



Háskóli Íslands Hugvísindadeild

Estuary English

The New Classless Accent?

Ritgerð til B.A.-prófs
Guðlaug Hilmarsdóttir
September 2006

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Summary

Estuary English is an accent that is spreading through all levels of society and consequently, the social discrimination that followed the idea of 'standard' and 'correct' English will belong to the past. In the same way, people will now be able to communicate with a pronunciation that does not automatically categorize them into any given social class. This process confirms Wells' prediction in 1982 that stated that RP would lose its power.

At the same time, the popularity of Estuary English and its level of prestige is increasing. One can hear this accent spoken, for instance, in London, in the media, in schools, in the House of Commons, and amongst influential people such as David Beckham and Sir Michael Caine. Role models such as Beckham and Sir Caine can have a great effect on people's lives, including their speech patterns. This leads to a change in the idea of 'correctness', and in consequence, non-standard pronunciations will not seem as wrong as they used to.

This process will form a substantial part of this thesis, following an introduction of Estuary English and a description of its speakers and the geographical location. Also, David Beckham's pronunciation will be analyzed, since he is doubtless one of the the best-known speakers of Estuary English. Last but not least, the future of this accent will also be reviewed.

1. Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction of Estuary English, where the question of prestige will be dealt with. People want to make an impression with their accent and the way they speak often depends on to what social group they want to identify with. An accent, like Estuary English, is a pronunciation characteristic of a particular group of people, which is different from the pronunciation characteristic of another particular group of people. This phenomenon should be differentiated from “dialect” in that accent usually only refers to the pronunciation, whereas dialect refers also to the grammar, vocabulary and the idiom of any given language, such as English.

Secondly, defining Estuary English has been debatable ever since David Rosewarne coined the term (1984), and therefore, this issue will be introduced later on in this chapter. Last but not least, the geographical location of this accent will be introduced, for various linguists, media personalities and other writers have been developing Rosewarne’s first description of the locality of Estuary English.

1.1 *An Accent of Prestige*

In Britain, and in most other cultures around the world, the way people speak unconsciously gives information about their status in society, about their origin, and gives hints to their “age, sex, occupation, even personal dispositions and attitudes,” (Honey 1989: 54). Estuary English used to be understood as a deviation from a standard, but things have turned out differently. Neil Ascherson observed in 1994 that

[f]or at least a century, accent in England has been two things: a vertical indicator about geographical origins, and a horizontal caste-mark separating "top people" from the rest. From this intersection between place and class has come much odious social farce and - in those parts of the British Isles where it was taken seriously -- a vast amount of unnecessary misery. (Ascherson 1994)

McMahon (2002) notes this and goes further on by saying that the choice of variety can be done both consciously and unconsciously. Family members can have an affect on one's pronunciation, and also friends from school, television, sporting heroes, and so on.

Our pronunciation usually shows what part of the country we come from and what social class we are a part of. Our speech might even display "our ideas and attitudes", which will help the interlocutors to form an opinion about us (Trudgill 1983a: 14). However, since Estuary English is spreading to most social classes, this type of social discrimination may very well be a thing of the past. Even though the discriminations might not dissolve completely, Estuary English will play a big part in breaking down the barrier that separates the people of the upper classes from the people of the lower classes. Language is not only a tool for communication, but also a tool that maintains relationship between people. It is not the issue being discussed between two people that is the most important part, as Trudgill has noted, "but the fact that they are talking at all" (Trudgill 1983a: 13).

The traditional view is that Standard English is an appropriate way to speak English, and Received Pronunciation the 'correct' pronunciation, which means that other dialects and accents were thought to be "some kind of deviation from a norm," according to Trudgill. This "deviation" is often said to be because of "laziness, ignorance or lack of intelligence" (Trudgill 1983a: 19-20). Additionally, by painting this picture of non-standard accents and dialects, speakers of a non-standard accent or dialect are said to speak incorrect English.

A standardized English accent, Received Pronunciation (RP), was developed to allow texts and documents to be understood over the whole of Great Britain. Additionally, the standard served to separate the ruling classes from the peasantry. A speaker of RP would sound to another person as if he or she had gone through a privileged education, for instance at a public school, and a privileged background. At the same time, the speakers and admirers of RP posed discrimination towards non-standard accents, which Honey believed to be

“a mixture of irrational prejudice” and “defensible value judgements” (Honey 1989: 166)

Honey (1989) compares the non-standard accents to RP, and remarks that the non-standard accents are “downgraded” when they are being compared to RP, and even the speakers of non-standard accents themselves have adapted this hierarchy. Honey thinks that the reason for this could either be “because they genuinely admire the power and prestige which are associated with RP,” or “because they have been ‘brainwashed’ to an extent which makes it ‘very unlikely’ that they can evaluate accents ‘objectively’” (Honey 1989: 65).

The arrival of Estuary English works against this traditional view. Additionally, Estuary English has become a marker of metropolitan sophistication that seems to transcend previously existing social and linguistic barriers.

1.2 Defining Estuary English

Estuary English is a term coined by Rosewarne in 1984. He described this accent as “[a] variety of modified regional speech [...] a mixture of non-regional and local south-eastern English pronunciation and intonation” (Rosewarne 1984). This pronunciation can be found around the river Thames and its estuary, so that most of the speakers live in the south-east of England. Throughout Rosewarne’s research, Estuary English has spread north towards Norwich and west towards Cornwall, “and it is now also spoken south of a line from the Wash to the Avon” (Rosewarne 1994: 2). One of the reasons for the change in pronunciation that gave life to Estuary English is “the steady growth of comprehensive schools all over the country, gradually easing out the influence of the public school,” (Haenni 1999: 53). Rosewarne observed this and noted further that

[Estuary English] is almost certainly the result of the growth of comprehensive state schools, which were firmly established by the 1970s. From that decade onwards an overwhelming majority of teenage pupils, from all but the upper classes, found themselves studying together. RP-speaking pupils felt uncomfortably posh, while those with broad localisable accents felt rather unsophisticated, particularly the girls. The accent accommodation or

levelling process which ensued led to the creation of [Estuary English].
(Rosewarne 1996, quoted in Haenni 1999: 53)

Additionally, mobility of the speakers and other “linguistic meltingpots” (Haenni, 1999: 54) also have an effect on the spread of Estuary English and the change in pronunciation. Nevertheless, it is the “face-to-face interactions” (Chambers 1998, quoted in Haenni 1999: 54) that have the most effect on the way people speak.

Haenni noted that “[t]he concept of [Estuary English] itself is only one attempt to come to grips with current developments in south-eastern speech” (Haenni 1999: 55) In addition almost everyone who comments on these changes interprets them in different ways, as he observes further on, “[a]s undisputed these changes might be” (Haenni 1999: 55). There have been few suggestions for the name, and only “Estuary English” seems to stand out for the public. As mentioned before, this term was coined by Rosewarne in 1984, where he describes it as being

[...] a variety of modified regional speech. It is a mixture of nonregional and local south-eastern English pronunciation and intonation. If one imagines a continuum with RP and London speech at either end, “Estuary English” speakers are to be found grouped in the middle ground.
(Rosewarne 1984 and 1994)

Haenni (1999) had several questions about Rosewarne’s statements about Estuary English, and specifically about Rosewarne’s definition of ‘RP’ and ‘London speech’. One of the questions was whether Rosewarne was talking about “broad Cockney (spoken by people born within hearing distance of the legendary ‘Bow Bells’) or the working-class London accent slightly closer to RP than Wells (1982a:302) refers to as ‘popular London?’” (Haenni, 1999: 6). Coggle offered some answers for Haenni’s questions on Rosewarne’s statements in his *Do You Speak Estuary?* There, Coggle explains that RP is “the model for teaching British English to foreigners [and] is sometimes called ‘Standard English’, though this term normally refers more to syntax and vocabulary than to pronunciation” (Coggle 1993:23, quoted in Haenni 1999: 6). Furthermore, Coggle confirms that Rosewarne does mean ‘Cockney English’ when he is talking about ‘popular London’ speech.

Paul Coggle offered a wider description of Estuary English where claims to that Estuary English “cannot be pinned down to a rigid set of rules regarding specific features of pronunciation, grammar and special phrases” (Coggle 1993: 70, quoted in Haenni 1999: 46). Also,

[a] speaker at the Cockney end of the spectrum is not so different from a Cockney speaker. And similarly, a speaker at the RP end of the spectrum will not be very different from an RP speaker. Between the two extremes is quite a range of possibilities, many of which, in isolation, would not enable us to identify a person as an Estuary speaker, but which when several are present together mark out Estuary English distinctively. (Coggle 1993: 70, quoted in Haenni 1999: 46)

In a similar way, McArthur suggested the term “New London Voice” in 1994 for this accent that was taking over RP. He explains the term in his article ‘The New London Voice’ the following way:

- (1) New: Although the accent cluster in question has been evolving for some time, public perception has only recently caught up as NLV speakers have become increasingly prominent in the media. It is therefore new in terms of impact and news value.
- (2) London: Although the cluster is not confined to the metropolis, its focus is London, as Rosewarne concedes – not the adjacent counties, and certainly not the Thames Estuary (which, metonymy apart, is uninhabited).
- (3) Voice: I chose this term because of a distinctive voice quality related to how the mouth is held: much slacker than traditional tight, ‘clipped’ RP (McArthur 1994, quoted in Haenni 1999: 11)

In the same vein, Crystal notes that Estuary English was “a continuum of pronunciation possibilities, with Cockney at one end and Received Pronunciation at the other” (Crystal 1995:327, quoted in Haenni 1999: 6). Additionally, Crystal noted that Estuary English was as “distinct” as a dialect. Wells, however, observed rather a decline of RP because of the influence of non-standard accents, where Cockney plays the biggest role. Gimson noted further that there was also a sociolinguistic reason for the decline of RP. There he noted that the youth rejected RP because it is connected with the “Establishment”, and

[...] in the same way that they question the validity of other forms of traditional authority. For them a real or assumed regional or popular accent has a greater (and less committed) prestige. It is too early to predict whether such attitudes will have any lasting effect upon the future development of the pronunciation of English. But, if this tendency were to become more widespread and permanent, the result could be that, within the next century,

RP might be so diluted that it could lose its historic identity and that a new standard with a wider popular and regional base would emerge. (Gimson 1989:86)

However, even though Estuary English is often connected with Cockney speech, there does exist a major difference between these two speech varieties. The largest difference is, as Wells (1994) noted, the fact that Cockney speakers use non-standard grammar, while Estuary English speakers do not. However, there is obviously a great deal of overlap here, and the data on David Beckham's speech discussed below in chapter 4, includes several non-standard grammatical features.

