

What Has Happened to “Received Pronunciation”?

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ABSTRACT

Although “Received Pronunciation” (RP) as described by Daniel Jones in his *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (EPD) was thoroughly descriptively oriented, it happened to become prescriptive and rose to be the standard pronunciation of British English. It is the necessary result of the British Broadcasting Company (BBC)’s adoption of RP. Through the BBC, RP spread all over the country. The spreading of RP in turn caused the dilution of RP.

RP was characterized by two distinct features in its origin. One is social features made up of social classes, educational background, and occupations. And the other is geographical features. Both features, however, got more and more indistinct in proportion as RP spread farther and farther (2.1 & 2.2). As a result it has become difficult to define RP by these two features, because both of them have ceased to be the defining characteristics of RP. Thus the present RP is more complex. Under these circumstances British phoneticians are seeking a third feature by which to define RP. Phonetic features are a promising candidate.

Even though RP is familiar among the English, many linguists and lexicographers are not willing to admit that RP is the standard pronunciation (1.1 & 1.2). Why not? It does not seem that the word ‘standard’ is compatible with democracy. ‘Sandard,’ ‘Public School Pronunciation (PSP),’ or the like do not seem to be likable in the time of democracy. In an early edition of EPD, D. Jones suddenly abandoned the term PSP for an unknown reason and then adopted RP. It is probable that he thought the term RP was more acceptable to the public than PSP.

0.1 “Received Pronunciation” (RP)

I mean “Received Pronunciation” (RP) in the title above as a technical term of British English. It refers to a specified subset of British English pronunciation. We can go further to say that it is tantamount to the Standard Pronunciation of British English. Nevertheless the British phonetician Daniel Jones (1881–1967), godfather of RP, originally wanted the term to be interpreted just as “widely understood pronunciation” [EPD 4 (1933):x/ EPD 12 (1963): xvi].

In spite of A. C. Gimson (1984: 45)¹⁾, D. Jones may be recognized as practically the first to have used the term in the technical sense,

when you take into consideration its supreme influence over contemporary Britain. But nowadays it seems that the term RP has become too familiar to the British people to be associated with the name of D. Jones. As a good example to show that it is probable, I give J. Honey (1989). Although the author uses the term RP and phrases containing RP a great number of times in that book, he never mentions the name D. Jones at all. It might be because “This book,” as Honey (1989: xi) says in the preface, “is addressed not to the specialists in linguistics but to the man or woman in the street...”

But we have another case. P. Trudgill

(1990), who is sure to have in mind linguists as part of his readers, doesn't mention D. Jones at all either. Thus what is striking there is that he uses the phrase "BBC" accent instead of RP throughout. I wonder why neither D. Jones nor RP appears. In the discussion below I am going to touch upon the way RP of D. Jones has become what is called "BBC Accent" (See 2.1).

In fact, it is not the case that D. Jones used the term RP since the inception of his *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (EPD). He adopted the term PSP, not RP in the beginning.

- (1) The form of pronunciation in this dictionary may be referred to shortly "Public School Pronunciation" — PSP. [EPD 1 (1922): viii]

He described PSP as just below.

- (2) most usually heard in everyday speech in the families of Southern English persons whose men-folk have been educated at the great public boarding-schools. [EPD 1 (1922): viii]

'Men-folk' means 'male people in a family.' To name the 'great public schools', they are Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, and Rugby.

- (3) used by a considerable proportion of those who do not come from the South of England, but who have been educated at these schools. [EPD 1 (1922): viii]

That is, birth in the South of England is less valued than graduation from the great public schools.

- (4) heard, to an extent which is considerable though difficult to specify, from persons of education in the South of England who have not been educated at these schools. [EPD 1 (1922): viii]

In other words, receiving education in the southern part of England is more highly esteemed than graduating from the great public schools.

- (5) a majority of those members of London society who have had a university education, use either this pronunciation or a pronunciation not differing greatly from it. [EPD 1 (1922): viii]

The above (4) and (5) mean together that receiving a university education in London is preferable to just receiving education in the South of England. It is concluded that the feature 'receiving a university education in London' is the most definite qualification for a speaker of PSP.

