the accent down. This must be linked with the fact that the axiom of non-localisability is still upheld, despite the apparent discrep-

ancy present in some transcriptions of the model and their intrinsic affiliation with the South of England (as discussed in 4.2.1.7 and 6.3.2.5)

Social status

It is concerned with one's position in society. There are possibly two ways of understanding the notion: the person is either born into the position or makes their way up the social hierarchy (which is reflected in the accent).

Education

Education is now available to large masses of people and is no longer linked with the social status (as it used to be in the past). Educated voices can be regional and they may not necessarily indicate a high position in society. Interestingly, many respondents think that an educated voice is more in tune with modern RP than the voice of a person that simply happens to occupy a high social position. I believe that the prestige accent in England is still a matter of class (especially the distinction between traditional and modern RP); yet, certain regional features are no longer stigmatised and they do not preclude speakers being perceived as educated, which for some linguists appears to be one of the main RP-defining criteria (cf. Upton 2008, Ramsaran 1990, Collins and Mees 2013).

Poshness

For many people RP is linked with posh overtones (this particular phrase appeared more than 15 times). Like social status, this category seems to imply that RP has much to do with a privileged background. Sometimes, comments in this category include the term 'affected'. I consider the two terms (posh and affected) as near-synonyms, because they seem to imply that the accent (speaker) is rather stylised. Although this label does not carry positive connotations, some respondents (especially CZ ones) appear to expect RP to be posh or affected and a lack of such overtones results in a lower RP score.

Speed

Unsurprisingly, this category concerns the speed of one's utterance. This may affect how intelligible a particular voice is. This is far more important for CZ respondents than for their EN counterparts.

The two figures above reveal a rather similar pattern with one notable exception: the category of speed. Indeed, if this category were disregarded, both sets of respondents would place regionality at the very top of the range, followed by social status, education and poshness (even the differences between these four categories are rather similar). Nevertheless, the category of speed is present and it profoundly affects the overall results. This category is the most important one for CZ respondents while their EN counterparts place this category at the very bottom.

Speed is the most prominent category for CZ respondents due to the fact that it is closely linked with intelligibility. Native speakers of English, on the other hand, rarely find a voice incomprehensible and thus the category seems far less important for them.

As far as the percentages are concerned, regionality, social status, education and poshness naturally get higher scores from EN respondents because of the dominant position of speed in CZ respondents' result.

While the percentages are similar (barring the category of speed), the five categories are given an unequal number of total mentions by CZ and EN respondents (see Table 88 below). Also, what needs to be taken into consideration is the fact that all the categories could have been mentioned positively ('+' sign), negatively ('-' sign) or neutrally ('+/-' sign). While the first two signs receive one point in the table below, the '+/-' one is divided into two halves with 0.5 being added to '+' and '-' overall scores. The following table summarises the results according to CZ and EN respondents and positive/negative comments:

Table 88. Comments in RP categories by respondents

RP categories	CZ '+'	CZ '-'	CZ total	EN '+'	EN '-'	EN total
Regionality	75	9	84	144	10	154
Social status	50	28	78	86	32	118
Education	47	25	72	88	20	108
Poshness	16	42	58	60	34	94
Speed	57	36	93	16	24	40
Total number of comments			385			514

The overall number of comments is far higher for EN respondents than it is for their CZ counterparts. Whilst the differences between the categories are rather similar (apart from the category of speed), EN respondents seem to be willing or able to provide considerably more information. I believe the latter is the case, for it is only natural that native speakers are able to hear even minute differences or details that may escape a non-native ear.

Leaving speed aside, I might say that both sets of respondents perceive RP similarly; in other words, it might be asserted that they construct RP similarly. EN respondents naturally adopt this stance whereas CZ respondents learn about it; i.e. they seem to know that when discussing RP one should operate with such notions as education, social status and regionality.

In sum, there seem to be two crucial differences between the two sets of respondents: a/ intensity with which natives perceive matters of standard accent and b/ the category of speed that deeply affects intelligibility, which is the most important criterion of all. The speed of utterance is the only category where non-natives have an advantage over natives, whose general ability to understand the language appears to make them largely unaware of speed-related differences. Non-native speakers, on the other hand, crucially rely on speed in their attempt to understand a native voice and they are thus able to feel speed-related differences more acutely than natives.