These varying conceptions of Estuary English give an idea of the vagueness of the term, which Wells writes on in a discussion in 1995, where he said that many of the native-speakers that attend an undergraduate study in his school speak with this accent that he "supposes" that people "have to call Estuary English, following Rosewarne 1884, 1994a, Coggle 1993, and many recent reports on press and television" (Wells 1994). He further notes that "[t]his means that their accent is located somewhere in the continuum between RP and broad Cockney [...] As with the equally unsatisfactory term 'Received Pronunciation', we are forced to go along" (Wells 1994).

1.3 *The Geographical Location*

The geographical location of Estuary English is one of the few things that linguists, phoneticians and other writers have agreed upon; that it has its origin around the river Thames and has spread through the South-East of England. However, further descriptions of the spread of Estuary English vary. Schmid gives a detailed description in her Masters thesis, where she observed that Estuary English "is a new accent variety in the south-east of England, which comprises the sub-areas of the South Midlands, East Anglia and the Home Counties." Furthermore, "[t]he Home Counties area centres on the counties

immediately around London, but includes also parts of Hampshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire” (Schmid 1999: 53).

In the same way, Rosewarne notes that “[s]ince 1983 *Estuary English* has spread northwards to Norwich and westwards to Cornwall, with the result that it is now spoken south of a line from the Wash to the Avon” (Rosewarne 1994: 2). Schmid further noted on this issue by giving this accent a precise geographical area that had the “diameter of around 150 km or 90 miles.” In addition,

[b]eyond the northern boundaries of Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire, *Estuary English* encounters a major dialect boundary in the north where the phonemic realisation of the vowel /U/ in words such as ‘love’ and ‘cup’ is [u]. The dialect boundaries from the west of London to the Dorset coast are characterised by the salient feature of the postvocalic /r/ (Schmid, 1999: 53).

It was noted in a Glaswegian news article that the features of Estuary English were even spreading into Scotland, or rather, Glasgow was “being infiltrated by Estuary English.” Also, Harris noted that Estuary English’s characteristics can be found “in such cities as Derby, Newcastle and Hull” (Harris 1999). Haenni commented on this invasion where he said that Glaswegians have adopted TH-Fronting and T-Glottalling. Consequently, the “resulting ‘new’ variety is often referred to as ‘jockney’, a blend of *Jock* ‘working-class Scot’ plus *Cockney* ‘working-class Londoner’”. However, these changes were found not to be “simple” enough to “attribute to an imminent invasion of [Estuary English]” (Haenni, 1999: 48). In the same way, Rosewarne observed that Estuary English “look[ed] set to go international” (Rosewarne 1996: 13)

2. Social Aspects

As one could notice in the preceding chapter, the way we speak can have a great effect on how we are perceived by society. 'Received Pronunciation', had been accepted as a standard form of British speech, and facilitates comprehensiveness amongst speakers of different varieties of English. In the same way, RP had been "gaining ground," which served as "an indication of its position of prestige, and contrariwise of the lowly status of regional dialect" (Wakelin 1972: 154). However, since Rosewarne coined the term in 1984, Estuary English has gained popularity in the south-east of England. This relationship between Estuary English and the English society will be further examined in the current chapter.

2.1. Social Position

Wells predicted in 1982 that RP would lose its power. There he noted that "[w]ith the loosening of social stratification and the recent trend for people of working-class or lower-middle-class origins to set the fashion in many areas of life, it may be that RP is on the way out." Further on, he noted that before the end of the 20th century,

everyone growing up in Britain may have some degree of local accent. Or, instead, some new non-localizable but more democratic standard may have arisen from the ashes of RP: if so, it seems likely to be based on popular London English" (Wells 1982b:118).

This seems to fit the situation of Estuary English today. Additionally, various professionals have since then noticed RP's loss of power. Wells, for instance, noted that "[m]ainstream RP¹ is now the subject of imminent invasion by trends spreading from working-class urban speech, particularly that of London

¹ Wells (1982a: 279) defines "Mainstream RP" "negatively" by stating that it has the characteristics neither of "URP," which is "in the narrow sense, upper-class" (280), nor of "Adoptive RP," which is "that variety of RP spoken by adults who did not speak RP as children" (283).

[...]” (Wells 1982b:106). In addition, Ascherson noted that the youth of the upper-class “already talk ‘estuary English’, the faintly Cockneyfied accent of the South east” (Ascherson 1994). Morrish also commented on this issue and said that it is suspected that Estuary English would replace RP and “generously spread across the nation by the broadcasters” (Morrish 1999). Additionally, Rosewarne even predicted that Estuary English might replace RP as the accent to be taught to foreigners as British English. Further on, he said that

[t]he differences from standard English in grammatical structure and vocabulary are not sufficiently great to act as obstacles to the development of [Estuary English] as an international variety. As a model for pronunciation, it has advantages for speakers of some languages, particularly oriental ones.” (Rosewarne 1996: 15, quoted in Haenni 1999: 49)

Maidment found Rosewarne’s idea of the relationship between RP and Estuary English to be too simplistic. Rosewarne placed RP in brackets on the left, Cockney in brackets to the right, and Estuary English in brackets in the middle. Maidment suggests a different kind of model for this relationship, which would be

[...] more in touch with the realities of accent variation [because it] recognise[s] that a speaker of a given accent has within his or her competence a range of styles from informal (I) to formal (F) and that any overlap between accents may well be as diagrammed. (Maidment 1994).

Additionally, Haenni commented on this idea that according to this model, Estuary English could be left out entirely. He explains this result by saying that when Maidment’s model has been accepted, “the boundaries marking off Estuary English become extremely fuzzy because speakers may move along the continuum as they modify their speech according to the given situation” (Haenni, 1999: 8).

Received Pronunciation is the accent that has been for a long time on the top of the hierarchy, although its position is being threatened. Honey observed the hierarchy in 1989 where he noted that further down the ladder, one can find the “most educated varieties of Scottish English accent, and also near the top are the corresponding educated accent of Wales and Ireland” (Honey, 1989: 58-59). Further on, he continues to write about the hierarchy where he says that

[a]fter that there is a broad cluster of English provincial accents such as 'northern' English (with Yorkshire generally high) and the West Country; some samples also put Tyneside Geordie in the higher reaches of this 'middling' category.

With depressing regularity, four accents compete for bottom place: London (Cockney), Liverpool (Scouse), Glaswegian, and the West Midlands accent especially associated with Birmingham. When Northern Ireland accents are included in the experiments, Belfast tends to join this most disparaged category. (Honey 1989: 58-59)

The reason for these last four accents to be positioned at the bottom is not for aesthetic values, but because of "class prejudice, since they are all essentially working class accents" (Honey, 1989: 69).

According to Honey, there are three factors that have helped accents gain their position in the social hierarchy. The first factor is the breadth of the accent. For this part, he notes that "slight or moderate accents are more favourably perceived than broad ones" (Honey 1989: 62). The second factor is how educated the accent portrays its speaker to be. Last but not least, the third factor is the geographical position, that is, whether the accent positions the speaker in a rural area or in a city, or somewhere between. This is the situation because "non-standard accents which are traditionally associated with rural areas seem to be more highly rated than those associated with large industrial cities" (Honey 1989: 62).

As far as RP is concerned, the hierarchy that Honey commented on still probably applies today, but there are changes going on; both in RP, and in the hierarchy itself. Even if an urban variety, such as Estuary English, may be considered of low prestige in conservative circles, there are prominent personalities that use this accent. Such is the case with David Beckham. Personalities like David Beckham are role models for the younger generation and will affect their speech pattern. Consequently, the Estuary English accent is gaining ground among young speakers today.

One might consider two situations in consequence of this matter. One of them is the fact that mainstream RP is acquiring some of the characteristics of Estuary English such as the Diphthong Shift, L-Vocalization and Glottalling, so this accent might still keep its top position in the hierarchy by adopting the

characteristics that can be found in Estuary English. On the other hand, these two accents could also merge into one another and create this “accent continuum’ on a social scale” (Pétur Knútsson, private communication).

As the gap between the standard speech and the non-standard speech are narrowing, the division between classes in England may also narrow. As Wakelin has noted, there seems to be

(1) modification in the class system itself, chiefly by a breakdown of the barriers between one class and another, (2) a certain degree of acceptance of regional dialect, though often in a modified form, in professional and other circles, and (3) modification of the regional dialects in a standard English direction. (Wakelin 1972: 153)

However, Estuary English today is gaining on the Standard English pronunciation, in terms of popularity and prestige, especially among young people. As it is with other varieties, Estuary English can be most clearly heard in comfortable situations like around one’s family members and closest friends, and less when talking to strangers. One can also find speakers of Estuary English in the House of Commons and it is also used by some members of the Lords. One can also hear Estuary English spoken in the city of London, in the business world, the Civil Service, in the media, in schools, advertising as well as the medical and teaching professions, and in schools in the south-east. RP was usually the accent to be associated with these areas. As Haenni noted, Estuary English “is not only widespread among students, but it can be heard right across the academic career structure, i.e. spoken by professors, deans and even vice chancellors” (Haenni, 1999: 49). The reason for this, according to Coggle, seems to be that “Estuary English can appeal more successfully to a certain target audience than an RP accent“(Coggle 1993:78, quoted in Haenni 1999: 50).

2.2 *Social attitudes*

Social factors, such as attitudes towards non-standard accents, were not a prominent part of linguistic research in the past, because they were not “deemed empirically and statistically valuable” (Haenni, 1999: 64). However, social attitudes towards non-standard accents, such as Estuary English, is worth researching in the sense that these attitudes is the reason for the survival of accents, and dialects for that matter. If the greater part of the society thinks that a certain accent is an incorrect way of speaking, it is more likely that the the same accent will fade out.

Later, the influence that social psychologists would have on linguistics increased the interest in the “affective dimensions of different speech styles” (Haenni, 1999: 64). Several studies have been conducted in Britain that considered social factors that influenced speech. As an example, Strongman and Woosley tried to compare people’s reactions to Yorkshire and London accents, while another professional gave Scottish and English regional accents “as stimuli” (Haenni 1999: 65). As Haenni notes, they observed in both instances

[...] certain differences in terms of ‘status’ and ‘solidarity’ – southerners, in general, were rated more favourably at the former, northerners at the latter. Nevertheless, existing stereotypes were not entirely confirmed, as the differences were not as significant as it might have been expected: „These results do not seem to favour either the Yorkshire or the London speakers. (Strongman and Woosley 1967:167, quoted in Haenni 1999: 65)

The speech norms of each social group are connected with the standard and the idea of ‘correctness’, and they are usually thought to be institutional. This means that the ideas of correctness are decided by authority “through the writing system, the educational system and other agencies” (Milroy, James. 1992: 81-82). However, standardized “norms” as such can not be applied to Estuary English. Therefore, it will be more problematic to “correct” a speaker of Estuary English with “a form which is non-Estuary” (Pétur Knútsson, private communication).