But afterwards he stopped using the term PSP and began to adopt RP from the third edition of EPD [Gimson 1984: 45]. He did not explain the reason why he discarded PSP. And besides he did not seem to be contented with the new term RP when he said that it was just because there was no other appropriate term. [EPD 4: x/EPD 12: xvi/EPD 13: xviii]

- (6.1) In what follows I can it [= "the above-mentioned pronunciation" — H.S.] "Received Pronunciation" (abbreviation RP), for want of a better term. [EPD 4: x]

The italic parts below are modified ones in later editions.

- (6.2) *It is often called* "Received Pronunciation" (abbreviation RP), for want of a better term. (italics mine) [EPD 12: xvi/EPD 13: xviii]

0.2 The Aim of The Present Paper

It is the aim of the present paper to argue (1.1 & 1.2) that we can recognize RP as practically the standard pronunciation of British English, though many linguists do not seem

to be ready to explicitly claim that it is so. As to what helped RP rise to the status of the standard pronunciation, two of the most salient changes RP has undergone in the course of time will be described (2.1 & 2.2). We will look into the changes the concept of RP has undergone since its first appearance in EPD, largely by reference to EPD, while paying due attention to the above two points.

1.1 Current Definitions of RP

First of all, let's have a look at what the definitions of RP are like. Those definitions ought to reflect the present place RP occupies among the other accents in England.

I. Dictionaries (1) British

Dictionary of Language and Linguistics (1972) by R.R.K. Hartmann & F.C. Stork:
Pronunciation of standard British English based on the speech of educated speakers of Southern British English.

Collins Dictionary of the English Language (1979):
the accent of standard Southern British English.

A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics by D. Crystal (1980):

- (1) the regionally neutral 'accent' in British English, historically deriving from the prestige speech of the Court and the public schools.
- (2) the one most often cited as a norm for the description of British English.
- (3) The BBC originally adopted RP for its announcers because it was the form of pronunciation most likely to be nationally understood, and to attract least regional criticism.
- (4) RP no longer has the prestigious social position it once held. In the eyes of many (especially of the younger generations), regionally marked forms of accent are more desirable.

Longman New Universal Dictionary (1982):
a form of nonlocal British English pronunciation used by many educated British people, esp those who have attended public schools, and usu by the BBC.

Longman Dictionary of the English Language (1984):

a prestigious form of nonlocal British English pronunciation used by many educated British people, esp in the south, and usu by the BBC.

(As far as a geographical feature is concerned, I am not sure about it in this definition: it is because I find it illogical in this respect. See "...nonlocal...esp in the south,..." For this reason I put a question mark? in teh corresponding place in the table below. — H.S.)

A Supplementary to the Oxford English Dictionary Vol. III (1984):

the pronunciation of that variety of British English widely considered to be least regional, being originally that used by educated speakers in southern England.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (1987):

form of English speech used, with local variations, by majority of educated English-speaking people.

Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1988):

the standard accent used by speakers of southern British English.

I. Dictionaries (2) American

Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (1984):

the pronunciation of Received Standard Received Standard:

the form of English spoken at the English public schools, at the universities of Oxford

and Cambridge, and by many Englishmen elsewhere.

The American Heritage Dictionary (1985):

The pronunciation of British English that reflects the social and cultural predominance of southern English speech, that was at one time characteristic of the English spoken at the public schools and Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and that was accepted as the standard form of English used in broadcasting.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language (1986):

the form of English spoken at the English public schools, at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, at the English court, and by many educated Englishmen elsewhere.

The Random House Dictionary of the English Language (1987):

the pronunciation of British English considered to have the widest geographical distribution and the fewest regional peculiarities, originally the pronunciation of educated speakers in southern England and traditionally that used in the public schools and at Oxford and Cambridge universities, adopted by many speakers elsewhere in England and widely used in broadcasting.

II. Books (British)

English Dialects by M.F. Wakelin (1977: 5):

the accent of English usually associated with a higher social or educational background, with the BBC and the professions.

English Accents and Dialects by A. Hughes & P. Trudgill (1979: 2-3):

Whenever British rather than, say, American English is taught, the accent presented as a model for the learner will almost always be 'received pronunciation', or 'RP'. 'Received' here is to be understood in its nineteenth-century sense of 'accepted in

the best society'. While British society has changed much since that time, RP has nevertheless remained the accent of those in the upper reaches of the social scale, as measured by education, income and profession, or title. It is essentially the accent of those educated at public schools (which are of course private, and beyond the means of most parents). It is largely through these schools that the accent is perpetuated. For RP, unlike prestige accents in other countries, is not the accent of any region (except historically: its origins were in the speech of London and the surrounding area).

