The First Duty in Life is to be as Authentic as Possible?

Language Ideologies and Authenticity in Contexts of Dialect Contact

by

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To my Father, Heinrich Sebastian Tresch

A goal without a plan is just a wish.

– Antoine de Saint-Exupéry

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I investigate the language ideologies underlying the development and legitimisation of (relatively new) English varieties that have emerged through contact, as they are embedded within their socio-geographical and sociolinguistic history. Some specific metalinguistic debates will be selected for special examination.

I therefore attempt to identify the most salient political, social and cultural debates about language that have shaped and have been shaped by metalinguistic discourses. The English varieties on which this investigation is focused are: New Zealand English and – what I have labelled – (some of) the 'enregistered non-standard contact varieties of the south east of England' (i.e. 'Estuary English', 'Multicultural London English' or 'Jafaican', and 'Mockney').

New (colonial) linguistic varieties – such as koinés – have presented a serious challenge to ideas about 'legitimate' languages and dialects, as traditionally geographical stasis and immobility were considered fundamental to concepts like identity or *authenticity*. In the context of decolonisation and increasing globalisation, however, positive attitudes to linguistic diversity as a consequence of mobility and language contact have become fortified.

The main purpose of this investigation is thus to examine the language ideologies that have shaped and underlain these discourses (e.g. discussions about the appropriateness of New Zealand English vis à vis external, British models of language) and their related practices in public discourses (mainly media and educational discourses).

Notions of authenticity have turned out to be central in these metadiscourses. The main questions addressed are thus: a) How are these contact English varieties legitimised and authenticated, and how are other varieties – within the same metadiscourse – 'delegitimised' and 'deauthenticated'?; b) How do these (de/)legitimisation and (de/)authentication practices interact with discourses of nation building and (local) discursive identity construction?; c) Did these (de/)legitimisation and (de/)authentication practices change over time, and if yes how did they change – and possibly – why?

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Introduction

This introduction aims at providing the main working definitions used in the present doctoral dissertation, as well as the theoretical context that will function as the backdrop for this investigation. The main research questions and themes will also be identified, together with an overview of the chapters comprised in the dissertation.

From its commencement, sociolinguistics has been concerned with the interaction between language variation and social meaning (Schilling 2013). The present dissertation stems from a deeply rooted interest in the ways in which morality, politics, class, gender, diversity, legitimacy, authority, authenticity etc. impinge on discussions of the English language and its dialects (or varieties). The backdrop for the questions addressed in the present dissertation will thus be the relation between language and political-economic – and other – macro factors (cf. Kroskrity). Whenever people comment on (or often complain about) language usage, they are really commenting on something else: it is a way of addressing several social concerns such as immigration, change and social inequalities. In relation to this, Blommaert (2015: 83) points to the indexical character of language as follows:

> Language is one of the most immediate and sensitive indexes of diversity. Small differences in accent and speaking patterns betray someone's regional, social class, ethnic and/or gender backgrounds; hearing a different language spoken instantly provokes impressions of 'foreignness'; and seeing public signs in a language you don't read is a reliable indication that you're not in your familiar habitat. Language is also the most immediate and sensitive index of social change. Hearing or seeing language not hitherto heard or seen in an area is a sure and immediate sign that the area has changed […]. And language, finally, is also the key tool to organize and navigate diversity: we perpetually adjust our language repertoires to those we have to communicate with, often coming up with entirely new forms of language usage […]. Language [can] also [become] a sensitive index of conflicts, contests and power in a field of diversity.

> In the study of language in society – an area covered by sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and adjacent sciences – we like to believe that attention to the small details of language usage offers a privileged entrance into broader and less immediate social, cultural and political pattern […] (see Agha 2007a; Bourdieu 1990; Voloshinov 1973).

The focus here are comments on language practices (i.e. metalinguistic discourses and debates), which might also be seen as a less offensive, or easier, way to deal with the aforementioned social concerns. The metalinguistic level becomes thus central for an investigation of these social concerns. The importance of investigating metadiscourses in assessing the language situations of different countries is underscored by Blommaert (1999b: 434) who claims that "the ways in which language and language situations are being *debated* in societies may offer important sociolinguistic insights". He, additionally, emphasises the importance of metalinguistic debates by stating that "language *is being changed* by debates" (435), since "[p]olitical linguistic debates intervene in sometimes brutal ways in the history of languages and speech communities, and their

effect can overrule "spontaneous" effects of language contact or of language evolution"(435) due to their being frequently underlain by discourses of inequality.

Over the years several scholars in this field of work have postulated that it is "language ideologies [that] medi[ate] between discourse[1] structures [which include metalinguistic debates] and forms of social inequalities" (Van Dijk 2008; as reported in Kroskrity 2016a). Thus, language ideologies have been recognised to mediate between routines of cultural practices and language-particular structures (cf. Kroskrity 2016a). Therefore, the topic of language ideologies is a much needed bridge between linguistic and social theory, because it relates the micro-culture of communicative action to political economic considerations of power and social inequality, confronting macrosocial constraints on language behaviour.[2] In line with this, how one speaks has almost always been bound up with conceptions of social identity (Mugglestone 1995). In fact, as the academic, critic and novelist Raymond Williams[3] has pointed out "a definition of language is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world" (1977: 21). Definitions and conceptions of language are fundamental activities that organise individuals, institutions and interrelations. These representations, implicitly or explicitly, "construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (Woolard 1998: 4).[4] [5] Language ideologies can thus be defined as follow:

> [...] beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states. These conceptions, whether explicitly articulated or embodied in communicative

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[1] Discourses – following Foucault – are 'ways of talking about something' (cf. Kerswill 2014). See Blommaert (1999a) for a discussion of metadiscourse and how this becomes valuable in language ideological research.

[2] It is important to specify that in the present dissertation I will make a distinction between the terms 'ideology' and 'discourse'. In fact, following Woolard (2016: 16) guidelines I use the term 'ideologies' to refer to "what I think of metaphorically as "underlying" conceptual frames, which are instantiated in actually occurring discourses. Ideologies may saturate consciousness so thoroughly as to be doxic, hegemonic, unacknowledged, and most importantly not explicitly asserted, in which case they are identifiable only in what is unsaid" (Bourdieu 1977). On the other hand, discourses of language "usually refer to instances in which speech, text, or other media offer actual representations of language. Of course, the relevant logic and meaning of any specific discourse will lie not just in what is literally said, but also in the interstices, presuppositions, and entailments of what is said, and so the explicit and the implicit are inextricably related".

[3] Williams (1977) further elaborates on this idea by advancing the notion of *structures of feeling*.

[4] In relation to social identity construction, research has been focused on the ideological formation of social identity through shared knowledge (e.g. Gumperz, 1982), national consciousness (e.g. Gal 1979; Woolard 1989; Irvine 1998), and political activism (e.g. Urban and Sherzer, 1991).

[5] In line with this, Heller (2008: 518) explains that "understanding how community and identity have been reworked in contemporary nation-states involves understanding the ways in which people make sense of their engagement in all of the processes described above. Generally understood as a matter of language ideology (cf. Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998; Blommaert 1999; Kroskrity 2000), this area of enquiry investigates the discourses that attribute value to linguistic forms and practices, along with the processes of constructing social difference and social inequality with which they are associated. Our ideas about language(s) are, in other words, not neutral; we believe what we believe for reasons which have to do with the many other ways in which we make sense of our world and make our way in it. [...] What emerges now is a complex set of practices which draw on linguistic resources conventionally thought of as belonging to separate linguistic systems, because of our own dominant ideologies of language, but which may more fruitfully be understood as sets of resources called into play by social actors under social and historical conditions which both constrain and make possible the social reproduction of existing conventions and relations as well as the production of new ones (Alvarez-Caccamo 1998; Auer 2007)".

practice, represent incomplete, or 'partially successful', attempts to rationalize language usage; such rationalizations are typically multiple, context-bound, and necessarily constructed from the sociocultural experience of the speaker.

(Kroskrity 2010: 192)

Language ideologies are thus "cultural conceptions of the nature, form and purpose of language" (Gal and Woolard 1995: 130) and they frequently clash and manifest in metalinguistic debates, both public and academic. Language ideologies are anthropologically compelling not only because they mediate between forms of talk and social forms, between language and culture, but also because they can significantly influence, social, discursive, and linguistic practices (Blommaert 1999a, 1999b, 2006; Kroskrity 2004, 2010; Woolard 1998). Silverstein (1979), for instance, has demonstrated that certain forms of language structure may change due to ideological motivations (i.e. driven by folk understandings of language structure and use).[6] As Woolard (1998: 4) puts it

[...] ideologies of language are not about language alone. Rather, they envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology. Through such linkages, they underpin not only linguistic form and use but also the very notion of the person and the social group, as well as such fundamental social institutions as religious rituals, child socialization, gender relations, the nation-state, schooling and law.

A focus on language ideologies is also a potential means of deepening a – sometimes superficial – understanding of linguistic form and its cultural variability in political economic studies of discourse. Many populations around the world, in multifarious ways, posit fundamental linkages among such apparently diverse cultural categories as language, spelling, grammar, nation, gender, simplicity, intentionality, authenticity, knowledge, development, power, and tradition (cf. Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 4). In fact – as Coupland and Bishop (2007: 74-6) explain – language ideology research "assumes that, in particular socio-cultural environments, certain beliefs about the value of sociolinguistic features, styles and practices are structured into people's everyday understanding (Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998; see also Lippi-Green 1997; L. Milroy 2004)". A good example – that they point out – is James Milroy's (2001: 530) argument "that speakers of standardised languages live in 'standard language cultures' where the legitimacy of what is thought of as 'the standard language' is taken for granted and where issues of 'correctness' in relation to it are taken to be natural concerns that matter" (ibid). Establishment ideologies have constructed 'standard English' as being an "intrinsically 'authentic' variety (Coupland 2003) – an assumption which sociolinguists have generally been at pains to resist" (ibid).

It is thus within the framework of this cutting-edge line of work that my own doctoral research is situated, as it examines public metalinguistic discourses in order to establish operative language

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[6] Cf. Preston 2002; 2003; 2006.

ideologies, especially those that relate to the 'authenticity construct'.[7] The main focus of the present dissertation will thus be the practices of authentication, legitimisation and authorisation in relation to language; new varieties of English more specifically. Some of the questions that will be addressed and have driven the data collection process for my two case studies thus are: 1) what makes a particular language authoritative in community members' eyes and ears?; 2) what relationship to language allows a government and its institutions to be perceived as legitimate?; 3) what entitles a speaker to use a language freely and to convince others with that use? (Woolard 2016: 1). In order to answer these questions, I will explore both the explicit and implicit language ideologies underlying a vast array of data, textual and non-textual, and point to the patterns that appear in these metalinguistic discourses through a qualitative analysis informed by the theoretical frameworks that will be overviewed in the next chapter. A large body of data has to be scrutinised for this aim since (language) ideologies are often naturalised (i.e. rendered unconscious; they are framed as taken-for-granted states of affairs and are placed beyond question). The analysis will be qualitative in nature, and from language-ideological work, it will take the notion that ideas about language are invested with social, economic, political and moral values, and that these have implications for actual linguistic practices and policies (and vice versa) (e.g. see Blommaert 1999a, 1999b; Kroskrity 2000; Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998). The methodology used will build on the language ideology literature, and especially on works such as Blommaert (1999a, 1999b), Gal and Woolard (2001), Kroskrity (2000a, 2004, 2010) and Woolard (1998).

It is here important to briefly clarify the differences that separate the literature and research on language ideologies and those on language attitudes, as these can easily be confused. I will here also address the place of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its methods vis-à-vis the theorisation of language ideologies. As Kroskrity (2016a: 1) explains, *language ideologies* and *language attitudes* (as conceptual tools) were both created by researchers in the "second half of the 20th century to provide a means of treating speakers' feelings and ideas about various languages and linguistic forms as a critical factor in understanding processes of language change, language and identity, and language in its socioeconomic context" (1). These two concepts are therefore often conceived as being related to a common effort to "bring linguistic subjectivity into research once exclusively dominated by objectivist frameworks that attempted to explain linguistic phenomena, without recourse to speakers' apparent understandings" (ibid). However, these two concepts have very different origins and significant differences in the way that they encourage researchers to focus on distinctive aspects of similar phenomena (Kroskrity 2016a). Additionally, these two concepts are also associated with very different kinds of methodologies:

> [l]anguage attitudes, as a concept, is generally associated with an objectivist concern with quantitative measurement of speakers' reactions. This concern is surely related to its conceptual origins in social psychology, quantitative sociolinguistics, and educational linguistics. In contrast, the concept of language ideologies is associated with qualitative

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[7] Giddens (1991) claims that in the context of modernity, "[a]uthenticity becomes both a pre-eminent value and a framework for self-actualisation […]".

methods such as ethnography, conversational analysis, and discourse analysis [...]. This methodological reliance on qualitative methods is certainly related to its association with linguistic anthropology, interpretive sociology, and systemic functional linguistics.

(ibid)

It is also important to highlight that in contrast to the history of application for the concept of language attitudes, language ideologies – as its anthropological origins dictates – "has tended to emphasize how speakers' beliefs and feelings about language are constructed from their experience as social actors in a political economic system, and how speakers' often partial awareness of the form and function of their semiotic resources is critically important" (ibid). Consequently, students of language ideologies tend to read them both from speakers' "articulate explications" (ibid) – such as in interviews or conversational interaction – and from "comparatively unreflective, habitual discursive practice" (ibid). On the other hand, students of language attitudes tend to measure reactions through "more standardized and objective forms of data collection" (ibid) – such as extended interviews, surveys, matched guise tests, and the analysis of socio-phonetic samples.[8] Despite these differences, both traditions have displayed an important and consistent emphasis on the investigation of how linguistic and stylistic resources are used by speakers in the production of various identities with a focus on linguistic repertoire and code switching rather than on a single language or language variety (cf. Gumperz 1982; Kroskrity 1993; Zentella 1997; Milroy 2000) (Kroskrity 2016a).[9]

For what concerns the relationship between the field of language ideologies and CDA: at about the same time that language-ideological theory was coming together in the United States, a comparable development was occurring in Europe that is usually known as critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Kroskrity 2016a). According to Kroskrity (2016a: 15): "[m]ost of the practitioners are text-based linguists who work in language and literature departments or in other fields in humanities". Theorists in this school often rely on work by "such influential scholars as Pierre Bourdieu, Louis Althusser, and Antonio Gramsci. These social theorists emphasize social inequality and power relations and figure prominently in CDA theorizing. One of the earliest CDA works is Fairclough 1989. Both in this early text and in Fairclough 2013, where the CDA paradigm is more fully evolved and elaborated".[10] CDA exhibits several similarities with the work conducted in the field of language ideologies, but on the other hand it also displays some fundamental differences. In fact, as Kroskrity (2016a: 15) explains,

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[8] Kroskrity (2016a: 7) also explains that folk linguistics, "with its interest in speakers' explicit awareness, was an intellectual forerunner of the interest in linguistic ideologies that emerged considerably later. Works such as Silverstein 1981 would take up this interest in speakers' awareness of their linguistic structures and practices. More recently [...] Niedzielski and Preston 2000 is an important volume on the general topic of folk linguistics, which converges with some similar themes found in the literature on language ideologies".

[9] For the language attitudes side of this discussion, see Preston (2003); Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2006); Coupland and Bishop (2007).

[10] Two other influential works are Wodak (2009; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a) – in which the author reads hegemony directly from the discursive moves of European politicians both in public and backstage settings – and van Dijk (2008; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a) – which offers a socio-cognitive approach that views the role of language ideologies as mediating between discourse structures and forms of social inequality (Kroskrity 2016a).

> Though similar to CDA in attempting to connect language with power and social inequality, the language ideologies approach differs from CDA in its emphasis on awareness, its recognition of multiple and contesting ideologies, and its preferred use of ethnographic approaches to collecting and interpreting data, as opposed to textual analysis. Therefore, even though CDA is an attempt to engage issues of political power and social inequality, it can also be considered a distinct field on the basis of differing theoretical concerns and preferred methods.[11]

Moving back to the field of language ideologies, since the tour of the 20th century research on language ideologies has expanded to new topical concerns and has become "one of the more pervasive theoretical frames in linguistic anthropology and related fields" (Kroskrity 2016a: 16). Kroskrity (2000a) is an edited volume that turns attention to the role of language ideologies in European and Euro-American discourses that include language philosophy, political campaign rhetoric, the political construction of national boundaries, and anthropological scholarship itself. Irvine and Gal (2000) is another milestone in the development of the field of language ideologies; it examines the role of such semiotic strategies such as iconisation, erasure, and fractal recursivity as productive language-ideological processes that have been deployed by political figures to rationalise national boundaries in Africa and Macedonia. Other important works are: Schieffelin (2000) – which analyses the missionary use of indigenous literacy as a means of undermining Kaluli culture in Papua New Guinea and Philips (2000) – who focuses on the language ideologies underlying Tongan civil court cases involving the use of profane language, demonstrating how state prosecution of these cases aligns the state with the moral values of traditional family life. Moreover, Silverstein (2000), Errington (2000), and Kroskrity (2000b) examine the implicit language ideologies used by the political scientist Benedict Anderson, the social anthropologist Ernest Gellner, and the social anthropologist Edward P. Dozier, respectively. Finally, Bauman and Briggs (2003), in their monograph, re-examine much of modern Western language philosophy as historically situated language-ideological projects, extending this analysis to the founders of folklore and anthropology in the United States (e.g. John Locke, the Grimm brothers and Franz Boas) (Kroskrity 2016a). These and other theories will be discussed in Chapter I, together with a more detailed overview of the origins of the inquiry field of language ideologies itself.

To conclude, the main areas of language ideologies research that the present investigation touches upon are the following.

1. Language ideologies and language revitalisation:

One important area in which language ideologies have become prominent deals with concerns regarding how and why language and their speakers experience language shift and language

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[11] Verschueren (2012) is a comprehensive treatment of how texts can be mined for ideological analysis. Wodak and Meyer (2001; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a) surveys a range of methods used in a variety of CDA case studies (Kroskrity 2016a).

attrition and respond to language revitalisation (cf. Kulick 1992; Dorian 1998; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998; Meek 2007; Duchêne and Heller 2008; McEwan-Fujita 2010; Perley 2011; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013; Sallabank 2013; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a). Interestingly – as Kroskrity (2016a: 20) points out – and as it applies to language varieties too – "these discourses exist both in small, indigenous communities where the heritage language is truly endangered and in dominant societies where the language actually enjoys state support". In the latter case, the discourse often reflects "a dominant group's discomfort with increasing levels of internal diversity, or new influences that have ridden the wave of globalization". Kroskrity (2016a: 20) thus explains that

> [b]ecause language attitudes and language ideologies figure significantly in almost all linguistic and communicative activity, there is little wonder that these concepts have been used to address a wide range of topical foci. One crosscutting theme that unites several of these topics is a theme of heightened linguistic awareness. This occurs when the speakers of destabilized minority and indigenous languages need to construct projects of linguistic revitalization, renewal, and reclamation. It can also occur when speakers perform narratives, songs, or other works of verbal art and must contextualize their performances to changing historical circumstances. Another crosscutting theme is the role of language attitudes and ideologies as resources in projects of colonization, state control, and resistance to these forces. And yet another productive theme concerns ideologies of hybridity and whether or not globalizing forces reduce linguistic diversity or enhance it.

2. Linguistic racism and colonialism:

> At the end of the 20th century and into the first decades of the 21st, language ideologies approaches have been recruited to disclose and analyze forms of racism that represent largely discursive practices designed to rationalize a social hierarchy and further reproduce social inequality. Related to linguistic racism and a forerunner of its modern practices, linguists during European colonization often produced linguistic analyses that rationalized European domination and promoted racial hierarchies [cf. Errington 2007].
>
> (Kroskrity 2016a: 22)

Some of the main academic figures in this line of work are Kroskrity and Jane H. Hill, especially for what concerns studies of linguistic racism (cf. Hill 1998, 2008; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a) (Kroskrity 2016a). Additionally, Urciuoli (2013; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a) examines the meanings of the various languages in the linguistic repertoire of Puerto Ricans living in the United States, Barrett (2006; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a) demonstrates how linguistic racism is part of the social inequality between personnel in an Anglo-owned Mexican restaurant dealing with the topic of essentialised identities, and Bucholtz (1999, 2001; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a) analyses linguistic markers of race as they are appropriated for presentations of self that foreground other identities, such as being masculine or "nerdy." Finally, Bonilla and Rosa (2015; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a) focus on the affordances of social media as a medium of protest and documentation over acts of apparent racism (Kroskrity 2016a).

3. Standards and states, dialects, registers, and speech economies:

According to Kroskrity (2016a: 23), "[l]anguage ideologies inform the standardized languages of most nation-states as well as the alternative local languages with which they alternate or compete" (cf. Blom and Gumperz 1972; Lippi-Green 2012; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a). The common pattern that emerges from several of these studies is that "the authority that accrues to standard languages through their association with the hegemonic institutions of the state, involves both the elevation of the standard and the denigration of all other dialects and languages" [cf. Silverstein 1996; Spitulnik 1998; Jaffe 1999; Messing 2007; Crowley 2012; Milroy and Milroy 2012; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a] (Kroskrity 2016a: 23).

4. Enregisterment:

> In the early 21st century, researchers acted on the need for concepts that were useful in recognizing the way that speakers internally differentiated their languages into "registers" capable of indexing social groups and cultural values. […] In 2003, Asif Agha introduced the concept and defined enregisterment as the process "through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognisable register of forms" (Agha 2003) […]. Agha 2005 further develops the dynamics of enregisterment, treating it as a resource for speakers that is analogous to voice. Many studies have found enregisterment as a preferred means of theorizing the development and deployment of social and regional dialects [cf. Beal 2009; Remlinger 2009; Clark 2013; Johnstone 2013; Urcioli and La Dousa 2013; as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016a].

> (Kroskrity 2016a: 25)

Agha (2004: 24) defines a register as a "linguistic repertoire that is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices". Similarly, Irvine (1990: 127) defines it as a "coherent complex of linguistic features linked to a situation of use […] which draws on cultural images of persons". Agha (2003) in his article *The Social Life of a Cultural Value* further elaborates on this notion and coins the term of 'enregisterment', which he presents as a process "by which a linguistic repertoire comes to be associated culture-internally with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices". To make his point he focuses on the English regional sociolect labelled 'Received Pronunciation' and he explains how it became a socially recognised register – i.e. how it acquired its role in a scheme of social value – by focusing on processes of value production, maintenance and transformation.[12]

5. Language, globalisation, hybridity and inequality:

For this last area of language ideologies research, Kroskrity (2016a: 28) observes that: "[f]orces such as linguistic nationalism and globalization not only promote contact between peoples and

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[12] See also Johnstone and Kiesling (2008) and Johnstone (2011) on the enregisterment (or discursive construction) of the regional dialect named "Pittsburghese".

languages, they also tend to reproduce social inequalities between them". Blommaert (2010) views globalisation as a challenge to older sociolinguistic paradigms and as an opportunity to address the mobility of speakers and their languages (Kroskrity 2016a). On the other hand, Garrett (2013) emphasises the very different meanings that globalisation and its linguistic consequences can have for speakers in different parts of the world, while Duchêne (2008) analyses the international discourses and language ideologies that underlie the United Nations treatment of linguistic minorities (Kroskrity 2016a). Other works deal with a variety of ways to recognise and ameliorate social inequalities: Hymes (1996) develops the notion of "narrative inequality" to indicate how some narrative norms are supported by dominant institutions such as schools while others are stigmatised or suppressed. Linguistic-landscape studies have emerged to examine the significance of written-language displays such as signage in public spaces, typically in urban areas (Kroskrity 2016a). Finally, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) deal with case studies of linguistic landscape that "broaden the semiotic range to include not just signage and billboards but also monuments, and designed space as well as the metadiscourses that occur within those landscapes" (Kroskrity 2016a: 28).

Against this backdrop, I will now define the aims of the present investigation in more detail. The present dissertation examines ideological discourses surrounding the formation, development and status of contrasting koinés: New Zealand English and the enregistered non-standard varieties of the south east of England. My analysis aims at shedding light on how contact language varieties challenge both academic and lay discourses, by showing how these discourses go about the process of authenticating and legitimising language via concepts of place and fixity and stability on one hand, and how the mobility inherent in contact continues to be perceived as presenting a threat to language authentication on the other hand. Therefore, the main focus here will be the ways in which 'new' (colonial) linguistic varieties – i.e. koinés – have presented a serious challenge to ideas about 'legitimate' languages and dialects, as traditionally geographical stasis and immobility were considered fundamental to concepts like identity or authenticity. In the context of decolonisation and increasing globalisation[13] [14], however, positive attitudes to linguistic diversity, as a consequence of mobility and language contact, have become fortified. In other words, the foci of the present investigation are the metalinguistic discourses revolving around these new contact-induced English varieties, and their interaction with notions of legitimacy,

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[13] Globalisation in the sense used here entails a cluster of phenomena including: a) national boundaries becoming more permeable; b) large shift of service-sector work (globally dispersed); c) increased demographic mobility (for economic reasons); d) developing of ethnic pluralism; e) upsurge in consumer culture, new forms of commodification (cf. also Giddens 1991).

[14] Important in relation to globalisation, reflexivity and identity construction is Giddens' (1991) understanding of 'Modernity'. Giddens (1991:1), in fact, explains that "[m]odernity must be understood on an institutional level; yet the transmutations introduced by modern institutions interlace in a direct way with individual life and therefore with the self. One of the distinctive features of modernity, in fact, an increasing interconnection between the two 'extremes' of extensionality and intentionality: globalizing influences on the one hand and personal dispositions on the other. […] [M]echanisms of self-identity [are] shaped by – yet also shape – the institutions of modernity. The self is not a passive entity, determined by external influences; in forging their self-identities, no matter how local their specific contexts of action, individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications".

authenticity, national identity and authority. Particular emphasis will be placed on the socio-historical development of discourses of authentication and legitimisation. In fact, in order to bring to light and deconstruct the language ideologies that underlie these metalinguistic discourses it is fundamentally important to consider the socio-historical, cultural and (socio)linguistic context in which these varieties are embedded and from which they originated.

As it was briefly touched upon earlier, new contact varieties (e.g. koinés such as NZE and other colonial varieties) are presenting a serious challenge to traditional ideas about 'legitimacy' and 'authenticity'. *Geographical stasis* and *immobility* have long been considered fundamental to notions such as the 'authentic speaker' and an 'authentic dialect', and these notions frequently seem to play a primary role in legitimisation processes. In relation to this Bucholtz (2003: 404) claims that according to the ideology of isolationism the most authentic language is "removed from and unaffected by other influences, and thus the most authentic speaker belongs to a well-defined, static, and relatively homogeneous social grouping that is closed to the outside". Therefore, in the logic of this ideology, "the effects of social and linguistic contact are problematic" (ibid)[15], and as a consequence, for several decades contact varieties of English were deprived of their authenticity, and thus often also of their legitimacy.[16] However, in more modern discourses things have changed. Notions of how authentic, legitimate or pure a given variety is – and needs to be – are particularly divergent when new (contact-induced) varieties such as koinés evolve. Additionally, these new conditions brought about by phenomena related to globalisation and decolonisation (see Chapter I) seem to have increased people's awareness of language variation and the frequency of metalinguistic commentaries such as those that are analysed here. In relation to this Johnstone (2010: 396) points out that:

> [...] economic and cultural globalization and the attending social and geographical mobility and dialect contact seem to result in two contradictory trends: increased dialect leveling and increased talk about dialect […] globalization both erases objectively visible linguistic difference via leveling and dialect loss and creates ideological difference among imagined language varieties via increased popular attention to variation.[17]

What is meant by a 'legitimate' language variety is of primary importance, especially when these definitions are likely to influence and/or determine social boundaries and power relations between different groups. Furthermore, as notions and definitions of 'authenticity' have also turned out to be central in the collected corpora, (de/)authentication discourses and practices will also be discussed in the analysis. The increasing salience of these practices (and discourses) has

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[15] The context within which Bucholtz (2003) makes these claims is a consideration of the set of language ideologies that have produced the construct of the authentic speaker in sociolingusitic research. However, these ideologies seem to have been fairly widespread also among lay-people (cf. Watts 2011).

[16] In relation to discussion of geographical stasis, Britain (2016: 218-19) – drawing on Cresswell (2006) – argues that "[s]edentarist approaches see *place* as the 'phenomenological starting point for geography', as a 'moral world, as an insurer of authentic existence and centre of meaning for people…mobility is often the assumed threat to the rooted, moral, authentic existence of place'".

[17] On the other hand, this perceived increase in the frequency of metalinguistic commentaries could also be due to the increment of outlets through which these commentaries can be voiced (e.g. the internet, digital discourses; see Chapter II).

been linked to the heightened social reflexivity of the last decades as Coupland (2014: 30), recalling Johnstone, points out: "[i]t is heightened social reflexivity, entailed in increased geographical mobility, mediatisation, cultural comparison and so on, that creates conditions under which cultural (in)authenticity becomes meaningful, and starts to provide a basis for authenticity disputes and for cultural and sociolinguistic commodification".[18] It is thus relevant – in relation to these new developments in the field of sociolinguistics – to identify and examine these discourses within the present dataset. The main questions that will thus be addressed are:

- How are these new English varieties legitimised and authenticated, and how are other varieties 'delegitimised' and 'deauthenticated'?
- How do these (de/)legitimisation and (de/)authentication practices interact with discourses of nation building and (local) discursive identity construction?
- Did these (de/)legitimisation and (de/)authentication practices change over time, and if yes how did they change – and possibly – why?

By attempting to answer these questions I also hope to shed some light on the ways in which language variation is conceptualised and evaluated more generally, especially in the case of (relatively) new English varieties. Moreover, I will examine the question of whether the ideologies that promote the legitimisation of these new varieties are connected with those that delegitimise standard varieties of English. In order to fully develop this question in my thesis – mainly for the British case study – I examine the changes in the ideologies of Standard English, specifically to uncover the ideological underpinnings of public metalinguistic discourses that have revolved around 'Received Pronunciation' – standard British English pronunciation in the last decades. 'Received Pronunciation', (or as it has sometimes been referred to, 'BBC English') has for many years been considered as an emblem of such linguistic authority. However, recent work – such as Agha's (2003) paper on the enregisterment of this variety – has revealed a discursively-constructed threat posed to its authority by the new (often considered 'non-standard') varieties of English that have been developing in Britain over the last few decades (e.g. 'Estuary English', 'Multicultural London English'; see Chapter III for the working definitions of these varieties). Consequently, the linguistic authority of certain dialectal varieties in Britain seems to be in the process of being ideologically renegotiated and reworked, in response to the major societal changes that have been happening in the country over the last two decades (cf. Bennett 2012; Coggle 1993; Crystal and Crystal 2014; Jones 2012). On the other hand, for the New Zealand case study, the emergence of a new endonormative standard (i.e. New Zealand English) has called for a reworking and adjustment of existing language ideologies to the new sociolinguistic situation. One of the themes that will be addressed in this case, concerns the fact that the beliefs that used to be called upon in order to legitimise the superiority of the exonormative standard – 'Standard' British English (or 'Received Pronunciation' in several instances) – have recently been reworked and subverted in order to legitimise New Zealand English. This will also aim at

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[18] However, it has to be pointed out that it is unlikely that a mythical 'Golden Age', where these phenomena were completely absent, ever existed.

shedding light on the potential themes/thematic strands that have been put forward in public metalinguistic debates in order to promote the authentication and consequent legitimisation of New Zealand English. The notion of 'authenticity', or of what constitutes an 'authentic' language variety and its potential reworking and renegotiation will thus be pivotal in the present investigation.

The corpus on which the present dissertation will be based is composed of written, audio and visual data that form, reflect or comment upon the aforementioned English varieties and their authoritative status. These include printed press newspapers and journal articles, online newspaper articles and related threads of comments, YouTube videos and related threads of comments, blog posts, Facebook posts, letters to the editor, columns, editorials, recordings, radio programmes. These data are supplemented by forty interviews that were conducted with broadcasting stakeholders and public figures that are involved in the on-going public language debate that is happening in Britain (especially in the south east of England) and New Zealand. The focus on public media discourses is rooted in the assumption that the media are important 'ideological brokers' as "media producers are exceptionally well positioned to influence a range of contemporary language practices and values, with an ever-increasing potential for global reach" (Johnson and Ensslin 2007: 21) (cf. Blommaert 1999; Johnson and Ensslin 2007; Johnson and Milani 2010).[19] Finally, the display of primary data was here preferred to lengthy secondary academic interpretation. This is an approach that might be slightly less common in the field, but I believe that it can be revealing, and it allows to leave the data presented more open to further interpretations and suggestions.

Before moving on to the first chapter, I will provide definitions for some important concepts that will be used throughout the whole dissertation. These are the working definitions that I will use for the sake of simplicity, even though I am aware that some might be controversial and alternatives are available. I would first like to briefly dwell on the term **'meta'** as it is used here for 'metalinguistic discourses' and for 'metadiscourses' more generally. Johnson and Ensslin (2007: 7-8) – drawing on Woolard 1998 – propose three levels of metalanguage: a) *linguistic/discursive practice* – what people actually do with language; b) *metalinguistic/metadiscursive practice* – what people say/write about language/the views on language they explicitly express; c) *implicit metapragmatics* – the regimentation of language use through implicit linguistic signaling (i.e. knowledge about language drawn upon in the use, and interpretation, of language acts). The last two are the focus of the present investigation. Metalinguistic comments are as much a manifestation of language ideologies (on an individual level), as language ideological debates are manifestations of a larger discourse (on a societal level) that does not always surface in public. They are also rather collectable and interpretable materialisations of ideologies and discourses

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[19] Giddens (1991: 4) also suggested that the media – printed and electronic – "play a central role" for sociological research and the construction of identities. In fact, he explains that "[m]ediated experience, since the first experience of writing, has long influenced both self-identity and the basic organisation of social relations". Moreover, he explains that "with the development of mass communication, particularly electronic communication, the interpenetration of self-development and social systems, up to and including global systems, becomes ever more pronounced". I would add that this is even more so in our modern, highly digitalised lives.

that are triggered by social, political, cultural, economic, etc. events (cf. Blommaert 1999). Blommaert (1999) also distinguishes between three levels of language: 'text', 'discourse' and 'meta-discourse' and he believes that these are central to the study of language ideologies. 'Texts' are defined as stretches of written or spoken language/discourse; 'discourses' as the socio-cultural frameworks which are both drawn upon and whose traces are (re-)produced within such texts; and 'meta-discourses' as broader, macro-level; reflections of commentaries on those texts/discourses (Milani and Johnson 2008) (cf. Woolard 1998).

Blommaert – as anticipated – in his important collection of studies, *Language Ideological Debates*, which focuses on the dissemination and re/production of language ideologies in a variety of contexts, prompts for the relevance of debates as "excellent linguistic-ethnographic targets" (ibid: 10). He, in fact, explains that debates are

> textual/discursive, they produce discourses and metadiscourses, and they result in a battery of texts that can be borrowed, quoted, echoed, vulgarized etc. In sum, they are moments of textual formation and transformation, in which minority views can be transformed into majority views and vice versa, in which group-specific discourses can be incorporated into a master text, in which a variety of discursive means are mobilized and deployed (styles, genres, arguments, claims to authority), and on which sociopolitical alliances are shaped or altered in discourses.
>
> (ibid)

According to this idea then, the theoretical purpose of studying language ideological debates is to critically analyse the processes by which different discourses/meta-discourses struggle to achieve common-sense status by becoming 'authoritatively entextualised' (Milani and Johnson 2008).[20]

In terms of meta-discourses about accents and dialects more specifically, Agha (2007) observes that – in the context of his study on 'Received Pronunciation' [RP] – "[t]he experience of RP in Britain today is mediated by a range of metadiscursive practices that bring register-dependent images of persons into wide circulation in the public sphere" (195-6). He also explains that in some cases these "implicit typifications are rendered more explicit through 'uptake' and response in subsequent speech events: in the case of the BBC announcers who speak with regional accents, particular social personae are only implicitly palpable in the announcer's performance"; but "in their subsequent letters of complaint and hate-mail, the audiences of these broadcasts describe such enacted personae in highly explicit – sometimes vituperative – terms in the very course of dismissing them" (ibid). This is one of the type of metalinguistic discourses that will be central in the present investigation, together with the use of misspellings which constitutes

> an implicit metapragmatic commentary on norms of speech. For, armed with the folk-view that every word has a correct spelling and a correct pronunciation, the reader can only

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[20] In this important paper, Milani and Johnson (2008: 372-4) also advocate for an "approach to the study of language and politics that is open to the value of those insights afforded by the techniques of textual/discursive analysis developed by scholars of CDA". On the other hand, they also recognize approaches from Language Ideology "as having much to offer to CDA itself, not least in the domains of "language representation" (Coupland/Jaworski 2004) and researcher reflexivity" (ibid).

construe defective spelling as an implicit comment on defects of pronunciation – implicit, because no-one has actually said that the pronunciation is incorrect. The misspelling of words also invites inferences about oddity of character (viz., that upper-class speakers are pompous, eccentric, out of touch, etc.) rarely described explicitly in these texts. Such misspelling performatively replays folk-stereotypes about the aristocracy in a highly effective way. Yet although these stereotypes are effectively disseminated in the press and easily recognized by readers, they are not actionable. The dissemination of register-based images of persons is here a covert effect of a genre whose official point is just harmless humor.

(ibid: 197) [21]

The second distinction that will be important to be kept in mind for this investigation is the distinction between **'accent'** and **'dialect'**. This distinction has been discussed in several works, but to simplify I will use the term 'dialect' to identify a language variety "distinguished from other varieties by differences of grammar and vocabulary" (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013: 3). Thus, for example Standard (British) English is "a dialect of English, just as the other standard dialects of the language (standard Scottish English, American English, etc.) are, and all the non-standard dialects of the language too" (ibid). On the other hand, the term 'accent', "refers just to variations in pronunciation" (ibid). As, Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 3) explain, "[m]any people, including a lot of linguists, do not however draw a sharp distinction between the meanings of the two terms. It is quite common, particularly in North American texts on linguistic, for the term 'dialect' to be used to refer to a characteristic combination of phonetic features (i.e. what we are calling an accent)". Moreover, they claim that in "order to describe regional variation, it is convenient at times to speak of accents as if they were entities to be found within certain defined limits" (ibid), and that applies to the present investigation too. Agha (2003: 233) also comments on this and argues that – at least for what concerns 'Received Pronunciation' –

> the folk-term 'accent' does not name a sound pattern alone, but a sound pattern linked to a framework of social identities. The social identity is recognized, indexically, as the identity of the speaker who produces the utterance in the instance, and described, metalinguistically, through the use of identifying labels. In the case of geographic accents the most typical labels are derived from names of locales (e.g. 'he speaks with a *Scottish* accent').

Another term that will recur in the present work – especially in relation to metalinguistic discourses – is the term **'reflexivity'**. The working definitions for it within this dissertation is the one suggested by Zienkowski (2017: 2): "[t]o be reflexive means that an entity, system or structure bends back or refers to itself […]. Questions of reflexivity are therefore intertwined with issues about (self-) regulation, (self-) control and awareness". Zienkowski warns us that reflexivity comes in many guises and carries many names to match, as the notion has been

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[21] Additionally – and we will see this in our data – Agha (2007: 191-2) claims that in a common type of case "accent is what other people have; here the phonetic norms of *one's own group* comprise the default baseline of unaccented speech. But the norm can also be externalized as the speech of *some other* group, real or imagined, relative to which one's own speech is felt to be the accented, deviant – even defective – variety by some speakers".

"debated thoroughly in disciplinary contexts ranging from cultural studies over anthropology and sociology to literary studies" (ibid). [22] [23] [24]

Moreover, the semiotic process of **essentialisation** recurs in the analysis of my dataset. The definition that I use here is the one elaborated by Bucholtz (2003: 400) who explains that "[e]ssentialism is the position that the attributes and behavior of socially defined groups can be determined and explained by reference to cultural and/or biological characteristics believed to be inherent to the group. As an ideology, essentialism rests on two assumptions: (1) that groups can be clearly delimited; and (2) that group members are more or less alike".

Finally, I would like to specify that my interviews and general approach to the data collection process are very close to ethnographic methods. Schilling (2013) provides a comprehensive treatment of the different approaches used in sociolinguistic fieldwork. These include anthropological/ethnographic approaches whose central concern "is a concern for coming to understand cultures and communities from the perspectives of their members, through long-term participant-observation in community life" (9). This is especially true for the interviews conducted in the context of the two case studies, which could thus be considered as 'ethnographic interviews'. Schilling, also offers an insightful discussion of the relationship between linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics in terms of methods; and in this context she mentions "ethnographic interviews" which I find correspond more closely (in method and scope) with the kind of interview that I have conducted for my data collection rather than the traditional (variationist) sociolinguistic interviews. Bucholtz (2003: 406-7) explains

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[22] For more on this topic see Zienkowski (2017) and Blommaert (1999).

[23] Zienkowski (2017: 3) points to (and discusses) four concepts of reflexivity and how they intertwine with different research traditions: "[r]eflexivity as (1) a general principle of interaction and subjectivity is rather common in the pragmatist inspired approaches to discourse that can be found in the fields of linguistic pragmatics (Verschueren and Brisard, 2009: 33–35) and ethnomethodology-inspired conversation analysis (Psathas, 1998: 291; Titscher et al., 2000: 106). It is common in related disciplines such as interactional sociolinguistics or linguistic anthropology, but under-theorized in post-structuralist discourse theory. The notion of reflexivity as (2) a methodological stance or praxis is well known in sociological and anthropological discussions on the relationship between researchers and their research objects. Reflexivity is thereby conceptualized as a practical value that should be part and parcel of a sociological habitus. This ethical take on reflexivity is relatively rare in the more linguistically oriented approaches in discourse studies but did impact on the ethics of sociologically oriented discourse analysis and theory. Reflexivity as (3) a property of discursive and non-discursive systems is hardly ever discussed explicitly in discourse analysis and theory. Nevertheless, there are interesting parallels between systems theory and discourse theory that merit closer attention. And last but not least, the concept of reflexivity as (4) a key feature of late modernity has been addressed from time to time in critical discourse analysis, but deserves closer attention if we are to understand how critical subjectivities can be established through discourse in our day and age".