However, even if certain features have been agreed upon, the society may still show discrimination towards non-standard accents, such as Estuary English. These judgements are mainly based on aesthetic ideas, that is, on ideas on what is perceived as well-spokenness. These opinions are a matter of personal opinion and can be harmful to the person that is being downgraded for his or her accent. This is also the fact in many schools today, where teachers are trying to modify children's accent so their accent will sound more "pleasant". This matter can lead to dissatisfaction with one's own accent, and even "linguistic self-hatred" (Trudgill, 1983b: 209).

The issue of the idea of "well-spokenness" and the "correct" and "incorrect" way of speaking have often been considered to be a forbidden discussion. However, two groups seem to have formed at the opposite ends of the "ideological spectrum" (Honey 1989: 165). On one end there are people who do not want to participate in the discussion for the fear of "scrutiny and possible criticism [of] the class system of which accent variety is seen as an integral part" (Honey 1989: 164). On the other end of the spectrum is a group of people who want to change the attitudes towards accents. As Honey noted, "[t]he method to be used to achieve this is, curiously, that of suppressing all serious public discussion of the reasons why such prejudices persist, and by simply promoting the principle of tolerance of linguistic diversity" (Honey 1989: 165).

Trudgill introduced two explanations for a situation like this, of which one is called "the 'inherent value' hypothesis". This hypothesis holds the view "that some linguistic varieties are inherently more attractive and pleasant than others, and that these varieties have become accepted as standards or have acquired prestige simply because they are the most attractive" (Trudgill 1983b: 210). This supports the view that RP is placed on the top of the hierarchy because it was thought to be more beautiful than other non-standard dialects or accents.

The other explanation is closely related to the 'inherent value' hypothesis. Trudgill suggests that this consists of "a series of overt statements made by informants, in a number of sociolinguistic studies, about different linguistic varieties" (Trudgill 1983b: 210). Furthermore,

These statements, too, show a significant degree of agreement that could be interpreted as lending support to the 'inherent value' hypothesis. It has emerged from a number of urban dialect studies, for instance, that even where speakers within a community themselves use very varied varieties of language, they nevertheless often appear to share, as a community as a whole, a common set of norms as to what is 'good' and 'bad' in the language. [...] More importantly for our purposes, it appears that this level of agreement extends also to the apparently aesthetic. (Trudgill 1983b: 210-212)

Estuary English does not often seem to be ranked highly amongst many of the English population, where a part of the nation regards this pronunciation as a bad version of the standard. However, more and more people look at Estuary English as a development, or even improvement, of the 'Cockney' pronunciation. One film reviewer in the *Irish Times* commented on Estuary English in a good way, where he said that Paltrow "sport[ed] an impeccable estuary English accent, [which] is much more likeable than either Meg Ryan or Andie McDowell." In a similar way, Wells (1998) thinks of Estuary English as being the "educated counterpart [of Cockney]," and therefore, this accent loses Cockney's connection with the uneducated working-class.

However, some of the responses to Estuary English's growing power were not always pleasant, such as the one written by Bulley in 1994. There he noted that he was pleased with the fact that Estuary English did not receive a warm welcome. He goes on to say that

you can describe someone as trying, or as not trying, to use the language well. I should like to offer, therefore, the following proposition or challenge: that speaking Estuary English is incompatible with trying to speak English well. (Bulley 1994, quoted in Haenni 1999: 9)

In the same way, Morrish (1999) refers to Estuary English as „the language of footballers, Spice Girls and DJs.“ Furthermore, Maidment holds the following list of quotes about Estuary English, which he "culled from various newspapers, some of them are from Coggle's book, others not" (Maidment 1994):

- It is not an accent...just lazy speaking that grates on the ear and is an extremely bad example to our children.
- The spread of Estuary English can only be described as horrifying. We are plagued with idiots on radio and television who speak English like the dregs of humanity.

- It may be that the twilight of spoken English - the Wörterdämmerung - is far too advanced. Is the appalling speech that buzzes about our ears today part of the general malaise?
- God forbid that it becomes standard English. Are standards not meant to be upheld? We must not slip into slovenliness because of a lack of respect for the language. Ours is a lovely language, a rich language, which has a huge vocabulary. We have to safeguard it.
- It is slob-speak, limp and flaccid: the mouths uttering it deserve to be stuffed with broken glass.
- It is London of course, but debased London: slack-jawed, somnolent (sic) London. (Maidment 1994)

It is safe to say that the basis for these judgements is of aesthetic values, that is, what is considered to be a good pronunciation and bad. However, as it has been pointed out before by Honey in 1989, one has to look at the fact that many of the vowels that are pronounced in Estuary English do exist in RP, as it is the case between Cockney and Received Pronunciations. As an example, one can look at the sound [ɑ:] instead of [aʊə] or [aʊ] in pronunciations like Estuary English's [ɑ:r] and [ɑ:ʔ] instead of RP's [aʊə] and [aʊt] for *our* and *out*. The tense vowel [ɑ:] does exist in RP in pronunciations like [fɑ:r] and [kɑ:m] for *far* and *calm*. Because of this, one can ask oneself, as Honey did, "[w]hy should they suddenly become ugly when they appear in another context?" (Honey 1989: 64).

Scott, Green and Rosewarne give warning in their study in 1997 about the fact that because of the low opinion that is held internationally towards the Estuary English pronunciation, different international businesses might decrease, if Estuary English "was indeed to become the *lingua franca*² in business communication" (Scott, Green and Rosewarne 1997, quoted in Haenni 1999: 61)

Coggle mentions that even some of the speakers of Estuary English hold their pronunciation "in low esteem". He had an experience of this in one of his classes, which he described in the following way:

For instance, I often use those of my students who are native speakers of Estuary English as informants. I explain that I am interested in their accent and, when asked to do so, point out the features which mark them out as Estuary English speakers. Invariably, I am asked for advice as to how they might 'improve' their speech and for more information on what they are doing 'wrong'. There is rarely any feeling of pride in being an Estuary English

² Lingua Franca is "any of various languages used as common or commercial tongues among peoples of diverse speech" (Encyclopædia Britannica 2006).

speaker. In fact, one of my students on hearing the playback of a recording of herself in seminar discussion was shocked and horrified that she sounded so 'common'. (Coggle 1993: 92, quoted in Haenni 1999: 61)

There is still discrimination towards non-standard accents such as Estuary English, both consciously and unconsciously, and this discrimination can be found in many fields of society, such as in the school or at work. Children are being bullied and people are denied work because of their non-standard dialects and low-status accents. However, these judgements are social judgements, not linguistic judgements. As Trudgill once said, "[s]ocial class dialect features [...] remain the principal source for 'correctness judgements'" (Trudgill 1983b: 205).

The majority of linguists seem to agree that "[...] one language is as good and adequate as any other" (Trudgill 1983b: 206). Therefore, Estuary English, or any accent "different" from RP, should not be thought as inadequate and not "good enough" to be used as a tool of communication. Additionally, as Trudgill further notes, replacing children's accent in school can be "both economically wasteful and psychologically and educationally dangerous" (Trudgill 1983b: 206-208). Saying to a child that he or she is speaking the wrong way and degrading the child's background can be harmful to the child's growth. A confusing message like that teaches the young people today about what accents convey, and integrates them early with a prejudiced thought towards non-standard accents. There is a history of people from the higher classes adapting to the standardized English accent through their educational career, but there are exceptions to this. Honey noted that many people believe that adaption like this, and for teachers to modify children's accent is "treachery to one's origins and one's 'real' identity" (Honey 1989: 153). Since Estuary English is spoken in various classes with various educational backgrounds, one cannot judge this pronunciation because of class difference and because of social values. According to Trudgill's 'imposed norm' hypothesis, "different varieties of the same language are objectively as pleasant as each other, but are perceived positively or negatively because of particular cultural pressures operating in each language community" (Trudgill 1983b: 214).

It is interesting to look at how people react to accents, why, and what judgements they place on the speakers. The way you spoke had such an effect on how you were perceived in society. As George Bernard Shaw once said, “[i]t is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making another Englishman hate or despise him” (George Bernard Shaw 1912; quoted in Honey 1989: 1). According to Honey, people wanted to exclude the snobbery and judgments towards non-standard accents after the Second World War, with a “reduction of gross social inequalities and the vast improvement in educational opportunities and social mobility” (Honey 1989: 9).

However, this situation has not yet been realized. People are still judging many non-standard accents to be the “wrong” way of pronouncing the language. “Accent-consciousness”, as Honey calls it, even plays such a big role in the British society that one’s local non-standard accent might limit the job opportunities, and companies have started to mention “well-spokenness” as a requirement in their job advertisements. Additionally, as Honey mentions in *Does Accent Matter?*, accent can be crucial in a court case and will influence the diagnosis that a doctor will give to his or her patient. Even though these discriminations might never die out, Estuary English will serve as a midway between speaking a standard and retaining one’s local speech characteristics.

Nevertheless, even if Estuary English promises a relationship between a standard and a local accent, columnists, journalists, and regular citizens will keep on judging how the other person is different from the standard. Even more, the public figures of the English nation, such as football stars like David Beckham, and Members of Parliament will be judged like never before, for not speaking a standard “correctly”, or speaking an entirely different accent for that matter.

3. The Speaker

While previous chapters have dealt with the concept of Estuary English, its geographical location, and the social aspects, this chapter will focus on the speaker of Estuary English. Generally, a speaker of Estuary English is described as being “young, middle (or upper) class, upwardly mobile, and – contrary to the belief of many newspaper columnists – in possession of a certain level of education” (Haenni, 1999: 51). While one group of speakers speak with the Estuary English accent so they will sound more high-class, another group tries to sound less high-class by speaking with the Estuary English accent. As Altendorf noted,

[t]his social compromise is also reflected in the linguistic makeup of [Estuary English]. It comprises features of RP as well as non-standard London English thus borrowing the positive prestige from both accents without committing itself to either. This vagueness makes it extremely difficult to pin EE down linguistically. (Altendorf 1999: 1)

The reason for why young people choose to speak Estuary English is to be a part of the community, so they won't stand out by speaking upper-class accent. By speaking with the Estuary English accent, “they can easily pervade all levels of society” (Haenni, 1999: 51). Today, even speakers of RP are ‘downgrading’ their accent, as Haenni puts it, “in order to be identified as ‘one of us’ rather than ‘one of them’,” (Haenni, 1999: 52). Additionally, speakers of Cockney English are also modifying their speech “to fit into a new geographic environment or to promote their social mobility” (Coggle 1993:26, quoted in Haenni 1999: 52). Coggle further commented on this process where he observed that

[t]here is a delicate path to tread between avoiding the negative connotations of conservative RP on the one hand and the totally different but equally negative connotations of broad Cockney on the other. A middle-of-the-road Estuary flavour seems to fit the bill. More and more people, and – significantly – more and more young people are finding their way to this middle ground. As Estuary English spreads, both geographically and socially, it may well become the broad meeting place, the common ground for a coming together of British society. (Coggle 1993:87, quoted in Haenni 1999: 52)

As Honey mentions, it is a tendency for us “to attach to particular accents certain generalized assumptions about the values and attributes considered typical of certain social groups.” (Honey, 1989: p. 65) This means that our judgements are based on the stereotypes we have in our mind that attaches to each speech pattern. Many comments have been passed on David Beckham, including on his Estuary English accent. Some people love his pronunciation, and others hate it and comment on the pitch of his voice at the same time on his appearance. In chapter 4 I shall be analyzing the speech of David Beckham, who is probably one of the best-known users of Estuary English today. More importantly, Beckham can influence the youth today in many ways, including their speech pattern.