International English by P. Trudgill & J. Hannah (1985: 2 & 9):

- (1) The RP accent has its origins in the south-east of England but is currently a social accent associated with the BBC, the Public Schools in England, and with members of the upper-middle and upper classes. (p. 2)
- (2) while it originated in the south-east of England, it is now a genuinely regionless accent within Britain. (p. 9)
- (3) RP is the accent which is used most often in radio and television broadcasts in England. (p. 9)
- (4) RP is not a regional accent, it is a social accent, associated particularly with the upper-middle and upper classes (and those who aspire to those classes). (p. 9)

Accents of English 1 by J.C. Wells (1988):

- (1) This non-localizable accent of England is what phoneticians refer to as *Received Pronunciation* (RP). It is characteristic of the upper class and (to an extent) of the upper-middle class. (p. 10)
- (2) The accent in question is sometimes popularly referred to as 'BBC English' or even 'Standard English'. (p. 117)

- (3) Occupations perhaps most typically associated with RP are barrister, stock-broker, and diplomat. (p.117)
- (4) Typically they belong to families whose menfolk were or are pupils at one of the 'public schools' (exclusive private schools standing outside the state education system). (p.117)
- (5) Until the early 1970s, this was the accent demanded in its announcers by the BBC. (p.117)

1.2 Summary

The following table indicates what features each definition of RP includes.

- ① stands for the feature relating to an objective to be aimed at: 'standard' · 'norm' · 'model'
 - ② *geography*: 'south-east' · 'southern' · 'local'
 × : no reference to geographical features: 'nonlocal' · 'least regional'
 - ③ *education*: 'public schools/Oxbridge'
 - ④ *social classes*: 'upper class' · 'prestigious' · 'best society' · 'title'
 - ⑤ *occupations*: 'Court' · 'profession' · 'income'
 - ⑥ *publicity*: 'BBC' · 'broadcasting'
- * means 'It was originally the case'

| | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ⑤ | ⑥ |
|--------------------------|---|----------|---|---|---|---|
| Hartmann & Stork (1972) | ○ | ○ | ○ | | | |
| Wakelin (1977) | | | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Collins (1979) | ○ | ○ | | | | |
| Hughes & Trudgill (1979) | ○ | × ○=* | ○ | ○ | ○ | |
| Crystal (1980) | ○ | × | * | * | * | ○ |
| Longman New (1982) | | × | ○ | | | ○ |
| Longman (1984) | | ? | ○ | ○ | | ○ |
| OED Supple. (1984) | | × ○=* | * | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|----------|---|---|---|---|
| Webster Col. (1984) | | | ○ | | | |
| Heritage (1985) | * | ○ | * | ○ | | * |
| Trudgill & Hannah (1985) | | × ○=* | ○ | ○ | | ○ |
| Webster 3 (1986) | | | ○ | | ○ | |
| Random House (1986) | | × ○=* | ○ | | | ○ |
| COD Current (1987) | | ○ | ○ | | | |
| Cobuild (1988) | ○ | ○ | | | | |
| Wells (1988) | ○ | × | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ⑤ | ⑥ |

The table above gives us a general picture of RP. After just a look at that, a few characteristics catches the eye.

- [1] Regarding Feature ①, six out of 16 references explicitly give RP the status of the standard. These six references are all British. Nine out of 16 say nothing of RP's standardness.
 - [2] Regarding Feature ②, seven references admit the 'nonlocalization,' while five admit its regionality ('southern' or the like). The result seems rather odd.
 - [3] Regarding Feature ③, that feature concerning 'education' is most closely associated with RP. (I group Features ranging from ③ to ⑤ as social features in the text.)
 - [4] All in all, Crystal (1980) and Wells (1988) are the most comprehensive in defining and therefore the most desirable, even though the content of each definition does not coincide. Conversely the definition of Webster Col. (1984) is the most undesirable.
- 2.1 Descriptiveness and Prescriptiveness of RP: involvement of RP with BBC**

Daniel Jones actualized the concept of his RP in a dictionary form. That is the EPD series. It started on its journey as a descriptive-oriented project. Both D. Jones and his co-editors have surely been descriptively minded in editing their EPD. I let EPD tell the story.