[24] Importantly, Giddens (1991: 5) observes that "[i]n the post-traditional order of modernity, and against the backdrop of new forms of mediated experience, self-identity becomes a reflexively organized endeavor; The reflexive project of the self, which consists in the sustaining of coherent yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choice as filtered through abstract systems. In modern social life, the notion of lifestyle takes on a particular significance. The more tradition loses its hold, and the more daily life is reconstituted in terms of the dialectic interplay of the local and the global, the more individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among diversity options. Of course, there are standardising influences too – most notably, in the form of commodification, since capitalistic production and distribution form core components of modernity's institutions".

this difference particularly for what concerns the perspective and elicitation methods taken into account:

> [l]inguistic anthropologists have attempted to overcome the observer's paradox by becoming quasi-community members via the fundamental method of ethnography: participant-observation. Though primarily intended as a method for researchers to learn to view a culture from the perspective of its members, participant-observation is often believed to have the secondary advantage of minimizing the disruptive effects of the research situation. By contrast, variationist sociolinguists have often turned to controlled research situations, such as the sociolinguistic interview, which creates contexts that allow for the elicitation of authentic speech - the vernacular. (Like linguistic anthropologists, variationist researchers may also draw on ethnographic interviews and participant-observation).[25]

To conclude, in order to ensure a well-rounded understanding of the social meanings of language variation and the language ideologies underlying them, it is important to observe groups (e.g. social networks, communities of practice), activities and interactions (e.g. classroom interactions), events (e.g. courtroom trials, marriage ceremonies, gift exchanges) and social processes (e.g. socialisation, marginalisation) (Schilling 2013; based on Saville-Troike (2003)). Looking at the following is also encouraged, and forms the basis for the data collection and analysis of the present investigation: a) background information (e.g. historical background, general description of area); b) material artifacts (e.g. architecture, signs, instruments of communication such as books, mobile phones); c) social organisation (e.g. community institutions, ethnic and class relations); d) legal information (e.g. language-related laws); e) texts (e.g. newspapers, pamphlets, local histories, official, and unofficial web sites pertaining to the community, web logs); f) statements indicative of "common knowledge" or common-sense beliefs (e.g. "Everybody knows…", "Everybody says…"); g) beliefs about language use (e.g. taboos, language attitudes); h) the linguistic code.

The present dissertation will unfold as follows. In **Chapter I**, I will explore the origins of the field of language ideologies as this gradually emerged from that of linguistic anthropology. Following this, the main frameworks and tools employed for the analysis of the collected data for the two case studies will be introduced. These include Geeraerts' (2003, 2008) cultural model of linguistic variation, and Woolard's (2008) theorisation of the ideologies underlying the construct of linguistic authority. Three additional concepts will also be addressed here: the notions of indexicality and authentication – the latter based mainly on Coupland's (2001b) theorisation – and the concept of the reallocation of indexicalities advanced by Blommaert (2003). The final section of this chapter will deal with the concept and historical development of the 'Standard Language Ideology' and will provide more details on the notion of 'enregisterment' elaborated by Agha (2003, 2004, 2007).

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[25] Ethnography itself as a mode of inquiry is described by Schilling (2013: 123) as being defined by "the complementary research goals of simultaneously developing an insider perspective while preserving a measure of outsider detachment through long-term involvement in the community of study, both as a researcher and a participant in community activities of some sort [see also Duranti 1997; Saville-Troike 2003]".

Chapter II, will be focused on the first case study dealing with the language ideologies underlying the metadiscourses – and more specifically the metalinguistic debates – about New Zealand English. The aim being that of identifying the salient socio-cultural (and political) debates about this variety that have shaped and have been shaped by metalinguistic discourses. Thus, the main discussion will revolve around the ways in which New Zealand English is represented and evaluated in public discourse, allowing for a deconstruction of the language ideologies that underpin these metalinguistic debates. Special attention will be given to the changing language ideologies that may lead to the authentication and legitimisation of 'non-standard' contact (new) language varieties, as New Zealand English. The beginning of the chapter will offer a brief socio-historical, cultural and (socio)linguistic background in order to contextualise New Zealand English and the analysed metalinguistic debates within the academic literature on the topic. After this, the process of data collection will be described in detail, and this will include: the preparation for the three-month fieldwork trip to New Zealand, the type of data collected, the reasons underlying the choice of data and time periods. Finally, the main analysis and interpretation will be laid out.

Chapter III, will focus on the second case study dealing with the metalinguistic debates surrounding the 'enregistered' non-standard contact varieties spoken in the south east of England. The variety labels that will be the centre of this chapter are: 'Estuary English', 'Received Pronunciation'[26], 'Cockney' (and 'Mockney'), and 'Multicultural London English' (or 'Jafaican' in less academic metadiscourses). The aim and collected corpus of this second case study are very similar to the first one, in order to allow for comparability of results. In fact, the focus once again will be on identifying the salient socio-cultural (and political debates) that have shaped and have been shaped by the metalinguistic discourses and debates on these varieties. However, an additional theme will be addressed here: the shift in language ideologies that has affected conceptualisations of 'Standard English' – especially in reference to 'Received Pronunciation' – particularly in the last fifteen years. This chapter will therefore deal with a large quantity of digital data. As for the previous case study, a short socio-historical, cultural and (socio)linguistic contextualisation will be provided. First, with an overview of regional and social variation in the British Isles, with a focus on the south east of England, and especially London. Second, the role of mobility and dialect levelling (or supralocalisation) in the formation of the current sociolinguistic situation in the south east will be specified. Third, some time will be spent to provide a clearer picture of some of the phenomena related to migration and multilingualism that have led to the development of 'Multicultural London English' and how this connects to language developments – as well as research developments – in urban centres in the rest of Europe. After that, the data collection process for this case study will be clarified together with the preparation for the three-month fieldwork trip to London, and the salient time-periods selected for the creation of the corpus. This will then be followed by a detailed description of the type of data that were collected mainly through publicly accessible digital databases at the British

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[26] 'Received Pronunciation' is obviously excluded from the category that I have labelled 'enregistered' non-standard contact varieties spoken in the south east of England. This variety functions here as the backdrop 'standard' variety to which the other varieties are compared.

Library situated in London. The main analysis and interpretation of the data collected will be subsequently laid out with the identification of four main ideological schemata. The last section of this chapter will address a research gap by attempting to trace a typology of metalinguistic authenticities based on the metalinguistic debates analysed in Chapters II and III and on recent sociolinguistic research. The main questions addressed in this final section will be: 1) How do speakers characterise the authenticity of a language variety?; 2) What are the main discursive categories, or thematic areas, on which this sociolinguistic judgment is often made? 3) What does this reveal about more modern conceptions of language and authenticity?

I will then draw my **Conclusions**, I will address some of the limitations of the present dissertation and some directions for further research.

Chapter I

Theories and Methods

> Millions of people obsess over dialects.
> Language consumes us. It is the core of what it
> means to be human. Dialects remind us of the
> staggering diversity and beauty of humanity.[1]

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[1] Dialectblog.com. Accessed in December 2014, at: http://dialectblog.com/

1. Investigating Language Ideologies

In the following sections of this chapter, the origins of the inquiry field of language ideologies – as it emerged from linguistic anthropology – will be explored (section 1.1). Moreover, the main theoretical approaches and analytical concepts existing within this field will be briefly overviewed (section 1.2). In section 1.3, the main frameworks and tools employed for the analysis of the data for the two case studies presented in the introduction will be defined. These include two frameworks and three concepts. The two frameworks are Geeraerts' (2003; 2008) cultural models of linguistic variation and Woolard's (2008) theorisation of the ideologies of linguistic authority (subsection 1.3.1). The three concepts encompass the notions of indexicality and that of authentication, based primarily on Coupland's (2001b) theorization of it (subsection 1.3.2), and the notion of the reallocation of indexicalities advanced by Blommaert (2003) (subsection 1.3.3). Finally, in section 1.4, I will give a short overview and definition of the standard language ideology, which resonates through the whole investigation, as well as a short clarification concerning the labelling practices used in this dissertation.

At the beginning of each main section I provide a blueprint of the topics that are discussed within that particular section. This blueprint will have the following characteristics: the font colour will be purple, the text will be centred on the page, and the different topics will be separated by arrows that look like this '→'. This is done for signposting purposes and in order to enhance the coherence and readability of the chapters.

1.1 The Origins of Language Ideologies within Linguistic Anthropology

1.1.1. *The Rise of Linguistic Anthropology*

As a research tradition, linguistic anthropology emerged in the United States and Canada under the influence of Boasian "four field" anthropology. The name of the field within the Boasian programme, carried through by such anthropologists as Sapir, Reichard, Haas, and Voegelin, came to denote a set of research practices in which language provided an opening into culture[2], social relations, history and prehistory (Mannheim 2016). Even though this field of inquiry is located intellectually and institutionally within the field of anthropology, it draws on several intertwined traditions of anthropological and linguistic research, North American and European, beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century (Mannheim 2016). Mannheim (2016) characterises these traditions by six intellectual revolutions, each of which reshaped the way we understand language and its social, cultural, and historical reach. These are 1) the discovery of time and regularity in change; 2) the discovery of structure; 3) the cognitive revolution; 4)

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[2] According to Silverstein (1996: 24-5), anthropologists define culture as "a way of orienting themselves to a structure of symbolically-enactable values implicit in the organization and interpretability (significance) of social action, that is, of interpersonally consequential behavior and thought".

understanding language as fully socially embedded; 5) language as a transindividual, interactional phenomenon; 6) a population (or populace) centred view of language. I will here give a brief overview of these six revolutions in order to situate the field of language ideologies and the research that is carried on within it.

First, in the middle of the nineteenth century the study of language primarily involved the study of written texts from the past as cultural documents of the time in which they were composed, drawing especially on the classical languages of the Eurasian continents: Latin, Greek, Arabic, Sanskrit, Old Persian, and older texts in Tamil, Chinese and Japanese. One of the major concerns of these scholars, known as 'philologists' was identifying relationships among texts, and they were especially interested in word histories, approaching them in atomistic ways, without identifying systematic patterns of change from one historically attested stage of language to another. This was the case until the first revolution, frequently dated to 1876, that philologists recognised that the texts reflected systematically organized spoken languages, and that the changes from one stage of a language to another were fully systematic. Thus, according to Mannheim (2016) the key insight of the Neogrammarian, then, was the doctrine of the regularity of sound change. In fact, the regularity of sound change provide the key tool for understanding groupings of languages into families – not by similarities among them, but by patterned differences.

Second, linguistics and anthropology in language unfolded almost over half-century, independently in Europe and in America. In Europe, at the beginning of the twentieth century with Ferdinand de Saussure [1857-1913, trained in Leipzig] and his general linguistics course at the University of Geneva. Saussure divided the task into three domains: the Neogrammarian historical linguistics in which he was trained; linguistic geography; and synchronic linguistics, the study of language in a single slice of time. Saussure modelled both dialect geography and synchronic linguistics on historical Neogrammarian linguistics, concerned not so much with similarities, as with identifying patterned, systematic differences (Mannheim 2016). Just as Saussure was a founding figure of disciplinary linguistics, Franz Boas [1858-1942] shaped the study of anthropology in North America. Language was the key to his ethnographic methodology; his students were trained to begin their ethnographic research by doing synchronic philology or philology of the vernacular, collecting oral texts, myths, and first-person accounts of cultural practices that documented the cultures that he and his student studied. It was, however, one of Boas' leading students – Edward Sapir – who largely moulded the approach that North American anthropologists, and linguists, took to linguistic and cultural patterning. Sapir, in fact, formulated the first precise and coherent accounts of language structure that emphasised the relationality of all aspects of linguistic form, concentrating especially on the sound system (phonology) and on grammatical categories. He also brought his linguistic insights to culture, highlighting the relational nature of cultural patterns, with two main assumptions: 1) that culture and language are primarily individual phenomena; and 2) that the coherence of culture and language reflected an "innate form feeling" that individual have for the ways in which their languages and cultures handle everyday experience (Mannheim 2016). Independently of Sapir, scholars in Europe, particularly the Russian members of the Prague Linguistic Circle (Trubetzkoy, Karčevsky, and Jakobson), identified principles of language structure based on Saussure's notion of 'value'. Two influential themes emerge from the work of the Russians. The first is the importance of identifying principles of language structure comparatively, with the expectation that one can construct an account for the compatibilities and incompatibilities of

particular linguistic structure. Second, the multifunctionality of all talk. Jakobson (1960) argued that talk is not primarily referential; rather it must be understood as a continually shifting compromise among six distinct functions: the expressive, conative, and phatic functions governing the relationship among participants in social interaction; the referential, metalinguistic, and poetic functions establishing relationships among linguistic units and between linguistic units and the world (Mannheim 2016). The second of these was especially influential in linguistic anthropology. Finally, after migrating to the United States, Jakobson took up the work of American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce, and brought Peirce's 'semiotic' into conversation with linguistics and linguistic anthropology. Mannheim (2016), thus, identifies Jakobson as the 'sparkplug' of the next three revolutions.

Third, Noam Chomsky proposes that linguists establish a goal more closely matching the Jakobsonian programme, that is, to use syntactic analysis as a way to understand human language as a cognitive phenomenon, and to understand the constraints on possible syntactic systems. This turn to examining the cognitive apparatus underlying grammar, using grammar itself as a tool, both triggered and reflected a major shift in the goals of related fields, particularly psychology, and spurred the emergence of new fields devoted to the study of mind and brain. Some anthropologists attempted to mimic the goals of Chomskyan linguistics in the 1960s and 1970s, but without much success. However, the cognitive turn in a broader sense reshaped views of culture and language in anthropology (Mannheim 2016).

Fourth, as a counterpoint to the Chomskyan view of language as an individual-centred cognitive matter, sociolinguists of the 1960s and 1970s emphasised the social nature of language, showing how variation in languages could be assessed against a social landscape, defined politically, geographically, ethnically, and by socio-economic status. An especially influential version of this framework is the variationist sociolinguistics of Labov (1972). At the same time the anthropologists John Gumperz and Dell Hymes developed a more broadly-based view of talk as embedded in social action, known at the time as 'the ethnography of speaking'. This took language as a critical point of entry into social analysis, and raised issues of a descriptive, epistemological, and analytic nature that were taken up by other anthropologists. The ethnography of speaking represented a return to a Boasian view of language as the primary ethnographic entryway into culture, and linguistic anthropology as a central concern of the discipline as a whole.[3] At the same time, it raised novel issues that were to play a central role going forward: the nature of speech communities, particularly as social and political entities; variability in ways of speaking; the functional diversity of talk; the variability of language development among speech communities; and the centrality of the analysis of the social development of language to understanding social relationships. Increasingly sophisticated discourse-analytic tools were brought to bear on ethnographic analysis, while at the same time there was a return to the Boasian tradition of synchronic philology and a move forward to understanding textual and other discursive practices as constitutive of culture (Mannheim 2016).

Fifth, Raymond Williams phrase '[l]anguage as constitutive material practice', characterises the last two revolutions, both of which treat language as absolutely central to, and constitutive of, social relations. Rooted in the intellectual traditions already discussed, they draw as well on currents in affine traditions such as sociology, literary analysis, gender studies and political

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[3] Note that the Ethnography of Communication is not as continuous with the Boasian period as it might be assumed from this phrasing.

economy. These are infused at their core by Peircian semiotic, reintroduced largely through the work of Michael Silverstein, but now part of the common stock-in-trade across the human sciences. Another important shift, according to Mannheim (2016), is linguistic anthropologist's observation that talk, like all social practices, is a form of concerted action, found neither in individuals nor in collectivities, but between individuals as constitutive of large-scale social groupings. This position effectively took up Sapir's late views after a thirty-year hiatus, but developed them with a richer empirical toolkit, including conversation analysis. These views also found resonance in performance-centred folkloristic, Bakhtinian literary and social theory, work on reference and indexicality by Hanks, and the discourse-centred linguistics of Tannen. Much discussion within this framework has focused on reconstructing key analytic parameters of social analysis in an interactionist key, showing that practices that were once understood in narrowly linguistic terms, like code-switching, are infused with local, politically sensitive social meaning (Gal 1987; Woolard 1989; Zentella 1997 as mentioned in Mannheim 2016), or showing that terms of art in social analysis, like gender, social identity, and agency, are built up out of historically situated linguistic complexes (cf. Bucholtz; Eckert and Gal as mentioned in Mannheim 2016). Linguistic anthropologists have been prominent in two major intellectual movements within disciplinary linguistics – the study of language, gender, and sexuality; and sociophonetics (Mannheim 2016).

Sixth, linguistic anthropologists have challenged the very idea of 'a language, 'a dialect', or an 'ideolect' by emphasising the fluidity and contingency of all forms of speech. Linguistic anthropologists have traced the formation of speech communities and the iconisation of social differences to linguistic practices (cf. Irvine and Gal 2000 as mentioned in Mannheim 2016) and have shown ways in which linguistic practices establish normative social identification – below the threshold of awareness (cf. Hill's work, as referenced in Mannheim 2016). These observations have also brought about greater reflection on the effects that linguistic documentation has had on social relations among speakers of smaller languages – particularly languages that are now in danger of disappearing (Meek as mentioned in Mannheim 2016). Today, linguistic anthropology is increasingly central to all anthropological research (Mannheim 2016). It is in line with the aforementioned preoccupations and aims that the field of language ideologies has emerged in the late 1970s from linguistic anthropology.[4]

1.1.2 The Emergence and Establishment of the Field of Language Ideologies

The notion of language ideologies has recently moved from a marginalised topic to a position of central concern (Kroskrity 2010), and this field is having a very significant influence on

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[4] According to Jacquemet (2005: 264), "[o]ne of the most significant breakthroughs in language studies in the late 20th century has been the introduction of the notion of communicative practice. Under the influence of European political philosophers such as Foucault and Bourdieu, linguistic anthropologists have adopted the notion of practice to deal not only with communicative codes and ways of speaking […] but also with semiotic understanding, power asymmetry, and linguistic ideology. A practice-oriented approach focusing on the "socially defined relation between agents and the field that "produces" speech forms" (Hanks, 1996: 230), can then explore speakers' orientations, their habitual patterns and schematic understandings, and their indexical strategies. Hanks defines communicative practices constituted by the triangulation of linguistic activity, the related semiotic code or linguistic forms, and the ideology of social and power relations. He invokes a poetic image of practice as "the point of conversion of the quick of activity, the reflexive gaze of value, and the law of the system" (1996: 11).

sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and discourse analysis. Several academics have urged for further investigations in this direction, and this has also resulted in an acknowledgment (and critique) of the ideological constructs underlying sociolinguistic research itself (cf. Blommaert 2006; Bucholtz 2003; Coupland 2003, 2010a; Eckert 2004; Kroskrity 2004, 2010; Woolard 1998). Historically, language ideologies emerged as a separate field of sociolinguistic study in the last decades of the twentieth century. It grew out of linguistic anthropology and shares one of the main preoccupations of this line of work: investigating the nexus of language and culture (Blommaert 2006). This linguistic anthropological tradition can be traced back to the publication of Michael Silverstein's (1979) *Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology*. One of the main reasons why it is important to address language ideologies is that they can dislodge a range of established concepts and categories, and reveal the struggles for hegemony that underlie, for example, the language policies in effect within a nation-state (cf. Silverstein 1996). An example of these struggles for hegemony is provided by Woolard (2008: 4), who explains that "an ideology of anonymity allows institutionally or demographically dominant languages to consolidate their position into one of hegemony. By hegemony, I mean [...] the saturation of consciousness, which allows their superordinate position to be naturalized, taken for granted, and placed beyond question".[5] In postcolonial contexts complex changes in language ideologies involve high stakes, since national linguistic policies are often still being defined (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Ultimately, language ideologies, as a theoretical orientation is proving to be a fundamental conceptual resource that is likely to expand in response to the "challenge of understanding increasingly complex linguistic and discursive phenomena within contexts of globalization, decolonization, and the overall transformation of contemporary language and speech communities" (Kroskrity 2010: 206).

Two main foci of recent language ideological research have been metalinguistic discourses (i.e. discourses about language and language varieties within modern society) and meta-discursive practices – including metacommentary – as sites of ideological production (cf. Blommaert 1999a, 1999b; Coupland 2015; Kerswill 2014, 2015; Irvine and Gal 2000; Wiese 2014). Among these are investigations of metalinguistic comments and debates that have proven to be ideal loci for the analysis of language ideologies because they require a certain extent of ideological awareness, which "demonstrates the discursive consciousness of speakers" (Kroskrity 2010: 199). Emphasis has also been placed on the meta-discursive practices involved in the enregisterment of speech varieties (cf. Agha 2003 and see section 1.4), and on ideologies of linguistic authority and authenticity. These in fact have been deemed to play a central role in discourses about languages and dialects, and thus in speakers' representations of language and language varieties in many different settings (cf. Bucholtz 1995, 1999; Chun 2004; Coupland 2001a; Cutler 1999; Labrador 2004; Lo 1999; Rampton 1995; Sweetland 2002)[6] (Scott Shenk 2007). This is especially true in the socio-cultural conditions brought about by globalisation and other modern phenomena (e.g. increased geographical mobility, the increased mediatisation of social life etc.) (cf. Coupland 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2010a, 2010b; Geeraerts 2003, 2008; Johnstone 2010; Woolard 2008). Furthermore, this tendency fits in with a renewed interest in the notions and consequences of linguistic reflexivity, as the increasing salience of reflexive practices, such as

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[5] Raymond Williams (1977: 109-110) defines hegemony as "relations of domination and subordination… [that saturate] the whole process of living…: Our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world".

[6] As quoted in Scott Shenk 2007.

authentication, has been linked to the heightened social reflexivity of the last decades as Coupland (2014: 30), recalling Johnstone, points out:

> [i]t is heightened social reflexivity, entailed in increased geographical mobility, mediatisation, cultural comparison and so on, that creates conditions under which cultural (in)authenticity becomes meaningful, and starts to provide a basis for authenticity disputes and for cultural and sociolinguistic commodification.

Metalinguistic practices are thus central for language ideological research, but it is important to remember that at the time – in 1979 – when Michael Silverstein made a claim for the recognition of the role of speakers' partial awareness of their language, he was going against the theory and practice of most linguistic and anthropological linguistic models of the day (Kroskrity 2016b). Franz Boas in fact had "categorically dismissed what he regarded as the 'misleading and disturbing factors of secondary explanations' of members of a language community" (Kroskrity 2016b: 95). For him native analyses of linguistic structure lacked any understanding of the grammatical patterns recognizable to professional linguists and were thus a sort of linguistic 'false consciousness'. He preferred a 'direct method' for the analysis of linguistic categories and circumvented native interpretation. In so doing, however, he "ignored the social context of language in favor of reading linguistic forms as direct evidence of cultural cognition" (Kroskrity 2016b: 95). Consequently, he failed to see the fact that any cultural 'distortion' of linguistic facts was a noteworthy contribution useful to an ethnography of communication. This is because in the linguistics of the twentieth century, in relation to Bloomfield and Chomsky, the emphasis was on linguistic structures and thus there was no scope for the consideration of speakers, their metalinguistic awareness or their social worlds (Kroskrity 2016b). In the field of linguistics of the early and mid-twentieth century this marginalisation of speakers' linguistic ideologies – or ideas – was paralleled by proscription of their social worlds (Kroskrity 2016b). In fact, both Leonard Bloomfield's (1933 as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016b) paradigmatic rejection of all meaning, and Chomsky's (1965 as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016b) notion of an 'idea speaker-hearer' worked to "professionally proscribe any concerns for actual speakers, their linguistic ideologies, and the social meanings of their languages" (Kroskrity 2016b: 86-7). Partly, as a reaction to the 'asocial formalism' that Chomskyan linguistic represented, fields such as correlational sociolinguistics (e.g. Labov) and the ethnography of communication (e.g. Hymes and Gumperz) provided "a critical counterpoint and introduced the possibility of studying language, especially its actual use by speakers, as a sociocultural phenomenon" and these approaches "opened new horizons in exploring the social foundations of language use and in rethinking linguistic anthropology as a field of anthropology and not just a 'service' discipline for other subfields" (Kroskrity 2016b: 96-7). The approaches used early within these fields, however, were still lacking for the resources for the inclusion of the speakers' language beliefs and practices as part of political economic systems, and even when scholars in these traditions devoted considerable attention to local language ideologies, such as Gossen (1974 as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016b), these were "presented as cultural givens rather than understood as connected to political economic factors" (Kroskrity 2016b: 97).

It was Michael Silverstein, thus, that opened the door to the "consideration of social forces of speakers' beliefs and practices regarding language […] including the role of economic value and pervasiveness of social inequality" (Kroskrity 2016b: 95-6). Silverstein (1979) argued for the need of alternative approaches and turned to semiotic models of communication based on C.S.

Peirce's (1931-58) theories. Semiotic models brought about a very important theoretical advantage: "their capacity to recognize the multiple meanings of linguistic signs that emerged from 'indexical' connections between those signs and the social contexts of their usage". This theoretical orientation, especially as formulated by Jakobson (1957; 1960 as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016b) and later translated into a functional trope by Hymes (1964 as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016b), helped to create the foundation for the ethnography of communication and its quest to explore language use and relate it to topics, institutions, settings, genres and other aspects of their sociocultural worlds" (Kroskrity 2016b: 97). Consequently, Hymes (1974) argues for the inclusion of a speech community's local theories of speech and the study of its "communicative economy", while Gumperz often considered the "social meaning" of dialect choices for speakers within the context of their social networks and the larger political economic context (Kroskrity 2016b). Another essential contribution to language ideological investigations has been provided by Judith Irvine (1989). She argued that in academic and Euro-American folk models of language the focus has all too often been on the "thought" worlds of mental representation and not enough on the distribution of economic resources and political power in the material worlds of speakers. Irvine, thus, made a point for the recognition of this neglected side of language and developed a more socially grounded definition of language ideology as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989: 255 as mentioned in Kroskrity 2016b) (Kroskrity 2016b).

Later on, Marxism and other political economic perspectives inspired some of the earliest works in the linguistic anthropological tradition of language ideologies, "as a way of integrating these concerns with the now legitimate interests in speakers' awareness of linguistic systems" (Kroskrity 2016b: 98). These works include Susan Gal's (1979) *Language Shift* and "Language and Political Economy" (Gal 1989), Judith Irvine's (1989) aforementioned "When Talk Isn't Cheap: Language and Political Economy", and Kathryn Woolard's (1985) "Language Variation and Cultural Hegemony" (Kroskrity 2016b). These works were fundamental in the development of the field, and they outlined most of the key issues that will be the focus of research in the twentieth century, and which prompted the production of a series of important anthologies devoted to language ideological work such as Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity (1998); Blommaert (1999); Kroskrity (2000a); Gal and Woolard (2001) (Kroskrity 2016b).

To conclude, it is important here to point out that the field of language ideologies has some overlaps to the approach taken in Critical Discourse Analysis (cf. Fairclough 1995; Wodak and Meyer 2001), but some delimitation has to be emphasised (Kroskrity 2016b). According to Kroskrity (2016b: 96), in fact, "a language ideologies approach is similar to CDA in attempting to connect language with power and social inequality (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000)" but it differs from CDA in "its emphasis on awareness, its recognition of multiple contesting ideologies, and on its preferred use of ethnographic approaches to collecting and interpreting data" (ibid).[7][8][9]

Most language ideological research – especially among anthropologists – has been

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[7] For further details on ethnographic approaches, consult the *Handbook of Ethnography,* edited by Atkinson P.A., S. Delamont, A. Coffey, J. Lofland and L.H. Lofland (2007, Sage). For a more practice-oriented reference work consult *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes* (second edition), edited by Emerson, R.M., R.I. Fretz and L.L. Shaw (2011, Chicago Guides to Writing, Editing, and Publishing).

[8] For an important discussion about the interplay between CDA and language ideology in discourse data see Milani and Johnson (2008).

[9] For more details on this, see introduction.

focused more with theoretical development and refinement than with research methods. It is mainly general theoretical approaches, such as the work of Blommaert (1999), Irvine and Gal (2000), Kroskrity (2004; 2010), Geeraerts (2003; 2008) or Woolard (2008), that build the basis of the methodology used in the present investigation. This lack of specific methodological tools for language ideological research might be due to the fact that the majority of the researchers who deal with language ideologies have been using conventional methods such as formal and informal interviewing, participant observation, life history, conversational analysis, person-centred ethnography, historical linguistics and textual analysis. Several linguistic anthropologists collect data using two or more of these methods, in order to facilitate the deconstruction and identification of language ideologies, both from actual practice and from speakers' metalinguistic and metadiscursive responses in interviews (Kroskrity 2016b). [10] [11]

In the following sections, I will provide an overview of the main theories and methodological tools (or notions) that underlie the language ideological approach as it is intended in this dissertation – and in linguistic anthropology more generally. First, I will briefly explore the five converging dimensions of the notion of language ideologies proposed by Kroskrity (2004; 2010; 2016b) (subsection 1.2.1).[12] Second, I will define the three semiotic processes advanced by Irvine and Gal (2000) as helpful tools for the analysis of language ideologies: 'iconisation', 'fractal recursivity' and 'erasure' (subsection 1.2.2). Third, I will dwell on the notion of 'ideology brokers' proposed by Blommaert (1999) and on the reasons why this investigation – and its dataset – concentrates on language debates and mediatic discursive spaces (subsection 1.2.3). The concepts and theories presented here will be fundamental for the analyses and discussions that unfold in Chapters II and III. However, the more specific methods used for the data collections that have shaped the two fieldwork trips will be described in their respective chapters: Chapter II for New Zealand English, and Chapter III for the enregistered non-standard contact varieties of the south east of England. Section 1.3 provides an outline of the tools and frameworks that have been deemed the most helpful in the analysis of contact varieties and for the unpacking of the authenticity (and legitimacy) constructs.

1.2 Theories and Methods in the Language Ideological Field

1.2.1 *What to Look for: Kroskrity's (2000, 2010; 2016b) Cluster Concept of Language Ideologies*

Kroskrity (2004: 501) argues that in order to explore the significance of the notion of the concept of language ideologies – which moved "from a marginalized topic to an issue of central concern" (ibid) – it is helpful to regard language ideologies as a cluster concept that consists of a number of

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[10] For the issue of methodology in the field of language ideologies see the introductory chapter to Britain, Gonçalves, Neuenschwander and Tresch (being peer reviewed).

[11] As an exception to this tendency, we find the work by Jef Verschueren (2012), which offers a rigorous pragmatics-oriented approach to the study of language ideologies in written works (Kroskrity 2016b). This work has been consulted for the present dissertation, and its suggestions have been used mainly at the beginning of the analytical process in order to categorise the written data that have been collected during the two fieldwork trips, and to thus gain some preliminary insights.

[12] P.V. Kroskrity's theory was foundational to the development and establishment of modern language ideological approaches.

converging dimensions. These five dimensions are thus "partially overlapping" but "analytically distinguishable layers of significance" (ibid) that are fundamental for the identification and exemplification of language ideologies – both in terms of the beliefs about language and as a "concept designed to assist in the study of those beliefs" (ibid). The five levels proposed by Kroskrity (2004) are: (1) group or individual interests; (2) multiplicity of ideologies; (3) awareness of speakers; (4) mediating functions of ideologies; and (5) role of language ideology in identity construction.[13]

One, *language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group.* As Kroskrity (2004: 501) explains, "[a] member's notions of what is 'true', 'morally good', or 'aesthetically pleasing' about language and discourse are grounded in social experience and often demonstrably tied to political-economic interests. These notions often underlie attempts to use language as the site at which to promote, protect, and legitimate those interests". An important example that he provides are nationalist programmes of language standardisation, which may "appeal to a modern metric of communicative efficiency" even though such language development efforts are "pervasively underlain by political-economic considerations since the imposition of a state-supported hegemonic standard will always benefit some social groups over others" (ibid). As a consequence, his proposition refutes "the myth of the socio-politically disinterested language user or the possibility of unpositioned knowledge, even of one's own language" (ibid: 501) (cf. Woolard 2008; Geeraerts 2003; 2008). This emphasis on grounded social experience can also be extended to cultural groups perceived as homogenous by acknowledging that cultural conceptions are "partial, contestable, and interest-laden" (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 58, as mentioned in Kroskrity 2004). It is important here to observe that by taking on this perspective, the distinction between *neutral ideological analysis* (focusing on "culturally shared" beliefs and practices) and *critical ideological analysis* that emphasizes the political use of language as a particular group's instrument of symbolic domination might seem "more gradient than dichotomous" (Kroskrity 2004: 500) (cf. Bourdieu 2005). In relation to this, Kroskrity advances the idea that an emphasis on the dimension of interest can provide a more penetrating cultural analysis – than a neutral ideologies one – since this may provide an opportunity for the rethinking of "supposedly irreducible cultural explanations" (ibid: 502) (cf. Kroskrity 1998; Irvine and Gal 2000; Lippi-Green 1997; Silverstein 1996). To exemplify this, Kroskrity draws on the standard language ideology (cf. Milroy and Milroy 1999; see subsection 1.4). Within this ideology, in fact, linguistic differences (e.g. between what is considered to be Standard English and other English dialects) are perceived as inadequacies and are subsequently "naturalized and hierarchized in a manner which replicate[s] the social hierarchy" (Kroskrity 2004: 502). The standard language, is thus, often presented as "universally available, is commodified and presented as the only resource which permits full participation in the capitalist economy and an improvement of one's place in its political economic system" (ibid) (cf. Geeraerts' (2003; 2008) "rationalist model" in subsection 1.3.1). A language ideological approach would thus, in this case, refute the idea of "linguistic conservatism as an irreducible, cultural given", and instead it would focus on questions of 'how': how does this perspective become widely accepted? How do indexical connections to political power and religious authority promote culturally dominant beliefs? (Kroskrity 2016b:

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[13] These five levels are condensed into four in Kroskrity (2010), and into three in Kroskrity (2016b). I chose to focus on his 2004 article because I find it more complete and detailed.

99).[14]

Two, *language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the plurality of meaningful social divisions (class[15], gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership.*[16] According to Kroskrity (2004: 503), language ideologies are thus "grounded in social experience which is never uniformly distributed throughout polities of any scale". As a consequence, "[v]iewing language ideologies as 'normally' (or unmarkedly) multiple within a population focuses attention on their potential conflict and contention in social space and on the elaborate formulations that contestation can encourage" (ibid) (cf. Gal 1992; 1993). This emphasis is also important in the investigations that concern "dominant" ideologies (Kroskrity 1998) or those that have become successfully "naturalized" by the majority of the group (Bourdieu 1977: 146) (Kroskrity 2004). On the level of state-endorsed hegemonic cultures, thus, "there is always struggle and adjustment between states and their adversaries, so that even those "dominant" ideologies are dynamically responsive to ever-changing forms of opposition. By viewing multiplicity, and its attendant contestations and debates, as the sociological baseline, "we are challenged to understand the historical processes employed by specific groups to have their ideologies become the taken-for-granted aspects and hegemonic forces of cultural life for a larger society" (Kroskrity 2004: 503) (cf. Blommaert 1999a).[17] Another insightful application of this emphasis on multiplicity, and one that will become central for the analysis presented in the present investigation, is that of focusing on "contestation, clashes or disjunctures in which divergent ideological perspective on language and discourse are juxtaposed, resulting in a wide variety of outcomes" (ibid: 504) (cf. Blommaert 1999; Briggs 1996; Hill 1998; Jaffe 1999a, b; Johnson and Milani 2010; Kroskrity 1999). Contestations and disjunctures disclose some essential differences in ideological perspectives that can "more fully reveal their distinctive properties as well as their scope and force" (ibid). Finally, and most importantly for the present investigation, Kroskrity (2016b: 100) argues that multiplicity is also "an attribute that makes language ideological approaches especially appropriate for studying cultural contact and social transformation", and he sustains that in such cases the main aim is "not to identify and describe a single dominant ideology but rather to examine ideological contact, contention, and transformation" (see the analyses laid out in Chapters II and III).

Three, *members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies.*[18] Even though language ideologies are frequently explicitly articulated by speakers, researchers in the field have long come to recognize that ideologies of practices must be read from actual usage (Kroskrity 2004). In relation to this, Kroskrity (2004: 505) suggests an important correlational relationship

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[14] In his 2016 article, Kroskrity reformulates this first level as one of the three main planks of the language ideologies approach: *positionality*.

[15] In relation to this, Rampton (2003: 50) explains that studies have often found that "in class-stratified societies, the social group stratification of speech is mirrored in style-stratification, that accent differences between/across class-groups-in-society-as-a-whole are 'echoed' within the speech repertoire of individuals, their speech becoming more like the speech of high-placed social groups as situations get more formal (Labov 1972; Bell 1984) [...] This has sometimes been linked to Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus', a pre-conscious disposition to hear and speak in class and gender specific ways inculcated into the individual through long-term experience of the purchase that their language resources provide in different kinds of setting (Bourdieu 1977)". For an overview of cultural theories about class and its significance in modern social relations see Rampton (2003).

[16] In his 2016 article, Kroskrity refers to this second level simply as *multipilicity*.

[17] As a concrete example he mentions Errington's (1998; 2000) studies on the language ideologies underlying the development of standard Indonesian.

[18] In his 2016 article, Kroskrity refers to this third level as *awareness*.

between "high levels of discursive consciousness and active, salient contestation of ideologies and, by contrast, the correlation of practical consciousness with relatively unchallenged, highly naturalized and definitively dominant ideologies" (see Chapter II). Another source of variation in awareness is represented by the kind of sites in which language ideologies are produced and commented upon (cf. also Blommaert 1999). Silverstein (1998a: 136)[19] developed the notion of *ideological sites*, that he defines as "institutional sites of social practice as both object and modality of ideological expression" (e.g. religious ceremonies). However, as Kroskrity (2004: 505) explains, these sites, might also be secular, "institutionalized, interactional rituals that are culturally familiar loci for the expression and/or explication of ideologies that indexically ground them in identities and relationships". In relation to this, Susan Philips (2000) elaborates the notion of *multi-sitedness* that is helpful in recognizing how "language ideologies may be indexically tied, in complex and overlapping ways, to more than a single site – either a *site of ideological production* or a *site of metapragmatic commentary*". The first refers to a language ideology that would normally be tacit, "embodied in interaction which conforms to the cultural norm but [is] very rarely brought up to the level of discursive consciousness" (Kroskrity 2004: 506). While the second is brought up to the level of consciousness and can be fully explicated in social contexts that require it to verbally elaborated on it (e.g. the court). In other words, *sites of ideological production* can be anything that has a certain impact and where language ideologies are (often subconsciously) created and passed on. While, a *site of metapragmatic commentary* is where explicit and conscious remarks on language structure and use are made. Moreover, Philips' refinement of the concept of ideological sites allows us to acknowledge the relation between ideological awareness and the number and nature of sites in which members deploy and clarify their language ideologies. In fact, sites of ideological production "are not necessarily sites of metapragmatic commentary and it is only the latter which both requires and demonstrates the discursive consciousness of speakers" (Kroskrity 2004: 506). For instance, in contexts where the government monopolizes state resources, "sites of ideological production and explication are one and the same" (ibid) (cf. Blommaert 1999a).[20] Finally, Kroskrity explains that awareness is also related to the kind of linguistic or discursive phenomena that speakers can identify and distinguish, such as content nouns that display an obvious referentiality and thus are more available for folk awareness and possible folk theorising. On the other hand, morphological and syntactical rules – such as same subject marking – might produce less awareness and comments on the parts of the speakers (cf. Kroskrity 1993; 1998 for some examples from his own fieldwork).[21] To conclude, Kroskrity reiterates the importance of attending to awareness as a dimension of ideology, despite the general neglect to which it has been subject extending back to Locke and Herder (cf. Bauman and Briggs 2000) and to Boas's well-known "dismissal of folk understandings of language as superfluous and "misleading" (Boas 1911: 67-71)" (Kroskrity 2004: 507) (see subsection 1.1). This dimension is in fact fundamental also in relation to language change, since – as Silverstein (1979) has claimed – when speakers rationalize their language they take a first step towards changing it. This has recently been prompted also by scholars such as Coupland and Jaworski (2004: 37) who explain that "[t]he

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[19] As quoted in Kroskrity (2004).
[20] I will return to this in Chapters II and III with concrete data from the case studies.
[21] Silverstein's (1979, 1981) early research on awareness has demonstrated the need to view "speakers' awareness of the linguistic system as part of language – one which has repeatedly influenced analogic and other linguistic changes – and demonstrated general tendencies regarding differential awareness of various types of linguistic structures (e.g. lexical, morphological, syntactic)" (as quoted in Kroskrity 2004: 206).

concept of language ideology is the final rejection of an innocent, behavioral account of language and the focus of the strongest claim that sociolinguistics must engage with metalinguistic processes in the most general sense".[22]

Four, members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk. Kroskrity, as several other scholars – such as Blommaert (1999; 1999a; 2006), Irvine and Gal (2000), and Woolard (1998), claims that language ideologies represent a bridge between users' sociocultural experience and their "linguistic and discursive resources by constituting those linguistic and discursive forms as indexically tied to features of their sociocultural experience" (Kroskrity 2004: 506; see introduction). Thus, language users – in constructing language ideologies – "display the influence of their consciousness in their selection of features of both linguistic and social systems that they do distinguish and in the linkages between systems that they construct" (ibid: 507). Further unpacking this idea, Kroskrity explains that "ideas about language emerge from social experience and profoundly influence the perception of linguistic and discursive forms and these forms, in turn, now saturated by cultural ideologies, provide a microcultural reproduction of the political economic world of the language user" (ibid: 509).

Five, *language ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g. nationality, ethnicity).* Language, and especially the shared kind, has long played a central role to the naturalizing of boundaries of different social groups. In fact, the large amount of research on nationalism and ethnicity typically includes language as a "criterial attribute" (Kroskrity 2004: 509). Consequently, language ideological research supplements this focus on shared linguistic forms by reminding us that "when language is used in the making of national or ethnic identities, the unity achieved is underlain by patterns of linguistic stratification which subordinates those groups who do not command the standard" (ibid) (cf. Errington 2000; Lippi-Green 1997; Schieffelin 2000; Zentella 1997) (see Chapter II).

To conclude, linguistic anthropologists have turned to language ideological perspectives in an attempt to better understand the increasing complexity of cultural representation and the ways in which speakers, groups and government use languages (and their ideas about language) to negotiate and create these sociocultural worlds (Kroskrity 2004). Language ideological approaches emphasise "political economic forces (and other interest-informed actions), diversity and contestation, the influence of speakers' consciousness on both linguistic and social systems, the constitutive role of language in social life, and the myriad ways that ideologies of language and discourse construct identity" (Kroskrity 2004: 511).