There are many other speakers of Estuary English, and amongst them is David Beckham’s wife, Victoria Beckham. Additionally, the actors Sir Michael Caine and Bob Hoskins both speak Estuary English, and also the media personalities Jonathan Ross and Janet Street-Porter. These people that have been mentioned, including David Beckham, have various backgrounds, which supports the fact that Estuary English is spreading through England’s social classes. As an example, David Beckham was a child of loving parents with steady jobs, while Janet-Street Porter was an “outcome of a doubly adulterous affair” (Wikipedia 2006) and the relationship with her parents was “extremely poor” (Wikipedia 2006). In the same way, Jonathan Ross has attended two universities, while Sir Michael Caine dropped out of school during his teen years. This shows that labels that are often attached to non-standard accents, such as Estuary English, are often incorrect in the way that the social attributes they are trying to portray do not correspond to the speaker’s actual position in society.

4. Phonetic description

Various issues have been dealt with in the preceding chapters; the definition of Estuary English, social attitudes towards this accent, and the speaker of Estuary English was also described. Following this, the current chapter will deal with the phonetics of Estuary English, and David Beckham's Estuary English pronunciation will be described.

4.1 Introduction

The following analysis is based on BBC's two interviews with David Beckham in 2004; one of them was recorded on a video camera, the other was an audio interview. As I have said before, an accent is a system of speech that a group of people share as a form of pronunciation. Nevertheless, there can be differences between individuals, for instance individuals will portray different characteristics in varying degrees, but the group of people will share more in common than they will be different. Estuary English will make its speakers distinct from any other group that speaks with a different accent, but it is more difficult for the listener to learn through this accent about the speaker's social status because of the fact that Estuary English has formed a relationship between the social classes.

One has to be careful when defining what belongs to each accent, for instance what is characteristic of Estuary English and what is not. What has to be borne in mind is that this is "really simply terminological, and [has] no effect on the real state of affairs" (Pétur Knútsson, private communication). However, even if Estuary English and Cockney as concepts can be thought of as fluid categories, David Beckham's pronunciation should be examined for its potential influence on the future of Estuary English. Based on these prescriptive ideas, Beckham does slip in and out of Estuary English and Cockney.

Two interviews with David Beckham from 2004 were used as a source of information. Additionally, one has to bear in mind, because these are interviews

for the British Broadcasting Company, Beckham starts out using a formal register, but as the interview progresses, the characteristics of Estuary English start to appear with greater frequency.

David Beckham was born in East London to Ted Beckham, a kitchen fitter, and Sandra West, a hairdresser. He got into football through his parents, who were fanatical supporters of Manchester United. They would follow their team to away games as well as home games. David Beckham was a part of Manchester United's youth club in 1991, and became a regular player for the team in 1993, where he stayed for 10 years. After his career with Manchester United, Beckham moved to Spain with his family to play football with Real Madrid, which is his current football club.

David Beckham started dating Victoria Adams in 1997 and their relationship has always been a great interest to the media. They got married in Ireland in 1999 and have since then had three children; Brooklyn, Romeo, and Cruz. In January 2005, Beckham became a Goodwill Ambassador with a special focus on UNICEF's Sports for Development programme. David has also raised money for many charities, for instance at the party hosted at his mansion, the "World Cup Party – Full Length and Fabulous" (Wikipedia 2006). Now, as a player in a Spanish football team, Beckham tries to learn Spanish, but struggles, according to his wife Victoria, "especially" because of his English accent (*David Beckham Hardly Learns Spanish*, 2005). However, this is only one of many explanations for why it seems to be more difficult for adults to learn a new language.

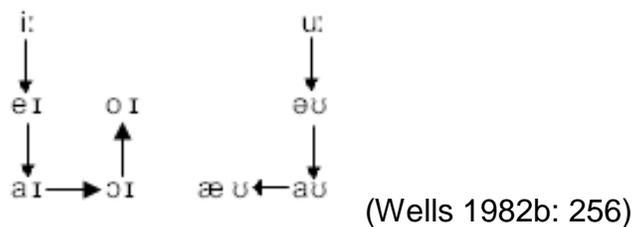
The analysis of the pronunciation of Estuary English is based on two interviews that David Beckham gave to BBC in 2004, as has been mentioned above. The analysis of the pronunciation of Estuary English is based on two interviews that David Beckham gave to BBC in 2004, as has been mentioned above. The first interview was intended for radio broadcasting and was twice the length of the other interview, which was broadcasted on television. As the interviews progressed, the questions and answers were written down, and Beckham's answers were transcribed into phonetic symbols. All symbols will be

explained in Appendix A in this thesis, and in the following section I will use Wells' terminology (Wells 1982b: xvii-xix). Consequently, the 'lexical sets' will be given in SMALL CAPITALS

4.2 Linguistic Variables

4.2.1 Diphthong Shift

In popular London speech, words like “*paper, shape, train* are pronounced *pipper, shipe, trine*,” as Matthew quotes (1938: 63, quoted in Wells, 1982b: 256). This shows the development that later would be called “the Diphthong Shift”. In a simple way, Diphthong Shift can be explained as follows:



David Beckham has a fairly mild Diphthong Shift. Therefore, vowels that are subject to Diphthong Shift will also have the “lowered” symbol below their phonetic symbol, instead of being written for instance like [eɪ] for the FLEECE vowel that shifted.

Beckham's most common shift was of the GOAT vowel; where words like *no* were pronounced [nəʊ] instead of [nəʊ], [ləʊ] instead of [ləʊ] for *low*, [səʊ] instead of [səʊ] for *so*, and so on. This shift was most common when he was asked how he was going to cope with the third baby on the way (Appendix B, Beckham's answer in the video interview, 1:52) and if he's had a chance to “bump into anyone” during his stay in London (Appendix B, Beckham's answer in the audio interview, 2:08).

A shift in the PRICE vowel was also quite common for David Beckham, where the vowel “tends to be backer than that of RP” (Wells 1982a: 308). Wells

noted further on this shift that “[t]he phonetic quality of the first element of the diphthong characteristically ranges from central to fully back, [ɑ+] to [ɑ];” whereas “in more vigorous, ‘dialectal’ Cockney it may also be rounded, [ɒ]” (Wells 1982a: 308). This shift can be found in Beckham’s pronunciation of words such as [saɪnd] instead of [saɪnd] for *signed*, [naɪs] instead of [naɪs] for *nice*, [lɑɪk] instead of [laɪk] for *like*, and so on.

In the same way, Beckham sometimes pronounced the FACE vowel as [ɛɪ] instead of [eɪ], the fleece vowel as [i:] instead of [i:], and so on.

4.2.2 G-Dropping

David Beckham sometimes has G-Dropping in his video interview. G-dropping is when *-ing* ([ɪŋ]) is replaced by *-in* ([ɪn]). Beckham portrays this characteristic in pronunciations like [ˈpɪaɪn] for *playing* (Appendix B, Beckham’s answer in the audio interview, 0:50), [ˈkrɒpɪn] for *cropping* (Appendix B, Beckham’s answer in the video interview, 0:55), and [ˈhævɪn] for *having* (Appendix B, Beckham’s answer in the video interview, 1:36). The [-ɪŋ] form has often been “on the whole associated with higher social class and more formal speech,” whereas the [-ɪn] form has been associated “with lower social class and less formal speech” (Wells 1982b: 262).

4.2.3 Glottalling

Glottalling is a process when the unvoiced sounds /p/, /t/, or /k/ in final or medial position is substituted by the glottal stop [ʔ]. This process is familiar in accents found “in London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, in many rural accents of the south of England and East Anglia, and increasingly in urban accents everywhere in England,” (Wells 1982b: 261). David Beckham used this so-called “Cockneyism” (Wells 1982b: 261) extensively. It could be noticed mostly in pronunciations like [ˈðæʔ] and [ðəʔ] for *that*, [ɪʔ] for *it*, [bʌʔ] for *but*, and [greɪʔ] for *great*. Additionally, this characteristic could also be found in words like *bought*, *got*, *point*, *that’s*, *get*, *out*, *little*, and so on.

4.2.4 Happy Tensing

Happy Tensing is the tensing of the KIT vowel in final position in words like *happy*, *study* and *lucky*, where [ɪ] is replaced by [i]. Beckham's use of this process occurred in pronunciations like [ˈæʔʃəli] in the audio interview for *actually* and in the video interview, Beckham had the Happy Tensing in *happy*.

Wells observed that “[i]t is the customary form in southern hemisphere accents, which suggests that it was already prevalent in the local accents of south-east England by the early nineteenth century” (Wells 1982b: 258).

4.2.5 L-Vocalisation

L-Vocalisation is a typical characteristic of Estuary English, where an // sound is replaced by a vowel or a semivowel sound, variously transcribed [o], [ʊ] or [w]. As it is noted by Wells, “[t]he development we call **L Vocalization** converts [ɫ] into a non-syllabic back vocoid, [ɰ] or its rounded equivalent, [o]. [...] Thus, *milk* comes to be pronounced [mɪo k], *shelf* [as] [ʃeo f],” and so on (Wells, 1982b: 258-259). David Beckham's use of this process was most noticeable in pronunciations like [ˈɔweɪz] for *always* (Appendix B, Beckham's answers in the audio interview, 1:46), [ˈwɪo] for *will* (Appendix B, Beckham's answers in the video interview, 0:50), and [ˈfʊtbɔ] for *football* (Appendix B, Beckham's answers in the audio interview, 0:50). Also, one could find this characteristic in other words like, *well*, *little*, *incredible*, *people*, and so on. What was interesting about this feature in Beckham's speech is the fact that at one point he uses L-Vocalization even when a vowel follows. This can be found in the pronunciation [ˈmʌɪko ˈæd] instead of [ˈmʌɪkət ˈhæd] or [ˈmʌɪkət ˈæd] for *Michael had*.

4.2.6 TH-Fronting

TH-Fronting is a merger that occurs in Estuary English, where Early Modern English /b, ð/ merge with /f, v/. This process is now “gaining ground in British pronunciation”, as Haenni puts it, and Coggle also noticed this progress in 1998. There he said that

For instance, the "baɪf" for "bath" and "faɪvə" for "father" pronunciation is now fairly widespread amongst primary school children in the SE (from Canterbury to Milton Keynes). I first encountered these features amongst my students 4 years ago (one example only). This year I have heard several students using them. (Coggle 1998, quoted in Haenni 1999: 25)

This process does not occur in initial position of a word, but only when it is “immediately preceded and immediately followed by a vowel” (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary 2006). It is thought that this feature is confined to Cockney, but it is actually spreading up the social ladder, and therefore into Estuary English.