- (7) I [= D. Jones — H.S.] have no intention of becoming either a reformer of pronunciation or a judge who decides what pronunciations are “good” and what are “bad.” [EPD 1 (1922): viii/EPD 4 (1937): x/EPD 12 (1963): xvi/EPD 13 (1972): xviii/EPD 14 (1988): nowhere]
- (8.1) The proper function of the phonetician is to observe and record accurately, [EPD 1: viii]
- (8.2) My aim is to observe and record accurately, [EPD 4: x/EPD 12: xvi/EPD 13: xviii/EPD 14: nowhere]
- (9.1) I am not one of those who believe in the desirability or the feasibility of setting up any one form of pronunciation as a standard for the English-speaking world. [EPD 1: ix]
- (9.2) I do not believe in the feasibility of imposing one particular form of pronunciation on the English-speaking world. [EPD 4: x-xi/EPD 12: xvi/EPD 13: xviii/EPD 14: nowhere]
- (10.1) The fact that the scope of this book has been limited to the speech of the persons referred to in §7 does not mean that I consider their [= of the words in EPD — H.S.] pronunciation intrinsically superior to any other. [EPD 1: ix]
- (10.2) I do not regard RP as intrinsically ‘better’ or more ‘beautiful’ than any other form of pronunciation. [EPD 4: x/EPD 12: xvi/EPD 13: xviii/EPD 14: nowhere]

All the items (7) through (10.2) above converge into the indispensables of descriptivists.

Well then, why does he describe the pronunciations as they are phoneticized in his

EPD? He answers this question in the following way.

- (11.1) I have thought it desirable to record this pronunciation for two reasons, (1) because such a record has certain practical uses detailed below..., (2) because it happens to be the only type of English about which I am in a position to obtain full and accurate information. [EPD 1: ix]
- (11.2) I have recorded it because it happens to be the only type of English pronunciation about which I am in a position to obtain full and accurate information. [EPD 4: x/EPD 12: xvi/EPD 13: xviii/EPD 14: nowhere]

In short, the EPD makes it a rule to depict D. Jones’s own pronunciation and that not very greatly differing from his.

In spite of the original intention, however, the EPD gradually got more and more prescriptive in nature. What made RP begin to take on prescriptiveness as its descriptiveness waned? RP’s involvement with the BBC did. When it was established in 1922, “BBC” was the abbreviation of the British Broadcasting Company. But it is now that of the British Broadcasting Corporation. We saw the set-up of an Advisory Committee on Spoken English in 1926. The Committee consisted of Robert Bridges (chairman), Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson, Logan Pearsall Smith, George Bernard Shaw, Daniel Jones (professor of phonetics at University College London) and Arthur Lloyd James (lecturer in phonetics at the School of Oriental Studies of London). See [Pointon 1988: 9].

- (12) In 1934... [Daniel] Jones, [Arthur] Lloyd James, Harold Orton (then Lecturer in English at Armstrong College, Newcastle on Tyne, and later Director of the English Dialect Survey) and H.C.K. Wyld (Merton Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of

Oxford, and author of the *Universal English Dictionary*) were designated 'consultant members' and words for discussion were submitted in the first instance to them, as expert phoneticians. [Pointon 1988: 10]

(13) On the outbreak of war in 1939, the Committee was suspended. Lloyd James, by then Professor, and Daniel Jones remained as Linguistic Advisers to the BBC, positions which they held until their deaths. [Pointon 1988: 11]

(14) The day-to-day work on pronunciation was taken over by Miss G.M. Miller, formerly the Assistant Secretary to the Committee, with the title Pronunciation Assistant, and Miss E.D. Anderson. Both were honours graduates in modern languages with a training in phonetics gained at London University. [Pointon 1988: 11]

From the above citations we can conclude that D. Jones was a central person for life together with Lloyd James in recommending pronunciations to BBC. Moreover G.M. Miller and E.D. Anderson who took over the work the Committee had been concerned with are supposed to have been D. Jones's or his successor A.C. Gimson's students, because Jones was a professor in phonetics at University College and then at the University of London. In any case D. Jones's influence upon BBC pronunciation must have been great. G.M. Miller doubts the existence of "the myth of 'BBC English'" and does not admit that the BBC *imposes* or *imposed* a BBC accent (Pointon 1983: vii). But it is true that the Advisory Committee *recommended* to the BBC a series of booklets beginning with *Broadcast English: Recommendation*²⁾... In fact G. Pointon aptly says:

(15) The word *recommendations* is something of a euphemism, as announcers were obliged to follow the Committee's advice

[Pointon 1988: 9]

A.C. Gimson (1917–1985), immediate successor of D. Jones was forced to admit that the EPD had acquired a prescriptive cast.