The results are now analysed category by category to highlight some other interesting details, especially the difference between Southern and Northern RP.

6.3.3.1 Regionality

This category has received by far the highest number of comments from both sets of respondents, though EN respondents' score was much higher in comparison with the other categories than that of their CZ counterparts. It is a proof of how deep-rooted the axiom of non-localisability in RP is. S EN and N EN respondents' results are particularly interesting as they clearly demonstrate the necessity to drop this axiom in place of two equal varieties of RP. This is, however, discussed in greater detail in 6.3.3.6.

Regionality is also the category with the highest number of positive comments (i.e. comments with the '+' symbol in the tables above). Respondents do not feel such an urge to comment on accents that are non-regional and where everything is in place as far as RP is concerned. Admittedly, it seems to me that there is only one truly non-regional voice in my set of 18 samples: Sample 12. In fact, all the ten minuses from EN respondents concern this sample. As regards modern RP, non-regional voices appear to be increasingly more and more difficult to find.

Can regional features be accepted in RP? CZ respondents make a total of 75 comments regarding the presence of regional features in the samples. Only four samples with a plus in this category have received a full RP score. EN respondents' total is 154 comments. Surprisingly, there are no fewer than 31 regional features that do not prevent the voice from being labelled as RP.

As for individual samples, this category turned out to be the most salient for the following ones:

Table 89. Comments in the category of regionality for selected samples

Regionality- selected samples	CZ '+'	EN '+'	CZ '-'	EN '-'
S2	4	9	1	-
S3	3	13	-	-
S4	7	2	-	5
S8	5	8	-	-
S10	7	17	-	-
S12	2	-	4	10
S17	8	13	-	-

As far as the variables studied in this publication are concerned, short BATH is obviously a very prominent feature (especially for S EN respondents). The glottal stop is now so widespread that it is rather difficult to label the sound as regional. This holds true for EN respondents in particular as a relatively high number of CZ respondents seem to associate the feature with London English or Estuary English. Lowered TRAP does not get many mentions from EN respondents. CZ respondents find the sound more noteworthy; yet, they fail to agree on any regional link (despite occasional remarks upon a northern influence). The same applies to intrusive /r/ and FOOT/GOOSE fronting.

Needless to say, there are some other highly prominent regional features such as raised STRUT (northern) and vocalised /l/ (South East/London). These, when spotted (a relatively large number of CZ respondents has failed to spot raised STRUT in northern voices), are typically rejected as non-RP.

6.3.3.2 Social status

This category is also defined largely via positive rather than negative symbols. Yet, the number of minuses is not nearly as insignificant as it is for regionality.

The difference between regionality and social status is only minimal for CZ respondents; it is therefore tentatively suggested that there is a merger of regional and social features as far as CZ respondents are concerned. EN respondents, on the other hand, display a considerable gap between the number of comments related to regionality and social status.

It is interesting that CZ respondents pay so much attention to the social status, given the fact that Czech society is not as class-bound as British society. Neither set of respondents pays a great deal of attention to actually specifying the class a particular voice seems to belong to. This is, however, hardly surprising as the speakers in my research form a fairly homogenous group as far as social class is

concerned. All of them are middle-class (they are all university educated) with only an occasional working-class background (see Appendix 1).

The regional background of my EN respondents may have been of some influence (albeit a minor one): N EN respondents mention social status 65 times whereas S EN respondents only mention it 53 times. I would put this result down to the fact that there were more southern voices in the set of samples. N EN respondents generally mention social status more often in connection with southern voices. I cannot say, though, that it held true vice versa, for S EN respondents also used this category more often for southern voices.