This was not a very common characteristic, but nevertheless, Beckham had it in his pronunciation. This can be found in pronunciations like [wɪv] for *with*, [ˈfruː] for *through*, [ˈbəʊf] for *both*, [əˈnʌvə] for *another*, and [ˈfɜːd] for *third*. The instance where Beckham most often portrayed this characteristic was when he was asked a question concerning having his third baby (Appendix B, Beckham’s answer in the video interview, 1:52).

4.2.7 Other characteristics

H-Dropping has been considered to “prevail” in the working-class accents in England, as Wells claims (1982: 253). However, it seems to play a small part in Beckham’s Estuary English accent, which is more of a classless accent than connected with any specific class in the society of England. As the concept’s name suggest, the /h/ is absent in words where H-Dropping occurs, in words such as “*hit, hammer, happy, hedge*” (Wells 1982: 253). Wells explained this process by discussing two views on this matter. The first view was a claim that

stated that “there is simply no /h/ in the phoneme system” (Wells 1982: 253).

Further on,

[i]t follows that *hedge* and *edge*, *heat* and *eat*, *hall* and *all*, are perfect homophones with identical phonological representations in the lexicon. The phone [h] occurs, if at all, only as a variable marker of emphasis (like initial [ʔ]). This means that both *hedge* and *edge* may on occasion be pronounced [hɛdʒ], although both are usually [ɛdʒ].

[...] In the other possible view, we maintain that /h/ remains in the phoneme system, but acquires an optional zero realization. This means that *hedge* and *edge* are phonologically distinct in the speaker's mental lexicon, as /hɛdʒ/ and /ɛdʒ/ respectively; but /hɛdʒ/ may sometimes be realized as [ɛdʒ] or [ʔɛdʒ]. In this case, *edge* would be expected never to be pronounced [hɛdʒ]. (Wells 1982: 253-254)

David Beckham had one instance of H-Dropping in the audio interview. There, the process occurred in the pronunciation of the word *happen*, which he pronounced [¹æ pən] instead of [¹hæ pən] (Appendix B, Beckham's answer in the audio interview, 4:21). Another example can be found in the video interview that David Beckham gave to BBC, where Beckham dropped the /h/ out of [¹hæ d] for the main verb *had*, and pronounced it like [¹æ d].

David Beckham's MOUTH vowel in the audio interview is pronounced [aə] instead of [aʊ] in pronunciations like [¹aət] instead of [¹aʊt] for *out*, [¹daən] instead of [¹daʊn] for *down*, [hæər] instead of [haʊ] for *how*, [¹naə] instead of [¹naʊ] for *now*, and so on. However, this was not the case in the video interview. This change explains why Beckham applies Linking-R to *how /r/ I'm feeling*, which occurs only when /r/ is preceded and followed by a vowel in pronunciation. At one point in the video interview, Beckham changed the MOUTH vowel from [¹haʊs] to [¹hæ^əs] for *house*. This, however, is more of a typical Cockney pronunciation. However, in a couple of instances, Beckham also had the RP pronunciation of the mouth vowel [aʊ].

Beckham's initial sound in words such as *this*, *that* and *the*, is often affected in a way that it most often has [d] (dental d) instead of [ð]. Wells (1982a) associated this with the working-class and noted that besides from using the approximant rather than the “fricative [ð]”, the speaker could also use “[d], [l], and [ʔ]” (Wells 1982a: 329). Additionally,

[a]ll these variants may occur in absolute initial position, in apparently free variation. Hudson & Holloway found avoidance of variants other than the fricative [ð] to be characteristic of their middle-class subjects (and hence, implicitly, the use of the other variants to be characteristic of the working-class subjects). (Wells 1982a: 329)

In addition, this could also be applied to Beckham's pronunciation [ˈɔːoʊ l e] for *all the* (Appendix B, Beckham's answer in the audio interview, 2:08).

In a couple of instances, Beckham has a process where [a] is retracted in the PRICE and the MOUTH vowels, that is, in the first mora of these vowels. However, if a whole vowel was monophthongalized, then also could the retraction occur. This happens in Beckham's pronunciations like [a] instead of [aɪ] for *I* and [nɑʊ] instead of [naʊ] for *now*.

At one point, Beckham uses the London form [ɪ'zseɪf] to pronounce *hissself*, instead of [ɪm seɪf] for *himself* (Appendix B, Beckham's answer in the audio interview, 0:50). However, one has to bear in mind that even though this is a change of vocabulary, it does not mean that Estuary English will apply different vocabulary in the future. This instance of using a different form of *himself* is a matter of choice of words and how comfortable Beckham feels in the interview. If the atmosphere would have been different and the interviewer would have been behaving differently, Beckham might not have used this form of *himself*.

5. The Future

Estuary English has through time affected the Standard English pronunciation, RP, and will continue to do so. However, the institutional terminology and description of how pronunciation of the English language “should” sound will have no effect on the future of the pronunciation in London, since this terminology and the rules do not reflect what is actually going on in society. The younger generation will still continue to look for role models, such as David Beckham, that will affect their lives, including their pronunciation. In the same way, people may want to speak Estuary English in order to sound young and urban.

David Beckham, actors, other media personalities, and the society itself is what defines the attitudes and feelings towards what is “correct” for them at that specific moment in time. In the end, each individual of the community will develop his or her own version of the Estuary English accent, rather than trying to eliminate RP and the class discrimination that prevailed towards non-standard accents. Consequently, the Estuary English pronunciation will emerge with RP to form an “accent continuum’ on a social scale” (Pétur Knútsson, private communication).

Appendix A

David Beckham's Pronunciation

Diphthongs and other vowels

PRICE

Examples	Beckham	RP
l, t <u>i</u> mes, f <u>i</u> ve, s <u>i</u> de, h <u>i</u> gh, m <u>y</u> , sh <u>i</u> ning, n <u>i</u> ce, M <u>i</u> ch <u>a</u> el's, l <u>i</u> ke, t <u>i</u> me, b <u>r</u> igh <u>t</u> er, s <u>i</u> gn <u>e</u> d	əɪ	aɪ
l'm, l, m <u>y</u> , l've, l, l, l'm, l'm, l'm, l'm	ɑ	aɪ
l'm, m <u>y</u> , l <u>i</u> ke, l, s <u>o</u> m <u>e</u> t <u>i</u> m <u>e</u> s, d <u>y</u> ing	əɪ	aɪ
l, l'm, l've, l'd	ɑ:	aɪ
l'm, l, m <u>y</u> , l've	ɑ	aɪ
s <u>i</u> gn <u>e</u> d, n <u>i</u> ce, sh <u>i</u> ning, n <u>i</u> ce, M <u>i</u> ch <u>a</u> el's, M <u>i</u> ch <u>a</u> el, l <u>i</u> ke, l, t <u>i</u> me, b <u>r</u> igh <u>t</u> er, s <u>i</u> gn <u>e</u> d, l've, t <u>i</u> mes, f <u>i</u> ve, s <u>i</u> de, h <u>i</u> gh, m <u>y</u>	ɑɪ	aɪ
l've	ɑ:	aɪ
l	ɑ:	aɪ
l	ʌ	aɪ
l	ə	aɪ
l	ə	aɪ

GOAT

Examples	Beckham	RP
n <u>o</u> , kn <u>o</u> w, l <u>o</u> w, s <u>o</u> , h <u>o</u> pefully, m <u>o</u> ment, g <u>o</u> ing, h <u>o</u> tel <u>s</u> , C <u>o</u> l <u>e</u> , <u>O</u> asis	əʊ	əʊ
kn <u>o</u> w	əʊ	əʊ
c <u>o</u> lder	ɔ:ʊ	əʊ
kn <u>o</u> w, n <u>o</u>	ə	əʊ
kn <u>o</u> w	ɑ	əʊ

MOUTH

Examples	Beckham	RP
o <u>u</u> t, d <u>o</u> wn, h <u>o</u> w, h <u>o</u> use, n <u>o</u> w, d <u>o</u> ub <u>t</u> s, ab <u>o</u> ut, n <u>o</u> w/r/	aə	aʊ
o <u>u</u> r, o <u>u</u> t	ɑ:	aʊ
h <u>o</u> use	æ ^ə	aʊ
ab <u>o</u> ut	əʊ	aʊ

FACE

Examples	Beckham	RP
w <u>a</u> y, pl <u>a</u> ys, t <u>a</u> ke, g <u>a</u> me, th <u>e</u> y, m <u>a</u> ke, pl <u>a</u> ying, pl <u>a</u> yer, h <u>a</u> tes, f <u>a</u> mous, s <u>a</u> me, gr <u>e</u> at, t <u>a</u> ste, w <u>a</u> iting, st <u>a</u> y, d <u>a</u> y, tr <u>a</u> ining, pl <u>a</u> yers, pl <u>a</u> y	ɛɪ	eɪ
S <u>a</u> tur <u>a</u> day	ɪ	eɪ
g <u>a</u> me	ɪ	eɪ

KIT

Examples	Beckham	RP
happ <u>y</u> , obvi <u>o</u> sly, actu <u>a</u> lly, hopefu <u>l</u> ly, frien <u>d</u> ly, S <u>a</u> tur <u>a</u> day, an <u>y</u> , prett <u>y</u> , countr <u>y</u> , espec <u>i</u> ally, eventu <u>a</u> lly, ver <u>y</u> , Chelse <u>a</u> , mone <u>y</u> , Sund <u>a</u> y	ɪ	ɪ
espec <u>i</u> ally, defin <u>i</u> tely, defin <u>i</u> tely	ə	ɪ

FLEECE

Examples	Beckham	RP
h <u>e</u> 's, w <u>e</u> , b <u>e</u> , m <u>e</u> , h <u>e</u> , sh <u>e</u>	ɪ	i:
t <u>e</u> am, s <u>e</u> e, s <u>e</u> e, m <u>e</u> ans	i:	i:
t <u>e</u> am	əɪ	i:

NEAR

Examples	Beckham	RP
n <u>e</u> ar, obvi <u>o</u> sly	ɪ ə	eə
obvi <u>o</u> sly	∅	eə
obvi <u>o</u> sly	ɪ	eə
h <u>e</u> re	ɪɒ	eə

TRAP

Examples	Beckham	RP
Alex, m <u>a</u> nager, h <u>a</u> ppy	æ	æ
f <u>a</u> n	æ ə	æ
am	ʌ	æ