(16) A dictionary of this kind is largely descriptive in intent, but it also fulfils for a majority of its readers a prescriptive function. [EPD 13 (1972): vii]

RP seems to have begun getting out of D. Jones's hands, even though the original EPD principle of being descriptive has never changed.

2.2 Spreading and Dilution of RP

The content of RP has been inflated. RP has spread throughout Britain as the most important model of pronunciation. That would not have been possible without the BBC. In fact the BBC played a decisive role in diffusing RP all over Great Britain. In the course of spreading, however, RP increasingly lost its homogeneity of structure. In its origin the definition of RP was given with particular reference to its social prestige and geography. In that case social prestige was more highly valued than geography.

2.2.1 Social Features

The social content of PSP and RP has changed according to the following process. The EPD tells us the history.

(17.1) all that the dictionary aims at doing is to give a faithful record of the manner in which *certain specified classes* of people do pronounce.
(italics mine) [EPD 1 (1922): vii]

The phrase qualifying the following word 'people' gets a little more vague in the later editions.

(17.2) all that the dictionary aims at doing is to give a faithful record of the manner

in which *certain* people do pronounce. (italics mine) [EPD 4 (1937): ix/12 (1963): xv/13 (1972): xvii/14 (1988): nowhere]

(18.1) = (2) The pronunciation represented in this book is that most usually heard in everyday speech in the families of Southern English persons whose men-folk have been educated at the *great public boarding-schools*. (italics mine) [EPD 1: viii]

(18.2) The pronunciation represented in this book is that *which I believe to be most* usually heard in everyday speech in the families of Southern English *people who* have been educated at the *public schools*. (italics mine) [EPD 4: ix]

(18.3) The pronunciation represented in this book is that which I believe to be *very* usually heard... [The rest is the same as above (18.2)] (italics mine) [EPD 12: xv/13: xvii/14: nowhere]

(19.1) = (3) · (4) · (5) This pronunciation is also used by *a considerable proportion* of those who do not come from the South of England, but who have been educated at these schools. The pronunciation may also be heard, to an extent which is considerable though difficult to specify, from *persons of education* in the South of England who have not been educated at these schools. It is probably accurate to say that a majority of *those members of London society* who have had a university education, use either this pronunciation or a pronunciation not differing greatly from it. (italics mine) [EPD 1: viii]

(19.2) This pronunciation is also used (*sometimes with modifications*) by those who do not come from the South of England, but who have been educated at these schools. The pronunciation may also be heard, to an extent which is considerable though difficult to specify, from *natives of the South of England* who have not

been educated at these schools. It is probably accurate to say that a majority of *Londoners* who have had a university education, use either this pronunciation or a pronunciation not differing greatly from it. (italics mine) [EPD 4: ix]

(19.3) This pronunciation is also used (sometimes with modifications) by those who do not come from the South of England, but who have been educated at these schools. The pronunciation may also be heard, to an extent which is considerable though difficult to specify, from natives of *Southern England* who have not been educated at these schools. [The rest is the same as above (19.2)] (italics mine) [EPD 12: xv/13: xvii/14: nowhere]

The interpretation suggested at 0.1 (citations (2)–(5)) holds true here too. To repeat, the core of social features was ‘receiving a university education in London’.

(20) There seems little doubt that this type of English speech has evolved considerably since this Dictionary was first conceived. Since the turn of the century, RP *has become less and less the property of an exclusive social class*. Its extension throughout a wider section of the population has doubtless led to some dilution of the earlier form. (italics mine) [EPD 13: vii/14: nowhere]

RP’s “extension throughout a wider section of the population” has resulted from the BBC’s adoption of RP. Now let us turn to the geographical background of RP.