1.2.2 **How to Interpret it:** *Irvine and Gal's (2000) Universal Language Ideological Processes*

Irvine and Gal (2000: 37) importantly bring together the concepts of language ideologies and indexicality by claiming that people "have, and act in relation to, ideologically constructed representations of linguistic differences" and that, in these ideological constructions, "indexical relationships become the ground on which other sign relationships are built" (ibid). Based on this important claim, they develop three analytical tools – grounded in semiotics – to help reveal productive patterns in the language ideological understanding of linguistic variability – in terms of

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[22] This is, obviously, fundamental for the focus of the present metalinguistic-based investigation.

space, time and population. Their focus in this undertaking thus are "the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them" (ibid: 35). Irvine and Gal (2000: 36), had formerly observed some similarities in the ways ideologies "recognize" (or misrecognise) linguistic differences, and in the ways that they "locate, interpret, and rationalize sociolinguistic complexity, identifying linguistic varieties with "typical" persons and activities and accounting for the differentiation among them". These similarities are thus at the core of their claim for the universality of the three semiotic processes that they propose, which they believe to be "deeply involved in both the shaping of linguistic differentiation and the creating of linguistic description" (ibid: 79). These three processes, underlying much language ideological reasoning, are labelled: 'iconisation' [23], 'fractal recursivity' and 'erasure'. As these will be essential in the present investigation, I will here provide a brief overview of the three according to Irvine and Gal's (2000) theory.

'Iconisation' involves "a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked" (ibid: 37). Thus,

> [l]inguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence. This process entails the attribution of cause and immediate necessity to connection (between linguistic features and social groups) that may be only historical, contingent, or conventional. […] By picking out qualities supposedly shared by the social image and the linguistic image, the ideological representation – itself a sign – binds them together in a linkage that appears to be inherent.
>
> (Irvine and Gal 2000: 37-8)
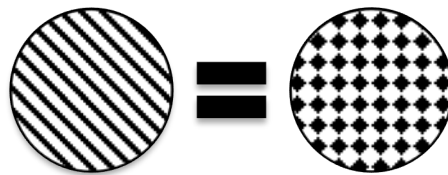
Figure 1. Visualisation of the semiotic process of iconisation

In order to provide an example of the mechanisms involved in this process, Irvine and Gal (2000) draw on the research that they have previously conducted both in Africa and Europe. Iconisation, in fact, seems to emerge as salient in several different contexts, both in the case of folk linguistic ideologies, as well as in the case of linguistic ideologies imported by European linguists trying to interpret the Balkan frontier and the exotic languages of Africa. In these contexts, the process of iconisation appears to be highly productive and is a feature of the representation of languages and aspects of them as "pictorial guides" to the nature of groups (Kroskrity 2004). In the case of Africa, it is revealing in understanding the ways in which Western

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[23] I will use this term even though Gal (2005) has recently declared that they prefer the term "rhematization". Gal; (2005: 35) explains that this term better resembles Peirce's notion of 'rheme' as an "indexical sign that its interpretant takes to be an icon". It might also be noted that the same process has been invoked in the study of emblematic language (cf. Agha 2007; Silverstein 1998).

European linguists misinterpreted the South African Khoisan clicks[24] as degraded animal sounds rather than phonological units. This was mainly due to their being very unusual – and consequently – many early European observers compared them to animal noises: "[…] hens' clicking, ducks' quacking, owls' hooting, magpies' chattering, or the "the noise of irritated turkey-cocks" (Kolben 1731: 32)"(Kroskrity 2004). Others, believed that the clicks were more similar to the sounds of inanimate objects, such as stones hitting one another. Irvine and Gal (2000: 40) thus explain that to these observers and the European readers of their reports "such iconic comparisons suggested […] that the speakers of languages with clicks were in some way subhuman or degraded, to a degree corresponding to the proportion of clicks in their consonant repertoires". A very interesting statement, that Irvine and Gal (ibid) introduce to demonstrate their point, is the following quotation belonging to linguist F. Max Müller's work dating back to 1855:

> I cannot leave this subject without expressing at least a strong hope that, by the influence of the Missionaries, these brutal sounds will be in time abolished, at least among the Kaffirs [Zulu and Xhosa], though it may be impossible to eradicate them in the degraded Hottentot dialects […].

On the other hand, in the context of the linguistic and ethnic diversity found in the Balkan area, the process of iconisation proved useful in revealing how this diversity was perceived as a pathological sociolinguistic chaos that could only be in opposition to the Western European "transparent alignment of ethnic nation, standardized language, and state" (Kroskrity 2004: 508-9). To demonstrate this – Irvine and Gal (2000: 64) – take the case of early Western linguists' comments on Macedonian, whose linguistic diversity – in the eyes of Western observers – "failed to correspond to social and ethnic boundaries in the ways that Western ideologies led them to expect". Lucy Garnett's (1904) description of a trip to Turkey reveals exasperation; in Macedonia, she noted:

> A Greek-speaking community may prove to be Wallachian, Albanian or even Bulgarian, and the inhabitants of a Slav-speaking village may claim to be of Greek origin…All these various ethnical elements are, in many country districts of Macedonia, as well as in the towns, so hopelessly fused and intermingled.

In the same vein, German geographer Karl von Östreich in 1905 stated that:

> Instead of racially pure Turks and Albanians we find people who are racially mixed…and whose multilingualism misleads us about their real origins, so that they can be counted sometimes as Greeks, sometimes as Bulgarians, sometimes as Wallachians.[25]

Irvine and Gal (2000: 64)

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[24] Nguni languages of Southern Africa – especially Zulu and Xhosa –include click consonants in their phonological repertoires. Clicks are "typologically unusual sounds only found in languages of Southern Africa and parts of East Africa. Clicks are also unusual in that they are made with two closures, one of them being a velar closure. […] Clicks are made with a velaric ingressive airstream. In Xhosa, each click is made with a primary articulation, which may be dental, alveolo–palatal, or alveolar lateral. Each of these three click types can occur with one of five different accompaniments. Clicks can be voiceless, aspirated, nasalized, breathy voiced, and nasalized breathy voiced" (Sands 1990: 1).

[25] The detailed references to the original quotations can be found in Irvine and Gal (2000).

The process of **'fractal recursivity'** is defined by Irvine and Gal (2000: 38) as the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level". For example, "intra-group oppositions might be projected outward onto intergroup relations, or vice versa." (ibid). In other words,

> […] the dichotomizing and partitioning process that was involved in some understood opposition (between groups or linguistic varieties, for example) recurs at other levels, creating either subcategories on each side of a contrast or supercategories that include both sides but oppose them to something else. […] When such oppositions are reproduced within a single person, they do not concern contrasting *identities* so much as oppositions between *activities* or *roles* associated with prototypical social persons.
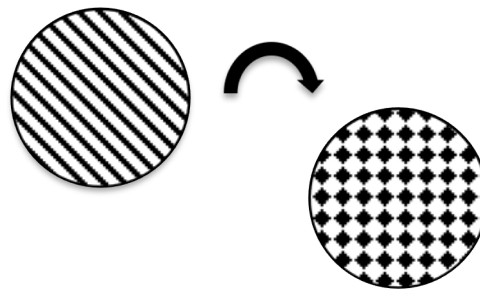
Figure 2. Visualisation of the semiotic process of fractal recursivity

With an example taken from the aforementioned case study on Khoisian languages, Irvine and Gal (2000: 46) explain how this process underlies the entering of the click sounds in the Nguni languages through their expressions of politeness or formality:

> […] by means of the conspicuous click consonants, seen as *icons* of "foreignness" in the early years of the process, the contrast between Nguni and Khoi consonant repertoires was mobilized to express social distance and deference within Nguni. To put this another way, a cultural framework for understanding linguistic difference at one level (the difference between Bantu and Khoi languages) was the basis for constructing difference at another level (a difference in registers within a particular Bantu language.) […] It is a process that led to phonological change on the Nguni languages, introducing click consonants into a special register […].

Thus, as the clicks were first viewed as sounds produced by foreign and subordinate others, the speakers of Nguni languages have recursively incorporated such iconic linkages for use as a linguistic marker of a particular Nguni language register, or speech level, designed to show respect and deference under various culturally prescribed circumstances (Kroskrity 2004).

Finally, **'erasure'** is identified – by Irvine and Gal (2000: 38-9) – as the process in which "ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible". As a consequence, "[f]acts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away" (ibid). For example – and this will be very salient in the discussion of the first case study on New Zealand English (see Chapter II) – "a social group or a language may be imagined as homogenous, its internal variation disregarded" (ibid). This is due to the totalising nature of language ideologies, which often leads to the neglect

or transformation of those elements that do not fit a specific "interpretive structure" (ibid).[26]
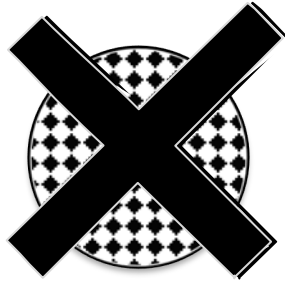
Figure 3. Visualisation of the semiotic process of erasure

The example provided, in this case, involves data taken from a study of the treatment of Senegalese languages by nineteenth-century European linguists. In this context, the multilingualism and linguistic variation present within the speech community analysed were erased when linguistic maps – which had to be similar to the European ones – were produced. Irvine and Gal (2000) trace this early attitude back to Samuel Johnson's idea that languages are "the pedigree of nations". In this line of reasoning, identifying languages was the same as identifying nations and thus it was a "logical first step in comparing, understanding, and ordering their relations to each other and to Europeans". Informed by this conception, the language mapping project was thus "an effort not only to discover what languages were spoken where but also to disentangle the supposed history of conquests and represent legitimate territorial claims" (53). One of the main issues in this case was that in the regions where the language of the state, or of a kind of aristocracy, was different from the domestic speech of the state's subjects, only one of these languages was allowed on the map, and frequently linguists decided to omit – or erase – the political language. Kroskrity (2004: 508) supports the claim for the particularly revealing nature of the process of erasure as – he believes – this allows us to "measure the difference between comprehensive analytical models, which attempt to understand a broad spectrum of linguistic differentiation and variation, and a more dominating or even hegemonic model in which analytical distinctions are glossed over in favour of attending to a more selective yet locally acknowledged view". The case study on the mapping of Senegalese languages also allows Irvine and Gal (2000: 55) to point to all of the three proposed semiotic processes as they work and interact with each other. As a matter of fact, they explain, that the language map "depicted the relationship ideologically supposed to obtain between language, population, and territory (*iconization*)", but it could only do so by "tidying up the linguistic situation, removing multilingualism and variation from the picture (erasure)". Moreover, "relationships between Europeans and Africans were the implicit model for a history of relationships within Africa itself (*recursivity*)". [27]

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[26] In relation to this, Irvine and Gal (2000: 38-9) explain that erasure "in ideological representation does not, however, necessarily mean actual eradication of the awkward element, whose very existence may be unobserved or unattended to. It is probably only when the "problematic" element is seen as fitting some alternative, threatening picture that the semiotic process involved in erasure might translate into some kind of practical action to remove the threat, if circumstances permit".

[27] The multilingualism "was supposed to have been introduced, along with religious and political complexity, through a history of conquest and conversion that paralleled the European conquest and the hierarchical relationships thought to obtain between Europeans and Africans – relationships of white and black, complex to simple, and

To conclude, the three semiotic processes proposed by Irvine and Gal (2000) are backed by Kroskrity (2004: 508) who explains that these processes are "sensitizing concept[s], inspired by semiotic models of communication, for tracking and ultimately locating the perspectively based processes of linguistic and discursive differentiation that inevitably represent the products of ideological influence on positioned social actors". These are also particularly relevant for the two case studies analysed in the present dissertation since, by focusing on linguistic differences, the attention is drawn to some semiotic properties of "those processes of identity formation that depend on defining the self against some imagined 'Other'" (39). This, as we will see in Chapters II and III, is very salient when it comes to questions of authenticity (and legitimacy) in language contact situations. In most of these cases, in fact, the "Other" becomes essentialised and is imagined as homogenous, through what Irvine and Gal (2000: 39) label "linguistic images". These are images in which the linguistic behaviours of others are "simplified and seen as if deriving from those persons' essences rather than from historical accident". These representations may thus "serve to interpret linguistic differences that have emerged through drift or long-term separation" (ibid) – as in the case of New Zealand English (a former British colony); through these three semiotic processes the language ideologies employed by nation states, social groups and individual can thus be better understood.

1.2.3 **Where to Look:** *Language Debates and Ideological Brokers: Shaping the Data Collection*

As previously explained (cf. introduction), the data collection for the present investigation focused mainly on language debates – why is that? Language debates represent fundamental sites of ideological articulation, formation and negotiation and this is why they were given priority in the data collection for both case studies. In line with this, Blommaert (1999a: 10) argues that:

> Debates about language ideologies define or redefine the language ideologies (often through conflicting representations) in the same way as debates about languages define or redefine these languages. They shape or reshape them, and so become the locus of ideology (re)production.

Furthermore, the following features of these debates render them ideal sites of investigation for the purpose of the present investigation. As Blommaert (1999a: 1-2) claims,

> these debates are "organized around issues of purity and impurity of languages, the social 'value' of some language(s) as opposed to (an)other(s), the socio-political desirability of the use of one language or language variety over another, the symbolic 'quality' of languages and varieties as emblems of nationhood, cultural authenticity, progress, modernity, democracy, self-respect, freedom, socialism, equality, and many more 'values'.

On the other hand, the data collection was not limited to language debates; any kind of metalinguistic data that shaped, reflected or commented upon the varieties under investigation

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dominant to subordinate" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 55).

was collected. Thus, some of the texts collected were part of a particular language debate, while some should be viewed as individual comments whose context (i.e. the larger discourse or debate in which they are embedded) cannot be clearly defined. However, it is important to remember that, if viewed from the perspective of those "slow processes that are beyond the reach of individuals" (Blommaert 1999a: 3), each piece of data cannot be considered as an isolated phenomenon, but rather as another manifestation of the beliefs, values and (language) ideologies of these two societies. The following diagram (Figure 4), visualises the three main levels of inquiry that have shaped the data collection and the fieldtrips preparation.

3. Level of analysis
What language ideologies underlie the metalinguistic data?

2. Metalinguistic level
What do people say about what happens? What traces can we find of what people say? (e.g. language debates)

1. Level of historical, social, linguistic context
What happens and when?
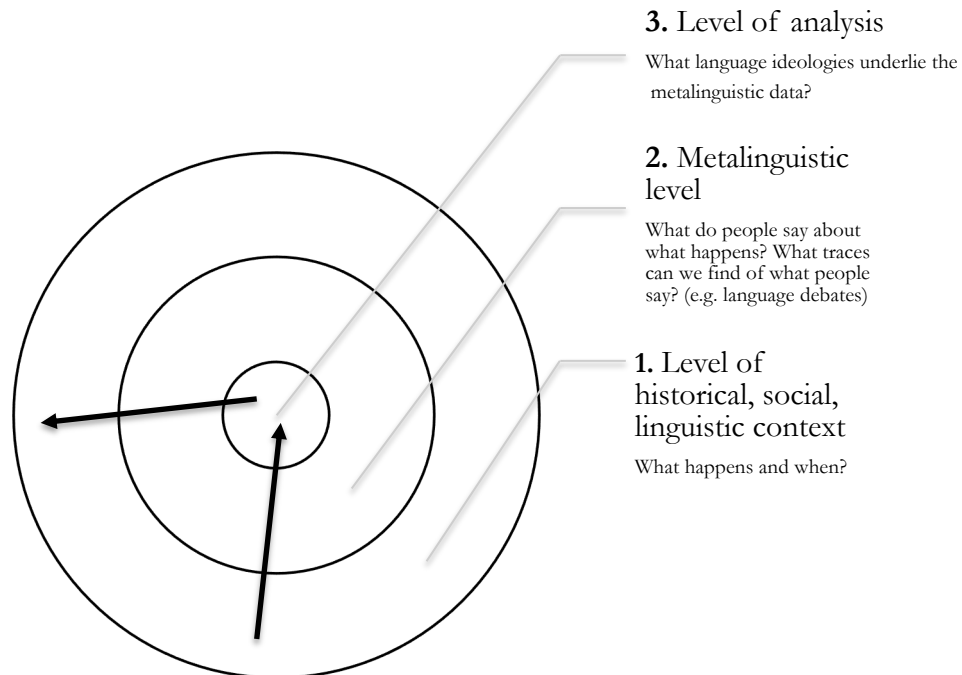
Figure 4. The three main levels of inquiry that have shaped the data collection

On the other hand, several non-metalinguistic data were also collected in keeping with the – previously explained – idea that some language ideologies must be read from actual usage and are not necessarily explicitly articulated (Kroskrity 2010).[28] The language practices of broadcasting organisations and other public institutions (e.g. schools) were thus also considered fundamental for the aims of the current investigation, and the documents that were believed to reflect these practices form part of the main corpora (e.g. editorial policies, educational syllabi, pronunciation guides for newsreaders etc.).

Decisions regarding the relevance of specific sites for data collection have been taken by following Blommaert's (1999b: 430) concept of "ideological apparatuses". In his tentative model for language debates Jan Blommaert (1999b) lists two main societal channels of ideological reproduction and "linguistic ideological regimentation" (430): the educational system and "modern multimodal mass-media" (430). These have thus been the main focus of my data collection. Moreover, Blommaert also acknowledges that – at least for what concerns the case studies presented in his edited volume – "written channels played a crucial role" (430) in these

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[28] Kroskrity (2010: 199), drawing on Susan Philips, claims that two main types of ideological sites can be identified: "sites of ideological production" and "sites of metapragmatic commentary" (see section 1.2.1).

ideological processes, and consequently written data were given priority in the current study. However, as language debates cannot be reduced to "one particular medium or channel of production and reproduction" (Blommaert 1999b), data that did not fit into these two categories, but were considered relevant, were also included in order to obtain a more wide-ranging picture. This inclusive approach is further validated by Blommaert's (1999b: 431) claim that:

> There is rarely a "master text" or an "original text" to the debate; and debates are in themselves characterized by long periods of continuous re-entextualizations, quotations, re-reading of texts, of slow changes in the semantics of key terms, of gradual shifts in the participant structure of the debate, of lows and peaks in the public attention given to the debate.

Finally, it has been attempted to identify, and when possible to physically meet, some of the relevant ideological brokers operating within these "ideological apparatuses" (i.e. institutions endowed with the power of shaping, spreading, creating, validating and altering language ideologies). These are defined by Blommaert (1999a: 9) as "categories of actors who […] can claim authority in the field of debate (politicians and policy-makers, interest groups, academicians, policy implementers, the organized polity, individual citizens)". An analogy can here be drawn with the notion of 'culture brokers' that exists in the anthropology literature of the 1980s and 1990s. These were defined as people with disproportionate influence on cultural boundaries, and with the 'power' to shape cultural production and regulate the circulation of cultural texts more than other people because of their position at the edges of these intercultural boundaries (Kroskrity, personal communication).[29] Peace (1998: 274) defines 'cultural brokers' as those who

> […] trade in popular culture at a national/international level. They are located between the core areas of global production on the one hand and semi-peripheral areas of popular consumption on the other. But brokers do much more than merely trade in culture. They define its meaning, they establish its significance in the overall order of things, they endow it with particular kinds of power.

In the context of the present data collections, some of these actors were approached for semi-structured ethnographic interviews.[30] These were mainly people acting in the world of the mass media since several scholars have acknowledged the relevance of the media as a discursive space for the investigation of language ideologies.[31] In line with Blommaert's claim, Johnson and Milani (2010: 182) argue that language ideological debates "are nowhere carried out with more visibility and impact than in the media". Androutsopoulos (2010a: 182) also considers "mainstream media – those designed for, and consumed by large and heterogeneous audiences – [as] key arenas for

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[29] On this, see Peace (1998).
[30] For a definition of ethnographic interviews see Introduction. For a practical and comprehensive guide to conducting semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews see Schilling (2013).
[31] For the purpose of the present investigation, I endorse Heller's (2010: 278) definition of, and emphasis on, the concept of 'discursive spaces', that she defines and justifies as follows: "The construction, reproduction, contestation and modification of language ideologies is also work that gets done in real time by real people. A further empirical question is then when and where that happens, and who gets to participate in the process. I think it is useful to think in terms of *discursive spaces*, activities in which social actors, whatever else they may be doing, also define (again and again, or anew) what counts as legitimate language and who counts as legitimate speakers. We can think of the media as one of these, and ask questions about the kind of discursive space it is, who controls it, what kind of interest they may have in defining linguistic competence the way they do, and what consequences this may have for ranges of speakers who control diverse arrays of linguistic resources".

the production and reproduction of language ideology". According to Johnson and Ensslin (2007: 12), "the media *mirror*, and hence implicitly *promote*, a dynamic set of ideological frameworks" and they are thus one of the institutions that help the construction of citizens; one dimension of this construction being their linguistic practice (Johnson and Milani 2010: 278).[32] In the media (especially in more modern ones) dominant ideologies frequently coexist with more marginal ones and often compete for ground. Consequently, an analysis of the language debates that are played out in these discursive spaces can provide fundamental insights into the (ongoing) discursive conflicts and underlying language ideologies present in a given society. Furthermore, the interviews with broadcasting stakeholders were also conducted in order to investigate "the language professionalism and codification activities of news broadcasters" (Bell 2011: 178) in an attempt to gain access to relevant metapragmatic commentaries (i.e. manifestations of language ideologies in the practices of institutions). These sources are particularly relevant as, according to Bell (1991: 73), "[m]edia language, especially that of broadcasting, is often regarded as a language standard […] [and] it can arouse fierce passions within those who write letters to the editor or feature articles. It is in media language that we can document some of the shifts taking place" (see section 1.4.1 on the ideology of the standard language).[33]

On the other hand, a careful consideration of the context (and genre) of production of these discourses (and debates) is crucial (cf. Verschueren's (2012) guidelines). Modern mediatisation practices and strategies need to be taken into account in the interpretation of the collected data, and thus questions such as a) Which channels (printed press, radio, the internet) reach what kind of audience/ have what kind of impact in this society? b) Who writes/speaks and with which authority? c) What are his/her aims? need to be addressed.[34] In fact, it is important to remember that the way in which (language) ideological threads evolve and the trajectories that they take depend significantly also on the kind of discourses, and specific debates, in which they are embedded. Therefore, the discursive embedding of the primary data – that will be used in the following chapters to support my claims – will always be made explicit. To conclude, the media through which particular language debates are enacted have different conventions (or affordances), and these can also have an influence on the way in which the different actors in the debates are positioned (e.g. linguists positioned as the experts; left or right wing ideals represented in the newspapers etc.), as they mediate between the various discourses and the social actors involved. This is represented by the following diagram (Figure 5), inspired by Kerswill (2015).

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[32] Cf. Anderson's (1983) notion of "imagined communities".

[33] The fact that many of these take place in the media is noteworthy given the wide reach of the media, and their influence on the perception of language varieties (see for example Kerswill 2014 on 'Jafaican' in the British media; Johnstone 2011 on 'Pittsburghese' and Wiese 2014 on 'Kiezdeutsch').

[34] Cf. Heller (2010).
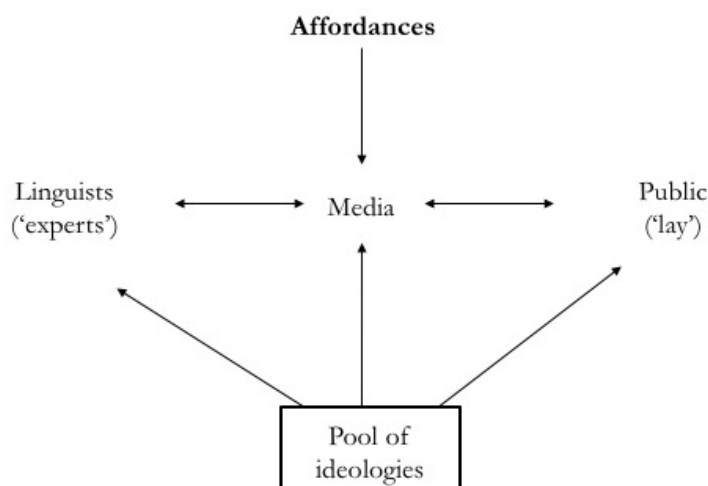
Figure 5. The media as mediators, inspired by Kerswill (2015)

Several factors such as the different dos and don'ts that certain media 'types' have developed over the years, as well as the different reviewing processes that are undertaken within them (for public correspondence, for example), have a strong influence on the kind of metalinguistic commentary that can be expected. For instance, the type of metalinguistic commentary found in the 'Letters to the Editor' sections of the main national newspapers will probably differ from those found in the comment sections of online articles. In line with this, Kerswill (2015) also points out that stories that are considered to be of 'general interest' and stories that are perceived as dealing with social norms might give rise to different kinds of metalinguistic comments, both in terms of quantity and quality. More starkly opposing viewpoints, reflecting class-based attitudes and interests (e.g. insistence on linguistic correctness vs. celebrating local speech and diversity, making fun of 'uneducated' language use vs. arguing against this as essentially classist) seem to arise more frequently in relation to the latter kind of stories (Kerswill 2015). A final point that needs attention is that – as Blommaert (2005: 43) reminds us – "[w]e understand something because that something makes sense in a particular context".[35] The analyzed discourses are, in fact, discourses 'of their time', and who had, or had not, a voice to participate in these discourses and language debates has to be taken into account. A good case in point here is the late 1990s emergence of the internet and the associated development of 'Web 2.0' technologies[36] (e.g. social media), which have enabled a wider range of voices and opinions to be heard about English

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[35] By context, Blommaert primarily addresses large societal structures and framed activities, but it may be applied to very local contexts as well.

[36] Web 2.0 describes World Wide Web sites that emphasise user-generated content, usability, and interoperability […] A Web 2.0 site may allow users to interact and collaborate with each other in a social media dialogue as creators of user-generated content in a virtual community, in contrast to websites where people are limited to the passive viewing of content. Examples of Web 2.0 include social networking sites, blogs, wikis, folksonomies, video sharing sites, hosted services, Web applications, and mashups (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Web_2.0).
According to Androutsopoulos (2010b: 203), in these environments "[t]he main objects of analysis are 'vernacular spectacles' – that is, multimedia content that is produced outside media institutions and uploaded, displayed, and discussed on media-sharing websites such as YouTube. Focusing on spectacles that rely on, and modify, textual material from popular culture, I argue that spectacles provide new opportunities to engage with global media flows from a local perspective. This engagement is both receptive and productive, in other words it is not limited to viewing and commenting online but extends to producing spectacles and displaying them to web audiences. I shall argue that spectacles create novel opportunities for the public staging of vernacular speech in the digital age".
For a more detailed definition and a discussion of the meaning of 'Web 2.0', I refer the reader to the following webpage: http://www.oreilly.com/pub/a/web2/archive/what-is-web-20.html?page=1.

varieties. The online data collected thus are held to be of particular relevance because of the wider range of voices that can participate in these language debates. In fact, even though terms and conditions for user submitted content and comments may apply at times[37] – and thus some debates may be moderated – "the emergence of interactive 'Web 2.0' technologies (e.g. YouTube, Facebook, Twitter) has facilitated the opening up of a range of discursive spaces to individuals and groups who may not have traditionally had access to public media" (Johnson and Milani 2010: 6). These discursive spaces have led to an increased 'democratisation' of voices, and are considered to be less 'gate-keepered' than, for instance, the articles and letters to the editor found in the national newspapers. On the other hand, the specific context of production, and its effects, have to be taken into account also in this case. A good example is the "online disinhibition effect" (Suler 2004: 321), a term referring to the loosening of the social inhibitions and constraints that are normally in operation during in person-interactions, when this interaction takes place on the internet. This effect is created by several factors: "dissociative anonymity, invisibility, asynchronicity, solipsistic introjection, dissociative imagination, and minimization of authority" (Suler 2004: 321). Suler (2004: 321) explains that "[w]hile online, some people self-disclose or act out more frequently or intensely than they would in person", there is thus a weakening of the "psychological barriers that block hidden feelings and needs" (322). The term 'dissociative anonymity' is employed to point to the fact that when people surf the internet and interact with other users, these other users cannot determine who they are. This anonymity is one of the main factors that creates the disinhibition effect since when "people have the opportunity to separate their actions online from their in-person lifestyle and identity, they feel less vulnerable about self-disclosing and acting out […] [w]hatever they say or do can't be directly linked to the rest of their lives" (322). The term 'invisibility' points to a similar phenomenon, that is the fact that in many online environments people cannot see each other and this invisibility gives "people the courage to go places and do things that they otherwise wouldn't […] [e]ven with everyone's identity known, the opportunity to be physically invisible amplifies the disinhibition effect" (322). 'Asynchronicity' indicates the fact that communication in several online environments (e.g. e-mails and message boards) is asynchronous and that this 'distance' from someone's immediate reaction favours people's disinhibition. 'Solipsistic introjection' points to the fact that "[a]bsent face-to-face cues combined with text communication can alter self-boundaries" and thus "[o]nline text communication can evolve into an introjected psychological tapestry in which a person's mind weaves these fantasy role plays, usually unconsciously and with considerable disinhibition" (323). The term 'dissociative imagination' can be summarised as follow "[i]f we combine the opportunity to easily escape or dissociate from what happens online with the psychological process of creating imaginary characters, we get a somewhat different force that magnifies disinhibition" (323). Finally, online "a person's status in the face-to-face world may not be known to others and may not have as much impact" (324); this leads to the minimization of status and authority in online environments. An interesting point in relation to my data collection and analysis that is raised by Suler here is that in several online environments "everyone has an equal opportunity to voice him or herself. Everyone – regardless of status, wealth, race, or gender

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[37] These are normally formulated in order to prevent offensive, vulgar, defamatory or otherwise illegal comments, and thus they are not of primary concern for the topic that is the focus of the present investigation. The fact that some discussions are moderated and there is an attempt to ban 'trolling' and off-topic comments might even be considered to be an advantage in this case. An example of these policies can be found on the 'stuff.co.nz' webpage at: http://www.stuff.co.nz/about-stuff/1513458/Terms-and-Conditions-for-Comments

– starts off on a level playing field" (324). These six factors interact and intersect with each other and individual differences play an important role and can affect their susceptibility to disinhibition.

To conclude, Suler (2004) warns the reader against the (fairly common) belief that the 'online self' represents a 'more true self', and he claims that they are just "two dimensions of that person, each revealed within a different situational context" (325). This, however, does not invalidate the relevance of online data for the present analysis, on the contrary, it has now become obvious that online (metalinguistic) comments can provide access to language stereotypes, attitudes and more spontaneous reactions (as opposed to the more carefully crafted feedback that characterises letters to the editor, where a competition for publication is not uncommon). These context dependent constraints and effects might thus turn to the analysts' advantage, and help them unearth 'deep down held' ideologies. In fact, as Wiese (2014) suggests, these data are more informal, less controlled and less self- (or externally) edited. These comments are posted anonymously and thus their "authors do not encounter the kind of social control they would have to expect in open communication, e.g., face-to-face, or in signed letters to the editor, and they need to monitor their communication much less than journalists composing media articles". As a consequence this relative "lack of (internal and external) editing gives us a special means of access to opinions and sentiments elicited in the discussion of language-related topics" (Wiese 2014: 18).

To conclude, thus, the instantiations of the different language ideologies that become salient in these metalinguistic debates, have to be examined in light of both their discursive and medium-related contexts.

1.3 Authenticity and Contact: Tools and Frameworks for the Analysis of the Present Dataset

After having briefly reviewed the development of the language ideologies approach and some of its main theoretical underpinnings, I will here introduce a set of relevant methodological tools and frameworks that I believe will be fundamental in answering my specific research questions (see introduction). These conceptual and methodological tools belong to various (socio)linguistic traditions.[38] This outline will also include definitions of what is meant here by 'authenticity', a term that will be central for the analysis presented in this investigation. Thus, in the following sections I will briefly outline two frameworks and three concepts that will be helpful for the data analysis. The two frameworks to be outlined are Geeraerts' (2003; 2008) cultural model of linguistic variation and the thematically related theorisation of the ideology of linguistic authority by Woolard (2008) (section 1.3.1). After that, I will introduce two important concepts, namely indexicality and authentication (1.3.2). The focus here will be on the relation between the two and the ways in which these become relevant for the present analysis.[39] Finally, I will briefly outline the concept of 'reallocation', and its linkages to indexicality and mobility (section 1.3.3).

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[38] Cf. the discussion in section 1.1.2 on the lack of a uniform set of conceptual tools and systematic methods in the literature on language ideologies.

[39] The reference here being Coupland's (2001b; 2010a) 'typology of sociolinguistic authenticities'.

Before proceeding with this outline, I will provide a definition of what is intended here by the term 'legitimate language'. The definition of 'legitimate' that is intended here is that of: "valid or acceptable; justifiable, reasonable" (OED 2015) and I think it is helpful here to restate Bourdieu's (2005: 45) linguistic representation of 'legitimate language':

> As opposed to dialect, [a legitimate language] has benefitted from the institutional conditions necessary for its generalized codification and imposition. Thus known and recognized (more or less completely) throughout the whole jurisdiction of a certain political authority, it helps in turn to reinforce the authority, which is the source of its dominance. It does this by ensuring among all members of the 'linguistic community' […] the minimum of communication which is the precondition for economic production and even for symbolic domination […] This language is the one which, within the territorial limits of that unit, imposed itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language […].

In relation to this, according to Watts (2011), legitimacy is inextricably linked with the homogeneity myth mentioned and it involves a set of choices. In language standardisation processes one variety is selected to serve as "the mythical homogenous variety" (120), thus denying sociocultural validity to other varieties. Through mythical construction of 'the language', as opposed to 'a language', the 'legitimate language' becomes the only acceptable language for a particular group or nation-state. Consequently, "[l]egitimacy is then characterised in terms of homogeneity and immutability" (120) and it involves a process of "othering" (ibid), where other languages or language varieties are evaluated negatively, together with their speakers, and "innovation, spontaneity, creativity and flexibility of speech" are not accounted for (258). According to Watts then, the myths "that are used to validate the superiority of the language as a homogenous system form part of the discursive ideology of standardisation" (120) (see section 1.4.1).[40]

To conclude – and summarising the literature on the topic – a 'legitimate language' is thus a language that: a) is "authorized by a recognizable authority" (Kramsch 2012: 115); b) is an expression of an official national identity; c) is the language of the law, of political discourse and of education; d) is a commodity (which is economically valuable also on an international level); e) its history is perceived as being connected with the history of a nation state; f) its users have confidence in its functionality, fluency and efficiency; g) is easy, pure and aesthetically pleasing. Finally, Watts (2011) emphasises that "[i]f we force legitimacy on others, we constrain them to use only one form of language or to exclude them from participation in the state" (258).

1.3.1. Geeraerts' Cultural Models of Linguistic Variation, and Woolard's Ideologies of Linguistic Authority

In the introduction to their volume *Cognitive Models in Language and Thought: Ideology, Metaphors and Meanings,* Dirven, Frank and Pütz (2003) argue for the relevance of cognitive linguistics for the "definition, detection, analysis and interpretation of language-based societal systems such as ideology" (1). Within this framework, ideology is defined as a "system of beliefs and values based on a set of cognitive models, i.e. mental representations – partly linguistic, partly non-linguistic –

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[40] Cf. Milroy and Milroy (1999); Milroy (2000) and Cameron (1995).

of recurrent phenomena and their interpretations in culture and society" (1-2).[41] Cognitive linguistics thus claims to be "the very first linguistic model that is all-inclusive or all-embracing" and that is "simultaneously both a fully developed grammatical model and fully user – and usage – oriented model covering the functional, pragmatic, interactive and socio-cultural dimensions of language-in use" (3). For the purpose of the present investigation I will focus on non-metaphorical models, as opposed to the more well-known metaphorical models of cognitive linguistics. The former denote societal categories, the "abstract type of categories encountered in culture and society, such as linguistic variation, social or cultural identity, ideology as a system, and many more" (5) and are thus fundamentally important tools for the analysis of the language ideologies that is attempted here.

Geeraerts' (2003; 2008) cognitive model of linguistic variation is particularly relevant in this case. Geeraerts, starting from the assumption that "any language, or a particular type of discourse, contains or expresses ideological elements" (Dirven, Frank and Pütz 2003: 10), develops a model that focuses on language variation and linguistic standardisation. This model is relevant to the present investigation because, as outlined in the introduction, the development of an endonormative linguistic standard in New Zealand, and thus questions of standardization, have been central to the metalinguistic discourses revolving around NZE.[42] Within these discourses, and in particular those representing the 'legitimising' and 'authenticating' voices that are the focus of this investigation, NZE is typically juxtaposed with the exonormative authoritative standard that is (or used to be) British English; thus involving a choice. According to Geeraerts the choice of a specific language variety as the standard – or the competing views underlying this choice – is an "ideology-laden decision" and as such it can "implicate concepts such as emancipation, democracy, participation in public life etc." (Dirven, Frank and Pütz 2003: 10). Geeraerts posits two main cognitive models that he sees as having predominated in Western conceptualisations of the interaction between social reality and language in standardisation debates: a rationalist and a romantic model. These two basic models are then reworked and renegotiated in the context of the 19th century development of a nationalist model, and of the late 20th century postmodernist model. These models are claimed to be fundamental "determinants of language policies and people's acceptance of norms or standards which shape the language attitudes of linguistic communities" (ibid: 11). I will now shortly outline these four models.

The *rationalist model,* originating in the context of the 18th century Enlightenment, attributes to standard languages a positive characteristic of "generality". Standard languages, as opposed to dialects, are geographically general (i.e. "they overarch the more restricted areas of application of dialects"), they are socially general (i.e. "they constitute a common language that is not the property of a single social group but that is available to all"), and they are thematically universal (i.e. "they are equipped to deal with any semantic domain or linguistic function") (Geeraerts 2008: 46). Because of this characteristic of generality, standard languages are also perceived as being a "neutral medium, with a mediating function" and as transcending social differences by ensuring that "men and women from all walks of life and from all corners of the nation can communicate

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[41] Dirven, Frank and Pütz's volume is conceived as an incentive to "further develop and expand cognitive linguistics in the direction of a cognitive sociolinguistics, i.e. towards investigations encompassing cognitive views of language politics and language attitudes, cognitive discourse analysis, and cognitive rhetoric. Functioning together in one broad theoretical framework, these various sub-disciplines will be far better equipped to develop large-scale ideology research programs" (2).

[42] We will see later on that these might be better characterised as 're-standardisation' or 'functional reallocation' processes.

freely" (ibid: 47). As a consequence, they are perceived as being a "medium of participation and emancipation" and a "key to the world of learning and higher culture" (ibid: 47). Finally, standard languages are also presumed to "contribute to political participation", while dialects in this view are considered as being "mere relics of an obscurantist social and political system that opposes democracy and emancipation" (ibid: 47). The *rationalist model* is thus characterized by an overarching positive evaluation of standardisation, which is for example supported by the spread of the standard language via the education system.

In contrast with this first model, the *romantic model* negatively evaluates standard languages. A romantic view of language assumes that standard languages are "instruments of oppression and exclusion" and argues ideologically that "the enlightened ideals are not often realized and that, in fact, processes of standardization typically achieve the reverse of what they pretend to aim at" (ibid: 51-2). This view thus opposes the Enlightenment view outlined above, where language is seen as primarily a communication tool, with a view of language "as the expression of an individual identity". Moreover, this view "opposes the emancipatory and participatory rationalist ideal with a critical view of standardisation as a tool of discrimination and exclusion, and it opposes the positive appreciation of education as an instrument for the dissemination of linguistic knowledge with a fundamental distrust of schools as part of a system reproducing social inequality" (ibid: 54-5).[43] Consequently within the *romantic model*, language is believed to be the intimate expression of a specific identity, and emphasis is placed on the mediating role of language, mediating between different identities.

These first two basic models converge in a third one, labelled the *nationalist model*.[44] Geeraerts (2008) argues that this third model, which emerged in the 19th century, incorporates the two aforementioned models by distinguishing between two types of nationalism: "civic nationalism" and "identity nationalism" (ibid: 58-9). The interplay of these two types of nationalism and views of language is explained as follow (ibid: 58-9):

> […] *civic nationalism* is the conception of nationalism in which the nation derives its legitimacy from the active participation of its citizens, through a system of political representation. In such a liberal, rationalist conception, the common language is the medium of participation. On the other hand, *identity nationalism* is the conception of nationalism in which the nation derives its political legitimacy from the cultural identity of the people, and language is one of the factors establishing such identity. Both rationalist and romantic themes, in other words, may appear in the discourse of proponents of nationalist movements.

Geeraerts, however, warns the reader that tensions between the romantic and rationalist model persist within this third model. In fact, "the level on which nations should be constituted is not given a priori. The civic nationalism of nation states and the identity nationalism of specific ethnic or religious groups within that nation state may clash" (ibid: 62). Thus, the tensions between the two original models reappear in this third model. To better illustrate this, I quote from Geeraerts (2008: 62-3):

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[43] This model seems to underlie some recent discussions about the international position of English and its threat to other languages.
[44] Geeraerts (2008: 58) defines 'nationalism' as "the political ideology in which a state, as a political organization, derives its political legitimacy from its people, rather than from tradition, divine right, or the like. A state that lives up to this requirement is a nation. Nationalism, in other words, claims that any state should be a nation".

> […] Because the rationalist model cannot easily realize its extreme universalist claims, and because the romantic model cannot easily realize its radical individualist claims, both models meet on a middle ground where groups of people claim political identity and independence.

Finally, Geeraerts posits a fourth model: the *postmodernist model*. This model entails a shift towards questions of "globalization, linguistic imperialism and the international position of English" (Dirven, Frank and Pütz: 11), and approaches questions of how our "contemporary postmodern awareness influences the competition between the rationalist and the romantic model" (Geeraerts 2008: 57). Table 1 summarises the cultural models of standardisation, outlined in this sub-section, and their historical transformation.

	18th century: the archetypal models	19th century: the nationalist transformation	late 20th century: the postmodern transformation
The rationalist position	the common language as instrument of political, cultural and educational participation	the nation as the basis of a liberal democracy	diversity and multilingualism as functional specialization
The romantic position	language as an expression of individual identity; the imposed standard language as a discrimination of specific identities	the nation as a focus of cultural or ethnic identity	diversity and multilingualism as the expression of fragmented and flexible identities
The tension between both positions	opposition between the models, enhanced by the *Dialektik der Aufklärung*[45]	demarcation of relevant group: conflict between nation states and ethnic/cultural groups	demarcation of relevant functions: what is the exact shape of the functional specialization?

Table 1. The cultural models of standardisation posited by Geeraerts (2003, 2008)

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[45] Geeraerts (2008: 52) defines the '*Dialektik der Aufklärung*' as follows: "the (negative) dialectic of Enlightenment. Horkheimer and Adorno argue that rationalist positions have a tendency to lead to their own dialectical counterpart […] Now, if we look back at the three types of generality that standard languages are supposed to characterize, it is easy to see that the actual realization of the ideal may tend to contradict the ideal-which is then a case in point of the Dialektik der Aufklärung". For example – as Geeraerts explains – "standard languages are supposed to be geographically neutral, but in actual practice, processes of standardization often have their starting-point in a specific region that is economically, culturally, and/or politically dominant. For people in the other, outer provinces, then, the standard language is not an impartial medium, but it rather affirms the dominance of the leading province" (ibid).