DRESS

Examples	Beckham	RP
th <u>e</u> m	eɪ	e

GOOSE

Examples	Beckham	RP
m <u>o</u> ving, s <u>o</u> on, m <u>o</u> ve, thr <u>o</u> ugh, m <u>u</u> sic, r <u>u</u> mours, f <u>u</u> ture, r <u>u</u> mour, r <u>u</u> mour's, thr <u>o</u> ugh, f <u>e</u> w	ʊɪ	u:

SCHWA

Examples	Beckham	RP
play <u>e</u> r	ə	ə

THOUGHT

Examples	Beckham	RP
talk <u>s</u>	ɔʊ	ɔ:
talk <u>s</u>	ɔɔ	ɔ:
born <u>o</u>	ɔ:	ɔ:

STRUT

Examples	Beckham	RP
one <u>o</u>	ʌ	ʌ

Consonants

G-Dropping

Examples	Beckham	RP
train <u>ing</u> , feel <u>ing</u> , be <u>ing</u> , shin <u>ing</u> , go <u>ing</u> , mov <u>ing</u> , play <u>ing</u> , scor <u>ing</u> , scor <u>ing</u> , scor <u>ing</u> , wait <u>ing</u> , play <u>ing</u> , play <u>ing</u> , dy <u>ing</u> , train <u>ing</u> , play <u>ing</u> , cropp <u>ing</u> , hav <u>ing</u> , hav <u>ing</u> , go <u>ing</u> ,	-ɪn	-ɪŋ

Glottalling

Examples	Beckham	RP
out <u>t</u> , litt <u>l</u> e, adm <u>t</u> , th <u>t</u> , get <u>t</u> , but <u>t</u> , migh <u>t</u> , abou <u>t</u> , honest <u>t</u> , it's, it, great <u>t</u> , broug <u>t</u> , (a) lot <u>t</u> , met <u>t</u> , it'll, point <u>t</u> , got <u>t</u> , not <u>t</u> , th <u>t</u> 's, fit <u>t</u> , at, get <u>t</u> ing, bit <u>t</u> , pret <u>t</u> y, foot <u>t</u> ball, th <u>t</u> , doub <u>t</u> s, start <u>t</u> ed, get <u>t</u> , differ <u>t</u> ent, fitt <u>t</u> ed, start <u>t</u> ed, str <u>t</u> aight, air <u>t</u> port, met <u>t</u> , qu <u>t</u> ite, meet <u>t</u> , bet <u>t</u> er, hat <u>t</u> es, sort <u>t</u> , moment <u>t</u> , just <u>t</u> , wait <u>t</u> ing, what's week <u>k</u> , back <u>k</u> , actu <u>k</u> ally, back <u>k</u> , lik <u>k</u> e, brok <u>k</u> e, think <u>k</u>	ʔ	t
up <u>p</u>	ʔ	p
start <u>d</u>	ʔ	d

L-Vocalization

Examples	Beckham	RP
al <u>o</u> ways, foot <u>o</u> ball, w <u>o</u> ll, w <u>o</u> ll, incredib <u>o</u> le, peop <u>o</u> le, it'll, spec <u>o</u> ial, wor <u>o</u> ld, real, ab <u>o</u> le, schoo <u>o</u> l, l'll, litt <u>o</u> le, still, hot <u>o</u> els, Michael's, hiss <u>o</u> l <u>o</u> lf, he'll, all, goal <u>o</u> s, whol <u>o</u> e, l'll, al <u>o</u> ways, Col <u>o</u> e, w <u>o</u> ll, peop <u>o</u> le, w <u>o</u> ll, invol <u>o</u> ved, terrib <u>o</u> le, Chel <u>o</u> sea, they'll, Real	o	ɪ

TH-Fronting

Examples	Beckham	RP
with <u>θ</u>	v	θ

<u>o</u> ther, <u>an</u> other	v	ð
<u>th</u> rough, <u>th</u> ird, <u>th</u> ree, <u>w</u> ith, <u>Jonath</u> an, <u>th</u> rough	f	θ

H-Dropping

Examples	Beckham	RP
<u>h</u> ad, <u>h</u> e's, <u>h</u> ave, <u>h</u> aving, <u>h</u> e, <u>h</u> e'll, <u>h</u> ow, <u>h</u> appen	∅	h

Other

Examples	Beckham	RP
<u>ou</u> r, <u>ou</u> r	ɑ:	aʊə
<u>s</u> ay	sez	seɪ
<u>g</u> et	geɪ	get
<u>o</u> nly	əʊni	ˈəʊnli
<u>brou</u> ght, <u>brou</u> ght, <u>brou</u> ght	ˈbrɔʊ?	ˈbrɔ:t
<u>ob</u> viously <u>ob</u> viously	ˈɒbviəsi ˈɒbvɪ	ˈɒbviəsli
<u>i</u> ts, <u>i</u> ts	ɪs	ɪts
<u>th</u> at	ˈæ?	ˈðæt
<u>f</u> riendly	ˈfrenli	ˈfrendli
<u>a</u> sk	ɑ:s	ɑ:sk
<u>m</u> oved	ˈmu:v	ˈmu:vd
<u>h</u> isself	ɪˈzseof	ɪmˈself
<u>e</u> verything's	ˈevriθɪŋks	ˈevriθɪŋz
<u>t</u> his <u>i</u> s	ɪsɪs	ðɪs ɪz
<u>a</u> ll <u>t</u> he	ˈɔ:ɒ lə	ˈɔ:l ðə
<u>t</u> his	ɪs	ðɪs
<u>a</u> sk	ˈɑ:s	ˈɑ:sk
<u>b</u> ack	bæ?k	bæk
<u>w</u> here	we	weə

Appendix B

BBC's audio interview with David Beckham, November 2004

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS	DAVID BECKHAM'S PRONUNCIATION
<p>0:00 How are your ribs? Yeah, they're good actually, I've been er training for the last two or three days with the team so it's er it's been it's been nice to actually be back with the team training and er feeling fit again, but ho we got the game on Sunday, so hopefully I'll be involved at some point in that game and then hopefully I'll be fit to play for England on the Wednesday.</p>	<p>'jeə ðə 'gʊd 'æʔʃʊli ɑ:v bin z: 'treɪnɪn fə ðə 'lɑ:st 'tu: z: 'fri: 'deɪz wɪ ðə 'tɪ:m səʊ i?z z: ɪs bin ɪs bin 'naɪs tə 'æʔʃəli bi 'bæ? wɪ də 'tɪ:m 'treɪnɪn and z: 'fi:lɪn 'fi? ə'gen bæ? hə wɪ 'gɒ? ðə geɪm ɒn 'sʌndeɪ səʊ 'həʊpʃʊli aɪt bi ɪn'vɒlvd ət 'sʌm 'pɔɪn? ɪn 'æ? 'geɪm ən ðen 'həʊpʃʊli aɪo bi 'fɪt tə 'pleɪ fər 'ɪŋɡlənd ɒn ðə 'wenzdeɪ </p>
<p>0:20 Spanish said that that desicion can be down to Real Madrid, is that right? Yeah, I think it can be obviously with er with it being a friendly and er obviously being out for so long and you know, we've got the Barcelona game on the Saturday or Sunday, so it it will be down to them, but I'm sure they'll ask me how I'm feeling before they make any decision.</p>	<p>jeə ɑ: θɪŋk i? 'kæn bi 'ɒbvɪsli wɪf ə wɪf i? 'bi:ɪn ə 'frenli ənd z: 'ɒbvɪsli 'bi:ɪn 'aət fə 'səʊ lɒŋ ən jə nəʊ wɪv gɒ? ðə bɑ:sə'leʊnə geɪm ɒn ðə 'sætədi z: 'sʌndeɪ səʊ i? i? 'wɪo bi 'daən tə ðem bʌ? ɑm ʃɔ: ðeɪl ɑ:s mi hæɹ ɑm 'fi:lɪn bi'fɔ: ðeɪ meɪk 'eni di'sɪʒən </p>
<p>0:39 How's Spain at the moment? It's good, it's good, it's getting a bit a little bit colder now but er, you know, sun is still shining, so that's the nice thing, and er, no it's good at the moment.</p>	<p>i:z 'gʊd i?z 'gʊd i?z 'ge?ɪn ə bi? ə lɪ?o bi? 'kɒʊdə nəʊ bət z: jə nəʊ 'sʌnz stɪo 'ʃaɪnɪn səʊ 'ðæts ðə 'naɪs 'θɪŋ ənd z: 'nəʊ i?z 'gʊd ət ðə 'məʊmənt </p>
<p>0:50 What is it like having er, having Michael and Jonathan there? Is that, Is that helping? Cause I, I, I found when I lived in France and you surround yourself with English people, it doesn't help your French particularly, so how's it going? Erm, no it's going well, they're having lessons as well, so er, they're still in their hotels at the moment, they've</p>	<p>əm nəʊ i?z 'gəʊɪn 'weo 'ðeə 'ævɪn 'lesənz əz 'weo səʊ z: ðeə 'stɪl ɪn ðə həʊ'teɔz ə? ðə 'məʊmənt? ðeɪm 'mʊʊvɪn 'ɪntə ðə 'haəs 'prɪ?i 'sʊʌn bət z: jə nəʊ ɪts 'naɪs fə 'ðem tə bi æ? ɪs 'greɪ? fə tə bi 'ɒnɪst fər 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ fʊ?bɔo əz 'weo kəz 'ɒbvɪsli jə si: ɪ ðə 'weɪ</p>