The following samples seem to have played the most prominent role in the respondents' reactions:

Table 90. Comments in the category of social status for selected samples

Regionality- selected samples	CZ '+'	EN '+'	CZ '-'	EN '-'
S4	1	7	-	-
S12	6	15	-	-

The two samples are highly similar to one another as far as EN respondents are concerned: slow speed, extremely high RP scores and very few regional traces. Yet, there is one important criterion where they differ: S12 is judged to be indicative of the speaker's social position and privileged background whereas S4 is, according to EN respondents, rather linked with education than social status (although the score for social status is admittedly very high as well). CZ respondents only find S12 redolent of a high social status.

As regards the variables under investigation, only the glottal stop can be linked with the category of social status. The link is, nonetheless, a truly significant one. The presence of the glottal stop in certain phonetic environments (see 6.3.2.4) makes respondents think that the accent does not belong to someone who occupies a high position in society.

6.3.3.3 Education

Overall, this category has received almost the same number of mentions as the previous one (social status). It can thus be stated that these two categories are closely intertwined. Even though one might presume that an educated voice belongs to someone of a high social status (and vice versa), there are respondents (8 CZ respondents and 7 EN respondents) who clearly prefer one category over the other. Out of these 15 respondents with marked differences between the number of comments regarding social status and education, 10

pay particular attention to the former while 5 centred their comments on the latter category.

CZ respondents have made 25 negative comments out of 72 whilst EN respondents have only made 20 negative comments out of 108. In my opinion, CZ respondents find it more difficult to spot fine details in the category of education than details connected with social status. In other words, CZ respondents find it easier to say whether a particular voice belongs to a higher or a lower social class than to say whether it is educated or not.

Despite the two categories being so closely intertwined, the situation is now markedly different from what it was half a century or more ago. In the past, educated voices were also those that occupied highest positions in society. Today, while people of a high social status still tend to speak with an educated voice, the opposite does not always hold true—due to massive democratisation of education, there are numerous people that are educated but do not necessarily belong to high echelons of society, and they do not speak RP. As a result, the role of RP (formerly a symbol and a guarantee of both privileged education and a privileged social position) has weakened. It still, of course, guarantees all that. It seems, however, that it no longer carries about the air of exclusivity it used to be endowed with.

The following samples have turned out to provide the most salient points to analyse:

Table 91. Comments in the category of education for selected samples

Regionality- selected samples	CZ '+'	EN '+'	CZ '-'	EN '-'
S3	1	8	2	-
S4	3	11	-	-
S7	5	8	-	-
S10	4	6	1	-
S12	5	8	-	-

The voices in Samples 3, 7 and 10 are all northern and particularly EN respondents often remark upon them as educated. Many of the comments are rather apologetic, i.e. as if to say that the voice is admittedly educated but it could not be labelled RP. Interestingly enough, S12 with traditional (outdated) RP receives as many positive comments from EN respondents as Samples 3 and 7. Consequently, I may conclude that traditional RP sounds as educated as a soft northern voice. There is a big difference, though, between the given samples in social status.

S4 has received by far the highest number of positive mentions from EN respondents (it is clearly RP but it does not carry as many privileged-background

connotations as S12). CZ respondents, on the other hand, find the accent a little odd, especially because of the extremely careful diction, the slow speed of utterance, and several individual sounds like word-initial [x] in *hobby* and vocalised /l/ in *football*; hence the very low score in this category.

Northern voices in the set have received a fairly high number of positive comments from EN respondents (given the fact that there are only four of them): 28 out of 88. It seems that with northern voices respondents feel an urge to stress that the voice is educated while they do not dare to hazard a guess regarding its social position.

As regards the studied variables, I can only repeat what has already been said about the category of social status above: the glottal stop in certain phonetic environments is a clear impediment to an accent being perceived as educated. The other variables do not play a significant role.

6.3.3.4 Poshness

Information provided in this category includes comments about the presence of ‘posh overtones’ or an ‘affected’ or ‘pompous’ realisation of particular sounds. Also, posh connotations may be evoked by what is labelled a ‘declamatory style of speech’, as defined by O’Connor (1948: 4). This can be observed in S12, which is an example of highly stylised speech.

The numbers of comments in this category from both CZ and EN respondents are lower than the numbers in education and social status. The gap between education and poshness is almost the same for both sets of respondents. The category of poshness, however, differs from the other two in several important aspects.