It is, however, important to remember that, Geeraerts' (2008: 45) cultural models of linguistic standardisation are "abstract, general, perhaps even simplistic" because the main reason why we use them is in order to make sense of more complicated social phenomena. These idealized entities may be ideologies when:

> their idealized character is forgotten (when the difference between the abstract model and the actual circumstances is neglected), or when they are used in a prescriptive and normative rather than a descriptive way (when they are used as models of how things should be rather than of how things are). In the latter case, an ideology is basically a guiding line for social action, a shared system of ideas for the interpretation of social reality, regardless of the researcher's evaluation of that perspective. In the former case, an ideology is always to some extent a cover-up, a semblance, a deliberate misrepresentation of the actual situation, and a description of such ideologies will of necessity have to be critical.

Woolard (2008: 1)[46] upholds Geeraerts' model and claims that when case studies of linguistic ideologies are synthesized, linguistic authority in modern western societies is "often underpinned by one of two distinct ideological complexes", these being 'authenticity' and 'anonymity'. These two ideological complexes correspond fairly well to Geeraerts' romantic and rationalist models, and like the latter they point to "specific characteristics that arise in discussions of the value of language" (ibid: 1) [47] and they naturalise "a relation between linguistic form and a state of society" (ibid:1-2). In Woolard's (2008:2) words the *ideology of authenticity* locates

> the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community. That which is authentic is viewed as the genuine expression of such a community, or of an essential Self […] a speech variety must be perceived as deeply rooted in social and geographic territory in order to have value. For many European languages, these roots are in the mountain redoubts of peasant folk purity […] To be considered authentic, a speech variety must be very much "from somewhere" in speakers' consciousness, and thus its meaning is profoundly local. If such social and territorial roots are not discernible, a linguistic variety lacks value in this system […].

On the other hand, within the logic of the *ideology of anonymity*,

> public languages can represent and be used equally by everyone precisely because they belong to no-one-in-particular. They are positioned as universally open and available to all in a society […] Whereas social indexicality is the function prized for minority languages, in contrast the referential function is ideologically all-important in the anonymous public sphere" (ibid: 4) […] Sociolinguistic case studies have shown how an ideology of anonymity allows institutionally or demographically dominant languages to consolidate their position into one of hegemony. By hegemony, I mean […] the saturation of consciousness, **which allows their superordinate position to be naturalized, taken for granted, and placed beyond question.**

> (ibid: 4) (**my emphasis**)

These two dimensions are interrelated and interdependent, they feed each other in debates about the legitimacy of language varieties and can become a powerful resource for identity work. With Figure 6, I intend to sum up what has been discussed in this subsection and to add the dimension of 'linguistic legitimacy' to the overall picture – in this case keeping the notions of 'authority' and

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[46] The page numbers reflect the version of the paper that has been retrieved online.
[47] Woolard (2008: 5-7) defines 'linguistic authority' as the "right to respect or acceptance of one's word".

'legitimacy' separate; I will refer back to this diagram in the analysis.
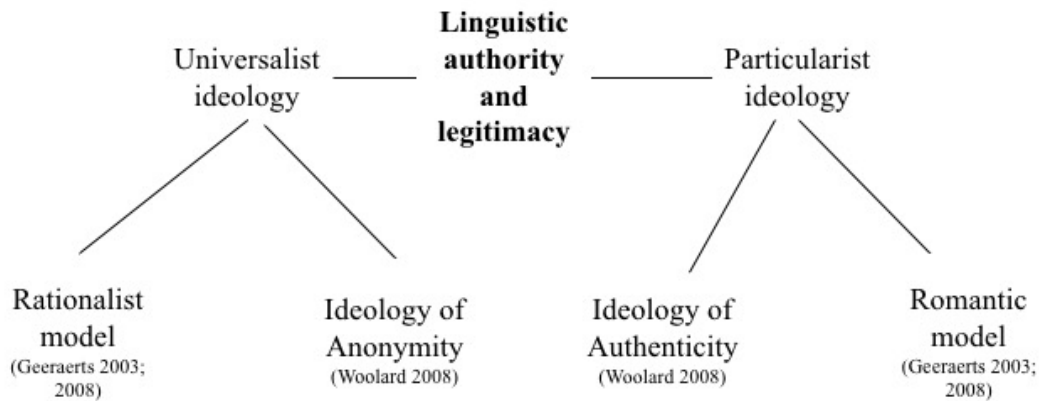
Figure 6. Ideological underpinning of linguistic authority and linguistic legitimacy

'Authority' and 'legitimacy' are complex loaded terms that may be considered different by some people and equivalent by others. For the purpose of this thesis, I propose the following definitions of these problematic terms, which will be treated as equivalent in the rest of the present work for the sake of simplicity. For the term 'authority', I take a snippet of Woolard's (2008: 5-7) definition: "the right to respect or acceptance". For the term 'legitimacy' I take the OED's (2015) [48] definition: "conformity to rule or principle; lawfulness. In *Logic*, conformity to sound reasoning"; synonyms are 'validity' and 'acceptability'. These terms can be considered as being two sides of the same phenomenon, with a subtle semantic difference of perspective. Authority represents the actors during the legitimisation process (the power of an authoritative actor), while legitimacy is the process by which authority is endowed. These also have different connotations, with 'legitimacy' having a more democratic association.

1.3.2. The Notions of 'Indexicality' and 'Authentication'

In the present investigation, I will also avail myself of two concepts that have been recently developed and expanded in sociolinguistics, these are the concepts of indexicality and authentication. Indexicality (especially the non-referential kind) points to the characteristic of linguistic elements to evoke certain non-linguistic entities; in this case the focus is on social meanings such as identity/ies, legitimacy and authenticity (Lacoste, Leimgruber and Breyer 2014: 5). The definition that is intended here is the one found in Eckert's (2008: 1) [49] extended indexicality framework in which, building on Michael Silverstein's notion of indexical order, she argues that linguistic variables:

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[48] The Oxford English Dictionary (2015) was accessed through the 'Search Oxford Libraries Online' (SOLO) system.
[49] The page numbers reflect the version of the paper that has been retrieved online.

do not have static meanings, but rather general meanings that become more specific in the context of styles […] the meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings – an indexical field, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable. The field is fluid, and each new activation has the potential to change the field by building on ideological connections. **Thus variation constitutes an indexical system that embeds ideology in language and that is in turn part and parcel of the construction of ideology.** [50]

(**my emphasis**)

It has been recognized that "much of the meaning and hence communicative value that linguistic forms have for their speakers lies in the 'indexical' connections between the linguistic signs and the contextual factors of their use – their connection to speakers, settings, topics, institutions, and other aspects of their sociocultural worlds" (Kroskrity 2000: 7). Consequently, the analysis presented in this chapter adopts this theoretical notion, as this correlates with the perception of language variation that is underpinned by various language ideologies, which emerge in metalinguistic discourse. In fact, in metalinguistic discourses these social meanings emerge through indexical processes in which specific linguistic forms and features (and thus linguistic varieties it could be claimed) serve to index a speaker's 'social category' through acts such as labelling. These processes connect macro-level social meanings with micro-level linguistic meanings, which are always framed and mediated through language ideologies (Irvine and Gal 2000: 35; Kang 2012). The social indexicality of perceived linguistic varieties is a determining factor for the discursive construction of linguistic authenticity and legitimacy. Woolard (2008: 2) makes this connection explicitly when she explains that:

> [w]hen authenticity is the legitimating ideology of a language, the linguistically marked form is celebrated, and accent matters. To invoke a semiotic schema, the pragmatic function of social indexicality, rather than semantic reference, is paramount within the ideology of authenticity. The significance of the authentic voice is taken to be what it signals about who you are, more than what you say. In fact, speech is often taken as not just an indexical sign associated with a particular group or type of person, but even as an iconic representation, a natural image of the essence of that person […] To profit, one must *sound* like that kind of person who is valued as natural and authentic, must capture the tones and the nuances. Indeed, this iconic relationship between language and person is itself the essence of authenticity.[51]

Before moving on to the concept of 'authentication', I would like to briefly draw attention to the concept of 'authenticity' on which the former is based. The semantic field of authenticity is very rich; semantically related words are 'realness', 'genuineness', 'naturalness', 'originality', 'individuality', 'credibility', 'expressivity', 'immediacy', 'truthfulness', 'faithfulness' (Lacoste, Leimgruber and Breyer 2014). According to Coupland (2003: 419) "[t]o be authentic, a thing has to be original in some important social or cultural matrix". Moreover, Coupland (2010a: 104) suggests that authenticity "points above all to a value system […] and specifically a value system that, where it exists, is able to anchor personal, social and cultural identities". Coupland (2010a: 104) identifies four values that are associated with authenticity and that will become relevant in the present analysis. These are (a) ontology – authentic things being felt to have a particular depth

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[50] Kroskrity (2000: 28) claims that "the same linguistic signs or discourses practices can be indexically linked by speakers to more than one group, at varying degrees of abstraction and inclusion, and at multiple sites of use and levels of awareness.

[51] Cf. Irvine and Gal's (2000) notion of 'iconisation' discussed in section 1.2.2.

of reality; (b) historicity – authentic things being perceived to be durable and sometimes timeless; (c) systemic coherence – authenticity as a matter of 'making sense' and imposing order; and (d) consensus – authenticity resulting from some social process of authentication accepted by a group. Finally, authenticity appears to be a common concern, and sought-after quality, for many individuals. In fact, as Coupland puts it, "authenticity matters. It remains a quality of experience that we actively seek out, in most domains of life, material, social. […] We value authenticity and we tend to be critical of pseudo-authenticity" (2003: 417). In relation to these claims, two essential questions will be addressed in the following chapters: a) what are the local meanings of authenticity in this particular sociolinguistic context? b) Does authenticity correlate with legitimacy in the metalinguistic discourses that are taken into account here? (i.e. about newly developed, endonormative speech standards).[52]

The concept of authentication, originally used in relation to stylization, has been first advanced in the meaning that is intended here by Coupland (2001a). In his 2010 paper *The Authentic Speaker and the Speech Community*, Coupland accounts for this concept by explaining that authenticity results from "some social process of authentication accepted by a group". As a consequence authentication can be considered to be a discursive process:

> rather than authenticity as a claimed or experienced quality of language or culture, [it] can then be taken up analytically as one dimension of a set of intersubjective 'tactics', through which people can make claims about their own or others' statuses as authentic or inauthentic members of social groups.

(Coupland 2010a: 6)[53] [54] [55]

Coupland (2001b: 415) has thus postulated a 'typology of sociolinguistic authenticities', that is reproduced below (Table 2).

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[52] In sociolinguistics, 'authenticity' has mainly been considered in relation to linguists' notion of 'authentic language' and 'authentic speaker'; and this has often been in the form of a critique. However, more recently, scholars have started to focus on speakers' authenticating practices, and on authenticity as an ideology that is central to speakers (cf. Bucholtz 1995, 1999; Chun 2004; Coupland 2001a; Cutler 1999; Labrador 2004; Lo 1999; Rampton 1995; Sweetland 2002) (Scott Shenk 2007).

[53] Coupland (2010a: 6) also claims that "it is increasingly common to find sociolinguistic analyses couched in terms of the discursive construction of authenticity and inauthenticity (e.g. Chun 2004; Coupland 2001b; Johnstone and Kiesling 2008, Sebba 2007, Shenk 2007, Sweetland 2002)".

[54] According to Gibson (2010: 40) "to be ontologically authentic is to 'keep it real'" and 'authentic' is used for "something sincere or non-artificial, with positive connotations, relating to being 'real'". Gibson (2010) also clarifies that this definition is different from others that have emerged in sociolinguistics, where 'authentic' refers to vernacular speech that is not 'tainted' with self-consciousness (cf. Eckert 2004).

[55] The page numbers reflect the version of the paper that has been retrieved online.

Authentic language 1:	attested and attestable language
Authentic language 2:	naturally occurring language
Authentic language 3:	language encoding fact and truth
Authentic language 4:	fully owned, unmediated language
Authentic language 5:	language indexing personal authenticity
Authentic language 6:	language indexing authentic cultural membership

Table 2. Coupland's (2001b: 415) typology of sociolinguistic authenticities[56]

'Authentic language 1 and 2' emphasise that a specific instance of language use might be considered as being authentic when it does not involve a fabrication of some sort, and it is not generated under what is held to be an artificial or a non-natural and non-representative condition (Coupland 2003: 421). In line with this and in relation to 'Authentic language 2', any naturalistically observed community is by definition an authentic one (424).[57] 'Authentic language 3', exposes the moral dimension of authenticity, where the social actor is an "honest soul". The speaker is thus "true to him-, or herself" and "what you see is what you get" (422). 'Authentic

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[56] Even though Coupland posits this typology of sociolinguistic authenticities as a critique of the practices that are customary in sociolinguistic research (especially the variationist kind), I believe that this can be taken as a starting point for the analysis of authenticating practices in my data as some of these ideologically laden representations of 'authentic language' are likely to be salient also outside academia.

[57] According to Lacoste, Leimgruber and Breyer (2014: 9) "one could claim that any geographical context in which languages were born is the place where the most authentic languages are generated and conserved". This obviously becomes problematic in the case of language varieties that have emerged through acts of mobility, such as New Zealand English and other koinés.

language 4', assumes that speakers are fully responsible for the forms and meanings of their own utterances and that an authentic speaker is a person "functioning seamlessly as principal, author and animator of his/her own talk – a person who owns her or his language through and through" (423). 'Authentic language 5', is related to the above-mentioned idea that speakers should be themselves and involves concepts of "personal integrity" and credibility (424). Thus, some groups of speakers come to be considered as more trustworthy, honest and straightforward than others, and these value judgments/labels become salient in discussions about rural and urban speech styles especially in relation to concepts of authenticity (424).[58] Finally, 'Authentic language 6' entails a differentiation among speech communities on the basis of their supposed "cultural authenticity" (424).

Furthermore, Coupland (2001b: 421) distinguishes between two different kinds of authenticity: "authenticity-from-above" and "authenticity-from-below"; and this construct has emerged as salient in my corpus. Authenticity from above "implies validation from the mainstream institutional viewpoint, recycling long-established, normative and supposedly absolute values. It stresses the continuity of traditional practices within elite systems" (421). On the other hand, authenticity-from-below "stresses grassroots and vernacular values and practices. It suggests an authenticity created *in situ,* in the actions of individual agents" (421).[59] According to Coupland, authenticity is always a "perspectivized concept" (421) (i.e. bound to different perspectives, in opposition to an essentialised concept) and this distinction, between authenticity-from-above and from-below, reappears in other domains of social life. Coupland (2010b) makes another relevant point when arguing that the idea that a 'standard language' is to be revered is frequently justified by the claim that this is the only 'authentic' language, according to criteria of historicity, coherence and value. As a consequence, a standard language ideology has entailed a de-authentication of 'non-standard' language varieties because these are considered as lacking a dignified history, as being opportunistic, chaotic and even worthless.[60] However, as in the case of RP in Britain, speaking standard, prestigious varieties might be considered impossible or even ridiculous in certain contexts. In fact, Coupland reiterates the important point that "the social meanings of linguistic varieties are complex and multi-dimensional, and contextual factors impinge crucially on which social meanings are attributed to linguistic varieties" (Coupland 2010b: 62).[61] Locally relevant identity constructs are thus of primary importance here, since authentication links "social action and ideology with interactionally negotiated identity stances" (Scott Shenk 2007: 195).

Can we thus claim that people evaluate authenticity in these terms when making sociolinguistic judgments? The sociolinguistics literature does not provide much evidence in this respect (as Coupland (2010a) implies). As a consequence, I try to address this research gap in the present investigation and I believe that the metalinguistic discourses that make up my corpora

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[58] Personal authenticity within this framework can also be attributed to speakers of high-prestige, 'standard' varieties from an authenticity-from-above perspective, and not only to rural ones (cf. Coupland's "establishment authenticities"). The example that Coupland gives is that of RP in Britain, where this variety is credited with transparency and clarity, as well as with other high-competence traits (424).

[59] This also recalls Geeraerts' nationalist and romantic models.

[60] The selection of a standard variety is obviously an arbitrary process where people in authority impose their interpretation of correct usage on the majority (e.g. through the educational system), who then accept and implement the 'standard' (Coupland 2010b).

[61] Coupland's point about the re-ideologisation of vernaculars already appeared in earlier works such as Trudgill (1974) and Milroy and Margrain (1980).

can provide relevant insights into people's perceptions and constructions of authenticity in language. Coupland's framework will thus be used as a basis for the analysis presented in this chapter, but the ultimate aim will be that of creating my own typology of 'metalinguistic authenticities' (see Chapter III).

To conclude, the discursive construction of inauthenticity is as important as that of authenticity, and it will thus be fundamental to identify what the analysed English varieties are de/authenticated against. Both linguistic and ideological resources are used in order to position the self as authentic and the other as inauthentic, since "positioning oneself as authentic often depends on positioning the other as inauthentic" (Scott Shenk 2007: 197-8). People use these strategies in order to construct and deconstruct their own identities and they may "own, inhabit or reject others' original, authentic sociolinguistic behaviours and identities" (Lacoste, Leimgruber and Breyer 2014: 8). This, additionally, is closely related to the process of reallocation that will be discussed in the following section, and emphasises the importance of the indexical values that are assigned to language varieties, as well as of their linkages to discourses of national identity, globalisation and class structure. These de/constructions often also entail the existence of prototypical members which "[stand] for the most credible member[s] of the category, itself associated with a number of 'less authentic' members which are lightly dosed or enough to signal genuineness or fidelity to the intended identity" (Lacoste, Leimgruber and Breyer 2014: 8). To provide an example, Blommaert and Varis (2015: 7) in their "special note about 'enoughness'" explain that:

> [t]he benchmark for being admitted into an identity category (as a 'real' or 'authentic' member) is 'having enough' of the features specified for them. This is slippery terrain, because 'enough' is manifestly a judgment, often a compromise, and rarely a black-and-white and well-defined set of criteria […] Competence, to return to what we said above, often revolves around the capacity to make adequate judgment calls on enoughness. Enoughness also explains some of the strange and apparently incoherent phenomena observed in contexts where authenticity is the core of the issue, as in minority cultural groups. We observe in such contexts that the use and display of 'homeopathic' doses of e.g. the heritage language can suffice as acts of authentic identity. Greetings and other concise communicative rituals, indigenous songs or dances can prevail over the absence of most of 'indigenous' culture as features that produce enough authenticity (e.g. Moore 2011 for an excellent example; also Silverstein 2006). In contexts of rapid sociocultural change (as e.g. in the case of migration) and the dispersal of contexts for identity work (as in the increased use of social media), we can expect enoughness to gain more and more importance as a critical tool for identity work. One needs to be 'enough' of a rapper, not 'too much'; the same goes for an art lover, an intellectual, a football fan, an online game player and so forth.

I will here also attempt to identify these prototypical members, as well as the changes that might cause a prototypical member to be moved to a more peripheral position.

1.3.3. The Reallocation of Indexicalities

One last concept that will play an important role in the discussion of the NZE corpus is the notion of 'reallocation' advanced by Blommaert (2003).[62] In his paper *Commentary: a Sociolinguistics of Globalization*, Blommaert (2003: 615) claims that mobility is a key feature of "sign complexes in globalization", and that linguistic resources can be said to travel "across time, space and different regimes of indexicalities and organizations of repertoires" in an increasingly globalised (and decolonised) world. As a consequence,

> [t]he process of mobility creates difference in value, for the resources are being reallocated different functions. The indexical links between signs and modes of communication, and social value scales allowing, for example, identity construction, status attribution and so forth – these indexical links are severed and new ones are projected onto the signs and practices.
>
> (Blommaert 2003: 619)

This is relevant for the present case study because acts of mobility, such as colonisation and the recent increase in immigration, are very salient in discourses about speech standards in both New Zealand and the south east of England. Blommaert (2003: 609), additionally, argues that in order to understand these processes of insertion (or re-insertion) of varieties into "newly stratified orders of indexicality" it is paramount to find out what such a reordering of repertoires actually means and represents to people. I thus hope to shed some light on this through the analysis of my (metalinguistic) corpora.[63]

To conclude, interestingly, Coupland (2010b: 73) makes a similar point when discussing modern processes of de-standardisation[64] by claiming that "linguistic varieties referred to as "standards" and "dialects" are coming to hold different, generally less determinate and more complex, values in a late-modern social order". Within this frame he advocates for the relevance of questions of how individual groups perceptually segment linguistic repertoires and how they "reallocate values and meanings to existing styles and valorise new ones" (ibid). Thus Coupland, drawing on Kristiansen's (2008, as mentioned in Coupland 2010b) work, distinguishes between two fundamental processes that are relevant here: a) 'de-standardisation' (i.e. "a type of value levelling that washes out status meanings formerly linked to "standard" and "non-standard"

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[62] Even though this analysis is not primarily concerned with discourses of globalisation, the basic idea behind this concept will be helpful in shedding light on the reworkings and adjustments of existing language ideologies that have been observed in New Zealand and in the south east of England.

[63] Johnstone makes a similar point when discussing globalisation theorist Stuart Hall's idea that the "[t]he return to the local is often a response to globalization […] It is a respect for local roots which is brought to bear against the anonymous, impersonal world of the globalized forces which we do not understand" (Hall 1991: 34; as reported in Johnstone) 2010: 2)). Johnstone considers such accounts to be an oversimplification at least for what concerns the current resurgence of interest in regional dialects. She, in fact, argues that "renewed attention to the local is not a nostalgic or desperate *response* to globalization but an inevitable *result* of globalization. While such attention can, as Hall suggests, involve renewed "respect" for people's local roots, it does not arise from respect. Rather, changes attendant on globalization – geographic mobility, the increased heterogeneity of local demography, and economic change that forces people to re-imagine themselves – are precisely the conditions that most effectively foster dialect and language awareness".

[64] Coupland here refers to Britain, but he leaves the door open for application in other contexts.

varieties"); b) 'demotisation' (i.e. the continuous "investment in a "standard" or "best" variety of speech, but where a formerly popular or more vernacular variety rises to take the place of the earlier "standard")" (74).[65] [66] This fits in well with the general tendency that has been observed in recent sociolinguistic research that:

> [v]ernacular speech retains its potential to evoke regional and social affiliations, and under globalisation, "the local" often acquires new positive value as an anti-dote to "the global familiar." We need to look for signs that the old sociolinguistic association of vernacular speech with social stigma is breaking down, as well as being **selectively maintained**.

> Coupland (2010b: 74-5; **my emphasis**)

1.4 The Standard Language Ideology and Labelling

In this final section of chapter I, I will provide a brief introduction to the standard language ideology by reviewing some of the most important academic contributions on the topic (section 1.4.1). This is done because this ideology has been observed to be underpinning much of my dataset. Even though this ideology is not the main focus of the present investigation, in several instances it is openly challenged and renegotiated – within the metalinguistic debates analysed – as we will see in Chapters II and III. After this brief introduction, I will clarify some of the labelling practices in use in this dissertation.

1.4.1. The Standard Language Ideology

Before introducing the concept of the standard language ideology, I will here draw on Michael Silverstein's (1996) paper 'Monoglot "Standard" in America: Standardisation and Metaphors of Linguistic Hegemony' in order to clarify notions such as 'standardisation' and 'the Standard' itself. According to Silverstein (1996: 284), the American nation-state – as many other modern Western societies – is in a perpetual attempt to constitute of itself an officially unified society with a uniform public culture, and "one of the strongest lines of demarcation of that public culture is linguistic, in the form of advocacy of or opposition to […] The Standard". This has, obviously, at times created problems for "those for whom the linguistic realm should be but a special case of their more widely-held, or generalized, longings for an ideal of pluralism, or egalitarianism […]" (ibid). In relation to that, Silverstein (1996: 285) defines a linguistic community – a culture of standardisation – as a "group of people who, in their implicit sense of the regularities of linguistic usage, are united in adherence to the idea that there exists a functionally differentiated norm for using their "language" denotationally (to represent or describe things), the inclusive range of which the best language users are believed to have mastered in the appropriate way". Even though nobody in that linguistic community might actually use language in that way, Silverstein (ibid) explains that it is a matter of "allegiance to the concept of such a functionally differentiated denotational norm of usage, said to define the "best" speakers of language L, and a sense of continuity with others in it". As a consequence, standardisation is a "phenomenon in a linguistic

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[65] Referred to as 're-standardisation' by Bell (2011).
[66] Additionally, the definition of 'demotisation' correspond fairly well to what Irvine and Gal's (2000) mean by 'fractal recursivity', a notion that has been defined in section 1.2.2.

community in which institutional maintenance of certain valued linguistic practices – in theory, fixed – acquires an explicitly-recognized hegemony over the definition of the community's norm" (ibid). Consequently, the "best" users of the language become an "index of "best speakerhood" (ibid: 286). As Silverstein explains, however, the existence of the standard depends heavily on the existence of hegemonic institutions such as those that "control writing\printing and reading channels of exemplary communication with language, the operation of which in a society establishes and maintains the Standard" (286) (cf. Bell 1983 on broadcast language as a language standard). This specification is relevant in the selection of the sites of data collection that has shaped the present investigation[67] (see section 1.2.3). Interestingly, Silverstein (ibid) – drawing on Bloomfield's theory – points out that people who speak standardised languages often

> cannot even conceive of there being a linguistic norm in our technical sense – and hence, for them, a "language" as opposed to a "dialect" or "patois" […] – […] languages lacking the institutionalized paraphernalia for Standardization, such as enforcement of a conventionalized writing system, or explicit communication (e.g., through schools) […] [–] do not quite seem to be "real" languages, which […] are for them thought to come in "naturally" standardized conditions of "objectively" distinct systems of norms.

This theme of 'naturalness' will emerge as particularly salient in the metalinguistic debates revolving around New Zealand English analysed in Chapter II. An example of the dialectal variability of English linguistic usages, often geographically and socially defined is the fact that the Standard is "endowed with claims to superiority as a "superposed" register for use in those contexts of interaction that count in society" (ibid: 286). Thus, the standard is perceived as being "the absence of "dialect"" (ibid), and its superiority to emerge from its "positively-specifiable attributes" (ibid). The process of naturalisation often anchors the process of standardisation and it often leads to the rise of social phenomena with "power to command" (ibid) over language, such as government school systems, grammars and dictionaries. These institutions of standardisation are then perceived as being "merely the endpoints of the natural, evolutionary working of the 'invisible hand', the better to effectuate what is already going on in more informal, non-institutionalized terms" (ibid). These ideas are often also found to underlie those metalinguistic debates that can be grouped under the umbrella label of 'complaint tradition' that is defined below. Finally, Silverstein (1996: 290) draws attention to the "commoditization" – the sweeping up into the "brisk of commerce of personal socio-economic identity" (ibid: 290) – of Standard English, and its "objectualization", through which it becomes "an important adjunct to all other forms of identity, and indeed becomes metricized – turned into a gradient measurable – […] an indexable as well as indexical in a culture that literalize[s] the enactment of the metaphor of personal value" (ibid: 291). As a commodity, Standard English may thus be made "the object of a brisk commerce in goods-and-services for which experts make themselves available (authorities or connoisseurs in the humanistic social fields [(e.g. elocutionists[68])]". In relation to

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[67] See the detailed descriptions of the data collection for each case study in Chapters II and III.
[68] Silverstein (1996: 299) defines elocutionists as follows: ""elocution" teachers have been fashioned into the personnel of companies of "helping professionals" […] [f]or an upscale fee […] such authoritative professionals will eradicate the deficiencies people may have in spoken and written Standard, emphasizing what we might call "corporate Standard" that is, Standard as the essential medium of corporate survival and personal success. Their names, such as Grammar Group, Creative Speech Interests inc., Speech Dynamic, bespeak the world that they are attempting to dominate. These are wizards of the accent and of the vocabulary, of punctuation, intonation, and hypercorrect grammar, ministering like social worker or even physicians to "patients", as many characterize those

this then, as Silverstein (ibid: 291) explains that "[p]ossession-of-Standard vs. lack-of-Standard […] is being made culturally enactable through tropes of personal value or worth, where lack-of-standard is gradiently negative with respect to gradiently positive possession-of-standard". For instance, he observes how the Queen's English Society valorizes 'Received Pronunciation' with respect to other varieties, thus in effect "drawing all these recognized geographical *dialects* together in a culturally *superposed* schema of variation with respect to [Received Pronunciation] norms, the non-availability of all the elements of which to any person or group in the overall schema of differentiation becoming their deficit with respect to the standard that has a rational basis in some identifiable characteristic[s]" (ibid: 296). These presumably superior characteristics are at the core of the standard language ideology to which I now turn, and which was originally defined in Milroy and Milroy (1999).

The standard language ideology entails a belief in a homogenous, superior, discrete "standard variety" that leads to the devaluation of other variants as inferior and deficient, and of their speakers as less competent (Wiese 2014). Milroy (2000) points to several characteristics that a standard language (especially English) is presumed to have and that can be, explicitly or implicitly, invoked in order to justify its selection over local dialects.

o Uniformity and invariance are valued: "standard languages are high-level idealisations, in which uniformity or invariance is valued above all things" (ibid: 13). The purity of the language/variety is highly valued within this ideology, so if the text, or the speech is 'dirty' it has to "be cleansed" (ibid: 21).[69]

o Linguistic change and variability are rejected: "[a]s for standardisation, however, there should be no illusion as to what its aim actually is: it is to fix and 'embalm' (Samuel Johnson's term) the structural properties of the language in a uniform state and *prevent* all structural change" (ibid: 14).

o Standard language is often equated with prestige: "[w]hat is clearest in the tradition is the equation of the standard language with the *prestige* language" (ibid: 15). It has therefore social prestige and can be linked to social exclusiveness.[70]

o It has historical depth and has a unilinear, pure history: "[i]n this ideology it is extremely important that the history of the language should be unilinear and, as far as possible, pure. There is thus an insistence on the "lineage of English […] with a continuous history as a single entity […]" (ibid: 15-16). For the English language this meant a "movement to establish and legitimise standard English (the Queen's English) as the language of a great empire – a world language" (ibid). Abuses to the Queen's English are thus "*morally* reprehensible" because they undermine the integrity of the language (ibid: 16).

o It is 'educated speech', 'correct speech', represents the 'proper use of the organs of speech', and it is associated with an elite variety: dialectal developments are "dismissed as 'vulgar' and 'provincial'" (ibid: 17), and the importance of the language of the "Oxford Common Room and the Officers" (ibid: 18) is emphasised. The standard language is closely associated with the idea of grades of social prestige (ibid: 18). "Wyld's concept of 'Received Standard'

"afflicted" with poor, i.e., non-Standard or non-English, linguistic habits". This definition will become relevant in Chapters II and III.

[69] Milroy (2000: 11) additionally specifies that standard varieties "appear as idealisations that exist at a high level of abstraction" and these idealisations "are finite-state and internally almost invariant, and they do not conform exactly to the usage of any particular speaker".

[70] This could in part be related to the fact that, today, access to 'the standard', and performance of it, become a basis for (re)producing social hierarchies with respect to 'the standard' (Kroskrity, personal communication).

included not only the grammar and vocabulary, but pronunciation (now known as 'Received Pronunciation' or RP), and the effect of this was to restrict the standard language to a very small élite class of speakers, probably never numbering more than 5 per cent of the population. Otherwise it was 'dialect' or the 'Modified Standard' of 'city vulgarians'" (ibid: 18).

o   It has intrinsic features that facilitate communication, which is the purpose of all languages (according to this ideology): its "intrinsic superiority" is due to phonetics (ibid: 19) and its alleged superior degree of intelligibility (cf. Mazzon 2000). It is the clearest and most efficient of all varieties because it allows communication thanks to its "clarity of enunciation and widespread comprehensibility" (ibid: 20).

o   It is monostylistic and is associated with formality, good manners and authority: "[i]n order to speak this variety [RP] you must have a good microphone manner and wear a dinner suit even when you cannot be seen. Although a non-standard variety can be spoken in careful style as well as casual style, it is much more doubtful whether Wyld's idealised Received Standard can be spoken in anything other than a careful style, preferably in non-conversational modes – poetry, oratory and broadcasting" (ibid 19).

Following Milroy and Milroy's (1999 [1985]) work on standardisation, other definitions of the standard language ideology have been proposed. One that I find comprehensive and helpful in the context of English dialectology is Rosina Lippi-Green's (1997) stemming from her book *English With an Accent: Language, Ideology and Discrimination*. She defines it as "a bias towards an abstracted idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the speech of the upper, middle class" (Lippi-Green 1997: 64). This definition emphasises the class-based interests behind this ideology, and points to the "language subordination process" often undertaken by dominant institutions, and which is designed to simultaneously valorize the standard language and other aspects of "mainstream culture" while devaluing the non-standard and its associated cultural forms (cf. Kroskrity 2004). Lippi-Green (1997) also succeeds in demonstrating that most of the differences between standard and non-standard dialects of English are trivial and invalid evidence of structural inferiority or deficiency (e.g. double negatives which are often associated to ignorance and lack of education). Consequently – according to Lippi-Green (1997) – the assumed superiority of 'Standard English' "rests not on its structural properties or its communicative efficiency but rather on its associations with the political-economic influence of affluent social classes who benefit from a social stratification which consolidates and continues their privileged position" (Kroskrity 2004: 502-3).

Moreover, Milroy (2001)[71] further elaborates on the link between language ideologies and the consequences of standardisation within standard language cultures. According to Milroy (2001: 531) then, the primary definition of standardisation is the "the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects. Attitudes to language within standard language cultures are then reviewed and contrasted with unstandardized situations, in which the boundaries of languages are indeterminate". He therefore suggests that "determinate languages, such as English, may be

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[71] In this paper, Milroy (2001) also discusses how a standard language ideology has for several years, and still does, underlain sociolinguistic research. In relation to this critique, he suggests that it would be better to treat standardization as a process that is continuously in progress in those languages that undergo the process.

defined more by ideologies than by their internal structures", and that the fact that the speakers of these languages believe them to exist in these standardized forms, "affects the way in which speakers think about their own language and about 'language' in general […] [S]peakers of these languages live in standard language cultures" (Milroy 2001: 530). Milroy (2001) conceptualises and breaks down the process of standardisation in what I consider to be three main, but intertwined, mechanisms or underlying categories: *uniformity, legitimacy and prestige*. In line with this, he explains that the process of standardisation works by "promoting invariance or uniformity in language structure" (ibid: 531) and that, "[w]e can therefore suggest[,] ideological and which relates to the internal structure or physical shape of standardized objects: standardization consists of the imposition of **uniformity** upon a class of objects" (ibid; **my emphasis**). Uniformity has thus to be imposed and subsequently becomes (itself) important in defining the characteristics of a standardised form of language. The social category of *prestige* is also often used to characterise a standard language variety. In fact, it is very common that the 'standard variety' is "equated with 'the highest prestige variety', rather than with the variety that is characterized by the highest degree of uniformity" (ibid: 532). Moreover, Milroy (ibid), explains that the prestige attributed to the language varieties is "indexical and involved in the social life of speakers". If we see languages as having an economic value, thus, "those that are most affected by standardisation (essentially those that are said to have 'standard' varieties) have higher values than those that are less affected or not affected at all" (ibid: 534) (cf. Bourdieu 2005 and the metaphor of the linguistic market). So, "[s]tandardization leads to greater efficiency in exchanges of any kind" (ibid).

A very important consequence of standardisation has also been the development of a concept of 'correctness'. Milroy (2001: 535-6) explains it as follows and makes an interesting point about posthoc rationalizations in prescriptive arguments:

> An extremely important effect of standardization has been the development of consciousness among speakers of a 'correct', or **canonical**, form of language. In […] standard-language cultures, virtually everyone subscribes to the ideology of the standard language, and one aspect of this is a firm belief in correctness. This belief takes the form that, when there are two or more variants of some word or construction, only one of them can be right. It is taken for granted as **common sense** that some forms are right and others wrong, and this is so even when there is disagreement as to which is which […]. For the majority of people in standard language cultures who give attention to language – this is just how it is: *no justification is needed* for rejecting, *I seen it* and when justification *is* given […] it is post hoc. Indeed all prescriptive arguments about correctness that depend on intra-linguistic factors are posthoc rationalizations.

The reason that is often given in relation to these correctness arguments is simply that of common sense: "everybody knows it, it is part of the culture to know it, and you are an outsider if you think otherwise: you are not a participant in the common culture, and so your views can be dismissed" (ibid: 536).[72][73] In line with this perspective,

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[72] For instance – as observed in Milroy and Milroy (1999: 135-136) – 'common sense' was the banner under which the British Education Secretary, Kenneth Baker, in 1989 rejected the recommendations of a committee of educationists and linguists on English language teaching in the new 'national curriculum' (cf. Cameron 1995).

[73] Kroskrity (personal communication) makes an important remark on this, by stating that the obviousness, or transparency, of the "correctness" of standards is certainly an expression of the invisible force of hegemonic influence that creates the taken-for-granted character of these linguistic forms through their indexical association with power and prestige.

'native speaker intuition' means nothing, and grammatical sequences are not products of the native speaker's mind. They are defined externally – in grammar books, and school is the place where the real language learning takes place. It is common sense that children must be taught the canonical forms of their own native language, mainly at school […] by those who know the rules of 'grammar', correct meanings of words and correct pronunciation, and these rules and norms all exist outside the speaker.

(ibid)

Often – as we will see in Chapter II – this also becomes a question of morality and metalinguistic comments acquire a moral tone. As a consequence, Milroy (2001: 537) explains that the canonical form of the language is perceived as a

precious inheritance that has been built up over the generations, not by the millions of native speakers, but by a select few who have lavished loving care upon it, polishing, refining and enriching it until it has become a fine instrument of expression (often these are thought to be literary figures, such as Shakespeare). […] It is believed that if the canonical variety is not universally supported and protected, the language will inevitably decline and decay.

There is thus an "apocalyptic vision", a term that encapsulates very well the view of what Milroy and Milroy (1999) have labelled 'the complaint tradition' which arguably goes back for centuries. Lukač (2015:1) in fact claims that "[t]he public's concern with the fate of the standard language has been well documented in the history of the complaint tradition. The print media have for centuries featured letters to the editor on questions of language use". Additionally, she (ibid) explains that:

[c]omplaints about English language use have been present in print media from the eighteenth century onwards (Percy 2009). Language-related letters to the editor are a channel through which writers of these letters promote the standard language by stigmatising nonstandard varieties. Linguists commenting on linguistic prescriptivism often describe such letters as forums for language pedants, where the often 'poorly informed' (Wardhaugh 1999, 2) 'deplore various solecisms and warn of linguistic decline' (Cameron 1995, vii). Until the proliferation of online discussions of language use and correctness in the last two decades, letters to the editor have been the best-kept records of the lay community's attitudes on linguistic matters (McManus 2008, 1).

The 'canonical variety' is thus the form of the language that is believed to be "'educated' or 'careful', which is also the form that has been legitimized by long tradition. It cannot be, for example, a lower-class Brooklyn form, or 'Cockney' (London dialect), or AAVE" (Milroy 2001: 539). These varieties have not in fact been legitimised because "their internal structures deviate from the lawful structure of the language" (ibid). "Grammars and dictionaries are authoritative accounts of the 'language', which is enshrined in them almost as a tangible thing" (ibid).

A final essential characteristic of the ideology of the standard that Milroy (2001) mentions is *legitimacy*. There is in fact a need to show that the standard language is the legitimate variety of that language. This normally builds up through consensus in the general population, and sometimes also through the efforts of academic linguists. In relation to this, Milroy (2001: 547) notes that "[t]he establishment of the idea of a standard variety, the diffusion of knowledge of this variety, its codification in widely used grammar books and dictionaries, and its promotion in a wide range of functions – all lead to the devaluing of other varieties. The standard form becomes the legitimate form, and other forms become, in the popular mind, illegitimate". This

standard variety is then commonly seen as a part of the (glorious) history of a nation state, and it is perceived as being part of the identity of that nation state. Thus, a fundamental (related) idea that underlies the notion of linguistic legitimacy is historicity. The standard language must be given an authoritative history and this must ideally date as far back as possible. This also involves notions of 'purity' in language as Milroy (2001: 549) explains: "[t]he historicization of the language requires that it should possess a continuous unbroken history, a respectable and legitimate ancestry and a long pedigree. It is also highly desirable that it should be as pure and unmixed as possible". In the case of English, scholars of the nineteenth century emphasised the continuity of the language (cf. Mugglestone 2003; 2006) and its genetic and direct descent from Germanic and Anglo-Saxon in order to support the ancient lineage of English and the ideas of unbroken history and purity. Additionally, it is not difficult to see how the standard ideology can sometimes lead to elitist attitudes and ideologies. The ways in which historicity connects to notions of linguistic legitimacy is essential also in order to understand the attitudes and ideologies underlying some of the discourses surrounding English dialects. In fact, as Milroy (2001: 551) explains, English rural dialects "were to an extent legitimized by dialect research because they were given histories, [but] urban vernaculars remained illegitimate". He then also suggests that the process of legitimisation "is now being extended more widely - to varieties that have been traditionally stigmatized, including urban varieties, certain southern U.S. varieties and AAVE" (cf. Poplack 2000). The following scheme (Figure 7) visually recapitulates what has just been discussed.
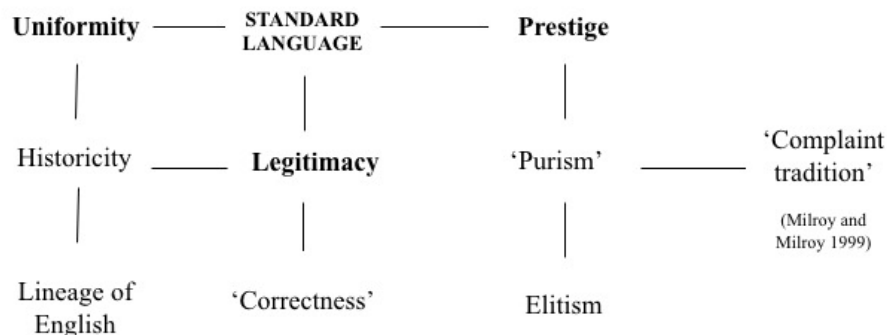
Figure 7. Visual mapping of the Standard Language Ideology as discussed in the present chapter

To sum up, the ideology of the standard language, as defined by Milroy and Milroy (1999), entails a belief in "the notion of *correctness*, the importance of some form of *authority*, the significance of *social prestige* and a belief in the idea of *legitimacy*" (Watts 2011: 158-9). We will see in the analysis sections how these ideas of what a legitimate language should be, have been subverted and challenged in the metalinguistic discourses supporting the legitimacy and authenticity of the English varieties under investigation here.