<p>moving into the house pretty soon, but er, you know, it's nice for them to be out [here] it's great for to be honest for English football as well, because obviously you see [in] the way Michael's playing now, you know people had their doubts about you know, him when he moved there but they also had their doubts about me when I moved there, and you know, Michael's started scoring, that's great for him. Er, Jonathan obviously he needs to get hisself fit now, and I think just after Christmas he'll be fit, so you know, it's all good.</p>	<p>'maikəʊz 'plɛɪɪn 'naə jə nəʊ 'pi:pə 'æd ðeə 'daʊ?s ə'baʊ? jə nəʊ hɪm 'wen i mʊʊvd ðe: bə? ðeɪ 'ɔ:lseʊ həd ðe: daə?s ə'baə? 'mi wen aɪ 'mʊʊv 'ðeər ɪ jə nəʊ 'maikəʊz 'sta?ɪ? 'skɔ:rɪn ðæ?s 'greɪ? fər 'ɪm ɜ: 'dʒɒnəfən 'ɒbvɪsli 'i: 'ni:dz tə 'ge? ɪ'zseof 'fɪ? 'naə ən a 'θɪŋk dʒəst 'ɑ:ftə 'krɪsməs ɪə bi 'fɪ? seʊ jə nəʊ ɪ?s 'ɔ: 'gʊd </p>
<p>1:25 It takes time, doesn't it? Yeah, of course, you know. You know, when you move to a different country and a different team, especially when, you've, you know, played for a team like Michael had and like I had, for so many years, you know, it takes time, but, you know, Michael's fitted in now /r/ and er, started scoring and, you know, everything's - looks a lot brighter when you, when you're in the team and when you're scoring goals.</p>	<p>'jə əv 'kɔ:s jə 'nəʊ jə 'nəʊ wen jə 'mʊʊv tə ə 'dɪfren? 'kʌntri ənd ə 'dɪfren? 'tɪ:m ə'speʃəli wen jʊv jə nəʊ 'pleɪd fər ə 'tɪ:m 'laɪk 'maɪkə 'æd ənd 'laɪk 'aɪ 'hæd fə seʊ 'meni 'jɪəz jə nəʊ ɪ? 'teɪks 'taɪm bə? jə nəʊ maɪkəz 'fɪ?ɪd 'ɪn 'naər ənd ə 'sta:ʔɪd 'skɔ:rɪn ən jə nəʊ 'evrɪθɪŋks 'lʊks ə 'lɒ? 'braɪtə wen jʊ wen jər 'ɪn ðə 'tɪ:m ənd 'wen jə 'skɔ:rɪn 'gəʊz </p>
<p>1:46 David, living in Spain now, but a chance to come back to London today. How, how has it felt coming back home? No it's great, I love coming back to London, you know this is where I was born, and er where my whole family are from, and eventually it's where I'll er live, you know, er for good and er, you know, it's always nice to, as I said, come back an and er, have the the fresh air and er see see friends as well.</p>	<p>nə ɪ?ts 'greɪ? ʌ 'lʌv 'kʌmɪn 'bæ? tə 'lʌndən jə nəʊ ɪsɪs weər aɪ wəz 'bɔ:n ənd ɜ: we mɑ hʊə 'fæməli ə 'frɒm ənd ɪ'ventʃʊəli ɪ?s weər əɒl ɜ: 'lɪv jə 'nəʊ ɜ: fə 'gʊd ənd ɜ: jə nɑ ɪ?s 'ɔ:weɪz 'naɪs tə əz ə 'sed 'kʌm 'bæk ən ən ɜ: 'æv ðə 'freʃ 'eər ənd ə 'sɪ: 'sɪ: 'frendz əz 'weə </p>
<p>2:08 So er, who have you had a chance to bump into while you've been over here? Erm, I've literally come straight from er</p>	<p>əm ʌv 'lɪtərəli 'kʌm 'streɪ? frəm ɜ: ðɪ 'eəpɔ: tə 'hɪə bə? əv 'spəʊk tə 'mɑ:tɪn 'dʒɒnsən ən mɑ: 'ti:nə 'hɪŋgɪs seʊ əv</p>

<p>the airport to here, but I've spoke to Martin Johnson and Martina Hingis, so I've never met Martina before so er, you know, it's a quite a big honour for me to meet her, because I I like tennis and, you know, I respect her er, you know, as well as a as a as a player so, you know, it's er, I'm seeing like people walk through all the time and I've met Ashley Cole er, downstairs as well, [...] not met him, but obviously seen him, so erm, but you know, it's nice too meet up with some of these people.</p>	<p>'nevə 'me? mɑ:'ti:nɑ bɪ'fɔ: səʊ ə jə nə ɪ?s ɜ: 'kwɑɪ? ə bɪg 'ɒnə fə 'mi: tə 'mi: hə bɪ'kɒz ə 'laɪ? 'tenɪs ənd jə nəʊ ə rɪ'spekt hər ə jə 'nəʊ əz 'weo əz ə əz ə əz ə 'pɪ:ɪə səʊ jə nəʊ ɪ?s ə əm 'si:n laɪ? 'pi:pə 'wɔ:k 'frʊʃ 'ɔ:ɒ lətɑɪ ən əv me? 'æʃli: 'kəʊs ə daʊn'steəz əz 'weo [...] nɒ? 'me? ɪm bə? 'ɒbvɪsli 'si:n ɪm səʊ ɜ:m bə? jə nəʊ ɪts 'naɪs tə 'mi: ʌ? wɪf sʌm ə 'ðɪz 'pi:pə </p>
<p>2:41 No getting away from some of these England players, is there? No, but that's the nice thing, you know, it's nice er that, you know, I've just seen Steven Gerrard as well so, it's nice to have them all here and er, all involved in this</p>	<p>nəʊ bə? ðæ?s ə 'naɪs 'θɪŋ jə nə ɪts naɪs ɜ: ðə? jə nɑ 'əv 'dʒʌst 'si:n 'stɪ:vən 'dʒərə:d əz 'weo səʊ ɪ?s 'naɪs tə 'æv əm 'ɔ:t 'hɪər ənd ə ɔ:l ɪn'vɒvɪd ɪn ɪs </p>
<p>2:52 On the England front, I guess you would like to play in a perfect world? Of course I'd love to play, you know, people know how much er, playing for England means to me, especially obviously being a the captain as well. Erm, and being out for so long, you know, I've been out for six weeks now /r/ and it's been nice to be back in that game.</p>	<p>əv 'kɔ:s əd 'ɪʌv tə 'pleɪ jə nəʊ 'pi:pə 'nəʊ əv 'mʌf 'pleɪɪŋ fər 'ɪŋɡlənd 'mɪ:nz tə 'mi ɪ'speʃəli 'ɒbvɪəsli 'bi:ɪn ə ðə 'kæptɪn əz 'weo ɜ:m ən 'bi:ɪn 'æt fə səʊ 'lɒŋ jə nə əv 'bɪn 'ɔ:t fə 'sɪks 'wi:kz nəʊr ən ɪ?s bɪn 'naɪs tə bi 'bæk ɪn ðæ? 'gɪm </p>
<p>3:07 Are you bad at being injured? Does it really get on your nerves? You better ask my wife that, she hates it when I'm injured, when I er, broke my er, the the metatarsal, the famous one, heh heh, when I broke that, she said I was terrible and she's saying the same sort of thing now to me so I think she's happy that I'm back playing.</p>	<p>jə 'be?ər 'ɑ:s mɑ 'waɪf 'ðæ? ʃɪ heɪ?s ɪ? wen əm ɪndʒəd wen ɑɪ ɜ: 'brəʊk maɪ ə ðə ðə metə'tɑ:səl ðə 'feɪməs 'wʌn [laughter] 'wen ə 'brəʊ? 'ðæ? ʃɪ 'sed ə wəz 'terəbo ən ʃɪz 'seɪɪn ðə 'seɪm 'sɔ:ʔ əv 'θɪŋ 'næ tə mi səʊ ə pɪŋk ʃɪz 'hæpi ðə? əm bæ?k pleɪɪn </p>
<p>3:26 She'll be relieved to kick you out on Sunday then? Definitely, definitely</p>	<p>'defənətli 'defənətli </p>

<p>3:27 Can we just ask you couple of music questions for you to answer? What's your favourite song of the year? Favourite song of the year? I actually love at the moment the er the Usher and the Alicia Keys.</p>	<p>'feivrɪt 'sɒŋ əv ðə 'dʒiə aɪ 'æʔʃuəli 'lʌv əʔ ðə 'məʊmənʔ ði z: ði 'ʌʃər ən ði ə'li:ʃə 'ki:z </p>
<p>3:37 “My Boo”? Yeah. I love that at the moment, that's [...]</p>	<p>'dʒiə aɪ 'lʌv 'ðæʔ əʔ ðə 'məʊmənʔ 'ðæʔs [...]</p>
<p>3:39 [Did you hear] the Nas one at the moment? Yes, I think that's very good, but er, you know, I'm a big Usher fan, and you know, I love that.</p>	<p>'jes ə θɪnʔ 'ðæʔs 'veri 'gʊd bət z: jə nəʊ aɪm ə 'bɪg 'ʌʃə 'fæən ənd z: jə 'nəʊ ə 'lʌv 'ðæʔ </p>
<p>3:46 And er the others they say, [...][or should I say?], we spoke to Rio a couple of weeks ago, and he told me that Gary Neville has the worst music taste of anybody he has ever met in football. Hehehe. I think that's a little bit harsh, erm. You know, Rio's got great taste in music, (be)cause er you know, he's got a sort of my taste in music. Gary's is a bit different, he likes Oasis, but you know, everyone loves Oasis. Well, so, you know, Gary's just different.</p>	<p>[laughter] ə θɪnʔ 'ðæʔs ə 'lɪʔo bɪʔ 'hɑ:ʃ z:m jə 'nəʊ 'rɪ:əʊz gɒt 'grɛɪʔ 'tɛɪst ɪn 'mɪʒu:zɪk 'kɔ: z: jə 'nəʊ ɪz 'gɒʔ ə sɔ:ʔ əv 'maɪ 'tɛɪst ɪn 'mɪʒu:zɪk 'gærɪz ɪz ə 'bɪʔ 'dɪfrənʔ i 'laɪʔks əʊ'eɪsɪs bəʔ jə 'nəʊ 'evrəʊwʌn 'lʌvz əʊ'eɪsɪs weə səʊ jə nəʊ 'gærɪz dʒəsʔ 'dɪfrənʔ </p>
<p>4:07 What do Real Madrid like a type [...] music wise? Erm, they're very sort of er you know, they like their own sort of music, it's very Spanish music, [Ricky Martin?] but er, I don't know about that, but er, no they're very into their own music.</p>	<p>z:m ðə 'veri 'sɔ:ʔ əv z: jə 'nəʊ ðə 'laɪk ðər 'əʊn 'sɔ:ʔ əv 'mɪʒu:zɪk s 'veri 'spæniʃ 'mɪʒu:zɪk bət z: [...] ə 'dəʊn 'nəʊ ə'baʊʔ 'ðæʔ bət z: nəʊ ðə 'veri 'ɪntə ðər 'əʊn 'mɪʒu:zɪk </p>
<p>4:21 (Another interviewer) Can I ask you one question? Just erm, obviously Real Madrid at the moment, but er, when are you going to come and play for a big team like Chelsea or Arsenal? I was ready, I was waiting for that question. That, the, obviously the rumours have been about, about Chelsea, for since I actually er, signed</p>	<p>aɪ wəz 'redi ə wəz 'weɪʔɪn fə 'ðæʔ 'kwɛstʃən 'ðæʔ ðə 'ɒbvɪəsli ðə 'ru:məz həv bɪn ə'baʊʔ ə'baʊʔ 'ʃeəsi fə 'sɪns aɪ 'æʃəli z: saɪnd fə reɪət mə'drɪd 'səʊ z: əm 'ʃɔ: ðeɪə 'stɪə 'stɛɪ ðeə bəʔ jə nəʊ 'ʃeəsi ər ə 'grɛɪʔ 'ti:m 'ɑ:sənʔ ər ə 'grɛɪʔ 'ti:m bət z: jə nəʊ əm 'hæpi 'pɹɛɪɪn fə</p>