2.2.2 Geographical Features

(21) = (2) · (18.1) The pronunciation represented in this book is that most usually heard in everyday speech in the families of *Southern English persons*... (italics mine) [EPD 1: viii]

(22.1) = (5) · (19.1) It is probably accurate

to say that a majority of those members of *London* society who have had a university education, use either this pronunciation or a pronunciation not differing greatly from it. (italics mine) [EPD 1: viii]

(22.2) = (19.2) It is probably accurate to say that a majority of *Londoners* who have had a university education, use either this pronunciation or a pronunciation not differing greatly from it. (italics mine) [EPD 4 (1937): ix]

After all the geographical background of RP was London.

(23) The speech-style now recorded, while retaining its underlying *South-Eastern* English characteristics, is applicable to a wider sample of contemporary speakers, especially those of the middle generations. (italics mine) [EPD 4 (1937): vii]

(24) though it [= RP — H.S.] has its origins in a specific region, it may still be described as '*non-localised*' in that it may be encountered as the native accent of people who come from all over Britain. In addition, though it is based on the speech of London and the adjacent counties, it has features that are not shared by the accents of these areas. (italics mine) [Ramsaran 1990: 179]

It is true that many linguists say that you cannot specify the geographical background of present RP. But I have never known of any fieldwork or survey that proves or refutes that argument. That holds true of the argument of social features too.

2.3 Toward A New Definition of RP: Phonetic Features

RP had been defined until the relatively recent past in terms of social and geographical features. Now that it has turned out that neither of them are of use, we are forced to

seek a third norm. In fact we do turn to phonetic features of RP for this end. We should redefine RP, which is far from homogeneous now, after dividing RP into a few phonetic layers according to generations. But to discuss that phase of RP is beyond the scope of the present paper.

3. Overview

The word 'standard' implies a kind of sense of value. The sense of value concerns, for example, 'good' or 'bad,' 'super' or 'lower,' 'beautiful' or 'ugly' etc. 'Standard' is the opposite of 'substandard,' or 'non-standard'. The following illustrates the above.

(25) Children who are born into homes of privilege, in the way of wealth, tradition, or education, become native speakers of what is popularly known as "good" English; the linguist prefers to give it the non-committal name of *standard* English. Less fortunate children become native speakers of "bad" or "vulgar" or, as the linguist prefers to call it, *non-standard* English. [Bloomfield 1933: 48]

The sense of value will discriminate. But we are now in an era of equality or democracy. The view that all should be equal is now prevalent. Even if you feel in your heart that a speech or a pronunciation is standard, you probably hesitate more or less to openly declare that it is that. It is because to declare so means to judge the others substandard. To put it otherwise, the concept of 'standard' is not inherent in language itself. That is, it is not an inherent feature of language.

According to [Hudson 1982: 32-33], a standard language in general passes through four stages: 'selection,' 'codification,' 'elaboration of function,' and 'acceptance.' I explain them in my own words as follows.

(1) SELECTION: You pick up a dialect or an accent for some reason. It is usually

because it is important socially, politically, or culturally.

- (2) **CODIFICATION:** Authorities publish books, monographs, dictionaries, etc. in the dialect or in the accent.
- (3) **ELABORATION OF FUNCTION:** You develop the dialect or the accent so that you can use it in any field of human activities.
- (4) **ACCEPTANCE:** In the end the dialect or the accent needs to be accepted by the public.

To return to RP, it has satisfied all the above (1)–(4) qualifications for standard. All the above history has made it certain that RP has developed from a dominant accent to the status of standard pronunciation of British English.

NOTES

1. A.C. Gimson [1984: 45] cites H. Wyld as the linguist who let D. Jones come to adopt the term RP by saying:
Daniel Jones, having abandoned his earlier term for this standard, 'PSP' [Public School Pronunciation—H.S.], agreed with Wyld (1922: 2–3) in using in his *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (EPD) from 1926 the traditional label 'Received Pronunciation' (RP).
2. Lloyd James, A. (ed.) (1928): *Broadcast English I: Recommendations to announcers regarding certain words of doubtful pronunciation*. BBC, London.
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—(1932): *Broadcast English III: Recommendations to announcers regarding the pronunciation of some Scottish place names*. BBC, London.
—(1934): *Broadcast English IV: Recommendations to announcers regarding the pronunciation of some Welsh*

place names. BBC, London.

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—(1937): *Broadcast English VI: Recommendations to announcers regarding the pronunciation of some foreign place names*. BBC, London.

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[Pointon 1988: 12]

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