1.4.2. Labelling

Labelling in public arenas (such as the media) is an important part of the process of reification of a language variety (i.e. it becomes a 'real' entity) and of its categorisation (e.g. as legitimate/authentic/not legitimate etc.) as an entity to which others can be compared (Kerswill (2014: 429); on this see also Androutsopoulos (2007); Jaspers (2008); Quist (2008); Wiese (2012) and Kerswill (2013)). Defining these varieties and their boundaries through labels, however, is tricky, especially when these are mentioned in the context of very different kinds of public discourses (e.g. popular YouTube video vs. professional pronunciation guides) and because they are very diffused. Several labels are used also within academic research itself and many of them remain controversial. For the purpose of this dissertation – and for the sake of simplicity and referential ease – when referring to the language varieties under examination I will use the following labels, while I will at the same time maintain the original labels found in the quoted examples. For the first case study the label 'New Zealand English' will be used to refer to the variety of English spoken by most English speaking (mainly Pakeha) New Zealanders. This will include all the points on the continuum from Broad to Educated (see Chapter II for a detailed description of the specific phonological and phonetic characteristics of New Zealand English). Various labels will appear in the primary data such as 'Kiwi English', 'New Zild' and 'NZed English'.

I will use the label 'Standard British English' for the variety of English spoken mostly in the south east of England, and whose pronunciation frequently corresponds to 'Received Pronunciation'. The definition of 'Received Pronunciation' has been a matter of heated debate within academia for many years. I will use the following definition from the Merriam Webster dictionary online: "the British pronunciation of words that is based on the speech of educated people and is sometimes considered to be the standard pronunciation". Roach (2004: 239) clarifies some of the most important aspects of this accent: a) the number of native speakers of this accent is very small and probably diminishing; b) The great majority of native speakers of this accent are of middle-class or upper-class origin, educated at private schools and (if of appropriate age) university […]; c) The majority of speakers of this accent live in, or originate from, the south-east of England; d) The accent is most familiar as that used by most 'official' BBC speakers of English origin (newsreaders and announcers on Radio 4 and Radio 3, and most television channels). It is also frequently heard on the BBC World Service, even though that service appears to have adopted the policy of sometimes using newsreaders and announcers with noticeable foreign accents.[74] It is, however, important to observe – as Watts (2011: 248) does – that on an attitudinal (and I will claim, ideological) level, "[a]t the beginning of the twenty-first century "standard English" is in crisis. Terms such as "'BBC English', 'RP', the 'Queen's English', 'Oxford English', 'polite language', 'refined language', or others that might be used to refer to 'standard English', once so highly valued in the dominant language discourse archive of the nineteenth century and the first half of the 20th century have come increasingly under pressure in the last 40

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[74] As Roach (2004: 239) explains, early in the 20th century, Daniel Jones named it 'Public School Pronunciation' (Jones 1917), but later changed the name to Received Pronunciation. Other names have been proposed, such as 'General British' (GB) and 'Educated Southern British English'. In the data this variety is referred to by a multitude of labels such as the 'Queen's English', 'BBC English', 'Posh English' and many more.

years". [75] A shift towards informality and away from elitist ideals of speech has been remarked upon in recent years by several scholars such as Bell (2011), this will be discussed in more detail in Chapters II and III).

For the second case study, the matter is even more difficult and I decided – drawing on Agha's (2003) definition of 'enregisterment' – to use the umbrella term 'enregistered contact-varieties of the south east of England'. [76] This includes labels that are well-known to academics such as 'Estuary English' and 'Multicultural London English' and some less known such as 'Jafaican' (for a definition and discussion of Jafaican in the British Press see Kerswill (2014)). 'Estuary English' has been defined by John Wells [77] as "the name given to the form(s) of English widely spoken in and around London and, more generally, in the southeast of England – along the river Thames and its estuary". The label 'Multicultural London English' has been used by Cheshire, Kerswill, Fox and Torgersen (2011: 154) to describe the overall range of distinctive language features used in multiethnic areas of London, conceptualising MLE [Multicultural London English] as a "repertoire of features". The features that are referred to here are: a) GOOSE-fronting; b) the new quotative expression *this is* + *speaker* (and BE LIKE) c) past tense BE; d) simplification of indefinite and definite article allomorphy. Finally, some of the labels discussed here have been appropriated by the speakers and are increasingly used, while some are not – and we will see in Chapter II and III how – these are juxtaposed, opposed or equaled to a multitude of (folk) labels. This is important since often the metalinguistic debates analysed here revolve around one or more of these labels, and these labelling practices might affect speakers' perceptions of themselves and of their social position, as well as language change (cf. Kerswill 2014). Note that the development and definitions of certain varieties, and their labels, will be discussed in more detail in their respective Chapters (II and III).

This section concludes the preliminaries and I will now move on to the two main case studies. The first one focusing on New Zealand English (Chapter II), and the second one focusing on the 'enregistered non-standard contact varieties of the south east of England' (Chapter III).

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[75] For a detailed history of the emergence of a 'Standard' English variety see Mugglestone (2003). For more details on prescriptivist debates in England see Cameron (1995).
[76] See introduction.
[77] Retrieved form the webpage of the UCL's Department of Speech, Hearing and Phonetic Sciences at: http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/home.htm, on 17.12.2016.

Chapter II

Language Ideologies about New Zealand English

We like New Zealanders who are speaking to
New Zealanders to sound like New Zealanders.[1]

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[1] Presentation Manager for National Radio, *New Zealand Listener*, 2001.

1. From 'Colonial Twang' to 'National Treasure': Sociohistorical and
(Socio)linguistic Background

Socio-historical, cultural and sociolinguistic development → Attitudes to NZE → NZE in academia

For this first case study, I focus on New Zealand English (hereafter NZE) and I identify the salient socio-cultural (and political) debates about language that have shaped and have been shaped by metalinguistic discourses; I thus explore how this variety is represented and evaluated in public discourse. This will allow me to pinpoint and deconstruct the language ideologies that underpin these metalinguistic debates, and therefore to examine the changing language ideologies that may have led to the authentication and legitimisation of new dialects such as NZE.

In **section 1**, I provide a short socio-historical, cultural and (socio)linguistic background that will contextualise NZE and the analysed metalinguistic debates within the academic literature on the topic and will provide some important information on the historical and 'attitudinal' development of this variety. I first describe the changes that took place at the socio-historical and cultural level that will be relevant in understanding some of the acts of identity that emerge in the metalinguistic discourses analysed (subsection 1.1.1.). I then focus on the changes that took place at the (socio)linguistic level, including a short description of the development of NZE and its main distinctive linguistic features (subsection 1.1.2). In the following subsections, I draw attention to the attitudes towards NZE in the public arena, with a focus on broadcasting (subsection 1.2.1) and the educational system (subsection 1.2.2.). Finally, I provide a brief overview of the attitudinal studies on NZE in academia (subsection 1.3), as studies on language ideologies are lacking to date.

In **section 2**, I describe the data collection process for this case study. I first explain what the preparation for the fieldwork trip to New Zealand entailed (subsection 2.1). Subsequently, I outline the aims and salient time-periods for the data collection (subsection 2.2). Finally, I discuss in detail the type of data collected and the reasons underlying the choice of this specific dataset (subsection 2.3).

In **section 3**, I shortly recall the foci of the present analysis in light of the socio-historical, cultural and (socio)linguistic background and of the data collected (for the more general methodology of this dissertation see Chapter I). Additionally, I introduce the main metalinguistic debates that will be the basis for the analysis (section 3.1), and I discuss the atypical role of New Zealand's academics in the public metalinguistic discourses surrounding this English variety (section 3.2).

Section 4, is where the main analysis and interpretation are laid out; the five main ideological schemata that have been identified in the dataset are here discussed in light of the frameworks and concepts outlined in Chapter I. This section is divided as follows. First, the 'delegitimising' discourses about NZE will be presented and discussed (subsection 4.1.1). Second, the 'legitimising' discourses about NZE will be taken into account (subsection 4.1.2). Third, a substantial part of this section will be devoted to the investigation of the de/authenticating discourses revolving around NZE and their linkages to notions of linguistic legitimacy. This will reveal two underlying

themes that I have labelled 'Dynamism' and 'Naturalness' (subsection 4.2).

In **section 5**, I draw my conclusions and identify some directions for future research on this topic.

1.1 New Zealand and New Zealand English

1.1.1 Changes at the Sociohistorical and Cultural Level

New Zealand's human history is relatively short: it was the last habitable land mass in the world to be discovered, by the ancestors of Māori, probably in the 13ᵗʰ century (Te Ara, Encyclopaedia of New Zealand).[2] Abel Tasman, a Dutch explorer, was the first European to discover New Zealand in 1642. The country was then mapped by the English navigator James Cook between 1769 and 1770. Following this, whalers, sealers, traders and missionaries arrived on the island (Te Ara, Encyclopaedia of New Zealand). As more people settled on the island, the British government decided to take control of it; the European settlement of New Zealand is usually dated from 1840, which was the year that Māori and Europeans signed the Treaty of Waitangi (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008).[3] In the 1870s the British government helped thousands of British citizens to start a new life in the colony (Te Ara, Encyclopaedia of New Zealand). The census figures of 1871 show that most of the migrants to New Zealand came from the British Isles, and mainly from England (51%). The Irish made up 22% of the population and the Scots 27.3%, there was also a small percentage of Australian born people accounting for 6.5 % (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008). Subsequent social, political and economic changes have moved New Zealand from British colonial outpost to multicultural Pacific nation (Te Ara, Encyclopaedia of New Zealand).

The ties with Britain both in terms of culture, politics and economics remained strong for a long time. Belich (2001) uses the term 'recolonial system' to describe the earlier relationship of New Zealand with Britain between the 1880s and 1920s. This was a cultural as well as an economic system. He explains that "[a] sense of transition, of insecurity and uncertainty – indeed, something close to a collective identity crisis – can be detected in the New Zealand of the 1880s-1920s, partly masked by residues of the old ideology of progressive colonisation, and increasingly effectively, by the emergent ideology of recolonisation" (76). This cultural crisis, Belich (2001) explains, was then resolved by this new ideology of recolonisation, whose leitmotif was that of New Zealand as 'Better Britain'. This was thus also reflected in the language practices of the time and this motif will be seen as underlying some of the data that will be presented in this chapter. Acknowledging this, Belich (2001: 77) goes on to say that:

> The shift was Greater Britain to Better Britain, from the Progressive British Paradise to the Exemplary British Paradise […] The Liberal government's social legislation – and rhetoric– encouraged 'a New Zealand patriotism consisting of pride in New Zealand as a reforming country showing the way to the rest of the world and especially to the "Old Country"'.

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[2] *Te Ara, The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* can be consulted at http://www.teara.govt.nz/en. This governmental project provides a comprehensive guide to New Zealand's peoples, natural environment, history, culture, economy and society.

[3] The Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document, was meant to be a partnership between Māori and the British Crown. Although intended to create unity, different understandings of the treaty, and breaches of it, have caused conflict. From the 1970s the general public gradually came to know more about the treaty, and efforts to honour the treaty and its principles expanded (http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/treaty-of-waitangi, accessed on 19.12.15).

He then quotes William Lane, an imperialist New Zealand journalist, in order to exemplify this new position: "[…] In a word, we seek to make of New Zealand a Better Britain…We do not want to found a new nation nor to fill the world with New Zealand's glory. We want, if it may be, to be chief among the children". This ideology thus maintained that New Zealanders were more loyal and closely linked to Old Britain than other "neo-Britains", but also that they were in some ways superior to "Old Britons" (ibid: 78). In fact, "[t]he self-image of New Zealanders asserted greater egalitarianism, ingenuity and self-reliance than Old Britons" (ibid: 78). The pervasiveness of an ideology is obviously not easy to test, but Belich (2001) claims that there were enough signs that this recolonial idea of New Zealand as Better Britain was persistent and widely shared.[4] This ideology of New Zealand as the "Britain of the South" (ibid: 79) spread well beyond the boundaries of New Zealand, a British historian wrote that New Zealand had "acquired a reputation in the United Kingdom as the most loyal of settler societies, the most dutiful dominion" (ibid: 79). As a consequence, New Zealanders for many years displayed self-conscious attitudes towards New Zealand as compared to Britain, and a cultural cringe[5] is also said to have been particularly persistent in New Zealand compared to the other dominions (e.g. Australia, South Africa), because of this presumably stronger bond with Britain (Cf. Bayard 1990; 2000). These attitudes were then reflected at the linguistic level with a sense of "grudging inferiority" about the New Zealand accent "as compared to the RP standard of 'Home'" (Bayard et al. 2001: 24),[6] and Bayard (2000: 321) – in the context of his study on attitudes to English varieties in New Zealand – claims that "the cultural cringe is alive and well in the New Zealand of today". Bell (1982: 246) refers to this phenomenon as "linguistic colonialism" in the case of New Zealand. According to Bayard et al. (2001: 24-5), despite an increasing distancing of New Zealand's national identity from Britain,

> since World War II (and particularly since Britain's entry into the EU in 1973), self criticism of at least the NZE accent continues unabated in letters to the editor columns all over the country […] From the first European settlement of New Zealand until well after world War II, the prestige dialect in New Zealand […] was RP. The dominance was maintained in New Zealand by continual repetitions of 'faults' in NZE, intolerance towards any accent except RP on the spoken media, and books and speech classes devoted to 'New Zealand English: How it Should be Spoken', as the cover of a famous handbook had it (Wall 1941). In all cases the target toward which 'good' English should aspire was always assumed to be RP. (Cf. also Gordon and Deverson 1989).

The shift from an exonormative linguistic orientation (i.e. RP), to an endonormative one (i.e. NZE), will be discussed in more detail in the next sub-section. At the social level, from the 1950s, New Zealand widened both its commercial and cultural outlooks beyond Britain. It started selling goods to many different countries, and was increasingly influenced by the United States. Simultaneously, it kept its identity as an independent nation (Te Ara, Encyclopaedia of New

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[4] This is true both in informal and formal mythologies, an example is the fact that brave New Zealand children were called 'little Britons' well into the century (Belich 2001: 78).

[5] The term 'cultural cringe' was originally coined to apply to Australian feelings of inferiority relative to 'Home' by A.A. Phillips (1900-85), a literary critic. It thus alludes to an attitude characterised by deference to the cultural achievements of others (Ransom 1988: 185, as quoted in Bayard et al. 2001.) (Bayard et al. 2001).

[6] Bell (2011: 177) explains that the upper case label 'Home' is a signifier: "through at least the 1950s the word could be capitalised in New Zealand to Britain and was used by older New Zealanders who had never been there".

Zealand). In line with this, Belich (2001: 392-3) explains that "in the 1950s, New Zealanders saw themselves as Britons too" while in the 1990s this was no longer true: "collective identity ha[d] shifted away from 'New Zealanders and Better Britons' towards 'New Zealanders' alone" (ibid). This change has been attributed to several factors by different historians. Belich (2001) points to Britain joining the EEC in 1973, as this has had serious consequences for New Zealand's economy – Britain being its major commercial partner – while others point to happenings during World War II (Cf. Palenski 2012; King 2003).[7] It is certainly very difficult, to point to a specific date when it comes to these higher level and gradual ideological and attitudinal changes. Belich (2001: 393), however, claims that the British alliance "weakened from the early 1970s and virtually disappeared in the late 1980s". Britain was thus "no longer the destination of most exports, nor even one of the top three, nor the source of most imports or even immigrants. It was no longer Home" (ibid) (cf. McLean 2003). These important societal changes were mirrored by changes in language attitudes and practices, as we will discuss in the next subsection.

1.1.2 Changes at the Linguistic Level

Before discussing the changes in language attitudes that happened in New Zealand in the 20th century, I will here briefly outline the history and development of New Zealand English, as well as some of its main distinctive linguistic features. According to Hay, Maclagan and Gordon (2008), spoken data evidence shows that a distinctive New Zealand accent was around long before people began to comment on it.[8] Speakers born in the 1870s and 1880s had a recognisably New Zealand accent. Research into the early stages of this speech variety has demonstrated that it developed in New Zealand through a process of koinéisation, and that this happened in a remarkably short space of time as it was not long before people started to complain about it (ibid). These complaints were especially about the speech of children; other studies of language change conducted in new towns such as Milton Keynes in England, have demonstrated the importance of children and adolescents as agents of change in the process of new dialect formation (see Kerswill and Williams 2000) (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008). Peter Trudgill, who was a member of the ONZE project, formulated several hypotheses about the development of this variety in his book *Dialects in Contact* (1986) and later on in *New Dialect Formation: the Inevitability of Colonial Englishes* (2004). His account of this process of change is considered to be very accurate in academia, encompassing a period of extreme variability and dialect levelling before that of final focusing.[9]

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[7] Belich (2001) also points to 1984 as another potential date for the inception of these social and identity-related changes (see his chapter 14).

[8] The discovery of early spoken data has enabled researchers to follow the change in New Zealand speech from the beginning of European settlement up to the present day. This was undertaken by the ONZE (Origins of New Zealand English) project at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch. The ONZE project "aims at charting the origins, features and changes of New Zealand English (NZE), and at applying the findings to theories of language and language change. […] The main reason for the original genesis of the ONZE project was the discovery by Elizabeth Gordon of a remarkable set of recordings - the Mobile Unit Recordings. These have allowed ONZE researchers to document the emergence of NZE amongst its very first speakers. The fact that the very first stages of the dialect are captured on tape make NZE a valuable test-bed for theories of new-dialect formation, and a large number of papers have addressed this issue" (accessed at: http://www.nzilbb.canterbury.ac.nz/onze.shtml, on 26.12.15).

[9] Trudgill elaborated a theory of new dialect formation where this process is seen as non-random; if the dialects going into the original 'mixture' and the proportions of their speakers are known, it is possible to predict the features of the resulting dialect. His theory thus supports linguistic determinism, but does not take social factors into account.

A brief overview of the main distinctive linguistic features of NZE is now provided. The focus here is on phonology and lexicon as these are the two linguistic levels where differences from 'Standard' British English are the most salient, and on which I focus for the present case study.[10] According to Bell (2011: 196), in fact, "NZ English syntax and discourse do not differ much from a general standard English (Bauer 1994), but the lexicon and phonology offer scope for the local vernacular".

NZE is a southern hemisphere variety of English, and the variety to which it is most similar is Australian English.[11] However, Australians and New Zealanders are very aware of the differences between the two varieties. The consonant phonemes are not particularly noteworthy in the case of NZE, and they are very similar to other varieties of English (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008). With the exception of the Southland-Otago area, which has non-prevocalic /r/, NZE is mainly non-rhotic (Bauer and Warren 2004). The most salient variation is found in the vowel phonemes. As for short vowels, NZE is characterised by a short front vowel shift, where the TRAP, DRESS and KIT vowels are moved one place clockwise compared to the equivalent vowels in conservative RP. This can thus lead to confusion for speakers of other English varieties, who might hear 'sacks' as 'sex' and 'sex' as 'six'. The KIT vowel is centralized in NZE, while this same vowel in Australian English is high front. Therefore, this distinction becomes emblematic when the two varieties are discussed; New Zealanders are often teased by Australians for pronouncing 'fish and chips' as 'fush and chups'. The STRUT vowel is central-front (further forward than in RP), and the LOT vowel is also more centralised. The vowel in FOOT has an innovative central unrounded variant (Bauer and Warren 2004). As for long vowels, the FLEECE and GOOSE vowels can be diphthongized, with a short relatively open first element. The GOOSE and NURSE vowels are very front with some overlap between the two. The THOUGHT vowel is also often diphthongized, with a marked off-glide. The BATH vowel is central front (Bauer and Warren 2004). Three other very salient features are the diphthongs shift, the NEAR-SQUARE merger and the High Rising Terminal. FACE, PRICE and CHOICE are moved anti-clockwise in the vowel system of NZE. For instance, the starting point for the FACE diphthong is more open than in RP, so that British speakers sometimes perceive it as PRICE. NZE PRICE is in turn similar to RP CHOICE. Moreover, the starting position of GOAT is very open and central and MOUTH has a close starting position. CURE tends to be found only following /j/. There is a change-in progress affecting the centring diphthongs SQUARE and NEAR, the majority of studies indicate that there is a merger on NEAR (Bauer and Warren 2004). NZE is well known for its High Rising Terminal – a rising nucleus high in the speaker's pitch range – on statements. This is a feature that normally appears as a positive politeness marker that draws the hearer into the discourse. Finally, NZE's rhythm is more syllable-timed than other English varieties, a more equal weight is given to stressed and unstressed syllables, and certain studies claim that this is due to the influence of the Māori language (Bauer and Warren 2004; Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008). Below, in Table 3, you can find the diagram illustrating NZE's vowels and diphthongs.

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[10] The grammatical characteristics of NZE have been comprehensively discussed in Hundt, Hay and Gordon (2004) and in Hundt (1998).

[11] For discussions on the similarities between these two varieties and their development see Bauer (1994); Gordon and Deverson (1998); Bauer and Warren (2004).

Short vowels		Long vowels		Diphthongs		Unstressed vowels	
KIT	ə	FLEECE	iː	FACE	æe	*happ*Y	i
DRESS	e	START	ɐː	PRICE	ɑe	*treac*LE	ɯ
TRAP	ɛ	NURSE	ɵː	CHOICE	oe	*comm*A, *hors*ES	ə
STRUT	ɐ	THOUGHT	oː	GOAT	ɐɥ		
LOT	ɒ	GOOSE	ɯː	MOUTH	æɥ		
FOOT	ʊ			NEAR	iə		
				SQUARE	eə		
				CURE	ɥə		

Table 3. NZE's vowels (Bauer and Warren 2004)

Concerning NZE vocabulary and discourse features, most of the vocabulary of NZE is common to the English-speaking world (95%). However, there are some very important elements of distinctive vocabulary. These New Zealandisms are mainly early Māori loan words for flora and fauna (e.g. manuka honey, kiwi), Māori society and culture (e.g. whare, mana) and Māori place names (e.g. Aotearoa, Rotorua). In 1967, when the National Broadcasting Corporation decided that announcers and newsreaders could use anglicised Māori place names, there was an outcry and the policy had to be quickly changed. Today, radio and television lead the move towards an 'authentic' Māori pronunciation (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008). At the level of discourse, there is one particularly salient feature: the use of the tag particle 'eh'. This is used more by Māori men than any other group (Meyerhoff 1994) but is also quite frequent among young Pākehā[12] women. The falling intonation pattern typically associated with the NZE 'eh' distinguishes it from the similar particle, which is found in some other English dialects (Stubbe and Holmes 1995) (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008).

Even though many New Zealanders claim that social class differences do not exist in New Zealand, they do and they are marked within NZE (this will be discussed later on). The social class structure is less rigid than it is, for example, in Britain and sociolinguists normally use the system that has been originally devised by Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) for Australian English to distinguish social class variation in speech. This system posits three categories: Cultivated, General and Broad NZE. These categories are considered as points on a continuum, with Cultivated NZE being nearer to RP and Broad NZE being farthest from RP (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008). Not all sociolinguists agree with this categorisation, and they point to the ethnically accented variety of NZE, Māori English. This variety has become much more common recently and it is not completely restricted to speakers who are ethnically Māori, even though it is more common in northern parts of the country and in specific occupations such as the armed services and forestry. It is important to note that in the past the variety of NZE closest to RP was considered the most prestigious and was the one taught by elocution teachers in the schools, in drama schools and in broadcasting (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008).

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[12] 'Pākehā', is a Māori term used for the white inhabitants of New Zealand, normally of European descent (*Te Ara, Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, accessed on 23.12.15).

In order to outline the anticipated changes in language attitudes, i.e. the shift from an exonormative to an endonormative speech standard, I will here provide an overview of Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model of new dialect formation[13], as it applies to the case of New Zealand. I chose to summarise his model because I believe it offers a clear and concise picture of this process of change, and it accounts for the social and identity-related, dimensions of it.[14] In this overview, I will mainly focus on the koinéisation aspect of the process, and less on the interplay between the Māori language and English as this is not one of the main foci of the present case study. New Zealand – as Australia – is a settler's colony, and the 'IDG strand' are the Māori people. **Phase 1**, according to Schneider's (2007) model corresponds to the years 1790s-1840s. The history of English in New Zealand began with whaling ships and traders touching upon the islands' shores in the 18th century, and continued with uncontrolled settlement in the early 19th century. This obviously also led to first contacts with the Māori people who inhabited the islands. New Zealand English was also partly shaped by dialect mixture and koinéisation during this first phase, but to a greater extent in phase 2. Phase 1 was also characterised by the preservation of indigenous places names (e.g. Aotearoa, Rotorua, Whangarei), which are said to make up 57% of all New Zealand place names (Baker 1978: 276). **Phase 2,** spans from 1840 to 1907. A stable colonial status starts in 1840 with the Treaty of Waitangi that "prototypically fulfils the function, important in the identity construction of a nation, of a "myth of origin""(Schneider 2007: 128). This initiated large-scale migration from Britain organized by the New Zealand Company, mainly from England, Ireland and Scotland (for the latter especially in the Otago region of the South Island) (cf. Gordon and Maclagan (2004); Bauer and Warren (2004); Gordon and Trudgill (2004)).

Schneider's (2007) assumes that the identity of the British people during this phase presented an emphasis on the maintenance of one's roots, but enriched with the experience abroad. New Zealanders were thus motivated to create a new Britain in the South Pacific (cf. Belich's (2011)

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[13] Schneider's (2007) 'Dynamic Model' is a coherent framework to explain the emergence of, and thus the relationships among, New Englishes. It is based on a comparative investigation of the emergence of New Englishes around the world: despite the substantial differences among the indigenous languages and cultures that have come into contact, the results are surprisingly similar (both structurally and socio-linguistically). Schneider claims that these similarities are products of fundamentally similar contact processes, and that as the English language has been "relocated" (diffused) throughout colonial history, New Englishes have emerged through a fundamentally uniform process which can be described as a progression of five characteristic stages. The five stages are: Foundation, Exonormative Stabilization, Nativization, Endonormative Stabilization, and Differentiation. This process will ultimately lead to the birth of a new dialect. The participant groups of this process experience it in complementary ways, from the perspective of the colonizers (STL strand) or that of the colonized (IDG strand): STL strand and IDG strand become more closely intertwined and their languages grow closer to each other over time. The stages and strands of this process are ultimately caused by (and signify) reconstructions of group identities of all participating communities, with respect to the erstwhile source society of the colonizing group (mother country), to one another, and to the land which they jointly inhabit. Schneider argues that it is social history that determines the outcomes of language contact and that linguistic developments are ultimately unpredictable, because people's attitudes and behaviour are ultimately unpredictable. It is possible that for some extra-linguistic reason the internal dynamics may change direction, or the development may become frozen and fossilized at intermediate stages.

[14] Professor Doctor Edgar W. Schneider is Chair Professor of English Linguistics and currently Dean of the Philosophical Faculty at the University of Regensburg, Germany, after previous appointments in Bamberg, Georgia, and Berlin. He also holds the title of President-Elect for the International Society for the Linguistics of English (ISLE), and can be considered one of the main influential figures in the field with his 'Dynamic Model'. He has written and edited several books (most recently *Handbook of Varieties of English*, Mouton 2004/2008, and *Postcolonial English*, CUP 2007) and published and lectured on all continents on the dialectology, sociolinguistics, history, semantics and varieties of English, and edits the scholarly journal *English World-Wide* and an associated book series.

ideology of recolonisation in the previous section). Later generations, the locally born Pākehā, started to develop a sense of superiority towards the newcomers and did no longer wish to uniquely replicate Britain, but the bonds with Britain remained strong. As it has been previously mentioned, the ONZE project allowed for an unusually detailed documentation of the process of new dialect formation in New Zealand. The data from this project has shown that the earliest speakers of English born in New Zealand, in the 1850s and 1860s, "still displayed a wide range of variability in their speech, while the process of linguistic focusing, i.e. the emergence of a recognizable New Zealand accent, set in with speakers born in the 1870s. Thus, essentially the second locally born generation set the standards for a "founder effect" to determine the essentials of the colony's accent for times to come" (Schneider 2007: 129). This phase was also characterised by lexical transfer, especially for certain semantic fields such as fauna and flora and native cultural terms. **Phase 3** begins in 1907 and lasts up to 1973. During this phase the ties with Britain loosened with New Zealand acquiring Dominion status in 1907, and full independence in 1947. However, according to Schneider, the loyalty and association with the British Empire remained strong throughout much of the century, and this was symbolized by the participation of New Zealand in the Boer Wars in South Africa and in ANZAC.[15] Additionally, the New Zealand economy was heavily reliant on agreements of preferential access to the British market for agricultural export products. At the linguistic level, nativization and indigenization were happening during this phase, and a New Zealand accent stabilized. The effects of the nativization process are most visible on the levels of pronunciation and vocabulary (cf. Bauer 1994; Gordon and Deverson 1998), with processes such as semantic shifts (e.g. paddock) and hybrid compounds (e.g. whare boy), and further loans from the Māori language. On the other hand, the external (exonormative) British norm remained valid, and the newly developed English was scorned by conservative members of society. **Phase 4** encompasses the years 1973-1990s. It is during this phase that, according to Schneider (2007), there has been an endonormative reorientation. This has followed what Schneider labels an 'Event X'[16] experience, which caused New Zealand to mentally cut loose from the former mother country. Schneider identifies as 'Event X' the affiliation of Britain with the European Union in 1973. Britain, in fact, joined the EU and thus the demanded special provision for New Zealand could not be accepted (cf. Belich 2001), which for New Zealand meant the abrupt loss of its protected, and almost exclusive, export market. This thus "required a painful restructuring of the economy and ultimately, similarly to Australia, caused a reorientation toward the neighbouring Asia-Pacific region, and, of course, a new sense of complete self-dependence, a regionally rooted identity construction" (Schneider 2007: 131). This also led to an increased attention given to the Māori population (linguistically New Zealand is now officially bilingual). This Māori renaissance has also caused several new loans to enter NZE (cf. Macalister 2006). In the last twenty-five years of the 20th century, New Zealand was characterised by "literary creativity, homogeneity, and codification" (ibid: 131-2) and the publication of a series of national dictionaries

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[15] The term ANZAC is the abbreviation of the 'Australian and New Zealand Army Corps' and was first adopted by Field-Marshal W. R. Birdwood when he took command of this Corps in Egypt late in 1914. This campaign became a symbol of New Zealand's war losses, and the observance of 25 April to commemorate its fallen has been widened to include all who have given their lives in battle from the South African War to the present (*Te Ara, Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, accessed on 24.12.15).

[16] An "Event X" is described by Schneider (2007: 48) as an "exceptional, quasi-catastrophic political event which ultimately causes the identity alignment of the STL-strand speakers [New Zealanders of British origin] to switch from a self-association with the former mother country [Britain], however distant, to a truly independent identity, a case of 'identity revision' […]".

such as Orsman's (1997) 'The Dictionary of New Zealand English: a Dictionary of New Zealandisms on Historical Principles'.

Finally, Schneider (2007) agrees with several New Zealand sociolinguists (e.g. Gordon and Deverson (1989); Gordon and Deverson (1998) in claiming that nowadays the linguistic orientation of New Zealand is clearly endonormative. This does not exclude the fact that there is still a "residual appreciation for RP amongst some speakers" (ibid: 132). As Schneider does – I think it is helpful to conclude the description of this fourth phase with Gordon and Deverson's (1998: 175) quote that emphasises the linkages between NZE and a distinctive New Zealand identity, which will be one of the foci of section 4:

> There is now a shift apparent in the way some New Zealanders at least are viewing their own form of English speech. Perhaps the chief factor in this is New Zealand's new, or heightened, sense of independent nationhood. […] New Zealanders have come to see themselves as carving out their own destiny in a distinctively Pacific setting. The word "antipodean" has come to seem rather outdated […] We are where we are, rather than at the other end of the world from somewhere else. We are now evolving our own ways, our own standards, looking less over the shoulder at the example of Mother England […] Language is an integral part of any country's cultural make-up. A growth in national maturity and self-respect inevitably brings greater prestige to the national language or variety. New Zealand English, then, is slowly acquiring more "respectability" (among New Zealanders themselves, most importantly) as the country's individual choice, one of our national assets.

To conclude, **Phase 5** includes the years from the 1990s to today. Schneider explains that, as in the case of Australia, New Zealand is starting to show signs of dialectal fragmentation (both regional and social). [17] Interestingly, he also claims that "in terms of the emergence of regional diversification New Zealand seems to be lagging precisely the few decades behind Australia that its identity-changing "Event X" occurred later" (Schneider 2007: 132). Several sociolinguistic studies have also been conducted on emerging ethnic varieties of English in New Zealand (e.g. Māori English, Pasifika English[18])(cf. Bell and Holmes 1991; Bauer 1994; Bell 2000; Stubbe and Holmes 2000; Starks 2000; Warren and Bauer 2004).

1.2 Attitudes to New Zealand English in the Public Arena

Unsurprisingly, "people have been expressing opinions about spoken English in New Zealand almost from the time of the first European settlement" Gordon and Abell (1990: 21).[19] Hay,

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[17] On this topic see Bell and Holmes (1990); Bell and Kuiper (2000); Bauer and Bauer (2002); Gordon and Maclagan (2004); Gordon and Trudgill (2004).

[18] The Pasifika population of New Zealand stands at 266,000, just under 7% of the country's total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2008). One in three Pasifika people live in Manukau City (South Auckland) and the population is very young, with 38% being under the age of fifteen. The four largest groups are Samoan, Cook Islands Māori, Tongan and Niuean. These communities appear to be undergoing a process of language shift from their Polynesian languages to English. For a young Pasifika person in NZ whose dominant language is English, there is the potential to project their ethnic identity through a distinctive way of speaking English. This could lead to the emergence of a Pasifika ethnolect in New Zealand.
(http://www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/research/projects/grinze-archived/publications/Gibson_Pasifika_NZE.pdf, accessed on 24.12.15)

[19] Gordon and Abell's (1990) historical overview of the attitudes to NZE, based on early periodicals, newspapers, and the reports of school inspectors, traces the development of these attitudes as a distinctive variety of English started to be spoken in New Zealand.

Maclagan and Gordon (2008: 88) explain that at first, people reported that a New Zealand 'accent' was heard "in the speech of children in the state funded primary schools, and not in the private schools, but before very long people were complaining that it was heard everywhere". It is important to point out here that these 'people', especially in early commentary on NZE were often British and mostly school inspectors or language experts that were summoned for this purpose. On the other hand, 'lay people' sometimes also made these comments for example in the 'Letters to the Editor' Section of New Zealand's newspapers.[20] The particular vowels that were noted were the four closing diphthongs /ei/, /ai/, /ou/, and /au/ and their shift" (see section 1.1.2). As an example, Hay, Maclagan and Gordon (2008: 88) mention the fact that writers complained that the word 'five' was pronounced 'foive'. "These pronunciations were described as 'faulty', 'impure' and 'slovenly'; some comments were even more extreme, using the adjectives 'evil-sounding', 'wretched', and 'degenerate'"(ibid). School inspectors warned teachers against "impure vowels" or the "colonial twang", which they attributed to bad upbringing, laziness and poor thinking (Gordon and Abell 1990: 24-25, 30; cf. Gordon 2008). Teachers were encouraged to employ speech training and phonic exercises in order to correct these 'defects' in the speech of their pupils. Additionally, guide books such as Professor Arnold Wall's 'New Zealand English: How it should be Spoken' (Wall 1938) and 'New Zealand English: a Guide to Correct Pronunciation' (Wall 1939) were published in order to address these 'issues'. The New Zealand 'accent' was just starting to emerge, and thus despite all this "effort and attention, the 'impure vowels' did not seem to diminish, but rather to increase" (ibid: 31). As we have seen at the social level and with Schneider (2007) (section 1.1.2), linguistically things started to change and the New Zealand 'accent' gradually acquired acceptability and legitimacy in public discourses and arenas such as the schools and broadcasting. NZE came to signal an authentic and independent New Zealand identity, separate from Britain; Gordon (2008) claims that, with NZE, New Zealanders have found their own voice.

Since the analysis for the present case study focuses on the public discourses revolving around NZE, and especially on those taking place within the two sub-discourses of broadcasting and the educational system (the reasons underlying these choices will be explained in detail in subsection 2.3), I will here provide a short history of the attitudes towards NZE in these two contexts.[21] The former is based on Bell's (2011) article where he revisits New Zealand radio as a case study in social, cultural, political and linguistic change across the late 20th and early 21st centuries. This article examines changes "specific to broadcasting structures and technologies, developments in broadcast genres, and finally shifts in linguistic styles" (ibid: 178).[22] The latter is based on Gordon's (2010b) article in which she describes the revolution in English language teaching in New Zealand over the past fifty years. I rely on these two articles because I believe that they provide comprehensive and up to date overviews of the matter.

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[20] This was not exceptional of New Zealand and was, with all probability, happening in Britain as well. The difference here resides in the fact that the commentaries concerned different 'localities' – regional 'accents' in the case of Britain, and colonial 'accents' in the case of New Zealand.

[21] Language ideologies are tightly caught up with media ideologies. The development of digital technology is central to most of these changes, and the impact on the language debates is examined, especially since many of these take place in the digital world (as it will be explained in section 2).

[22] Bell's 1980s studies showed a "gradient of styles across the [radio] stations, with the BBC at the prestige end. The higher the social status of a station's audience, the closer its linguistic features approached the BBC's" (Bell 2011: 177). Moreover, Bell also observed that "some localism showed in the language of community-oriented stations, which for some diagnostic features adopted a style distant from the British Prestige norm", and that some youth-audience music stations showed a "divergent orientation for some features whose inventory included an apparently American-oriented variant"(ibid).

1.2.1 Language Attitudes in Broadcasting

In his introductory section, Bell (2011: 177) explains that up to the 1980s New Zealand cultural systems (which include language and media)"appeared as still strongly colonialist, largely oriented to standards set in Britain". Even more importantly for the present case study, this applied also to language attitudes and broadcasting practices, and to the "interface of these two" (ibid). In fact, the language attitudes studies conducted at the time "confirmed that New Zealanders oriented to Received Pronunciation as the model of good English (e.g. Huygens and Vaughan 1983)", and RP was generally "classified as part of – one pole of – the accent continuum of New Zealand English" (ibid). Bell, additionally, emphasizes that similar situations concerned other (even non-English) post-colonial varieties (e.g. French in Canada and Spanish in Latin America). Finally, Bell explains that public broadcasting in New Zealand "modelled the language of its prestige National Programme radio network on the BBC Overseas Service. It retransmitted BBC world news live several times daily, and many of its own announcers were British born and bred" (ibid). Bell (2011), subsequently, provides a history of the radio and its language in 1974, and of the macro and micro changes which have taken place over the past thirty years in New Zealand society and that concern: politics, culture, broadcasting systems and technologies, broadcast genres and language. As knowledge of these is fundamental to understand the examined meta-discourses that revolve around NZE – especially within the broadcasting sub-discourse – its most significant points will be here summarised (Bell: 180-1).

In 1974, Auckland had only five radio stations for news broadcasting and a classical music station. Three of these belonged to the public New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (hereafter NZBC), and the other two were private stations. Bell (2011:180) categorises these stations according to their styles and audience: The 'National Programme'

> […] carries no advertising and invites no audience participation. Its programmes are segmented (i.e. scheduled to distinct, shortish time spans), publicised in detail, and run strictly to time. Announcers speak in a measured, detached way: there is no attempt (except in specific programmes) to establish any personal rapport between announcer and listener. Programmes include classical concerts, current affairs, radio drama, comedy (usually ex-BBC 1950s) broadcasts to schools…[It] is the prestige station of public corporation radio, the definitive news and weather service. The language style of its announcers is the prestige standard of New Zealand English, and it is quite in keeping that it relays several new bulletins daily from the BBC Overseas Service…The programme content gets the audience it invites – average age nearly 50, the better educated, those in the professions [originally in Bell 1977: 98-99]. The National Programme carried frequent news bulletins of its own, as well as rebroadcasting live several bulletins per day from the BBC World Service. Auckland also had two middle-of-the-road, community-oriented stations, including station ZB, the NZBC's commercial network outlet in Auckland, targeting a mid-status audience of the younger middle-aged and their families. Finally, there were two rock music stations, of which the NZBC's ZM is one, with a young and largely male audience.

Bell (2011: 181) categorises the four NZBC radio stations according to their accents, and these in 1974 fell into four groups: 1) The BBC itself, with a Received Pronunciation accent at this period, which also maintained a very formal syntax in news writing; 2) The National Programme was at the RP end of the NZ English continuum and many of its announcers were British. Some of the New Zealanders' accents were almost pure RP, others had a more local flavour, but always at the 'cultivated' end of the accent continuum of New Zealand at the time (cf. Bayard 1990). The

leading figures of the station were three men who were also the long-serving national television news anchors of the 1970s-80s, and whose accents ranged from pure RP (Bill Toft) through NZ-English-shifted RP (Philip Sherry) to RP-shifted NZ English (Dougal Stevenson); 3) The local and community-oriented commercial stations, including ZB presented newsreaders with a much more distinctly New Zealand accent, even though still with a broadcast formality. 4) The youth music stations which oriented away from the standard. The newsreaders were firmly New Zealand accented but not radically so (Bell 2011: 182-4).

Concerning the above-mentioned micro and macro changes from 1974 to 2011, Bell (2011: 182) claims that there is a "strong globalised dimension to these changes, many of which are shared with other nations, particularly smaller countries and those with colonial histories". I will here follow Bell's (2011) blueprint and begin with the socio-political reshaping, followed by the institutional change in broadcasting and then by the impact of new technologies. Concerning the former, through the 1980s and 1990s a constellation of post-colonial shifts away from the imperial mother country took place, and these shifts, according to Bell (2011: 183), "form the context for a growing national identity, and for changes in both New Zealand broadcasting and New Zealand English". These shifts include the enforced economic re-orientation due to the accession of Britain to the then European Economic Community in 1973, which seriously reduced New Zealand's access to the British market (see section 1.1.1.) and triggered the loosening of political ties and the increase of the influence of the United States and the Pacific region. This together with the election of a Labour Government in 1984 with a foreign policy that rejected participation in nuclear defence, and the consequent termination of the ANZUS alliance, marked "a rise in national consciousness and independence that reverberated through many dimensions of society" (Bell 2011: 183). These shifts also include the increased recognition of the rights of the indigenous Māori people from the 1980s. Linguistically, this entailed the birth of the *kohanga reo* movement of 'language nests' in the 1980s as a grassroots revival mechanism for the threatened Māori language and the legislation, in 1987, of Māori as an official language of New Zealand. Finally, the neo-liberalisation of the New Zealand economy initiated by the Labour government in 1984 changed the "face of the economy and decimated much of the public sector", and this had a direct impact on broadcasting.