Firstly, there are some gender differences. CZ and EN female respondents make more comments regarding the presence or absence of posh overtones than male respondents. Admittedly, the differences are not dramatic (see the table below); yet, they tend to confirm the view that women are more sensitive to nuances concerning prestige and statusful variants than men (cf. e.g. Cheshire 1998: 413 and Labov 1990: 205–6).

Table 92. Comments in the category of poshness by gender

Poshness by gender	Number of comments
CZ male	25
CZ female	33
EN male	40
EN female	54

Secondly, N EN respondents differed from their S EN counterparts. N EN respondents have 53 comments in comparison with 41 from S EN respondents. Again, the difference might not appear to be so substantial. It does, nonetheless, reveal a certain tendency: poshness seems to be generally associated with southern voices. While the prevailing number of southern voices in the set may have played a role as well, it is hard to deny the fact that there are only 6 positive comments from EN respondents about northern voices, and the remaining ones concern southern accents of English.

Last but not least, there is a significant difference between the number of positive and negative comments from CZ and EN respondents. As far as EN respondents are concerned, they make far more positive comments (i.e. they commented upon the presence of posh overtones in a given accent): 64 pluses v. 30 minuses. CZ respondents, on the other hand, make far more negative comments: 42 minuses v. 16 pluses. It is clear that CZ respondents define the category negatively. It is easier for them to say that a particular voice is not posh (enough) to merit the RP label.

The following samples offer the most interesting details for further discussion:

Table 93. Comments in the category of poshness for selected samples

Poshness- selected samples	CZ '+'	EN '+'	CZ '-'	EN '-'
S4	1	11	-	-
S12	3	13	2	-

The two samples above demonstrate the considerable difference between CZ and EN respondents' perception of poshness (there are even two CZ respondents who think S12 is not posh at all). The two accents, which can be labelled traditional RP, are rather unfamiliar to CZ respondents despite the interesting fact that CZ respondents are accustomed to a transcription system that is almost identical with these accents.

CZ respondents do not consider any sample to be especially posh; the highest number of pluses (three) belongs to S1 and S12.

The crucial question to be asked in connection with this category is the following one: is poshness a necessary ingredient for an accent to be regarded as RP?

It is true that if an accent is labelled as posh, it is predominantly also labelled as RP. The overall connotations are, however, far from positive (as S12 proves beyond any doubt). There are dozens of RP tags in Question 1 with no comments on poshness; sometimes the respondents even feel the urge to state that the accent is not posh and/but it could be regarded as modern RP. As Table 88 shows, there are 42 and 34 negative comments from CZ and EN respondents

respectively. Only 28 times are the accents with a minus in this category marked down as Near-RP by CZ respondents while EN respondents only do so 9 times. In the remaining cases, the respondents state that the accent is not posh; yet, the answer in Question 1 is RP.

These figures strongly suggest that RP voices certainly do not need to have posh overtones. Furthermore, it is tentatively suggested that CZ respondents seem to expect posh elements in RP voices more than their EN counterparts do. If such elements are absent, they are more ready to deny the voice an RP tag.

Another question to be asked here is what these posh elements actually are. My research, unfortunately, does not appear to be able to offer an answer. None of the studied variables is in a positive way related to poshness. One might, of course, argue convincingly that glottal stops in certain positions (intervocalic across word boundaries, word final, before a pause) prevent the accent from being perceived as posh. Nevertheless, poshness seems does not seem to be connected with segmentals as much as with suprasegmental (prosodic) features like pitch, intonation, and tone. These indications, however, fall beyond the scope of this publication.

6.3.3.5 Speed

This category divides CZ and EN respondents more sharply than any other category. EN respondents pay the least amount of attention to it with only 40 mentions (the second lowest, poshness, scores more than twice as many comments) whereas for CZ respondent this is the most prominent category of all (93 mentions).

The speed of utterance is crucial for non-native respondents as it largely determines how intelligible a particular accent is. The samples in my research seem to have even stressed the importance of this category since they do not contain any strong regional voices which would have made respondents focus on unusual segmental features.