<p>for Real Madrid, so er, I'm sure they'll still stay there. But, you know, Chelsea are a great team, Arsenal are a great team, but er, you know, I'm happy playing for Real Madrid at the moment. Erm, you know, you never know what's gonna happen in the future, but at the moment I'm happy.</p>	<p>'reɪəl mə'drɪd ə? ðə 'məʊmən? ɜ:m jə 'nəʊ jə 'nevə 'nəʊ wɒ?s gəne 'æpən ɪn nə 'fju:tʃə bə? ə? ðə 'məʊmən? am 'hæpəɪ </p>
<p>4:48 The problem with Chelsea is that they can afford you, no matter what the cost. Yeah, well. You know, sometimes obviously it's not all about the money . You know, obviously the club has to afford you, but erm, you know, it's a it's about the football at the end of the day and er, you know, I'm happy playing football at Real Madrid at the moment, but you know, you never know.</p>	<p>'jeə 'weo jə 'nəʊ 'sʌmtaɪmz 'ɒbvɪsli ɪ?s 'nɒ? 'ɔ:l ə'bəʊ? ðə 'mʌni jə 'nəʊ 'ɒbvɪsli ðə 'klʌb 'æz tə ə'fɔ:ðʒu bət ɜ:m jə 'nəʊ ɪ?s ə ɪ?s ə'bəʊ? ðə 'fʊ?bɔ: ə? ði 'end əv ðə 'dɛɪ ənd ɜ: jə 'nəʊ am 'hæpi pʌɪɪn 'fʊ?bɔ: ə? 'riəʊ mə'drɪd ə? ðə 'məʊmən? bə? jə nəʊ ju 'nevə 'nəʊ </p>
<p>5:05 And desperate to play on Sunday, and then for England? Of course. You know, I think being out for so long, for six weeks now, you know, I'm dying to get back, I'm happy to be back training with the players and with the team and now I just wanna get fit, and er, and you know, play for, play for the, for Real Madrid on Sunday, and then hopefully England.</p>	<p>əv 'kɔ:s ju 'nəʊ ə 'θɪŋk 'bi:ɪn æ? fə 'səʊ 'lɒŋ fə 'sɪks 'wi:kz nəəɪjə 'nəʊ am 'daɪn tə 'ge? 'bæk am 'hæpi tə bi 'bæ? 'trɛɪnɪn wɪð ðə 'plɛɪəz ənd wɪð ðə 'tɔɪm ən 'nəʊ aɪ 'dʒəs? wɒnə 'ge? 'fɪ? ənd ɜ: ən jə 'nəʊ 'plɛɪ fə 'plɛɪ fə ðə fə 'riəʊ mə'drɪd ɒn 'sʌndi ən 'nen 'həʊpəfəli 'ɪŋglənd </p>

BBC's video interview with David Beckham, November 2004

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS	BECKHAM'S PRONUNCIATION
<p>0:15 No, No, we've been looking for a house in London for a long time, for..for years and years since er even I was in Manchester, me and Victoria have always had our eyes out for a little house in London, so you know, it's always er been on the cards.</p>	<p>'nəʊ 'nəʊ 'wi:v bɪn 'lʊkɪŋ frə 'hæəs ɪn 'lʌndən frə 'lɒŋ 'taɪm fə fə 'jɪəz ənd 'jɪəz sɪnz ə 'lɪ:vən wen aɪ wəz ɪn 'mənʃestə 'mi: ən vɪk'tɔ:riə əv 'ɔ:weɪz æd ɑ:r 'aɪ aɪ? fə ə 'lɪ?o 'hæəs ɪn 'lʌndən səʊ ju 'nəʊ ɪts 'ɔ:weɪz ɜ: 'bɪn ɒn ðə 'kɑ:dz </p>

<p>0: 28 Not just shopping potential though, couldn't you see some [...] play for a London team, like Milwall? No, no, no, yeah heh, you never know, you never.. I've always says that you know, I'm happy in Madrid I must admit, I'm happy playing football, erm, I said last week the only thing the problem is, is you know the attention, the pre.. the press attention that I get, but you know, I'm gonna get that I suppose wherever I am and er, but you never know I'm, I might come back to London one day.</p>	<p>'nəʊ³ 'nəʊ 'nəʊ jə [laughter] jə 'nevə nəʊ jə 'nevə aɪv 'ɔ:weɪz sez ðæt ju 'nəʊ aɪm 'hæpi ɪn mə'drɪd aɪ 'mʌst əd'mɪ? aɪm 'hæpi 'pɹɪaɪn ðə 'fʊtbɔ: zɪm aɪ 'sed 'lɑ:s 'wi:? ðe 'əʊnli 'pɪŋ ðə 'prɒbləm ɪz ɪz ðə jə 'nəʊ ðɪ ə'tenʃən ðɪ 'prə ðə 'pres ə'tenʃən ðə? aɪ 'ge? bʌ? jə 'nəʊ aɪm 'gənə 'geɪ 'ðæ? aɪ s'pɹəʊz weər'evər aɪ 'æm end ə bʌ? jə 'nevə 'nəʊ əm aɪ 'maɪ? kʌm 'bæ? tə 'lʌndən 'wʌn 'deɪ </p>
<p>0:50 So if I was to put fifty quid on you being in [...] of Chealse team in twelve months time, would I be a rich girl? Oh I don't know about that to be honest, but I heard that rumor, that, that rumor has been around actually since I signed for Madrid so er you know, it's always er, it always keeps popping up and I'm sure it always will.</p>	<p>əʊ aɪ də'nəʊ ə'bau? 'ðæ? tʊ bɪ'ɒnɪs? bə? aɪ 'hɜ:d 'ðæ? 'rʊmə 'ðæ? 'ðæ? 'rʊmɪz bɪn ə'raʊnd 'æ?ʃəli sɪns aɪ 'saɪnd fə mə'drɪd səʊ zɪ jə 'nəʊ ɪ?s 'ɔ:weɪz zɪ ɪ? 'ɔ:weɪz 'ki:ps 'krɒpɪn 'ʌp ŋ aɪm 'fɔ:r ɪ? 'ɔ:weɪz 'wɪo </p>
<p>1:06 Who's the better manager [...], Wenger or Ferguson? Well, I've only obviously worked with er, with one of them, Sir Alex Ferguson, and you know he's a, he's a great manager you know, he, he brought, he brought me through, bought a lot of the other youngsters through and er, but you know, I've said before Arsen Wenger is is a great person. I've met him a few times, spoke to him a few times, and, and you know, the way his team plays football is incredible.</p>	<p>'weo aɪv əʊni 'ɒbvɪ 'wɜ:kt wɪv zɪ wɪð 'wʌn əv ðəm sɜ:r 'æɪlɪks 'fɜ:gəsən end jə 'nəʊ ɪz zɪ ɪz ə 'greɪ? 'mæɪnɪdʒə jə 'nəʊ ɪ ɪ 'bɔ:ʔ ɪ 'bɔ:ʔ mɪ 'frʊɪ 'bɔ:ʔ ə 'lɒ? əv ðɪ 'ʌvə 'jʌŋstəz 'frʊɪ end zɪ bə? jə nəʊ⁴ aɪv 'sed bɪ'fɔ:r 'ɑ:sən 'veŋgər ɪz ɪz ə 'greɪ? 'pɜ:sən ɑ:v 'me? ɪm ə 'fju: 'taɪmz 'spəʊk tʊ ɪm ə 'fju: 'taɪmz end end jə 'nəʊ ðə 'weɪ ɪz ɪŋ'kredɪbəl </p>
<p>1: 28 We're er gearing up for the Olympic bid er, in a week or so, 2012 could be a big time for London. Have they asked you to be an ambassador? Would you like that?</p>	<p>'jes aɪ 'æv zɪ: wɪv 'hæd 'tʊks end wɪ 'stɪl ɪn zɪ: ju 'nəʊ ðə 'tʊks wɪv wɪv ðə 'pɪ:po end zɪ: ju 'nəʊ 'həʊpfəli ɪ?o 'gəʊ 'weo bɪ'keɪz aɪ 'pɪŋk</p>

³ SCHWA slightly lowered.

⁴ This /u/ sounded more like the /u/ in “house” in the audio interview, 0:15

<p>Yes, I have er, we've had talks and er, we're still in er, you know the talks with, with the people and er, you know, hopefully it'll go well because I think having the, the Olympics in in our country and in in in here it's er, you know, it would be something special.</p>	<p>¹hævɪn ðə ðə ə¹lɪmpɪks ɪn ¹æ^ə 'kʌntri and ɪn ɪn ɪn¹ 'hiər its ə ju nəʊ ɪt d ɪ? 'bi: ¹sʌmpɪŋ 'speʃəʊ </p>
<p>1:51 The third baby on the way. They say at this stage that you go from man to man marking, to doing all [...]. How you gonna cope? Yeah. Yeah, hehe, I know. Erm like we've always coped you know we've always kept it with our family with our, you know our family very family orientated and er, you know, we've got great pa, great parents both of us, and er, it works, and er you know, having children is one of the best things in, in the world, and er, you know, to, to have another one on the way, to have a third, a boy, and we're going for a five-a-side team.</p>	<p>je je [laughter] aɪ nəʊ zɪm ¹lɑ:k wɪv 'ɔʊweɪz 'kəʊpt ju ¹nəʊ wɪv 'ɔʊweɪz 'kept ɪ? wɪf ɑ:ə ju 'nəʊ ɑ:ə 'fæmli 'veri 'fæmli 'ɔ:riəntətɪd ənd z: ju ¹nəʊ wɪv 'gɒ? 'greɪ? 'pe 'greɪ? 'peərənts 'bʊf əv əs ənd z: ɪ? 'wɜ:kz ənd z: ju nəʊ ¹hævɪn 'ʧɪldrən ɪz wʌn əv ðə 'best 'pɪŋz ɪn ɪn ðə 'wɜ:ɒd ənd ə ju 'nəʊ tɜ: tu 'æv ə'nʌvə wʌn ɒn ðə 'wei tə 'æv ə 'fɜ:d ə 'bɔɪ ənd wiə 'gəʊɪn fər ə 'faɪv ə 'saɪd 'ti:m </p>
<p>2:20 It's been a tough twelve months for you, or it's been busy twelve months. What has been the real high point and the real low? Erm, the real high point has, has got to be obviously Victoria being pregnant, and the low point is not being able to take my son to school, probably that's, that's the low point.</p>	<p>əm ðə 'ri:əʊ 'haɪ 'pɔɪn? 'æz əz 'gɒ? tə bi: 'ɒbvɪəsi vɪk'tɔ:riə bi:ɪŋ 'pregnənt ənd ðə 'ləʊ 'pɔɪn? 'ɪz 'nɒ? 'bɪn 'eɪbəʊ tə 'tɛɪk maɪ 'sʌn tə 'skʊʊ 'prɒbəbli 'ðæ?s 'ðæ?s ðə 'ləʊ 'pɔɪn? </p>

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