Bell (2011) explains that the market liberalisation of the 1980s and 1990s revolutionised the context and structures of New Zealand's broadcasting. Up to 1989 television was wholly publicly owned, and radio was dominated by the public corporation Radio New Zealand (formerly part of the NZBC). The deregulation brought about by the market liberalisation lead to the proliferation of radio outlets and this restructured the configurations and ownership of the medium over the past thirty years. Bell (2011: 183) recalls that some of the stations that he studied in 1974 have changed "beyond recognition" and explains that the BBC is no longer broadcast by Radio New Zealand (hereafter RNZ), but it is still transmitted locally on its own station. Concerning the other stations, Radio New Zealand National is the "direct successor of the National Programme […], and still remains part of publicly owned broadcasting. ZB is now Newstalk ZB, sold out of public ownership in the late 1990s, but still with a local information orientation and a mid-level audience. And ZM has become 91ZM, owned by the same company as Newstalk ZB and targeting contemporary music to an audience segment only slightly older than ZM's demographic in 1974".

New Zealand broadcasting was not only transformed by these political changes, but also by the technological developments that have characterised the years between 1990 and 2010. Bell

(2011) points to five changes that have been brought about by these technological developments: 'accessibility', 'immediacy', 'interactivity', proliferation of media outlets and 'diversification'. News production has been characterised by increasing immediacy, with live coverage being the ultimate development in this direction (Bell 2011). Bell (2011: 184) explains that internet availability of news "gives print media the immediacy that was once the prerogative of broadcasting" and that these changes have had considerable "repercussions for the character of news and news discourse" such as "increased frequency and sophistication of voice reports, scripting for immediacy, frequent updating" (ibid: 184). Immediacy is experienced by the audience for instance when they use media websites to follow the coverage of main events. Television and press are now offering the kind of immediacy that has for long been a prerogative of radio (Bell 2011). Internet access has thus "revolutionised availability to the audience" (ibid: 184) and has rendered everything more easily accessible. Letters to the editor were for several decades considered to be the most interactive medium, even though these were published at least one day after the issue to which they referred and usually underwent selection and editing processes. After that came phone-in, talkback radio in the 1970s, which resulted in "linguistic vernacularisation of the airwaves, [l]ay people were given a voice in the media, and that voice was not that of the BBC-oriented professional but of everyday New Zealand English […]" (ibid: 184). This was all before the arrival of the internet, and especially of Web 2.0 technologies and mobile connectivity, which brought interactivity across a wide range of content, including news websites. In fact, people can now "comment immediately on news, redistribute stories to friends, customise what they receive, expand their database on chosen topics through following hyperlinks […] can tailor the shape of news to their interests, and can even generate and upload their own news" (ibid: 184). Therefore, the affordances of the internet have loosened the "centuries-long dominance of news by professionals, and linguistic prescriptivism with it". It is in relation to shifts in this direction that online discursive spaces (e.g. blog posts, comment sections following online pieces etc.) can be claimed to have led to an increased 'democratisation' of voices, and are considered to be less 'gate-keepered' than, for instance, the articles and letters to the editor part of the national newspapers (see Chapter I). Online data are more informal, less controlled and spontaneous (even though some editing is frequently imposed by the site owners). In relation to this Wiese (2014: 18; see Chapter I) points out that

> [i]n addition to a much lesser degree of external editing, we can also expect less self-editing by the writers: comments are usually posted anonymously (with writers using only nicknames) […] so authors do not encounter the kind of social control they would have to expect in open communication, e.g., face-to-face, or in signed letters to the editor, and they need to monitor their communication much less than journalists composing media articles. This comparative lack of (internal and external) editing gives us a special means of access to opinions and sentiments elicited in the discussion of language-related topics.

Finally, the proliferation of media outlets, from six radio stations in the 1970s to forty in 2011 – as well as the availability of traditional media through the internet – has led, among other things, to a diversification of the voices heard on the airwaves and this, especially in earlier years, has generated several debates on NZE. As Bell explains (ibid: 186) "[n]ew languages are heard […], older languages have more airtime, and ethnic varieties of English new and old are heard. This represents, especially in radio, a form of vernacularisation. It brings hidden, alternative voices on to the air, which were not heard" before, and which are no longer limited to those of the elite.

To sum up, RP is no longer classified as part of the NZE continuum, especially for younger New Zealanders, and the voices that are heard on the nation's media – and thus in the public sphere – are different, more variegated. In line with this, Bell (2011: 186-7) explains that

> even before the 1970s, radio stations other than the National Programme were always locally oriented, whether to youth or to family. That was reflected in recognisably New Zealand accents […]. But National Programme radio and national news on Television One, the lead public channel, remained determinedly RP-oriented. From the late 1980s that broke down fast, simultaneously with the rise in national consciousness and independence […]. Since the 1990s, the accents of television and radio – with one exception – have been distinctively New Zealand. RNZ National remains the exception, with a mix of presenters who have markedly NZ English alongside others whose accent is equally markedly RP-shifted.

To conclude, the set of changes and developments that we have discussed in this section and that concerned the New Zealand socio-political scene over the past three decades have parallels in several other countries, and form the context for an "increasing – and increasingly conscious – New Zealand identity, and for changes on broadcasting and in NZ English" (Bell 2011: 194).

1.2.2 Language Attitudes in the Educational System

Gordon's (2010b)[23] paper looks back over the past fifty years at English language teaching in New Zealand and provides some important insights into the shift in attitudes towards speech norms – and a more general re-orientation towards the South Pacific – that has taken place in New Zealand's educational system. From her school years Gordon (2010b: 2) recalls:

> [w]hen I was seven my parents took me away from Sydenham school – the state school across the road in what was then the poorest area of Christchurch – and sent me across town to St Margaret's College, a private girls' school. Soon after my arrival, our standard one teacher asked me to stand up and say "How now brown cow". No doubt I used my Sydenham vowels and she sighed, raised her eyes to the ceiling and told me to sit down. From that point on, I learnt something about the relationship between language and social class in New Zealand. My hypercorrection must have been so dramatic that my brothers made fun of me, and even my mother told me to take the plum out of my mouth. At school we had a weekly visit from an elocution teacher who trained us to say "Round by the cow house Mr Brown fell down." No one ever spoke like that outside the classroom but I think that teacher left us with the feeling that there was something seriously wrong with our New Zealand accents.

Gordon's anecdote is a telling example of the kind of language attitudes that predominated during the first half of the 20th century in New Zealand's relatively upper-class private schools.

In the 1970s, school grammar teaching declined, and Gordon was invited to join the discussions about English language teaching of the National English Syllabus Committee (NESC) working on the syllabus for forms 3-5, and of the groups of teachers looking at English teaching in forms 6 and 7. The early 1970s NESC Statement of Aims was based on three main assumptions: 1) language is a form of human behaviour; 2) language is central to personal growth; 3) the child first explores language through listening and speaking. Gordon explains that this, at the time, was revolutionary as it allowed for much more flexibility in English language teaching: students could

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[23] The page numbers reflect the version of the paper that has been retrieved online.

investigate different varieties of language, they could look at language that was relevant to them with genuine examples from real life contexts (e.g. the language of advertising). However, the NESC Statement of Aims was negatively received by those who Gordon labels 'pedants'[24], as she explains, "when any changes to school English language teaching have been suggested. It's always been seen as a dumbing down and a lowering of standards" (Gordon 2010b: 6).

In the late 1980s a committee was set up to produce a new 6th and 7th form English syllabus. Gordon explains that the 1980s was a time of important social, economic and cultural changes in New Zealand (see sections 1.1.1. and 1.2.1) and the biculturalism of New Zealand's society was increasingly being acknowledged. As a consequence, the reference for the new 6th and 7th form syllabus stated explicitly that this biculturalism had to be recognised. The important implications of this are clarified by Gordon (2010b: 7):

> [w]e were working in a changed environment and from the outset the committee members decided that they would develop a syllabus that would be different. They wouldn't take something designed primarily for people in England and do a bit of tinkering for New Zealand purposes. They would take the terms of reference seriously. They wanted a syllabus that was unique to New Zealand. The study of language and literature would be centred on New Zealand and then looking out from here to the rest of the world.

The final draft the committee wrote, Draft 4, reflected these new values:

> We live in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This is a New Zealand English syllabus shaped specifically for the needs of all 6th and 7th form students in New Zealand. In the past the Pākehā looked to Britain for standards of English language and literature. While still embracing international standards of written English, **New Zealanders have their own distinctive variety of English – New Zealand English**. New Zealand students are able to benefit doubly, having both the heritage of a unique New Zealand literature and the riches of literature written around the world. This country has more than one culture and more than one language. Because the treaty of Waitangi is the cornerstone for educational policy, the English syllabus must take account of bicultural principles. We seek to work in partnership, but **we speak with our own voices**.

> (ibid, **my emphasis**)

This, once again was revolutionary as in the past the English curriculum – both at school and at University – had been entirely British based (Gordon 2010b). Not just that, Gordon explains that at the English Department of Canterbury University at the time there were regular debates on whether New Zealand literature should even be taught to university students, and some of her colleagues believed that New Zealand had no literature at all. The committee took another bold decision in an attempt to address the overwhelming requests to bring back the study of grammar into the 6th and 7th forms. The committee suggested that English grammar could be taught by using a comparative approach with the Māori language. The main reason underlying this suggestion is that this was believed to be an approach that "belonged to this country – it was unique to New Zealand – no one else in the world was doing it this way […] [it would have] produced a genuinely

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[24] Gordon (2010b: 1) uses this term to refer to "those trained in traditional school grammar, who promote a conservative approach to English language teaching. Pedants have been very influential in this country, and their presence and their influence has affected much of what we've done".

New Zealand syllabus. This was going to be the dawning of a new age […]" (ibid: 8). The Ministry of Education sent a questionnaire to teachers concerning this matter and 50% approved the approach without reservation; 25% approved it with the reasonable provision that they receive the resources to teach it and 25% expressed varying degrees of disapproval (Gordon 2010b). The project, however, did not work out mainly because of the lacking support of the government's officials, of the political changes that were happening at the time, and of the power of the pedants who were opposing this plan. A huge debate was triggered by the latter in the media; Gordon remembers a particularly negative article in the Metro Magazine entitled 'Te English?' where the author described the committee as "'sinister conspirators': A small and secretive group of educationalists are planning changes so radical that they are attempting to institute social engineering on a scale that has never been seen before in this country"(ibid: 9).

Finally, in 1995 the New Zealand Ministry of Education brought out a new English syllabus for the New Zealand Curriculum. This was to be supported by a handbook called 'Exploring Language' where linguists were asked to write "everything [they] would like teachers to know about language". […] It was to fill the linguistic needs of all New Zealand primary school teachers and all secondary English teachers" (ibid: 10-11). Even more importantly, New Zealand English became a topic in the English language syllabus. In the most recent version of the syllabus the link between language and identity, and specifically between NZE and a New Zealand identity is made quite explicitly. In the English 'Key Concepts' section of the Ministry of Education's webpage dedicated to the New Zealand Curriculum for Senior Secondary we find the following statement:

> Through English, people learn about and celebrate who they are, where they come from, and where they're going. English helps people connect with their communities and to appreciate and participate in them. Everything we do in the classroom either validates or undermines students' growing sense of identity. We have a shared responsibility for the impact we have on the forming of each other's identities.[25]

A similar statement is found on 'The New Zealand Curriculum Online' webpage:

> Students appreciate and enjoy texts in all their forms. The study of New Zealand and world literature contributes to students' developing sense of identity, their awareness of New Zealand's bicultural heritage, and their understanding of the world.[26]

An example of the status of legitimacy of NZE as a speech standard today is provided by the 'English Language Learning Progressions' manuals, which are a support tool provided by the Ministry of Education to explain what ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) specialists and mainstream teachers need to know about English language learners.[27] In the section dealing with the reasons why some learners read and write English before they learn to speak it, we find the following statement:

> Some learners will need to adjust their prior learning of one variety of English (such as American English) in order to learn New Zealand English, which has its own distinct features

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[25] Accessed at: http://seniorsecondary.tki.org.nz/English/Key-concepts, in March 2014.

[26] Accessed at: http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz, in March 2014.

[27] This support material is meant to "help teachers to choose content, vocabulary, and tasks that are appropriate to each learner's age, stage, and language-learning needs. This may include learners for whom English is a first language but who would benefit from additional language support" (accessed at: http://esolonline.tki.org.nz/ESOL-Online/Student-needs/English-Language-Learning-Progressions, in March 2014).

of pronunciation and vocabulary. For example, New Zealand English includes some words from te reo Māori (7).

To conclude, the answers of the Team Leader of the Education, Curriculum and Performance Department of the Ministry of Education to a set of questions that were submitted by e-mail on the topic provide an additional example of the current tendency towards legitimisation. This example highlights the fact that the New Zealand 'accent' is not only a non-issue for English language teaching today, but that a wider range of English varieties are accepted in line with the country's re-orientation towards the South Pacific area (see section 1.1.1):

> There are no policies or provisions concerning the New Zealand accent in our curriculum. We are a very multi-cultural society for both students and teachers (for some of whom English is a second language) and as a result there can be a variety of accents in any one school at a given time, all of which are accepted. Even for those third and fourth generation New Zealanders who identify as New Zealand European there can be differences in pronunciation, with those born in the South Island tending to roll their r's much more than those in the North Island. In schools a greater emphasis is generally placed on the use of correct language structures rather than the accent with which the message is delivered.

> (13 March 2014, personal correspondence)

The shift in language attitudes in the educational context appears to be so radical that the Team Leader's replies to one of the questions posed in a fairly surprising way, especially if we take into account the status that Received Pronunciation used to have in earlier years, both in broadcasting and in the educational system.

> - **My Question**: 'is New Zealand English the standard language in New Zealand Schools, or are there other standards towards which the teaching is oriented? (for example British English or Received Pronunciation)?'

> - **Answer:** 'Have never heard of these two standards'.

1.3 New Zealand English in Academia

I here draw attention to the fact that in New Zealand the 'complaint tradition' has been very lively. As this term will recur throughout the present chapter, I will here briefly remind the reader about its definition – especially in colonial contexts – before providing a short overview of the academic literature on attitudes towards NZE (see also Chapter I). The term 'linguistic complaint' was introduced in 1985 by James and Lesley Milroy in their book *Authority in Language: Investigating Standard English.* The "complaint tradition" in the ways it relates to the development of new dialects, is defined by Schneider (2003), who explains that in this tradition

> conservative language observers typically claim that linguistic usage keeps deteriorating, that in the new country 'corrupt' usage can be heard which, however, should be avoided.[28] Letters to

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[28] See, for instance, Gordon and Deverson (1998: 108): "Emerging colonial accents were felt to be a threat to good English, and much fruitless effort was expended in attempting to eradicate them, in New Zealand and elsewhere" (Schneider 2003: 248).

the editors of quality papers are a characteristic outlet for such complaints. […] Such discussions indicate insecurity about linguistic norms: Is the old, external norm still the only 'correct' one, as conservative circles tend to hold, or can local usage really be accepted as correct simply on account of being used by a significant proportion of the population, including educated speakers? Such questions are typically raised in public, and the process of transition is marked by some discussion of these issues and, over time, an increasing readiness to accept localized forms, gradually also in formal contexts.[29]

(248)

As we have just discussed, from very early in the settlement of New Zealand, people were writing letters of complaint about NZE and 'bad language', and inspectors in New Zealand schools frequently criticised the linguistic habits of the pupils, and of some teachers, in their reports (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008). This tradition has been extensively examined by linguists in New Zealand[30], while the more positive, 'legitimising' voices upholding NZE have been more neglected in the academic literature. This dimension of the metalinguistic debate will thus be the focus of the present case study on NZE (see section 4).

As several of the main works on the topic have already been mentioned in the previous sections, I will here only provide a short overview of the academic literature on NZE, especially focusing on language attitudes. Researchers began to investigate the attitudes towards NZE only in the 1980s (de Bres).[31] This was mainly encouraged by some pioneering studies conducted by Bayard (cf. Bayard 1990; 1991; 1995; 2000; Bayard et al. 2001). Bayard (1991) conducted a matched-guise test with 86 university students who were asked to rate a variety of English accents. The results illustrated that Received Pronunciation was always rated higher on status-related variables such as ambition, leadership, educational level and income, while NZE was rated higher only on the solidarity-related variable of acceptability (Bayard 2000). Gordon and Abell (1990) conducted a similar study investigating the attitudes of high school students towards three different NZE accents and Received Pronunciation (see also Abell 1980). Received Pronunciation once more ranked higher on all the status-related variables and NZE accents ranked higher than Received Pronunciation only on the solidarity variables (e.g. sense of humour and friendliness) (de Bres). According to Bayard's (2000) study where he compared the results of his earlier survey [Bayard 1991] to an identical survey of 271 university students in 1996-1997, "New Zealanders are still uneasy about their own voices" and "the cultural cringe is alive and well in the New Zealand of today" (2000: 321) (de Bres).

Gordon (and Deverson) conducted a multitude of studies on attitudes towards NZE, frequently based on metalinguistic commentary and especially in educational contexts (cf. Gordon 1988, 1992, 2005, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010a, 2010b; Gordon and Deverson 1989; Deverson and

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[29] Watts (2011: 158-9) also discusses some important characteristics of this tradition, he explains that "[o]nce a standard has emerged, or even while it is in the process of formation, its advocates tend to criticise any variety of language that does not measure up to their conceptualisation of what the legitimate language should be; they complain about deficiencies in language structure and language use. […] Self-elected defenders of the legitimate language rely on the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS A HUMAN BEING. They automatically transfer the failings of the language to the speakers themselves particularly if those failings concern assumed moral qualities of both language and the speakers".

[30] Cf. Batterham (1993); Bayard (1990); Bell (1982; 1983; 1988; 1991); Bell and Holmes (1990); Deverson and Gordon (1985a); Gordon (1988; 1991; 1992; 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2010a; 2010b); Gordon and Deverson (1989; 1998); Hay, Maclagan and Gordon (2008).

[31] The article by Dr. Julia de Bres on the topic can be found at:
http://www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/research/projects/grinze-archived/publications/Attitudes_to_NZ_English.pdf.

Gordon 1985b). On the other hand, Bell focused on the use of NZE in broadcasting (cf. Bell 1977, 1982, 1983, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1992, 2011; Bell and Holmes 1990), and Batterham (1993) elicited attitudinal responses from a sample of 88 Aucklanders.

More recently, studies on attitudes to regional varieties of NZE also started to be conducted. An example is Neilsen and Hay's (2005) study on the attitudes towards (perceived) regional dialects in New Zealand (cf. Marsden (2007) and Gordon and Maclagan (2004) on regional variation in New Zealand). Research on attitudes towards Māori English was also conducted by Bayard (1990), Vaughan and Huygens (1990) and Robertson (1994).[32] The results of these studies have consistently demonstrated that speakers that were identified as being Māori were rated lower than other speakers on status variables and rated higher for solidarity variables (de Bres).

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[32] According to the *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (accessed on 17.12 2016 at http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/interactive/40142/maori-english), "[o]ne form of New Zealand English increasingly heard is Māori English". Since the number of fluent, native Māori language speakers has steadily decreased in New Zealand, and English has become the dominant language of almost all Māori people, although many are also familiar with the Māori language, it is not surprising that a distinctive variety of Māori English has emerged to express ethnic identity and positive attitudes toward Māori culture (Holmes 2005). Distinctive features of Māori English are the High Rising Terminal, where the tone is high at the end of a statement, the use of 'eh' at the end of a sentence and front pronunciation of the GOOSE vowel (*Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*). Another important feature is the use of a large quantity of Māori words such as 'whare' and 'mana' (see section 1.1.2). According to King (1993) – as quoted in Szakay (2007) – "what most sociolinguists would call New Zealand English (NZE) is probably better labelled as Pākehā English, that is, the English spoken mainly by European New Zealanders". In fact, NZE covers many varieties, including both Pākehā English and Māori English. King also suggests that "Māori English is not restricted to ethnically Māori speakers, but is also used by some Pākehā who either grew up or identify with Māori peer groups. It is also the case that not all ethnically Māori speak Māori English. Previous research has suggested that the differences between Māori English and Pākehā English tend to be relative rather than absolute. There are many features that are shared by both dialects but where the frequency of forms in each variety differs. Since the 1990s, linguists working on Māori English have made numerous attempts to identify the core features that differentiate the two dialects, at least quantitatively if not qualitatively. Some of these studies concentrated on phonological features, such as the pronunciation of vowels and consonants (e.g., King 1993, Robertson 1994, Holmes 1996, Bell 2000), while others set out to identify possible prosodic differences (e.g., Bauer 1994, Holmes and Ainsworth 1996, Holmes and Ainsworth 1997, Warren 1998, Bell 2000)".

2.   New Zealand English: The Data Collection

Fieldwork trip and salient time periods → Type of data collected and why

In this section, I will describe and explain the process of data collection by first outlining the steps that were taken in preparation for the fieldwork trip, which took place from the end of March 2014 to the end of May of the same year, I will then explore the choice of the time periods selected for the collection. Finally, I will describe in detail the data that have been gathered in line with the concept of "ideological apparatuses" that has been advanced by Jan Blommaert (1999b: 430) (see Chapter I).

2.1   Preparation for the Fieldwork Trip

The process of preparation for the fieldwork trip can be broken down into three main stages. The first stage of the research was dedicated to an overview of the socio-historical and sociolinguistic context of the development of NZE. Major works concerning the development of the country and of a distinct New Zealand national identity were consulted, together with the academic literature on this English variety (see section 1). The knowledge gained from this first stage, allowed me to identify two salient periods of time during which debates about NZE (its role and status) were especially prominent (see subsection 2.2). It is in these public language debates that language ideologies are more readily "articulated, formed, amended, enforced" (Blommaert 1999a: 1; see introduction). In the third stage of the preparation process I selected the cities that were the most relevant to visit in relation to my research, and the resources that I wanted to consult. Making contact with several New Zealand academics facilitated this process, and provided additional lines of inquiry and relevant suggestions. The cities that have been selected through this process were Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch (see subsection 2.3). Some of the interviews were arranged from Switzerland, but several came about spontaneously thanks to the suggestions and contacts obtained from other interviewees.

2.2   Fieldwork Trip to New Zealand: Aims and Salient Time Periods

In line with the aforementioned aims of the fieldwork trip to New Zealand, the data collection was focused on written and audio documents (newspapers and journal articles, letters to the editor, columns, editorials, educational and broadcasting pamphlets, recordings) that formed, reflected or commented upon the language ideological debates affecting NZE since the 1970s. It is in the 1970s that a gradual shift in attitudes towards English varieties seems to have had its inception in New Zealand society (see section 1). These documents were supplemented with interviews with relevant stakeholders in the development of NZE (in the media, in the educational system, in publishing and in policymaking).

Two relevant time periods were selected for the collection of data, through a careful consideration of the recent social, political, mass-medial and linguistic history of New Zealand, as

well as of some of the language commentary found in the local press and in the academic literature. Discussions with experts on NZE and academics in the field also contributed to this selection. The first salient period spans from the mid 1970s to the late 1990s, and the second one from the 1990s to the present day. I will now outline the main reasons for this choice[33], however before doing so I would like to emphasize the point made by Blommaert (1999b: 425) that "every moment of intense struggle and debate is intertextual with and develops against the background of previous developments over a longer span of time" (ibid). The boundaries of the two periods that have been identified are consequently blurred and were mostly used as baselines for the creation of a coherent corpus.

2.2.1. The First Period: from the Mid-1970s to the Late 1990s

As outlined in subsection 1.1.2 the period between the mid 1970s (with 1973 as a potential "Event X"[34]) to the late 1990s has been characterized by a gradual change in attitudes towards English varieties such as NZE and 'Standard' British English. This change has been – by some authors – related to developments on a socio-political and historical level, and to a more general shift in attitudes towards Britain. In line with this, Deverson and Gordon (1985a: 81) point out that:

> A number of factors are involved in the shift that's apparent in the way some New Zealanders at least now are viewing their own form of English speech. Perhaps the chief point is New Zealand's new, or heightened, sense of independent nationhood. Although New Zealand ceased to be a colony of Britain in 1907, a strong economic and cultural dependence upon Britain remained a feature of New Zealand life. However these strong ties have become much weaker particularly in the last 20 years or so. New Zealanders have come to see themselves as carving out their own destiny in a distinctly Pacific setting.

As we have seen, this change has been particularly evident in broadcasting – and the discourses revolving around it– where the advent on New Zealand television and radio of newsreaders using NZE rather than attempting to accommodate to British models of pronunciation (the early to mid 1980s) has triggered and fostered several language (ideological) debates. In relation to this Bell (1992: 339) points out that:

> […] it has taken New Zealand broadcasting many years to start realizing that 'this isn't the BBC'. Until the 1980s most announcers on prestige radio and television programmes spoke something akin to RP, and many were in fact British born and bred. The language attitudes were part of a more general New Zealand orientation, which looked back to Britain as its model in many fields. The orientation has tended to fade, especially refocusing towards the United States over recent decades […].

This shift in orientation can be observed quite clearly also when taking into account the developments in the educational curriculum in New Zealand, as this draft discussion paper on language shows:

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[33] For a more complete account of the recent social, political, media and linguistic history of New Zealand see section 1.

[34] New Zealand's relationship with Britain was put into question in 1973 when Britain joined the EEC (with serious consequences for the New Zealand's economy) (see section 1).

> For the study of language in New Zealand we no longer need to use the English of Britain as our base. In New Zealand we have a unique linguistic situation, with our own distinctive variety of English – New Zealand English, and the indigenous language, Māori. It is on this basis that we think the reviewed syllabus should be established, and from here looking outwards to English in the rest of the world.

(Gordon 1992: 207)[35]

2.2.2. The Second Period: from the 1990s to the Present Day

Since the 1990s and into the 2000s, the aforementioned tendencies have consolidated, and today the linguistic orientation of New Zealand is clearly endonormative with respect to English varieties (even though some voices of contestation are still present). NZE is now considered to be a legitimate variety of English to be used in broadcasting, as a model of speech in the educational system and in several other areas of society. An overall acceptance of the differences between NZE and Standard British English has been reached; NZE is today considered by many to be a positive marker of identity, indexing authentic 'New Zealandness'. In Schneider's words, NZE is thus currently "accepted as [a] symbolic [expression] of [this] new [state] of nationhood" and is considered to be a "distinctive cultural [asset]" (2011: 116-7). In line with this, Gordon (1992: 208) points out that:

> These developments all point towards the emergence of a variety of English, which is no longer to be seen merely as another version of British English transplanted in the colonies. New Zealand English is a distinctive variety of English in its own right. I believe that it can now be said that New Zealanders have found their own voice.

This shift has, once more, been particularly evident in broadcasting; this extract from a New Zealand magazine sums it up rather nicely:

> [in 1980] […] our newsreaders mimicked the BBC, with small betrayals of enunciation that signalled to the careful English listener that these people came from Somewhere Else, somewhere not quite England but that wanted to be a pale, South Pacific shadow of it. Now, of course, things are different […] These days, our Pākehā children […] do not talk of England as home; they know who they are and where they belong.[36]

Moreover – as discussed in Chapter I – since the late 1990s the 'internet era' and the associated development of 'Web 2.0' technologies (e.g. social media) have enabled a wider range of voices and opinions to be heard about NZE. The extensive accessibility and usage of online material and tools has resulted in an increased 'democratisation' of the voices that can contribute to these discourses (e.g. through mass commentary in online forums), as opposed to the rather 'privileged' and 'filtered' voices (e.g. through editorial practices) that were dominant in earlier decades (cf. Crystal 2001; Androutsopoulos 2006; Thurlow and Mroczek 2011). These voices have thus also been taken into account in the data collection and they form an essential part of the collected corpus.

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[35] New Zealand English Syllabus Revision Committee, "Draft Discussion Paper on Language" (1988:1) (Gordon 1992: 207).
[36] Extract from a New Zealand magazine, McGee (1997: 34); as reported in Bayard (2000: 297).

Furthermore, in order to allow for some diachronic observations, a relatively restricted corpus of data going back to the 1940s has also been compiled. To conclude, the main corpus for this case study includes evidence from before the 1970s and during the two critical periods mentioned above, with the last one stretching to the present day.

2.3   The Collection Process: Type of Data and Resources

The relationship between Britain and New Zealand and a fairly persistent "cultural cringe" (Bayard 2000) have played an important role in the development and in the legitimisation process of NZE, and are still central to current debates (see section 1.). Consequently, the main focus of the data collection have been debates about the appropriateness and legitimacy of NZE vis à vis external (frequently British, but at times also American) models of language, especially in the period of transition from a British norm to a New Zealand norm (see section 1).[37] As it has been emphasised and delineated in Chapter I, language debates represent fundamental sites of ideological articulation, formation and negotiation and this is why they were given priority in the data collection. Decisions regarding the relevance of specific sites (of New Zealand's public arena) for data collection have been taken by following Blommaert's (1999b: 430) concept of "ideological apparatuses" (see Chapter I).

In the following sections I will thus introduce in more detail the collected data by splitting them according to the two aforementioned discursive spaces: modern (multi-modal) mass media and the education system.

2.3.1 Modern (Multi-modal) Mass-Media in New Zealand

As explained in Chapter I, modern mass media represent an ideal site for the investigation of language ideologies. This is reinforced here by the fact that in New Zealand there appears to be a steady tradition of metalinguistic commentary in the media. This is true for NZE and the Māori language, but also for the development and status of the English language more generally. According to Gordon (2008: 90-1) "[i]n the New Zealand media over the years we have had regular commentators on language"; these include weekly (periodical) newspaper columns such as Ian Gordon's language column in the *Listener*, Frank Haden's column in the *Christchurch Press* (subsequently taken over by Elizabeth Gordon), and Arnold Wall's 'Our mother tongue' series of articles in the *Press*. Several radio programmes on the topic were also broadcasted over the years such as the NZBC's[38] 'Principles of Good English' and Arnold Wall's the 'The Queen's English' (since as early as 1955), as well as several TV programmes, discussions and documentaries.[39] The

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[37] See Schneider (2007) for a discussion of exonormative and endonormative linguistic orientations in his "Dynamic Model" of the development of postcolonial Englishes. In this work he discusses, among other things, the case of New Zealand English.

[38] New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation, established by the New Zealand government in 1962. It was dissolved on 1 April 1975, and replaced by three separate organisations: Radio New Zealand, Television One, and Television Two, later known as South Pacific Television (source:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Zealand_Broadcasting_Corporation).

[39] This widespread and intense interest in language, and in particular in the status of NZE, among lay people has been well documented in the academic literature on the topic, especially with respect to the so called 'complaint tradition'.

following quotation, found on the *Listener*'s pages, upholds this claim: "[…] there's no getting away from it: there are few more controversial, class and politics ridden subjects than how we speak" *[2005_p.9_NZListener_ DebateNewZildDoc_article]*. This might be due to the fact that broadcasting institutions in New Zealand are very frequently seen as providers and guardians of language standards. Broadcasting can thus be considered as being an unofficial arbiter of what is acceptable in language and pronunciation (cf. Bell 1983). The following quote, one of a large set of similar commentaries, demonstrates this point

> How are these people appointed to these positions, where they influence speech habits of listeners young and old?

> *[1997_p.4_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn]*

Additionally, in New Zealand the academic community is directly and frequently involved in the language debates that occur in the public sphere, and linguists are often called upon as authorities. [40] Examples include Victoria University's regular column on language and New Zealandisms in the *Dominion Post*, and several interviews on the radio, and as reported in the newspapers.

The main written documents (or texts) that have been collected are newspaper articles, letters to the editor, columns, editorial articles, documentary scripts, pronunciation guides and the different types of metalinguistic commentary focusing on NZE that could be found online (e.g. in blogs, in the comment sections of YouTube videos and online articles, on Facebook groups). Finally, television documentaries and radio programmes, although in smaller proportions, are also part of the main dataset for this category.

2.3.1.1 Language Debates in the Printed National Press

In keeping with the remarks made in the previous section, the major national newspapers have been examined in search of relevant metalinguistic commentary on NZE. According to Fowler (1991: 121-122, as quoted in Paffey (2010: 45)) the "scale of production and dissemination of newspaper discourse" is one of the main reasons why the press is seen as playing a "particularly crucial role as a site of ideological diffusion". As a consequence, the newspapers that had the highest circulation figures in 2014 were selected for the search (see Table 4). The newspapers that have been chosen are *The Dominion Post, The New Zealand Herald, The Press,* the *Otago Daily Times* and the *Bay of Plenty Times*. A certain degree of geographical representativeness was also aimed at in the investigation and thus the first four newspapers have been chosen also because they serve the four main cities of New Zealand: respectively, Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin. The main weekly magazine that has been selected for the investigation is the *New Zealand Listener*; only occasionally others such as the *Metro* magazine and *North&South* have been considered.[41] [42]

Cf. Bayard (1990; 2000); Deverson and Gordon (1985a; 1989); Gordon (1988; 1991; 1992; 2009 a); b); c)); Gordon and Abell (1990); Hay, Maclagan and Gordon (2008); Warren (2008).

[40] This, on the other hand, is rarely the case in Britain.

[41] The reasons underlying the *New Zealand Listener*'s relevance for the present case study are illustrated in section 2.3.1.1.1, as well as the procedure followed for the other two magazines.

Town	Publication	Audit Period	Average Net Circulation	Publication Frequency
Auckland	*The New Zealand Herald*	Oct-Sept 2014	144'157	Daily
Wellington	*The Dominion Post*	Oct-Sept 2014	70'211	Daily
Christchurch	*The Press*	Oct-Sept 2014	65'379	Daily
Dunedin	*Otago Daily Times*	Oct-Sept 2014	36'395	Daily
Tauranga	*Bay of Plenty Times*	Oct-Sept 2014	15'243	Daily

Table 4. Press audit results up to September 2014 according to the New Zealand Audit Bureau of Circulation[43]

An invaluable tool for the search of metalinguistic commentary on NZE within this discursive space has been the 'Index New Zealand' database, put together by the National Library of New Zealand.[44] This searchable database contains abstracts and descriptions of articles from about one thousand New Zealand periodicals and newspapers, from the early twentieth century to the present day. The database also gives reference to academic articles, and approximately three thousand new records are added every month.[45] The database was searched for several keywords; these include –

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[42] Publication, readers' profile and readership figures can be consulted on the offical webpages of the individual newspapers and magazines. Moreover, NZME provides very detailed and insightful reports on several of these at http://www.apn.co.nz/audience/.

[43] The New Zealand Audit Bureau of Circulation claims the following: "The New Zealand ABC provides accurate and up-to-date circulation figures to advertisers, advertising agencies, publishers and the public. These audit figures cover over 300 publications, including all paid daily and weekly newspapers, virtually all community newspapers plus a large number of New Zealand published magazines" (http://newspaper.abc.org.nz/audit.html).

[44] See the database webpage at: http://innz.natlib.govt.nz/.

[45] The database is composed of approximately 800'000 records and claims to allow people to find articles that reflect the socio-historical, political, scientific and economic issues of New Zealand and the South Pacific area.

but are not limited to – 'New Zealand English', 'New Zealand accent', 'kiwi English', 'New Zild', 'accent', 'kiwi speech', 'pronunciation', 'speech', 'dialect', 'vowels', 'sound', 'English', 'British English', 'Queen's English', 'BBC English', 'radio speech', 'voice', 'kiwi voice', 'broadcasting voice', 'radio voice', 'grammar' and 'slang'. Proper names of radio and TV personalities who had been suggested as being linked to language debates were also searched. At times, other indices that appeared with a particular collection, or in a particular library, were also consulted together with other databases such as Archives New Zealand.[46] On the other hand, the search and collection were not limited to the results displayed by these databases. Intertextual references to other texts were also explored, and the 'Letters to the Editor' sections of these newspapers were scanned for follow-up debates. These texts have often turned out to be particularly insightful. Moreover, discussing my research with several academics and experts in Wellington, I discovered a number of personal collections (compiled over the years by these academics) centred on the public discourse on NZE. These collections comprised metalinguistic (and metapragmatic) commentary – frequently in the form of language debates – published in the local and the international press, as well as a number of educational leaflets and journals, course material and letters (this dataset will hereafter be referred to as 'academics' personal collections').

At the time the search was carried out, some of these texts could be accessed online, but the majority of them – especially older ones – had to be tracked down in libraries and archives across the country. Archive work was predominantly conducted at the National Library of New Zealand (Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa) situated in Wellington, and especially at the Alexander Turnbull Library, which holds the National Newspaper Collection. Victoria and Auckland University libraries were also consulted, and the Central Auckland Research Centre, holds a comprehensive collection of the *New Zealand Listener* issues from the 1940s to today, as well as several other local newspapers. The relevant texts were for the most part stored on microfiche files – apart from the more recent issues or bound printed collections. These have thus been collected in the form of PDF files, through an option available on the microfilm readers. In the case of printed texts, these were for the most part also scanned and converted into PDF files. To conclude, the search was guided by both the circulation figures and geographical distribution of the different newspapers and magazines, as well as by the topical relevance of the texts, assessed through 'Index New Zealand' and similar searchable databases. Eight gigabytes of data were collected in total, and even though this is not a quantitative study and representativeness cannot be claimed, there has been an attempt to compile a coherent and meaningful corpus in order to reflect the primary language ideological discourses underlying the legitimisation of NZE.

2.3.1.1.1 The *New Zealand Listener* and the Searched Magazines

The *New Zealand Listener* magazine (hereafter 'the *Listener*') is the New Zealand broadcasting weekly publication (Deverson 2001: 23). The *Listener* deserves a separate section because it constitutes a particularly significant part of the corpus by reason of its notoriety for the language debates that are played out on its pages, and of the fact that it is frequently mentioned in the scholarly literature on the topic.[47] Deverson and Gordon (1985a: 83) for instance point this out:

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[46] See the database webpage at: http://archives.govt.nz/
[47] Cf. Deverson and Gordon (1985a; 1985b); Gordon (1988); Gordon and Deverson (1989); Hay, Maclagan and Gordon (2008).

> Controversy about New Zealand speech breaks out in the correspondence columns of the *Listener* from time to time. The purists advocate that we should all speak RP, while others argue that New Zealanders should speak their own form of English and be recognised by it.

Gordon (1988: 9) also emphasises its relevance by declaring that in her "investigations into written comments on features of New Zealand speech one of [her] most useful sources has been the New Zealand *Listener*. From its first issue in June 1939 it has carried comments, articles and of course letters on many different aspects of language". The *Listener* has also been at the centre of several academic works on NZE (especially for what concerns the so called prescriptivist 'complaint tradition') [48], and over the years it has featured several weekly columns on the topic of language. A well-known example is Ian Gordon's column 'Language' that started in February 1977 and whose author could be considered to be the "first notable figure to support the New Zealand accent against the strictures of Anglophile prescriptivists" (Deverson 2001: 26). It is thus believed that some of the most emblematic and heated debates on language, education and identity are to be found on the *Listener*'s pages and especially in the 'Letters to the Editor' sections. The letters found in these sections often respond to articles that are published in the main body of the magazine, and over the years they have triggered debates that have lasted for several months, and have provided good insights into the writers' (language) attitudes and beliefs. [49] Moreover, since public broadcasting is one of the primary discursive spaces where these language (ideological) debates have emerged, the *Listener*'s relevance is all the more evident.

In terms of circulation figures, readership and contents, the *Listener* claims to be New Zealand's "highest selling and best-read current affairs magazine"[50] and, it is the only national, weekly current affairs and entertainment magazine in New Zealand, covering topics in political, cultural and literary life. The *Listener* also incorporates radio and television programme listings for the main national broadcasters.[51] Table 5 illustrates the ABC press audit results for the *Listener* up to September 2014.

Date First Published	No. Issues Audited	Average Net Paid Sales	Average Net Circulation
1939	52	50286	52367

Table 5. ABC press audit results for the *Listener* up to September 2014

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[48] Cf. Gordon (1988); Deverson and Gordon (1985a).

[49] Cf. Verschueren's (2012: 120 onwards) guidelines on the style and genre of the sources for langage ideological research.

[50] http://www.listener.co.nz/subscribe/. Accessed on the 7th of September 2014.

[51] http://natlib.govt.nz/records/21995331?search%5Bpath%5D=items&search%5Btext%5D=listener. Accessed on the 20th of January 2015.

The process of data collection for the *Listener* has been rather different from the one described for the main newspapers in the previous section. In fact, Elizabeth Gordon (an expert on NZE and well-known academic) has compiled a corpus of all the items that related to language for all the *Listener* issues from 1939 (the year of its first publication) up to 1994. Gordon and her team photocopied the relevant material, pasted it on sheets and filed it chronologically in eight large folders. The corpus is held at the University of Canterbury, in Christchurch, and I was able to scan it in its entirety. The missing years, from 1994 to 2014, were inspected individually at the main libraries' archives and scanned as described in the previous section. This corpus is of particular relevance because it allows for a diachronical comparison that reaches back to 1939, and in the followings sections it will be referred to as the 'Gordon Corpus'. Concerning the other two magazines, *Metro* and *North&South* (or occasionally others), relevant texts were collected according to the results displayed by 'Index New Zealand'.

To conclude, it is important to take into account the fact that *Listener* is aimed at an older and more middle-class audience, as well as of the fact that letters to the editor are subject to editorial policies, and this might entail some limitations on their content or format. These considerations are of primary importance not only in the case of the *Listener*, but also in relation to the other sources that have shaped the data collection and constitute the main corpus (see section 2.3.1.3). As a consequence, this information will always be specified and taken into account in the analysis.

2.3.1.2. Broadcasting Institutions Data

Many of the texts that have been collected from the newspapers and magazines mentioned above revolved around the topic of broadcasting speech, and particularly around the choice of an appropriate/legitimate English variety for its delivery. The debate in New Zealand regularly calls for a decision between a local speech norm (i.e. NZE) and an external one (i.e. British English, and at times American English). Moreover, in subsection 2.2 it has been pointed out that the shift in speech standards has been particularly debated within a broadcasting discourse. In relation to this, Bell (2011) explains that national broadcast news media often function as "standardising flagships for their language communities" (178). Broadcast news would adopt the standard language as its own mode of speech, mainly because of its prestige, authoritative connotations and association with 'high' culture (Bell 2011). Bell (2011: 178) also points to some of the factors that influence the fact that broadcast news often come to be identified as the standard by which the standard is itself judged in these communities: a) the public accessibility of broadcast language; b) its place as the most commonly heard use of the standard; c) the identifiability, scheduling and frequency of broadcast news; d) the socio-political importance of the subject matter of 'the news'; e) the language professionalism and codification activities of news broadcasters; f) public acceptance of the authority of such codifications; g) public sensitivity to breaches of broadcast language standards; h) the broadcasting of metalinguistic programmes prescribing correct speech. Bell also explains that these dimensions "embody the mechanisms of a circulating ideology in which broadcast news serves as the working definition of the standard language – such as 'BBC English'" (ibid).