The results reveal a pattern which seemingly confirms what is generally taken for granted: male CZ respondents have made significantly more comments regarding speed than female respondents (55 and 38 respectively). Women, as a popular myth has it, are notoriously believed to speak faster than men (Deese 1984). It would thus be logical that men in my research should find speed-related issues more striking than women. This popular myth, however, has been challenged a number of times in academic literature (cf. Yuan et al. 2006 and Jacewicz et al. 2009). I can only safely conclude here that in the CZ set of respondents men do pay more attention to speed than women. It is equally interesting to note that in the EN set of respondents the scores were almost even: 21 comments by men and 19 by women.

The following samples offer some salient features that are worth further comments:

Table 94. Comments in the category of speed for selected samples

Speed- selected samples	CZ '+'	EN '+'	CZ '-'	EN '-'
S4	-	-	9	5
S8	8	3	-	-
S10	8	2	-	-
S12	-	-	7	9
S17	9	3	-	1

There are two markedly slow accents in the set: Samples 4 and 12. Altogether, they have received 30 minuses (16 from CZ and 14 from EN respondents). The latter number is particularly significant if it is taken into account that EN respondents have made in total only 24 negative comments in this category. As far as these two samples and their RP scores are concerned, EN respondents are consistent in their responses: both of the voices are clearly RP (only 1 EN respondent thinks that S4 is Near-RP). Some EN respondents, though, go on to say that the voices are 'traditional', 'old-fashioned', 'not modern', etc. CZ respondents, on the other hand, mark the voices down in terms of their RP-ness (especially S4) and some of them are even convinced that the voices do not actually belong to native speakers of English. Although such scores cannot be attributed to speed only, the relevant tables (Table 8 and Table 24) demonstrate how prominent this category is in the assessment of the samples in question.

At the other end of the scale, Samples 8, 10 and 17 have received the highest number of pluses from CZ respondents. The low intelligibility scores for these samples then leave no doubt as to how close the link between speed and intelligibility is. Samples 8 and 17 have also drawn as many as 3 positive comments from EN respondents, which is joint top as regards native respondents.

6.3.3.6 The North and South divide

Among other things, this publication aims to explore RP-related differences between respondents from the southern and northern parts of England. That is why the group of 20 EN respondents contains 10 respondents from the South of England (the first 10 respondents) and 10 respondents from the North of England (respondents 11–20).

I am aware of the fact that such a division (North v. South) is a highly simplistic generalisation. Yet, I feel the necessity to refrain from commenting on any deeper and finer regional differences. It seems that this simplistic division makes sense when one talks about the standard and it does produce convincing results.

As regards the set of samples, there are four northern voices (3, 7, 10, and 17) and one sample, S13, is half-northern half-southern (STRUT [ʌ] but BATH [a]). If the issue of short BATH inclusion in RP is disregarded for a moment, then I dare say there is only one truly non-regional sample: S12.S4, however, is also relatively very close to such a label.

The fact that S EN respondents pay more attention to northern features than their N EN counterparts do (and vice versa) is a predictable outcome. The differences are not dramatic; yet, we might say that N EN respondents spread their attention more evenly than the opposite set. The bone of contention between S and N EN respondents is the BATH vowel. A good example is S3. EN respondents make 13 comments regarding the presence of regional features in S3: 6 comments come from S EN respondents and 7 comments are from the N EN group. Raised STRUT is mentioned by 12 EN respondents whereas short BATH is mentioned only 6 times: 5 times by S EN respondents and only once by a N EN respondent. Other northern voices produce similar results. There is also one sample (S13) that only contains a short BATH word (there is no raised STRUT). Out of the total of 7 responses in the category of regionality, all three S EN respondents make a remark about the short BATH vowel while none of the N EN respondents does so.