Therefore, as the broadcasting discourse has been identified as being particularly salient for the present investigation, an additional set of data relative to it has been collected (see also

discussion in Chapter I). The data collected in the national press were, thus, supplemented by a number of interviews with broadcasting stakeholders who were in some way deemed to be connected to the debates on the development and status of NZE. These can be described as semi-structured ethnographic interviews with some topics and themes being fixed beforehand. However, no structural constraints were imposed on these interviews which were conducted in an informal way, the main aim being that of letting the interviewees speak as freely as possible on the following topics: a) language standards and pronunciation in New Zealand; b) dialects and accents; c) English varieties, and in particular NZE, British English and American English; d) editorial policies, speech training and delivery guidelines. In so doing it was hoped that some of the language ideologies, underlying the language practices and policies of these institutions would surface. In terms of different media, radio was given the priority over television because debates about voice – its nature and use – occurred more frequently in relation to this medium in the collected national press texts.

One of the *Listener*'s articles on NZE, belonging to a wider language debate, contained the following quote: "[i]f there is an arbiter of New Zealand spoken English […] it's Radio New Zealand's manager of presentation standards […]" *[2009_p.22_NZListener_DebateMincingWords]*. Radio New Zealand's[52] (hereafter RNZ) Presentation Standards Manager (and newsreader) was thus the first person to be interviewed. The interview was carried out over two days, during which I also had access to RNZ's private library where – among many other relevant documents – a collection of all the articles and letters published in the press about NZE, RNZ, language standards and broadcasting speech was held (this dataset will be referred to as the "RNZ collection" in the following chapters). Furthermore, I was also able to obtain a copy of the current RNZ pronunciation guide, namely 'The Summary' (see Appendix), and of two older versions dating back to 1982 and earlier. This first interview led to several others, both within and outside RNZ. Interviews were conducted with the Editorial Policy Manager of RNZ, a speech coach experienced in the training of newsreaders for decades, and with several journalists, former presenters and public commentators. Particularly relevant were the interviews carried out with members of the staff at the Christchurch Broadcasting School and at the Auckland Journalism School, as radio and television presenters are often trained in these schools, which thus need to establish a set of language standards. In addition, a collection of recordings of the 'Morning Report' broadcasted on RNZ for the years 1975-1980-1985-1990-1995 was also put together.[53] [54] Other relevant recordings of radio programmes and discussions focusing on the topic of NZE were also collected from the Sound Archives[55], together with an amalgam of different texts obtained during the interviews such as documentary scripts and speech guides.

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[52] Radio New Zealand is a national, public broadcasting entity that broadcasts over three nationwide networks; Radio New Zealand National, Radio New Zealand Concert and the AM network which relays Parliamentary proceedings. It also provides an overseas service: Radio New Zealand International (RNZI). National and Concert are funded by the government broadcast funding agency 'NZ On Air'. RNZ networks, and especially the National Radio network and Radio New Zealand Concert can be described as being at the prestigious and traditional end of the range of radio networks in New Zealand (Bell 1988). Cf. section 1 and http://www.radionz.co.nz/about.

[53] This was put together at the Chapman Archive (New Zealand's largest and most comprehensive collection of broadcast news and current affairs. See http://www.chapmanarchive.auckland.ac.nz/).

[54] This was mainly aimed at examining the shift in speech standards that occurred on the radio over the years (see subsection 2.2).

[55] New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound. See http://www.soundarchives.co.nz/

2.3.1.3 Online Data

The last dataset that can be considered as belonging to the discursive space labelled 'modern (multi-modal) mass media' is the one constituted by the numerous metalinguistic (and metapragmatic) commentaries on NZE that can be found online. These include selected videos and documentaries on NZE, online articles, blog posts and comments in the 'comment sections' of YouTube® [56] videos and online articles. This kind of online commentary was searched for using the same keywords that were mentioned in section 2.3.1.1. I will now illustrate with an example, the procedure that I followed to collect this kind of data and to find the relevant language debates. One of the first results displayed by Google® when searching for the keywords 'Kiwi accent + news' is L.P.'s article published on 'stuff.co.nz', entitled 'Kiwi accent killing the news'.[57] Apart from providing an interesting metalinguistic commentary on NZE in itself, the article provoked a heated debate on the legitimacy of this variety in the comment section displayed below the main article, with a total of 544 comments in the few days following its publication on the 17th of January 2013. As O'Halloran (2010: 210) points out these comments can be considered as a supplement to the main text and they are very valuable for the critical reading that is aimed at here because they can "reveal particular meanings that the text being responded to can reasonably be said to marginalize and/or repress". Additionally, examining these comments can shed some light on the readers' reception of the text and on the "discourses they often explicitly reveal – discourses which may be only peripherally related to the original text or are in opposition to it" (Kerswill 2014: 429). Finally – on the webpage where the article appears – videos and links to other documents focusing on the topic appear, and by following them several other relevant language debates could be identified. In addition, the article's author, well known for his strong views on language standards and especially on NZE, was interviewed in the course of the fieldwork trip.[58] To close this section, Figure 8 visualizes the data that have been collected for this first discursive space (described in the previous sections). The label I have chosen to use is 'Modern (multimodal) mass media discourse' and the corpus has been divided into 'textual data' and 'non-textual data'.

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[56] According to Kelly-Holmes (2015), YouTube as a genre is considered to be a form of vlogging or video blogging. It enables uploading, viewing, sharing and discussion of videos, and it has been described by Andrew Tolson as a post-television environment. It is free to view and supported by advertising, but in order to upload or comment on content, (free) membership is required. There is very limited regulation and moderation of content by YouTube in relation to inappropriate postings and it is considered a free and often offensive space in terms of the comments posted – in contrast with, for example, Facebook. The slogan of YouTube, 'Broadcast Yourself', represents 'Globalisation 3.0' in Friedman's (2006) terms. In the contemporary era of globalisation, as a result of digital technology, the individual can play a key and disproportionate (relative to previous times) role in mediation and globalisation. YouTube also supports contemporary phenomena such as performativity and repertoire multilingualism (for example, Jacquemet 2005, Rampton 2006, Pennycook 2010). YouTube, along with social media in general, thus also provides for shifting centres of normativity and regulation (see Lenihan 2010 in relation to Facebook), in which individuals attempt to impose and/or challenge prevailing norms in relation to language practices and/or create and impose new, locally and temporally bounded norms. The posting of a video to YouTube creates a space for language ideological debate (Blommaert 1999) which can be seen as a type of 'public' in Gal and Woolard's (2001) terms (Kelly-Holmes 2015).

[57] The original article can be consulted at the following link: http://www.stuff.co.nz/stuff-nation/8185142/Kiwi-accent-killing-the-news

[58] On the relevance of online data for the present investigation and a progressive democratisation of voices see section 1.2.3 in Chapter I.
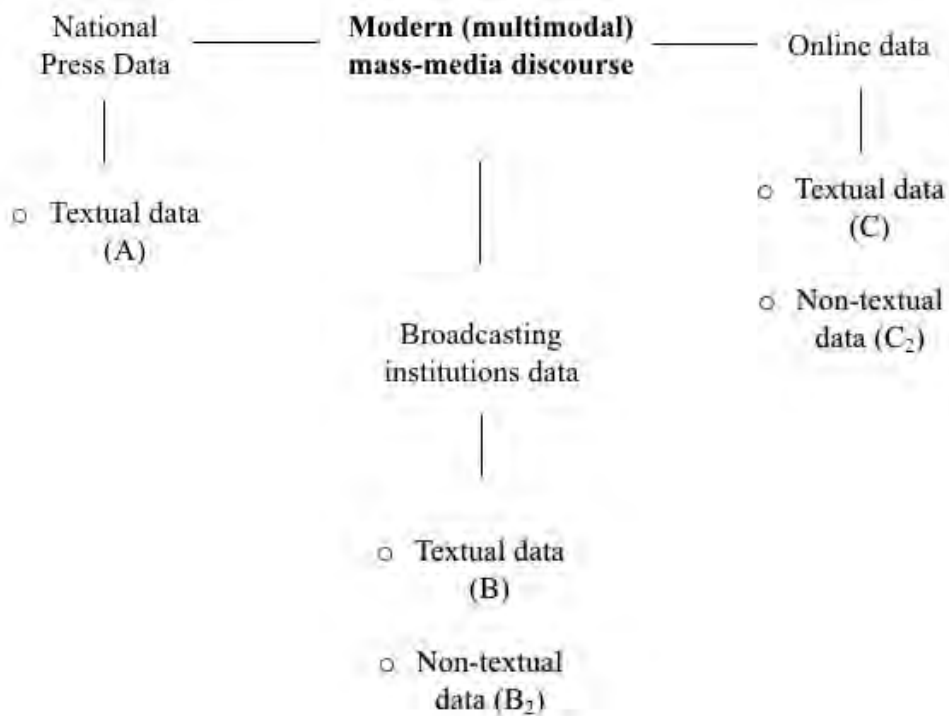
(A) Newspapers and magazines, articles and columns, letters to the editor, 'academics' personal collections', 'Gordon corpus'.

(B) Pronunciation and speech guides, documentary scripts, 'RNZ collection'.

(B$_2$) Semi-structured ethnographic interviews with broadcasting stakeholders, TV documentaries, radio programmes and discussions, 'Morning Report' collection.

(C) Online articles, blog posts, debates in the 'comment sections'.

(C$_2$) Videos and documentaries on NZE.

Figure 8. Data collected for the 'modern (multimodal) mass media discourse'

2.3.2 Language Policies and the Education System

As pointed out in section 2.3 and in Chapter I, the education system is a second main societal channel (and discursive space) of ideological reproduction and regimentation. In fact, upholding Blommaert's argument, and simultaneously emphasising the importance of the discursive spaces created by bureaucratised institutions for the study of language ideologies (and for the production of the "legitimating ideologies of the social order"), Heller (2010: 278) claims that "[t]hrough education, members of the population learn what counts as legitimate knowledge, how to function in specific kinds of social order, and how to internalize the naturalness of their 'country' […]". This section will thus briefly describe the kind of data that have been collected with respect to this discursive space in New Zealand, and especially as regards questions of English varieties and language standards.

A series of semi-structured ethnographic interviews with key figures of the New Zealand's education system constitutes the main source of metalinguistic and meta-pragmatic data for this discursive space.[59] A double interview was conducted at the Ministry of Education with the project manager for the New Zealand Curriculum for Primary and Secondary Education, and with the Lead Adviser for the Curriculum Teaching & Learning Group and former Head of English. Academics and scholars that have been involved with the topic for several years were also interviewed, together with current (and former) English teachers. Among them was Elizabeth Gordon, an expert on the topic of the teaching of English in New Zealand schools, and who was also directly involved in several of the changes concerning English language teaching in the country from the 1960s.[60][61] Finally, the Team Leader for the Education, Curriculum and Performance department of the Ministry of Education was also questioned on the policies and provisions concerning NZE in the curriculum.

Furthermore, several written documents focusing on the teaching of English such as educational policies, teaching guidelines, teaching reports and articles in teaching journals (e.g. *English in Aotearoa,* the journal of the New Zealand Association of Teachers of English) and magazines were also collected during –and partly before – the fieldwork trip. The guidelines concerning the teaching of English in the current New Zealand Curriculum can be found online at the Ministry of Education's webpage[62], and a paper copy of the previous curriculum dating back to 1994 was also obtained during the fieldtrip. Moreover, the 'English Online' resources offered by the Ministry of Education to English teachers were also closely inspected for relevant material.[63] The teachers' handbook, funded by a government initiative in the 1990s, 'Exploring Language' has turned out to be particularly relevant.[64] This handbook was designed to teach English teachers about grammar, when its reintroduction into the syllabus was being considered during a major curricular review that took place in the late 1990s. Finally, several issues of *NZWords*, an annual newsletter published by Oxford University Press in collaboration with the New Zealand Dictionary Centre were also collected. This newsletter covers several language related topics in New Zealand. Figure 9 visualises the data that have been collected for this discursive space, labelled 'Educational discourse'.

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[59] These interviews follow the same structural principles that have been outlined in section 2.3.1.2.

[60] Elizabeth Gordon, additionally, was principal writer and developer for the Ministry of Education 'Exploring Language' project between 1994 and 1996.

[61] Her two papers 'Grammar in New Zealand Schools: Two Case Studies' (published in 2005 in *English Teaching: Practice and Critique*) and 'Pedants, Politics and Power: The English Language Teaching Revolution in New Zealand' (published in 2010 in *English in Aotearoa*) are only some examples of the vast body of work that she has produced on the topic.

[62] The Ministry of Education's webpage can be consulted at: http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz.

[63] Cf. the 'English Online' webpage at: http://englishonline.tki.org.nz.

[64] Elizabeth Gordon was appointed 'principal developer' for this project (cf. Gordon 2005).

Textual Data ——— **Educational discourse** ——— Non-textual data

Educational policies, teaching guidelines (NZ Curriculum) and resources, teaching reports, teaching journals and magazines.

Semi-structured interviews with experts and the Ministry of Education's representatives
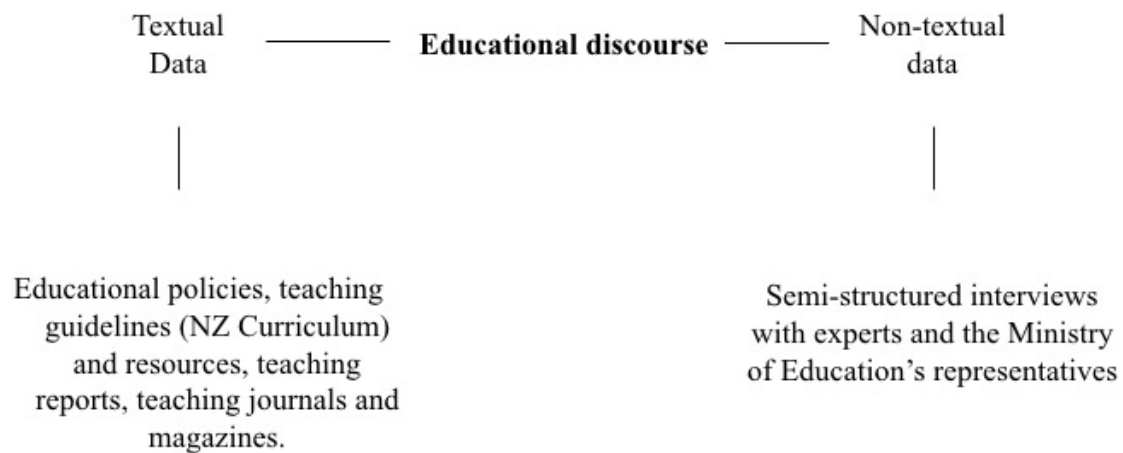
Figure 9. Data collected for the 'educational discourse'

To conclude in this chapter, I have outlined the procedure followed for the data collection and the creation of the main corpus with respect to the concepts of 'ideological apparatuses' and 'discursive spaces'; and I have clarified the choice of the time periods selected for the investigation. The data collection has been focused on the identification of language debates where beliefs about language and specific linguistic varieties, in this case mainly about NZE and British English, manifest themselves (Geeraerts 2003). Consequently, within these debates the language beliefs, attitudes, and thus ideologies, underlying metalinguistic discourses about NZE are materialised. These ideologies can occur both explicitly, as in the case of language policies (e.g. within broadcasting institutions), or implicitly as in the case of educational practices (cf. Geeraerts 2003). The focus of the following chapter will be how these interact with the socio-historical, socio-political and sociolinguistic context of the investigated variety, and in particular with notions of legitimacy, authenticity, national identity, authority and mobility.

3. New Zealand English: Preliminaries

In New Zealand, the emergence of a new endonormative standard has called for a reworking and adjustment of existing language ideologies to the new sociolinguistic situation (cf. section 1; cf. Blommaert's (2003) notion of the "reallocation" of indexicality discussed in Chapter I). The analysis presented in this chapter aims at deconstructing these ideologies, and will primarily focus on the 'legitimising' metalinguistic discourses (or 'voices') on NZE, as opposed to 'delegitimising' (or 'stigmatising') ones. The latter discourses are generally discussed in relation to the prescriptivist 'complaint tradition' and subsume a standard ideology (cf. Chapter I). These discourses will only be touched upon in the first section as a means of contrast and in order to emphasise processes such as the reallocation of indexicalities. There is in New Zealand a large body of literature that has dealt with these 'delegitimising' discourses, which were based on the idea that 'Standard' British English (or RP) was the normative model.[65] The main questions that will thus be addressed in the following sections (referring back to the introduction to the present dissertation) are:

- o How is NZE legitimised and authenticated and how are other varieties 'delegitimised' and 'deauthenticated'?
- o How do these (de/)legitimisation and (de/)authentication practices interact with discourses of nation building and (local) identity construction?
- o Did these (de/)legitimisation and (de/)authentication practices change over time, and if yes how did they change, and possibly, why?

3.1 Debates about New Zealand English

In light of what has been discussed above, the main debates that have been taken into consideration for the analysis presented in this chapter will be listed here along with the notation used through the dissertation (Table 6). The choice of these debates, all belonging to 'modern (multimodal) mass-media' discourse, was made with consideration of the salient time periods identified and discussed in subsection 2.2. In Table 6, the date, type of medium, type of sub-discourse and publication details will be listed, together with a name that was assigned to the individual debates for ease of reference. The categories used for this table reflect those found in Figures 8 and 9. Concerning the 'medium' category, I will here specify the medium in which the debate first started, and follow-ups in other media will be marked with a '>' sign (e.g. printed press>radio interview). The same will be carried out for the 'sub-discourse' category. Moreover, I draw attention to the fact that follow-up debates or comments and various kinds of related threads (which don't necessarily make up a self-contained debate) have also been considered for the

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[65] As in subsection 1.3, I refer the reader to the large body of work produced by scholars such as D. Bayard, L. Bauer, A. Bell, T. Deverson, E. Gordon, J. Hay and J. Holmes. Some of the core works are Batterham (1993); Bell (1982; 1983; 1988; 1991); Deverson and Gordon (1985a); Gordon (1988; 1991; 1992; 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2010a; 2010b); Gordon and Deverson (1989); Bell and Holmes (1990); Bayard (2000); Hay, Maclagan and Gordon (2008).

analysis. Details about these data, and further details about the debates listed in Table 6 will be provided in the discussion when deemed necessary. Additional data such as pronunciation guides, educational curricula, documentary scripts and private correspondence will be contextualised in situ. Finally, some additional debates from the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s were also examined for comparison purposes. All of these debates stemmed from what I have labelled the 'Gordon Corpus' and are thus mostly articles and letters to the editors published in the *NZ Listener* (see section 2.3.1.1.1).

Name of debate	Date	Sub-discourse	Medium	Publication and title
'DebatePoints'	1973-4	National press	Printed Press (article + letters to the editor)	NZ Listener: *Points on Pronunciation*
'DebateGiz-a-go'	1976	National press	Printed Press (article + letters to the editor)	NZ Listener: *Giz-a-go*
'DebateNgaioMarsh'	1978	National press	Printed Press (article + letters to the editor)	NZ Listener: *It is not what we say*
'DebateKarlduFresne'	1979	National press	Printed Press (article + letters to the editor)	NZ Listener: *Up the boohai without a plate*
'LiddellDebate'	1986-7	National press	Printed Press (article + letters to the editor)	NZ Listener: *Speaking Volumes*
'DebateReviewNZE'	1991	National press	Printed Press (article + letters to the editor)	NZ Listener: *New Zealand ways of speaking English*

'DebateJanetHolmes'	1994	Broadcasting > National press	Radio interview>Printed Press (several national and international newspapers)	RNZ, Interview with Prof. Janet Holmes on the shifting vowels of NZE
'DebateBernardGunn'	1997	National press	Printed Press (articles + letters to the editor)	The Press: *New Zild speech is turning our English into a foreign language*
'DebateCow'	2001	National press	Printed Press (article + letters to the editor)	NZ Listener: *Heow neow breown ceow?*
'DebateNewZildDoc'	2005	Broadcasting > National press	TV documentary >Printed Press (several national newspapers + letters to the editor)	TV One*: New Zild - The story of New Zeland English* (17th May 2005)
'DebateOneNews'	2007	Online data	(TV documentary)>YouTube video + thread of comments	*One News: Kiwi Accent*, 1290 comments
'DebateWhale'	2008	Online data	Youtube video + thread of comments	*Beached Whale*, 9'319 comments
'DebateMincingWords'	2009	National press	Printed Press (article + letters to the editor)	NZ Listener: *Mincing words*
'DebateGraham'	2011	Online data	Youtube video + thread of comments	*Graham Norton's reaction to the New Zealand accent*, 2580 comments
'DebateBadge'	2011	Online data	Blog post + thread of comments	blogs@stuff.co.nz[66], *The NZ accent: burden or badge of honour?*, 151 comments

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[66] Stuff.co.nz is an internet branch of the *Dominion Post*.

'DebateSirBobJones'	2012	Online data	Online article + thread of comments	nzherald.co.uk: *Sir Bob Jones: mangled language is now the norm*, 164 comments
'DebateLindsayPerigo'	2013	Online data	Online article + thread of comments	Stuff.co.nz: *Kiwi accent killing the news*, 545 comments
'DebateNewZildFB'	2014	Online data	Posts and threads of comments on Facebook page	*I.Love.New.Zealand*

Table 6. Main debates considered for analysis for the 'modern (multimodal) mass-media discourse'

Table 7 follows the same principle as Table 6, and lists the semi-structured ethnographic interviews conducted. The individual interviewees will not be specifically identified, nor named, because anonymity was granted to them all.

Name of interview	Details interviewee	Date	Discourse	Length
Interview_Ministry_Education _1	Adviser for the design of the teaching curriculum in NZ Schools	Spring 2014	'Educational'	56'
Interview_Ministry_Education _2	Lead adviser English curriculum and teaching	Spring 2014	'Educational'	56'
Interview_Broadcasting_School	Radio course leader at Christchurch Broadcasting School, radio announcer. Theorised Broadcasting and National	Spring 2014	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	1h19'

	Identity			
Interview_RNZ_1	Presentation Standards Manager at RNZ, former newsreader and TV presenter	Spring 2014	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	1h30'
Interview_RNZ_2	Editorial Policy Manager at RNZ	Spring 2014	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	1h28'
Interview_LP	Journalist, former newsreader and TV presenter. Involved in NZ public language debate	Spring 2014	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	30'
Interview_IF	Former chief executive officer at TVNZ, former interviewer at TVNZ (16 years) and former presenter at RNZ. Involved in NZ public language debate	Spring 2014	'modern (multimodal) mass-media' and 'educational'	1h15'
Interview_TF	Former head of production at TVNZ, former performer at TVNZ. Involved in NZ public language debate	Spring 2014	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	40'

Interview_ JournalismSchool_1	Curriculum leader radio at AUT, previously worked in radio	Spring 2014	'modern (multimodal) mass-media' and 'educational'	1h11'
Interview_ JournalismSchool_2	Senior lecturer, School of Communciation Studies, AUT. Former BBC television journalist and reporter	Spring 2014	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	1h05'
Interview_ JournalismSchool_3	Senior lecturer communication studies (radio), AUT	Spring 2014	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	2h15'
Interview_SpeechCoach	Professional voice coach for radio and TV personalities for 35 years. Producer, announcer newsreader and trainer at RNZ, TVNZ and others	Spring 2014	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	1h18'

Table 7. Semi-structured ethnographic interviews for the New Zealand English case study

3.2 New Zealand Academics in the Public Language Discourse

I will here briefly comment on the substantial number of academics (i.e. linguists and sociolinguists) who participate in New Zealand's public language discourse. As it will become noticeable in the discussion, academics in New Zealand are particularly active in the public debate on language, speech standards and New Zealand English. This is quite unusual, at least if we compare New Zealand to countries such as Britain. In fact, in Britain the public language discourse is characterised by a strong presence of non-professional linguists; in the newspapers, on radio and on TV it is thus mostly journalists, writers, poets and various kinds of public figures that are involved in discussions about language, and are often called upon as language experts. An exemplary case is the fact that the creation of the 1992 English Language curriculum was

supervised by David Pascall, a chemist working for BP. In New Zealand on the other hand, linguists regularly participate in these public debates, and most of the time serve as language experts also for educational policies and regulations.[67]

Examples include Elizabeth Gordon, who wrote a language column in *The Press* and was directly involved in several of the changes concerning English language teaching from the 1960s.[68] She was also interviewed on several occasions for articles to be published in the main national newspapers, mainly on the topic of New Zealand English and the ONZE project. Ian Gordon presented his own show about language on National Radio, and wrote popular columns on the same topic in the *NZ Listener, New Scientist* and *Readers' Digest.*[69] Arnold Wall wrote a series of articles in the *Press* entitled 'Our mother tongue' and presented his own, very popular, radio programme named 'The Queen's English' (since as early as 1955). Academics at Victoria University – in the capital city of Wellington – have been particularly prolific in this respect, especially Janet Holmes, Laurie Bauer, Paul Warren and Dianne Bardsley. They wrote a regular column on language in the *Dominion Post* newspaper, which has subsequently been turned into a popular book targeted at a lay-audience with a specific interest in New Zealand English.[70] Janet Holmes has also been recurrently interviewed on the topic, both in the context of radio programmes (see 'DebateJanetHolmes' above) and for various newspaper articles. The same is true for Allan Bell who, for instance, appears in the 'One News' mini TV documentary on the 'Kiwi accent' mentioned in Table 6.[71] Furthermore, academic publications are occasionally advertised in magazines targeted at non-professionals such as the *NZ Listener* in the first two following examples; and are involved in radio series dedicated to NZE (see the last two examples):

> READERS interested in the peculiarities of New Zealand English, or those who still feel the lack of a forum on language such as was formerly provided by Professor Ian Gordon's column in this journal, are directed towards the scholarly but lively *New Zealand English Newsletter*, edited by Tony Deverson and published annually by the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Canterbury. Issue 3 ($5) ranges from the authoritative (Professor Gordon himself on "British Regional Survivals in New Zealand English") to the irreverent (Stuart Middleton on the misunderstandings which might be foisted on foreign tourists by claims made for our language in Air New Zealand's in-flight magazine). Elizabeth Gordon and Andrew Carstairs provide some background comments, and antidote to current acrimony, on the first language topic in the proposed new English syllabus for sixth and seventh forms: "A simple comparative description of English and Māori". And for those likely to need it in the near future, there is "A Glossary of New Zealand Blade-Shearing Terms". Any New Zealander worthy of the name is acquainted with "crutching" and "dags". But did you also know that the latter are commonly referred to as "rousie's chewing gum" ("rouseabout" being a general hand) and that, while much of Michael Fay's strategy is hatched over breakfast meetings, you will never hear a merchant banker admit to having a "needle" (a bottle of beer) for lunch?
>
> *[#1_1989_p.19_NZListener_GordonCorpus_feature]*

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[67] For instance, one of the Ministry of Education officials that I have interviewed held an MA in linguistics from Victoria University, and she had been taught by Professor Janet Holmes.

[68] Elizabeth Gordon, additionally, was principal writer and developer for the Ministry of Education 'Exploring Language' project between 1994 and 1996.

[69] For a collection of his pieces on the topic see: Gordon, I. 1980. *A Word in your Ear.* Hong Kong: Heinemann Educational Books.

[70] Bauer, L., D. Bardsley, J. Holmes and P. Warren, 2011. *Q & Eh: Questions and Answers on Language with a Kiwi Twist.* Auckland: Random House.

[71] Here is a web link to the documentary: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ePwKYJcEOo

BOOKS

## "You may almost make sausages out of that mangled beef."

by Marion McLeod

NEW ZILD AS she is spoke — cartoon collections and humorous dictionaries on the subject are surefire sellers. But this month sees the publication of a pioneer scholarly book, *New Zealand Ways of Speaking English* (Victoria University Press, $39.95).

Why do some New Zealanders pronounce *ear* and *air* the same, and others go up at the end of sentences? Why do so many still regard Britain as the home of good English? Was there ever a Maori/English pidgin? Are the media changing the way New Zealanders speak? What makes horse racing commentaries in New Zealand unique? Do New Zealand men and women talk differently?

These are some of the questions addressed in a collection of essays edited by linguists Allan Bell and Janet Holmes. It's aimed primarily at students and linguists. "But," says Holmes, "when we have our Linguistic Society meetings here in Wellington, all sorts of people turn up." And all sorts of people write letters to the editor about New Zealand language. Few things seem to stir up the old blood pressure as much as pronunciation and word usage, while apostrophes can bring on apoplexy.

Historical data gathered by Canterbury University's Elizabeth Gordon shows that a distinctive New Zealand accent was audible
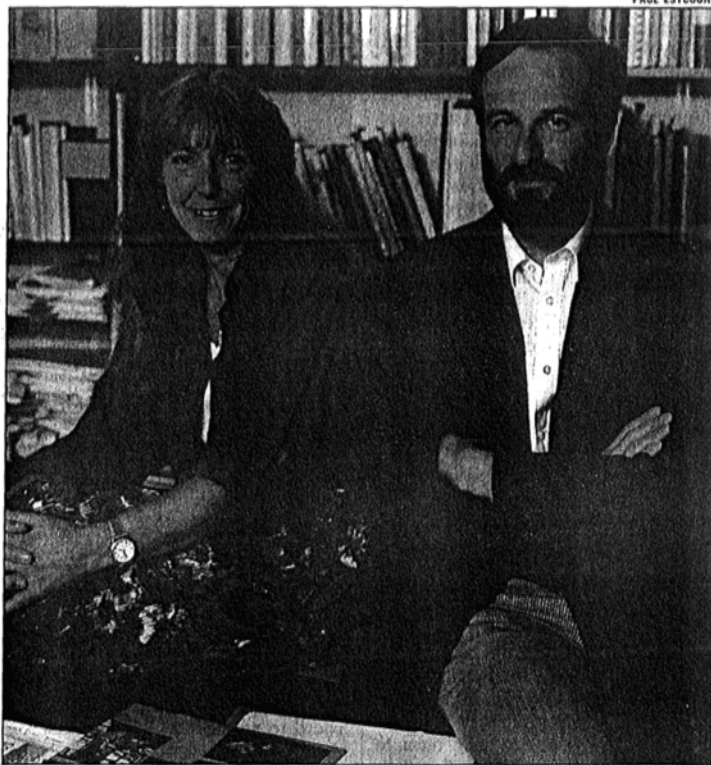
Janet Holmes and Allan Bell: NZE collectors.

by 1900. Almost simultaneously with remarking upon its existence, writers began to condemn it, and have been doing so ever since. Kiwi speech is seen as evidence of laziness and slovenliness. It is "indefensible", "corrupt", "degraded", "hideous", "evil-sounding"; New Zealand children "murder" the British language.

From the turn of the century onwards, school inspectors were constantly warning teachers against the scourge of impure vowels. Mr E W Andrew of Napier Boys' High in 1910: "Ask a colonial child to say, 'I went down to the town to buy a brown cow' and you may almost make sausages out of that mangled beef."

In 1914, the inspectors were complaining about "praise" coming out as "prise", "my" as "moi", "Mexico" as "Mexiceouw" and "shout" as "sheout". (Today's linguists regard these four closing diphthongs as

diagnostic of NZE.) And that *terrible* centralised "i": "ut" for "it", "paintud" for "painted". Elsewhere, the voices of New Zealand children were compared to "the noise made by a linen-draper's assistant tearing a sheet of unbleached calico". Eouch!

The solution was a simple one. Five minutes of phonics each day; lip drills and breathing exercises would restore purity to the land.

But five minutes of "how now brown cowing" clearly didn't have much impact in the milking sheds. Poet A R D Fairburn, writing a series of articles on language for the *Listener* in 1947, described New Zealand speech as "mutilations of standard English" with "wretched consonants and mangled and telescoped vowels". Ngaio Marsh carried on in much the same vein, exalting RP (received pronunciation) as the only

dialect in which Shakespeare should be read.

Yet there have always been a few fighting a brave rearguard action — condemning the imported upper-class vowels taught by elocution teachers as "refained, vile affectation". The language we speak is New Zealandese, they wrote, with its own idiom and pronunciation, and is just as distinctive as the language spoken by Americans, South Africans, Australians and Canadians.

Why did our pronunciation develop in just this way? *New Zealand Ways of Speaking English* doesn't actually deal with this question. Largely because the state of knowledge is a bit uncertain. In person, Holmes and Bell are somewhat evasive, as they laughingly admit. Some New Zealand linguists have propounded the view that New Zealand led the world in vowels as in sunrises: the vowels of NZE were rising and the rest of the world would follow. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this has since been challenged: well-known English sociolinguist Peter Trudgill claims we're in reality more conservative.

ELOCUTION IS "out" in the 1990s. At last, we have outgrown colonial cringe. Indeed this book, Allan Bell suggests, is one indication that New Zealand English is coming of age: "Past attitudes tell you a lot about self-esteem," he adds.

So, in these enlightened days we all recognise that there is a distinctive New Zealand English and we are proud of it? It's not quite that simple. Three major studies on attitudes to NZE are discussed in this book — one of them, interestingly, has the title, "God help us if we all sound like this..."

The principle of the reported surveys is to record various voices, play them to listeners and have those listeners "rate" the accents. Results show conclusively that received pronunciation is still the most highly rated accent in New Zealand. RP holds pride of place as the most respected and admired accent, associated with high

Dougal Stevenson: Top end of the accent continuum.

education, competence and prestige. "Linguistic colonialism" (Bell's phrase) is not completely dead and buried. (Interestingly, one study — in Dunedin — found that a North American accent ran RP a close second for status.)

On the other hand, New Zealand accents

GRAHAM CREAMER

Robin Kora: Viewers objected to his Maori accent.

rate more highly than RP on traits reflecting solidarity or social attractiveness — like friendliness, sincerity and sense of humour. And in Auckland, students gave more positive ratings to NZE (those "tested" were all either secondary or tertiary students) than did their counterparts in Dunedin and Christchurch.

People react differently to accents along the "Dagg to Dougal continuum" — to use a phrase coined by Don Bayard of Otago University: Fred Dagg to Dougal Stevenson, that is. Broad NZE of the Dagg variety was clearly stigmatised in the survey. Students tended to assume that the speaker was a Maori or Pacific Islander and the negative images in the comments supplied by the high-school sample make depressing reading: "dropout...slave...on the dole...street kid...loser...scummy job...glue smeller".

We can tell a lot about a person from the way they speak — including where they come from, geographically speaking. We can pick an Australian straight away and most of us pride ourselves on finer distinctions — people from Auckland speak differently from Southlanders, don't they?

Well, it seems that fully a third of subjects on a recent test judged the Australian accent as New Zealand. Subjects were still less able to identify the regional origins of the New Zealand accents they heard. Nor does the research resolve the controversial question of whether a distinctive Maori English exists; listeners correctly identifed some, but by no means all, of the Maori speakers. (A detailed study of the Southland "R", by the way, is underway.)

It would be wrong, of course, to assume

that we had one constant accent — most of us have a sliding scale within the Dagg to Dougal continuum. We adapt, consciously and unconsciously. Just as actors do.

Fifteen years ago Bell completed a PhD on the way New Zealand announcers presented the news and since then he's kept a close ear on the media. Radio newscasters, his essay shows, can attune their speech style very finely to different audiences listening to different stations. Bell was particularly impressed by those announcers who read the news on the YA programme at midday and then whizzed over to the community network to read it there at 12.30pm. "They make very fine distinctions, the accent shifts are very skilful."

And just as the British media have moved away from RP, so has New Zealand broadcasting. "Fifteen years ago it was pure RP, but by now it's become contaminated. Television has made a more or less conscious shift. Though it was interesting that Robin Kora's Maori accent brought objections and he was taken off. And on radio, Samoan Lualemana Tino Pereira...There were over 100 complaints about his accent; he was taken off for some time and given retraining. We have a tolerance towards Pakeha but not non-Pakeha New Zealand English."

Bell, whose book *The Language of News Media* will be published shortly, has also made a study of TV commercials, where the use of non-New Zealand accents is widespread. Products are associated with a variety of non-local stereotypes which advertisers clearly regard as attractive to target audiences. Bell found that 40 percent of a sample of TV commercials used varieties of English rather than NZE. A case of "out of the British frying pan into the American fire". American English is frequent, especially in singing, while in spoken advertising copy, British dialects are favoured.

What's more, all of the varieties are inaccurately imitated — though this does not seem to prevent them functioning successfully to evoke the intended associations in their audience. Bell's findings echo the research showing the residue of colonial attitudes which downgrade NZE and favour distant dialects as prestigious.

So is there any realistic hope of New Zealanders developing their own distinctive linguistic identity? Both Holmes and Bell are prepared to hazard the guess that NZE is gradually forging its own identity in some areas at least, using Maori, British and American resources to do so. There's room for so much research on New Zealand language, they stress. "We're just beginning to scratch the surface."

[#2_1991_8-9_NZListener_GordonCorpus]

THIS WEEK

RADIO HIGHLIGHTS

BY CHRIS BOURKE

CORRUPTION

A WIDE net had to be cast to show the changes in the way we speak and use language for a new six-part series starting on Concert FM this week. To illustrate *The Language Net*, recordings from the NZBS mobile disc-recording unit of the 1940s were unearthed, and newsreaders and actors of the 1990s, plus a team of linguists and researchers joined forces. They demonstrate how far we have come from the time, earlier this century, when New Zealand English was seen by many as a corruption and perversion of "pure British English" — something to be stamped out whenever possible.

Producer Elizabeth Alley says the series examines the way in which "RP" (received pronunciation) has gradually been replaced by a "more clearly defined New Zealand style that has now found its own level of acceptability". The programme looks at the language and content of our news stories, at the influence of Maori on everyday speech, the effects of the media on speech patterns — and language choices in what Donn Bayard of Otago University calls the "**Dagg** to **Dougal**" syndrome.

*[**#3**_1994_18_NZListener_GordonCorpus]*

TWANG GANG

RADIO REVIEW

BY JANE HURLEY

IF DIALECTIC writing doesn't rate highly on your personal applause meter, then you may have to leave the room. Because this week's column is about the New Zealand accent — that colonial twang one writer once cuttingly described as "like a linen draper's assistant tearing a sheet of unbleached calico". This country may fall into rack and ruin; the ozone hole may sear our bodies and hunger beset the land, but you can bet your community services card that someone, somewhere, will still be writing to the paper about the correct way to pronounce "kilometre". The spirit of Henry Higgins lives on!

The first two episodes of Concert FM's *The Language Net* (Thursdays, 7.30pm) were fascinating if you have any interest at all in the development of the Kiwi tongue. Academic Elizabeth Gordon presented them in that dense, pleasant, university-lecture style that always makes me feel I'm missing half the value if I don't take notes. Gordon doesn't subscribe to the old theory that New Zealand English derives from Cockney, pointing out that few Cockneys actually turned up here and that the two accents don't really sound the same anyway. (She didn't even mention the theory that Australian English is Cockney spoken with the mouth closed, to keep out the flies.)

Instead she inclines towards the idea that the Kiwi accent is the sum total of all the different types of accents that beached on our shores — the mixing bowl theory (in our case, a kind of Crown Lynn crucible).

And many of these accents were Australian.

I had to applaud Gordon's assault on the still-prevalent idea that there is only one way to speak English — the BBC way (received pronunciation — presumably straight from God). In the 1800s visitors exclaimed at the purity of our vowel sounds — by the turn of the century school inspectors were abusing the slovenly and unmusical way New Zealand children spoke. Then, as now, people who berated Kiwi pronunciation almost always did so on aesthetic or moral grounds — our harsh nasal twang sounded ugly, or we were just too lazy to speak properly. They never bothered to explain why it should take any more energy to say "fine" than "foine".

Inevitably, it is children from lower-socio-economic backgrounds who get it in the neck. The perennial complaints about the poor, as Gordon points out, are that they don't look after their children, they don't really want to work and they're too lazy to speak properly. The way in which lower-class people use their own language is always regarded as unacceptable, no matter what country they live in. But outraged letters to the editor are invaluable in one respect — they help speech researchers to track down the development of the indigenous accent through the years.

My own view is that we should just concentrate on enjoying the richness, diversity and novelty that the English language — any language — is capable of. English is like some linguistic accident victim — it will keep breathing as long as we keep pumping in new blood, to replace the old blood that's continously seeping from a thousand small cuts and wounds.

And if it's ironic that received pronunciation's spiritual home in New Zealand, the Concert Programme, should have commissioned a series to explain why RP is now completely inappropriate as a standard of spoken English on these shores, well — it's a very *subtle* irony. ■

These are just a few examples that demonstrate the aforementioned tendency, many more interventions in these public debates by linguists can be found in the corpus (e.g. Peter Trudgill in debates that have flared up in letters to the editor sections). Moreover, there is a much more informed and realistic language policy in New Zealand because many public servants have been trained by sociolinguists such as Janet Holmes. This is true, for instance, in the case of the Ministry of Education delegates who are in charge of the English Curriculum. As a consequence, it can be claimed that in this particular context the boundaries of what can be defined as a 'public discourse' and as a 'professional academic discourse' are blurred. This has certainly contributed to the unique language interest and linguistic awareness that has been observed in New Zealand, especially as regards language variation, policies and rights (i.e. on New Zealand English, Pasifika Englishes, Māori English, Te Reo Māori). As Ian Gordon wrote in one of his regular columns for the *NZ Listener*: "[…] New Zealanders are remarkably language-conscious. Radio talks on English usage, like *Say it in English* and *The Queen's English,* would need to be offered nightly to answer all the queries sent in by listeners" *[#5_1957(2)_GordonCorpus_12]*. The rather unusual interplay between these two discourses has thus to be taken into account in the analysis aimed at here and laid out in the next section.

4. New Zealand English: Legitimate because Authentic?

Delegitimising NZE → Legitimising NZE → De/authentication ('Dynamism' and 'Naturalness')

The metalinguistic discourse about NZE points towards a change in language practice, in language attitudes and ideologies. I will here examine past and current metalinguistic debates on NZE, in which language ideologies become visible, pinpointing some key ideological underpinnings and motifs. Based on this I will identify some diachronic ideological changes, especially for what concerns the definition of an 'authentic' language variety. In fact, the emergence of a new endonormative speech standard (see previous sections) has called for a reworking and adjustment of existing language ideologies to the new sociolinguistic situation. Consequently, the notion of 'authenticity' – or of what constitutes an authentic language variety – has been reworked in order to fit its new sociolinguistic context. Legitimisation and authentication processes that determine the public perception of linguistic varieties are thus the focus here. As Watts (1999: 84) points out, "[s]ince language ideology is constructed from mythical accounts of language use and language structure, it is important to locate examples of those accounts […]", and this is what it is attempted here with the analysis of these metalinguistic debates.