My research confirms that short BATH is not a stigmatised feature in the northern part of England. As a result, northern speakers retain this sound even if they otherwise modify their speech in the direction of RP. In the South, on the other hand, the feature is far from being accepted into the pronunciation standard. There is a dilemma to resolve: if we refuse to open the door for short BATH, RP becomes an exclusively southern phenomenon since there will be (in theory, of course) no RP speakers to the north of the isogloss. If short BATH does get the permission to enter, we must then speak of two equal varieties of RP: southern and northern—with the one feature distinguishing one variety from the other. It seems clear that it is no longer viable to maintain the view that RP is a non-localisable accent.

In Question 1, S EN and N EN respondents also differ in their evaluation of the samples. The following samples are those where the difference between the two sets of respondents is 0.3 points or more.

Table 95. RP scores by two regional subsets of EN respondents

RP scores	S EN	N EN
S2	1.5	1.1
S3	0.4	1.1
S7	0.3	0.8
S8	1.4	1.0
S9	1.5	1.1
S10	0.4	0.8
S14	1.3	1.0
S15	1.5	1.2
S16	1.9	1.5
S17	1.0	1.3
S18	1.5	1.2

The fact that S and N EN respondents differ so noticeably in eleven out of eighteen samples strongly suggests that there are considerable perceptible differences between the two sets of respondents. Unsurprisingly, S EN respondents are more tolerant towards southern voices and vice versa.

Some highly interesting comparisons can be found in the table above, e.g. Samples 2 and 3. Whilst they are identical in terms of RP-ness for N EN respondents, for S EN respondents there is a difference of more than 1 point. Moreover, S8 is thought to be Modern RP in Collins and Mees (2003) and it duly receives 1.5 points from S EN respondents; however, for N EN respondents this voice is with the score of 1.0 less RP than S3 (a distinctly northern accent). Such comparisons seem to clearly justify the need to distinguish between northern and southern RP, for in certain (and far from infrequent) cases RP is perceived markedly differently in these two English regions.

It might be added that southern voices are generally perceived as posh more often than northern ones. As a result, it is concluded that northern voices are not redolent of privileged background; they do not sound snobbish.

Northern voices, on the other hand, have received more comments in the category of education. This result is probably linked with the fact that EN respondents felt the urge to stress that the voices are admittedly northern but educated (it may be interpreted as a way of justifying what might seem a relatively high score). With southern voices, the need to stress a high degree of education is not as pressing.

6.3.4 The Issue of intelligibility: Research Question 4

Research Question 4: How intelligible do you find this speaker:

This question is for non-native (CZ) respondents only because all native respondents would undoubtedly have ticked the uppermost option (easily intelligible) – my research did not include any strongly regional voices. Such unanimity of opinion would hardly reveal any correlation between intelligibility and the degree of RP-ness.

For CZ respondents an RP voice, barring a few exceptions, seems to be a voice that they understand very easily. Figure 4 (p. 208) shows the correlation between the intelligibility of the samples and their RP-ness according to CZ respondents.

The dominant pattern appears to be obvious: most of the RP scores are in the area between 1.0 and 1.5 while their corresponding intelligibility scores are in the area between 1.5 and 2. Similarly, those samples with the RP score below 1 are also marked down in the intelligibility question: between 1.0 and 1.5. All the four samples (8, 10, 17, and 18) whose intelligibility score is lower than 1.5 have the RP score 1.0 or lower. There are only two samples that do not fall within this pattern.

Sample 4

Despite the fact that this sample's RP score is only 0.65, its intelligibility score is as high as 1.85. As has been explained in greater detail above (6.3.4), the reason for this discrepancy lies in the slow speed of the speech, which fools many CZ respondents into thinking the voice is actually not a native one at all. That is why the sample is so easily intelligible; yet the RP score is the lowest of all 18 samples.

Sample 14

This sample's RP score is 0.85 and the intelligibility score is just slightly over the 1.5 limit with 1.55. There are a number of reasons why this sample has received such a low RP score: numerous glottal stops (even in the place of a velar plosive), intrusive /r/, lowered TRAP vowels and, also, the speed of utterance. What should be highlighted here is the fact that the 1.55 intelligibility score is actually not very high, since it was the fifth lowest of all; thus the sample does not, in fact, break the aforementioned pattern.

Figure 4. Correlation of RP scores and intelligibility for CZ respondents