As a first step in section 4.1, I give an overview of some of the existent voices present in these public metalinguistic debates. This means that I will consider both 'legitimising' and 'delegitimising' (or 'positive' and 'negative') voices and how these have developed over time (i.e. mainly from the 1970s to today, touching briefly also on the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s). With 'legitimising' voices I here mean those voices that urge for the legitimacy and authenticity of NZE.

As a second step in section 4.2, I focus on the 'legitimising' voices[72] found in these metalinguistic debates, and special attention will be paid to the discursive practices of de/authentication (see Chapter I). This will allow me to present two themes that have been put forward in order to promote the authentication (and consequent legitimisation) of NZE, especially by contrasting this variety with the (former) exonormative speech standard that I here refer to as 'Standard' British English (hereafter BrE). These themes have been labelled 'Dynamism' and 'Naturalness'. A discussion of the interplay between the notions of 'legitimacy' and 'authenticity' will ensue.

Finally, I provide some concluding remarks; consider potential directions for future research on NZE and pinpoint motifs that will be analytically further developed with the second case study focusing on 'enregistered non-standard contact varieties of the south east of England' (in Chapter III).

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[72] The reasons for this choice are exposed in section 1.

4.1. Setting the Scene: 'Legitimising' and 'Delegitimising' Voices in the NZE Public Debate

Before beginning the main analysis of the data, a preliminary remark will be helpful in understanding the way in which the analysis is laid out. It will soon become clear that in these debates NZE is more often than not juxtaposed and contrasted with BrE. We find frequent references to BrE (under several labels) where it is contrasted with NZE and serves as a characterisation of what NZE is not (and viceversa on the legitimising side of the debate). This seems to indicate an ideological connection between these two varieties and often the de/legitimisation of one precludes that of the other. In other words, the ideologies that promote the legitimisation of NZE seem to be intimately connected with those that delegitimise BrE, and vice-versa. This is due to the socio-historical circumstances that have led to the development of NZE (see sections 1 and 2.2), and seem to be particularly salient to the New Zealanders that participate in these debates. Therefore, within these metalinguistic discourses – and in particular those representing the 'legitimising' and 'authenticating' voices that are the focus of this investigation – a choice between the two varieties is often represented as inevitable (see subsection 1.3 in Chapter I). As Geeraerts (2008) points out, this is an ideologically laden decision that implicates an array of other concepts such as democracy, emancipation, egalitarianism etc. Some of these concepts will be touched upon in the discussion, as well as processes of nation building and identity expression, that I think are central in these debates. Moreover, it is well-known that processes of identity formation often depend on defining the self as against some imagined 'Other', and that in these cases the Other is often "essentialized and imagined as homogenous" through "linguistic images" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 39). "[I]dentity is produced by ideas of opposition between culturally defined groups, and by practices that promote exclusion, divergence, and differentiation" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 75), and these representations may be helpful in interpreting "linguistic differences that have emerged through drift or long-term separation" (ibid) as in this case. It seems thus important here to reiterate that:

> The imagery involved in this essentializing process includes […] linguistic images – images in which the linguistic behaviours of others are simplified and seen as if deriving from those persons' essences rather than from historical accident. [These representations] they [may serve] to influence or even generate linguistic differences in those cases where some sociological contrast (in presumed essential attributes of persons or activities) seems to require display.[73]

(Irvine and Gal 2000: 39)

The analysis will thus be laid out in the following way. Structurally, I will first specify the ideological schemata[74] (cf. Johnstone 2010) that I aim at representing and deconstructing, followed by examples from the main corpus. The schemata will be provided at the beginning of the section in the form of a short paragraph outlining the main points of discussion. Second, I will provide the

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[73] See chapter I.
[74] For 'schemata' I here generally mean the data structures constructed in someone's mind for representing both specific and generic concepts about the outside, and about everyday experiences.

corresponding examples, and I will comment on them. Finally, at the end of section 4.1, I will draw upon some basic quantitative estimates in order to provide some insights into the diachronic development of delegitimising and legitimising comments (or voices). Analytically, I will first outline the voices that delegitimise NZE, often by advocating the superiority and legitimacy of BrE. These are the kinds of voices that are frequently associated with the prescriptivist 'complaint tradition', and with the concept of 'language guardians' (cf. Chapter I), and the resulting discourses are generally recognized as being underpinned by a traditional standard ideology (cf. Milroy (2000) and Chapter I). Within this logic BrE is the only legitimate and acceptable speech standard to be used, especially in the public arenas of broadcasting, politics and the educational system. This will be the focus of section 4.1.1 with two closely interwoven ideological schemata. The following section (4.1.2.) will focus on the consolidation of the 'legitimising' voices about NZE, and on how these correlate with processes of nation building and identity expression. This discussion will revolve around another set of two highly interconnected ideological schemata. Finally, in section 4.2. the focus will turn to the examination and deconstruction of the ideology of linguistic authenticity (cf. Chapter I) and to the ways in which – in these public discourses – NZE is authenticated and BrE is de-authenticated. Additionally, in this section the notions of linguistic 'legitimacy' and 'authenticity', as well as the relation between the two, will be problematised.

It is important to remember that, I here provide a small number of examples that are representative of the ideological schemata that I want to illustrate. However, these kinds of argumentations were found repeatedly in the main corpus. Moreover, the ideological schemata exemplified in the next sections are all closely interrelated and make up the different thematic strands of the public meta-discourse on NZE. I have attempted here to lay them out as partially self-contained entities in order to facilitate their deconstruction, even though there are overlaps and the meta-discourse is certainly layered and more complex.

4.1.1. Delegitimising NZE and Legitimising BrE[75] [76]

4.1.1.1 Ideological Schemata 1:

Ideological schemata 1: the ideological schemata in play here include the idea that NZE is not a legitimate variety of English (i.e. because it is 'corrupt', 'lazy', 'slovenly' and an 'objectionable colonial dialect'), and it does not fulfill the communicative needs of its speakers. BrE, on the other hand, is legitimate and superior in many respects, and should be the aim of every well-educated and well-respected New Zealander, especially in the case of public figures such as newsreaders. This is because BrE is the authoritative, original variety of English, it is prestigious and communicatively more efficient: "good English", "traditional English", "proper English". Within these ideological schemata 'Standard English' is regularly equated to "Standard Southern England Upper Class English" and NZE to "Slipshod English"[**#6**_1974_p.3_NZListener_GordonCorpus] Many of the debates taken into account here are thus underpinned by a standard language ideology (see Chapter I).

In view of the fact that the present thesis focuses on the legitimising voices about NZE, I will here only give a quick overview of the delegitimising voices present in the meta-discourse. This

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[75] Please note that all the data tracing back to earlier periods, i.e. especially the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s stem from the Gordon Corpus described in section 2.3.1.1.1.

[76] For a discussion of the labelling practices used in this dissertation see Chapter I.

is done mainly in order to contextualise the analysis of the legitimising voices that will follow by providing grounds for comparison. Additionally, since the data collection was mainly focused on these legitimising voices, I will here regularly draw from Gordon's work (especially Gordon 1988; 2009a; 2009b), because she has dealt extensively with this aspect of the public metalinguistic discourse surrounding NZE. These delegitimising voices appear to have been more common at the early stages of the development of NZE, when NZE was not given much recognition. However, it is important to reiterate here that at any point in time both voices (i.e. legitimising and delegitimising ones) are represented in the corpus. In fact, as Kroskrity (2010: 197) points out "language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the plurality of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clans, elites, generations and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership" (cf. Chapter I). For this section I will try to proceed in a chronological order, first giving an overview of the main debates that fit the section theme and then providing a more in depth analysis that will take into account the rationalist and romantic models posited by Geeraerts (2008), as well as other relevant theoretical frameworks outlined in Chapter I. It is important to note that there are several different types of illegitimacy associated with NZE in these discourses. There are, in fact, different themes that recur in the following examples, some of the main ones are: a) laziness or slovenliness: NZE is lazy and/or slovenly (see for example quotes #9, #16, #19, #22, #26, #32 and #49); b) intelligibility and correctness: NZE is unintelligible and incorrect/not 'proper' English (see for example quotes #9, #14, #23, #25, #26, #27, #31, #33, #34); c) aesthetics: NZE is ugly and unpleasant (see for example quotes #12, #18, #21, #27, #29 and #48).[77]

For much of the 20th century, many New Zealanders aspired to sound 'cultivated' to emulate the English educated classes and the 'received standard English' brought to New Zealand by the BBC. The historian J. Belich[78] argues that, almost from the beginning of European settlement, New Zealanders aspired to be 'Better Britons', and accent was thus an inextricable part of the project. 'Pure' English became not so much an idea of a standard English as of an 'ideal' form of pronunciation, and that ideal form was regularly equated to the 'Queen's English'. NZE was thus to be castigated for its offending vowels and diphthongs, which needed to be eradicated or re-shaped. NZE was "an incurable disease" it was "vile, muddy, a blot on our national life". The criticisms of NZE frequently took on a moral tone: "the blood of the language on their hands;" it was "evil sounding, had despairing depths" it was "corrupt, slovenly, unspeakably bad, mangled, twisted and debauched" (Batterham 1993) (cf. McEnery 2006). In relation to this, Mazzon (2000: 73) explains that the rise of the first "Extraterritorial Englishes" (and she considers NZE one) "was accompanied by a strong criticism, and often these varieties were the object of ridicule", they are considered a "secondary product: the umbilical cord with the mother country [could not] be cut, and autonomous development [was considered] impossible besides minor, very marginal changes" (ibid: 75). In short, anything that deviated from a British norm could be classified as a mistake or an abuse of the language, therefore "the approach to these varieties has invariably been a 'deviationist' approach [...], i.e. the new varieties have been seen and assessed in terms of their relationship with the mother country's standard, so that the process leading to the recognition of

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[77] I will not analyse these in detail because this is outside the aim of the present chapter, however it is important to point out that there are different themes that are used to delegitimise NZE.

[78] Cf. Belich, J. 2001. *Paradise Reforged: a History of the New Zealanders; from the 1880s to the Year 2000*. New Zealand: Penguin Books.

an independent variety has been long and troubled" (Mazzon 2000: 74). Mazzon (2000: 74) links this to the fact that the role of the standard within the "process of the spread of English has been that of creating a sense of inferiority, of establishing a new social scale based on the degree of knowledge of English and to the extent of adherence to its (exonormative) standard, and in general it has served as an instrument of imperialism as much as political and economic strategies and politics." This, obviously, helped to "reinforce linguistic insecurity and negative (self-) assessment in the colonies" (75). The following quotes from the language debates taking place in the *NZ Listener* and the *Otago Daily Times* illustrate these first points.

There is no good reason to prevent the hope that in these lands of the south, where we boast of such liberal systems of education, we may in the near future be recognised as the most correct speakers of the King's English of any in the wide Empire into which our people has developed. It is certainly within the power of our schools and other educational institutions to promote a system of perfect English pronunciation in these new world states…It now lies with us to make our language of the future what it should be, or to neglect it very much, as we have done up to the present time. We may develop a colonialism of our own, with a **variety of shades of corruption that will be as distinct from each other as have been the dialects of England, Ireland and Scotland;** or we may set up a standard of such excellence that no-one will question that it is the **purest** of all the Anglo-Saxon tongue.

[#7_31/1/1903_OtagoDailyTimes] (Gordon 2009a: 42) (**my emphasis**)[79]

England is our homeland; English is (or ought to be) our mother tongue. So let us have good English programmes and let us have New Zealand announcers properly trained to correct and pleasant speech.

[#8_24/11/1944_NZListener] (Gordon 2009b: 10)

Vowels: Sir, – Mr Elton-Harris may be unaware that, during his absence in the Middle East, sporadic conflict has appeared in the press between two different schools of thought. For the sake of clarification I will refer to these groups as NewZillunites and New Zeelanders. NewZillunites condemn anything resembling Queen's English. They see no reason why we should not call a male a "mile", or a mile a "moile". They encourage us to buy fush fungers from Cantabree in the South Olland. In short, they contend that, by adopting this slovenly speech, we are creating for ourselves a national language. God's Own Country must have her own mother tongue. The aim, no doubt is to render our speech completely unintelligible to the outside world. We must retain our insular characteristics at any cost. New Zillunites fail to appreciate, however, that in condemning Queen's English, they are condemning all Roman vowels. In so doing they are placing obstacles in the path of children who may wish to study other European languages. Young people who corrupt their English vowels are handicapped from the start. […] New Zeelanders deplore this negligence and are anxious to check the downward skid. Like Mr Elton-Harris (and many more) they have raised their voices in loud protest. But their cry remains unheard in high places. Let us, therefore, clamour more urgently for greater concentration on phonetics at Teachers' Training Colleges. Let pure vowels be taught to primary-school children from the age of five. At best, English is a bastard language. The Romans, Vikings, Danes, Saxons and French have all left their mark. Let us not bastardize it still further by introducing NewZillun Strine.

[#9_1967_13_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]

The linkages between the metalinguistic discourses about NZE and more general discourses of identity and country allegiance are already detectable here; these will be the focus of ideological

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[79] This view was expressed by Mr. R.N. Adams in some articles that he wrote for the *Otago Daily Times*.

schemata 3. As these first three quotations demonstrate – according to the participants in these metalinguistic debates – the schools were endowed with the power to solve this linguistic 'issue' (i.e. the New Zealand accent) with oral exercises and elocution lessons. Elocution classes were particularly popular at the time. The script of a documentary for primetime TV on NZE (provided by one of my interviewees) sums this up rather nicely, and testifies to the distinctive awareness that New Zealanders seem to have on language and variation matters, and to a general (also lay) interest in language and dialects:

> […] The way one spoke was a great determinant of authority and class – even in a supposedly class-less society. Elocution involved posture, delivery and gesture as well as voice – even breathing – and it was geared towards the public platform. It was the product of an age when people not only read aloud in their homes but attended penny readings, sang songs around the piano and attended concerts and memorised poetry and recited it, sometimes in competitions.
>
> Elocution was big. It was part of a world-wide movement. Local Kiwi expressions were dismissed as 'slang'. Men might use them under certain circumstances, but a lady never should. Elocution joined deportment and etiquette as signifiers of class, particularly for women. And elocution classes, which aimed to teach young New Zealanders 'correct' speech, became part of the curriculum at school […]. Elocution was their weapon. Eliza Dolittle was their model.
> Film and local radio and, in due course, television also made their contribution to the struggle between an accent that was manufactured under licence from London and an increasingly confident local vernacular. Watch any old newsreel or National Film Unit feature until the 1970's and you hear the sound of the imperial BBC in all its pomp. The announcer training unit of the NZBS made sure that any nasty local vowels and diphthongs in the speech of aspiring broadcasters were 'straightened out'. And though the gulf between the way they talked on the wireless and the way they talked at the pub or at Plunket was widening, that 'radio voice' remained aspirational for many Kiwis […].

[#10_2011_'ATasteofKiwi'_documentary-script]

More examples for these first ideological schemata are provided below. A *NZ Listener* reader contributed an extract from Alice Duer Miller's poem 'The White Cliffs', to demonstrate her allegiance to BrE.

> Oh English voices, are there any words
> Those tones to tell, those cadences to teach!
> As song of thrushes is to other birds
> So English voices are to other speech.
> Those pure round "o's" – those lovely liquid "l's"
> Ring in the ear like sound of Sabbath bells.

[#11_1944_p.5_NZListener] (Gordon 1988: 11)

> Many women teachers despair of their pupils' New Zealand accent. Few men seem to worry about it. Well at the risk of setting myself up as a snob or a pedant I am on the side of the women. I cannot easily reconcile myself to Professor Gordon's view that we should, even must, accept the peculiar New Zealand modifications of English vowel sounds. I am not objecting to a dialect, but what I ask is that our speech should be manly on the lips of our men, and womanly on the lips of our women and pleasant in the ears of all.[80]

[#12_14/3/1947_NZListener] (Gordon 2009b: 15)

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[80] Written by Professor Sinclaire of Canterbury University College.

Mispronunciation: Sir, – Your correspondent, Anthony Simpson (*Listener*, November 27) made the extraordinary assertion that it does not matter how words are pronounced, provided they are understood. Also he denied, that there is any "correct standard" of speech. I suspect strongly that these untenable statements were prompted by a desire to defend the intolerable indigenous New Zealand dialect, which constantly disenvowels the Queen's English. If your correspondent wants to know what constitutes the correct standard, I suggest he listen to the speeches of Sir Winston Churchill, the ideal exemplar.

*[**#13**_1965_1_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

Points of pronunciation: Sir, – "Ordinary Kiwis" would appear from J. N. Birss's outburst on the subject to have greater gifts of vituperation than the critics of slipshod English, who are content to register their prejudices in more moderate terms. Though no doubt perfectly intelligible to their friends, the conversation of ordinary Kiwis is less easy to follow than that of their compatriots – cabinet ministers, clergymen, etc – who, in interviews, take trouble to enunciate their words. An integral part of the training of New Zealand or English actors is the mastery of what is still quaintly called "standard" English, and it would be interesting to try to follow the script of, say, *Othello*, or even *Charlie's Aunt* if it were to be given in the sort of speech favoured by your correspondent.

*[**#14**_1974_1_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

As she is spoke: Sir, – I am becoming increasingly concerned with the poor standard of speech and grammar which emerge from the television screen into the ears of the impressionable young. The gabble and the nasal tones of *Tracy *80* jar, but her poor grammar is too much. Today she spoke thus: "Note the five incorrect things done wrong." She said this twice. If it is the fashion to gabble let the gabble be grammatically correct. How do people not capable of speaking the Queen's English become TV frontmen? Surely the main criterion is "English as she is spoke"! Parents and teachers in the background are fighting a losing battle.

*[**#15**_1980(6)_22_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

In line with this, Andrew Morrison, a speech examiner for Trinity College who gave a talk on 'The New Zealand Voice' stated that NZE is:

[…] an idle tongue, a rigid jaw, atrophied labial muscles—these will account for most of the habits and mannerisms that colour New Zealand speech. As a race you are not very good at short vowels. Your long vowels tend to be placed in the wrong part of the mouth, and the things you do to the final "y" sound "Anthonee, gloree!" Casting a quick and tactful glance at your consonants, may I observe that as a whole, New Zealand tongues are idle. The "l" sound is treacherous. Your plosives too tend to disappear without trace. And just a word about the way you manhandle the name of your country. It is not a difficult name. In itself it is a lovely chain of sounds. But is it to be New Zealand or Nu Zillnd? And if so, why? […] I have confined myself to more obvious if less pleasant features of your speech and voices—the idleness, rigidity, and nasalisation. Whether the deviations from Standard English that these generate are to remain characteristically national noises, or whether they will ultimately disappear, depends upon how much care and attention you are going to devote to speech training in education.

*[**#16**_7/11/1948] (Gordon 2009b: 15-16)[81]*

These quotes reveal that the matter of speech standards in New Zealand was (and is) interlinked with several other important discourses such as (linguistic) authority, social stratification and

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[81] Several of the earlier delegitmising voices were actually British.

gender roles. Some of these will be examined more closely in the following sections. The idea of the superiority of BrE and the consequent inadequacy of NZE was thus perpetuated in the schools (cf. Gordon 1992, 2005, 2008, 2010a, 2010b; Gordon and Deverson 1989) and in broadcasting, especially for what concerns the radio. NZBC announcers were, for instance, taught to speak 'properly' at the New Zealand Broadcasting Service Announcer Training School, where they used a pronunciation guide based on Daniel Jones' *Pronouncing Dictionary of English* (Gordon 2009a: 52*)*.

The delegitimising voices persisted into the following years and decades, and still survive today. However, some recognition of a local dialect, together with a ridicule of the too affected 'BBC pronunciation' nicknamed 'colonial genteel' (probably by the famous New Zealand poet A. R. D. Fairburn) started to surface more regularly within these delegitimising comments and the broadcasting pronunciation guides. Some examples are provided below (in order or relevance):

[…] The preparation of this guide has involved long and extensive study by our consultative committee on pronunciation and by Head Office staff.

While you may not agree with all the pronunciations shown, we are of the opinion that common usage together with authoritative reasoning have enabled us to arrive at preferred pronunciations which should, generally, be acceptable to our listeners and viewers. **Doubtless we will modify again as the emerging New Zealand dialect allows or dictates.**

You will notice that we have moved away from the received versions of the "Ex" words and have adopted the widely accepted New Zealand forms. […]

For general words, this list supersedes any other authority held on station or elsewhere. Other publications should be referred to only when the word is not included in this new list.

K.D. Green for Director-General

*[**#17**_1982_ RNZ Pronunciation Guide_p.117]*

Let us lend our ears, enquiringly, but without zest, to some of the mutilations of standard English that are heard in New Zealand. First of all there is the ordinary New Zealand mode of speech (if I may be permitted to give it a label). It is bad, but not as bad as A'strylian, with which it shares several characteristics. I shall not try to survey its full range of wretched consonants and mangled and telescoped vowels. It substitutes 'foine' for 'fine', 'I sigh' for 'I say', 'quicklee' for 'quickly', 'Chewsday' for 'Tuesday', 'interjooce', for 'introduce', 'fulla' for 'fellow', 'neow' for 'now', 'soote' for 'suit', 'kin y' do ut' for 'can you do it?' and so on. There are also some simple mispronunciations that seem to be quite general; 'bassic' for 'basic', and 'adult', or 'ally' and 'finance' with the accent on the first syllable instead of the second). The intonation on this speech is pinched and nasal, and the speech organs cramped and restricted. One of its most characteristic points is the catarrhal vowel. […] Some New Zealanders have reacted sharply against the dialect I am now describing, and have devised one of their own which bears the same sort of relation to standard English speech as a 'serviette' does to a table-napkin. One or two private girls' schools seem to encourage this way of speaking, which we may call **colonial-genteel**. It borrows certain of its twists from some of the more precious and hole-in-the-corner dialects of fashionable England, but it has added a few more on its own account. The round 'o' diphthong in 'home' is pinched and drawled to make the word 'haome'. 'No' becomes 'nao' or even 'neh-oo'. The long vowel 'oo' in 'two' and 'school' is shortened to sound like the 'oot' in 'foot'. 'Culture' becomes 'cahlture', and 'love', 'lahve'. 'First' is turned into 'fust' or even 'fast' and 'persons' become 'pahsons'.

*[**#18**_1946_p.4_NZListener_GordonCorpus_article by A.R.D. Fairburn]* (**my emphasis**)

[…] Well educated New Zealanders speak of hospiddles, edjication, ishue (issue), New Zillan – and I repeat that this is just slovenly and without excuse. At the other extreme is that 'naiceness' which gushes hideously from a widespread inferiority complex and which is almost worse.

*[**#19**_1945_p.4_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

[…] His letter was in the best bantam cock style. He objected to any attempt to correct mispronunciations which tend to make our speech a dialect. He was proud of his New Zealandese. The only result of this will be to encourage petty national conceit and parochialism which might end in dividing English into a number of hostile and suspicious units with a core of jealousy and bad feeling.

*[**#20**_1944_p.5_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

[…] What chance have our children here in New Zealand to learn Standard English, when my own observation tells me that few New Zealand teachers have learnt it themselves? Most of the, including university lecturers, speak in the same ugly accent as the majority of people in this country.

*[**#21**_1957(1)_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

[…] During this session we heard almost nothing of the glaring speech faults prevalent in this country ("boike" was thrown in by the chairman almost at the last moment in a desperate attempt to nail the speakers down to something positive). The kiwi defects of monotonous tone, flat and nasal vowels, slurred and swallowed consonants, went unremarked and certainly uncastigated. We heard nothing either about correcting infantile and irritating lisps or the stressing of prepositions and conjunctions (some NZBC commentators could have come under fire here). So much that is meaty and relevant was bypassed. Two speakers made quite a firm stand on some positive aspects and assets of good speech, but for some reason difficult to fathom they were subjected to aggressive attack from the other half of the panel, who confined themselves to stressing the obvious – the need for the public speaker to be understood and to carry conviction. This doesn't go very far. The "refained" speech of the past has rightly been laughed out of existence, but to accept any "natural speech" provided it is understandable and emphatic is surely to swing the pendulum to the other extreme. No-one with any concern for speech (public or private) should condone, let alone encourage, the slovenly nasal twang and the "lazy tongue" that characterise the "typical Kiwi".

*[**#22**_1970_p.5_NZListener_Gordon Corpus_article][82]*

I fail to see why common standards cannot be set. It is not fair to wrench the listener from a BBC standard to a wobbly NZBC one, then back again. Much of the news in NZBC bulletins is interesting, but it is difficult to take unless it is pronounced and presented properly.

*[**#23**_1970_p.1_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

Pronouncing English: […] In view of the tremendous influence broadcasting has, particularly on pronunciation, but also on the use of words, I am rather sorry that the long series of guidance broadcasts which began with Professor Arnold Wall's *The Queen's English* (it may have been as far [unreadable] as *The King's English*) came to an end with J. H. E. Schroder's [unreadable] *and their Ways*. Professor Wall left us his *New Zealand English*, a guide to correct pronunciation with special reference to New Zealand conditions and problems first published in 1939; but the third edition of 1959 is now out of date […].

*[**#24**_1971_p.1_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-Editor].*

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[82] From an article entitled 'New Zealand Speech' in the *NZ Listener*.

In relation to these observations, Gordon (2009a: 43) explains that "Professor Arnold Wall was the guardian of the King's and the Queen's English in New Zealand. […] wrote a book entitled *New Zealand English: How it should be spoken*", and that in its preface he wrote: "This book is designed for use by residents of New Zealand who wish to speak 'good English' or 'standard English', as spoken by the 'best speakers' in the old land; it is not intended for those who wish to develop a new dialect for this country (Wall 1939: 1)". Interestingly, Professor Wall (an Englishman) was Professor of English at Canterbury University and believed, with many others, that NZE sounded similar to 'Cockney', with the negative connotations that this term carried at that time. An extract from a talk he has recorded in 1951 entitled 'The Way I have Come', further clarifies his stance towards NZE and BrE.

> […] this or that pronunciation is usual or very frequent here, while it may be unknown at home, but I make no criticisms and I do not find faults. It is for New Zealanders themselves ultimately to decide […] This is not a case of right or wrong, but of custom and habit. Yet it does seem to me that the New Zealand speaker should know what he is doing when he uses pronunciation which is unknown in England. And there are still in this country numbers of the native born who are very anxious to speak **good English, that is traditionally correct English as it is spoken in the Mother Country.**
>
> *[#25_1951_Side-B_'The Way I have come'_TonyDeverson's tape]* (**my emphasis**)[83]

> **Pronunciation standards**: Sir, – Mr K. D. Green, NZBC Head of Announcing Services, (Listener, *November* 29) goes to great lengths to convince his readers that he accepts, condones and will encourage incorrect usage and pronunciation of words even if they are a result of poor education, carelessness or slovenliness, or a "she'll be right – you know what I mean" attitude, provided they are commonly used. This, it seems, he calls a **"living language".** Correct pronunciation, if it comes into his discussion at all, he calls **"a traditional version"** and must apparently fall under immediate suspicion. Does Mr Green really appreciate the tremendous influence which the pronunciation and use of every word spoken over both radio and television has on any individual, especially the young? By resorting to "common usage" as a justification for *incorrect* usage he is making a mockery of the efforts of the Education Department (such as they are in this respect), parents, the authority of the dictionary as well as **our greatest heritage** – the English language. If it is true that correct, or Mr Green's **"traditional", pronunciation** and speech leads to pedantry, then of this the late Sir Winston Churchill, one of the greatest orators and statesmen of our time, was guilty. But he communicated effortlessly, was admired, followed, opposed and understood without question by both the educated and the uneducated through the correct use and extremely full and comprehensive knowledge of the English language. Somerset Maugham's fame also sprang from his skill in the use and knowledge of his language. To quote the *Listener* (December 6) he said, "I am bored by writers who say their thoughts are so profound they cannot be adequately expressed in simple English. I have a notion that the plain way of writing" – (and here I would add "speaking") – "English wears better than the ornate." If Mr Green's "trained personnel" and "educated and cultured speakers" really are this, then these people would have been taught and would have learned *correct* **usage and pronunciation,** *not* **common usage**. I doubt also if they are in the majority.
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> *[#26_1972_p.1_NZListener_Letter-to-the-Editor]* [84](**my emphasis**)

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[83] This extract is taken from the tape that was sold together with Deverson and Gordon's (1985a) volume, specifically from a section that deals with 'what people have said about NZE'. This tape will be referred to as 'TonyDeverson's tape' here.

[84] From a letter series entitled 'Pronunciation Standards'.

> **Standard English:** […] The letter "L" – lively, liquid and limpid – requires a small effort of the tongue, which apparently is beyond the strength of the Kiwi. Consequently his speech is hideous and frequently ambiguous–the former a judgment of aesthetics but the latter one of **efficiency**. Thus "pool", "pull", "pill" and even "pall" are all pronounced "pooh". "Bull", "bill", "ball" are all "booh". One must wait until the end of a sentence to try to work out what the speaker (even a true-born Kiwi radio announcer) has been talking about. As for aesthetics – lovely words like "jewel", "children", "hill", "lilting" become joo, choodren, hoo and looting. Try it, dear Sir, *please* just try it, and then rush off to persuade NZBC that their first task with announcers should be to persuade them to lift the tongue that inch to pronounce this most beautiful and essential letter (not byeeoodifoo and essenchoo).
>
> *[#27_1973(2)_p.6_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]* (**my emphasis**)

Several prominent public figures of the New Zealand society of the time participated in this debate, including writer and theatre director Dame Ngaio Marsh, and A. R. D. Fairburn. These contributions sparked a substantial amount of debate in the 'Letters to the Editor' sections of the *NZ Listener* and other newspapers. Ngaio Marsh described NZE as being "in the manner of a pianist wearing a clown's gloves" *[1978_p.10_NZListener_GordonCorpus]*. I here provide an extract from Fairburn's article 'Speech! Speech!' published in the *NZ Listener* in 1957, where he portrays New Zealanders' attitudes towards 'correct pronunciation', England and "Englishness". This extract is particularly relevant for the present discussion since it points to several of the main motifs around which the discussion will pivot later on. This article, in fact, generated a heated debate on notions of identity and authenticity (see section 4.2)

SPEECH! SPEECH!

by A. R. D. FAIRBURN

FROM time to time onslaughts are made on New Zealand habits of speech—by teachers or visitors to these shores as a rule, but even in one recent instance, in the editorial columns of a newspaper. There are two things to be said at the outset about these critical attacks: first, that they are fully justified, and secondly, that they have no effect whatever.

One would think it would be a simple matter: demonstrate to a man that he is saying "foine" instead of "fine," and he might wipe a piece of egg or porridge off his chin when his attention was drawn to it. But this doesn't work. The mangling and maiming of vowels would seem, in practice, to be more like—what? Nail-biting? No, the analogy breaks down. Nail-biting is an involuntary habit. Nobody says, or implies, "I'm going on biting my nails, just to show you!" That, more or less, is the sort of attitude New Zealanders adopt, one feels, when they cling to their bad habits of speech in the face of continual criticism. What is the explanation?

Partly, I think, an innate feeling that the way a man speaks is an essential part of himself, and that to tamper with it is a sort of dishonesty, like putting the big strawberries on the top of the box, or an affectation, like wearing stovepipe trousers. Just so, we might imagine, one might object to giving too much attention to the cultivation of a moustache, or to taking lessons in the art of love-making. A certain healthiness and honesty of spirit underlies the New Zealander's refusal to brush up his vowels and consonants. Nevertheless, he is mistaken. If he can clear his mind of cant, and regard the whole matter in a detached and unselfconscious way, he will see that a pleasant habit of speech is one aspect of good manners—and good manners do not imply affectation. On the contrary, they imply simplicity, naturalness and restraint (but not constriction). From another point of view, the use of one's voice is like the use of one's body—something in which one cultivates a certain degree of efficiency through exercise, without making a fetish of it.

This revulsion against what is taken to be affectation and "dog" has, I suggest, another aspect, which is a by-product of our unresolved colonialism. It arises from a self-conscious reaction towards England and Englishness. For the New Zealander, the speech of English people divides itself up into two sections: (1) the various local dialects, which are regarded as being without any special significance; the strongest feeling a New Zealander has towards Cockney or Lancashire speech is one of faint superiority, tinged with amusement; (2) "educated English" speech, which makes the New Zealander feel uncomfortable. He is conscious that a major social distinction, between upper and lower classes, is being manifested, and he instinctively disapproves of this situation. But he is not aware of the many fine distinctions maintained by Englishmen within the "educated" class, as ways of distinguishing members of sub-groups, repelling gate-crashers, and keeping clear the complicated anatomy of the English caste system. To his ear they all seem alike, and they all seem to be "trying too hard."

The New Zealander's instinct is right once again, up to a point. A great many "educated" Englishmen do speak with some sort of affectation. More often than not, they are unaware of doing so, because it is the result, not of individual initiative, but of conformity to the manners of a social group. Looked at from the inside, it seems to the Englishman to be quite natural to do this. To the outsider—the New Zealander who is not strongly conscious of social distinctions—it appears to be affected and "prissy."

Amongst the varieties of "educated English" we find a large number of subtle variations in intonation and pronunciation. Some do nearly as much violence to the language as does New Zealand speech. But the New Zealander, to whom they all sound alike, tends to have one reaction—a fear of imitating them, of thus being guilty of "putting on dog." (Fear breeds, in due course, a measure of hostility.) He therefore clings to his own habits.

The only thing an intelligent and self-reliant New Zealander can do in the face of this situation is to be as objective as possible about it. Here is a list of typical pronunciations which he no doubt regards as being abhorrent:

fah	=	fire
repawtid	=	reported
Chemblin	=	Chamberlain
todeh	=	today
attityawd	=	attitude
sairious	=	serious
pwodoction	=	production
pawleece	=	police
Greht Broot'n	=	Great Britain

[#28_1957(1)_p.1_NZListener_GordonCorpus_article]

Fairburn replied to some of the letters within this debate as follow:

[…] One hears grossly affected and distorted speech at times from Armeh Naveh or Ehah Fawce types, from Oxford and Cambridge, and from BBC announcers. Technically, these distortions are produced by clipping or drawling, booming or whining, constricting the larynx or putting a plum in the mouth. **I see no reason why New Zealanders should copy these antics. But they should realise that their own speech is, in general, much uglier.** Standard English is based essentially on the **proper use** of the "organs of speech" considered as physical instruments. We do not admire the violinist who can play only four notes, and those wolf-notes.

[#29_1957(1)_p.1_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]

From this first set of quotes a few relevant points can be gathered. A discourse of standardisation underlies most of these debates, and broadcasting and the schools were seen as instrumental in the maintenance of speech standards. The New Zealand Education Department, for example recommended that all New Zealand school children should listen to the 'Empire Day' message of King George and Queen Mary and try to copy their speech. One interviewee – on Tony Deverson's tape – when being asked about school examinations recalls that RP was required in order to succeed in the exams: "your speech in ordinary conversation is very disappointing…you had to give them their RP…" (*1951_Side-B_'The Way I have Come'_TonyDeverson's tape*). Broadcasting discourse is particularly prolific in New Zealand when it comes to this kind of

ideological debates as NZBC announcers were regularly under fire for their supposed 'mispronunciations'. As discussed in previous chapters, Bell (1983: 29) points out that in several countries broadcasting language, especially the language used on the news, is regarded as the "embodiment of standard speech" (ibid). As a consequence, broadcast media "play a multiple role – active as well as passive – in language standardization"(ibid):

> First, in their choice of standards for their own use, broadcast media reflect the language evaluations of society at large. They then extend that standardization further by selecting certain forms and codifying them for use by announcers. And third, by the use of these forms and the standard language as a whole, the media disseminate the standard and further enhance its prestige. As Noss (1967: 64) observes, media 'exert a decisive influence not only on the spread of the national language but also on the form in which it is ultimately accepted by the public' (ibid).

These 'selected forms' were more often than not – implicitly or explicitly – British ways of pronouncing words. Second, matters of authenticity and naturalness emerge as important in these debates, especially in the extract from A. R. D. Fairburn's article for the *NZ Listener*.[85] A key to this view is the idea of BrE (here constructed as 'standard English') as a superior variety that is closely associated with a positive notion of culture. First, BrE is constructed as a symbol of a shared culture and as a necessary 'tool' for national unity, supporting communication and understanding across the country. Second, BrE – or more precisely the constructed standardised upper version of it – is constructed as a sign of a high culture, of cultural elevation, refinement, and complexity. Additionally, this conceptualisation of BrE presents it as something that does not come naturally, but requires effort and care, and provides a valuable cultural capital for those who are able to master it. The cultural refinement associated with BrE expands to the cognitive domain, where this more complex and refined form of language is regarded as supporting refined thoughts and complex reasoning (cf. Wiese 2014).

Reproduced below are some quotations representing more recent debates, and a wider variety of sources (see table 6 and 7 for the debates labels and sources). We can see that the causes commentators allege for speaking NZE is that speakers are slovenly, careless, lazy, and do not want to make the time and effort to speak 'properly' (in chronological order). In some cases, NZE is also regarded as an obstacle to social mobility, as a sign of being uneducated.

New Zealish as she is spoke: I bin watchin the news on telly an it's intrestin to see all these foriners torkin Inglish. It don't seem to matter weather they are from the Artic or more tropical places. They can all talk Inglish better than what a lot of Kiwis can. The politicians are on about kids getting more skills and stuff to get a job, but everybody can't be an architet or a nucular injineer. What I think I am saying is, even if they can't, they can learn them to talk proper. I'm only a superannuant, but I got friends from Paraparowmu to Taramanui who think the same. I used to be a prison warden when the killers were hung, and I served on the *Arkilees*, and I think it's criminal that all these people can talk better than what our owen kids can.

*[**#30**_1990(3)_p.11_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

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[85] These themes, and the discursive construction of authenticity, will be the focus of section 4.2.

Garglers, whiners: Sir, – The problem of deterioration in written and spoken communication is real and present, despite Janet Holmes's wish to deny this. **Sense and meaning are often obscured, if not obliterated, by distortions and deficiencies. It is not unreasonable to deduce that some styles are superior, or inferior to others, even that some are correct and others incorrect. The quality of communication can be severely damaged by its deficiencies.** The "duck-speaking" to which Orwell referred is increasingly noticeable in this country. It runs all the way from the mindlessness of much of talkback radio, to the rancorous brawling in Parliament, to some of the writing quaintly called New Zealand "literature". We have become a nation of grunters, garglers and whiners. Janet Holmes's article of spoken language was a set of doctrinally convenient notions advanced as an academic argument.

*[**#31**_1994_p.10_NZListener_DebateJanetHolmes]*

Even in today's world there remains such a thing as the Queen's English, and people are at least partially assessed on the correctness of their speech. Slovenly speech is almost cultivated by many New Zealanders including some politicians.

*[**#32**_1994_p.13_NZListener_ DebateJanetHolmes]*

New Zealanders cannot be an island alone in this world. Our need to communicate with other English speaking nations is greater now than it has ever been using all the skills that it takes to enunciate words clearly so that the listener knows exactly beyond all doubt what the speaker is saying.

*[**#33**_1994_p.7-8_Private-Correspondence_Academics'-personal-collections]*

Newzild Speech is Turning our English into a Foreign Language.

*[**#34**_1997_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn_title-of-article]*

Yet in this country, especially, our principle language is being destroyed, reformed and reduced to an almost unrecognisable remnant.

*[**#35**_1997_p.0_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn_article]*

[…] Newzild is now no closer to English than is German.

*[**#36**_1997_p.0_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn_article]*

How are these people appointed to these positions, where they influence speech habits of listeners, young and old?

*[**#37**_1997_p.4_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

For these people, English is a second language! […] "Newzild" is now a mere pidgin".

*[**#38**_1997_p.4_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn_ Letter-to-the-Editor]*

Lusun Cloyslie: Maybe before the eminently learned Peter Trudgill ("Heow, neow, breown, ceow?", April 7) returns to New Zealand, he should take time to question what the country does when Newzild is no longer understood by English-speaking people. […]

*[**#39**_2001_p.4_NZListener_DebateCow_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

[…] regional accents are wonderfully enriching contributions to the English language – but an accent becomes degenerate when the spoken word cannot differentiate between totally different meanings.

*[**#40**_2001_p.7_NZListener_DebateCow_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

[…] Speech is about communication. If we accept the degeneration of "hear", "ear" and "fear" […] then we are becoming poorer at communication, not better.

*[**#41**_2005_p.9_NZListener_DebateNewZildDoc_Article: "A werd about are eccent", by Jane Clifton]*

[…] I'll bet this programme set hackles rising the length of the country. There are those who glory in the eccentricities of New Zild, and find "received" or BBC English **a tyranny**, and they would have delighted to see our Pommy heritage stomped upon in the way chronicled by the programme. And there are those, like this reviewer, who have aesthetic - as well as clarity-related-reservations about intensifying our accent. […]

*[**#42**_2005_NZListener_DebateNewZildDoc_Article: "A werd about are eccent", by Jane Clifton]*

Gidday New Zild: […] Yes, laziness. The same indolence that saw our America's Cup Yacht skulk back to the Viaduct Basin minus its essential […] and which sees our sports teams crushed at the critical moment by those who know the true meaning of "going the extra mile", is the same malaise that permeates our spoken language. Is not the iconic kiwi phrase "she'll be right" a euphemism for "Well, I hope she'll be right; can't be bothered working up a sweat to ensure she really will be right"? Then there's everythink for everything. It's like fingernails on a blackboard to me […] so if laziness is the cause of "New Zild English", what has made those of us who massacre the precious English language in such a way, so slack? The great majority of us are descendants of hardworking pioneers, aren't we? The Protestant work ethic, and all that […]

*[**#43**_2005_p.8_NZListener_DebateNewZildDoc_Letter-to-Editor]*

But why is the New Zealand accent so similar – identical, I would argue – to this infantilised way of speech? […] My pop theory is that it's to do with being a small, economically vulnerable nation. Perhaps we subconsciously aim to sound as unthreatening as possible so bigger countries won't aggress us. "please don't hut may!" (please don't hit me) – we want to sound endearing and childlike, as a sort of passive-defensive stance.

*[**#44**_2009_p.38_NZListener_DebateMincingWords_Article]*

The great strength of western civilisation is an agreed national language and the great weakness of the third world is multiple dialects. In recent years we have been in danger of reverting to the latter.

*[**#45**_2012_p.8_DebateSirBobJones_comment]*

[…] If we are going to allow the wrong people to use the English language, they'll ruin it. Although I live in Newzild, I try to speak Bringlish – even as I watch the world getting taken over by Ameringlish.

*[**#46**_2012_p.89_DebateSirBobJones_comment]*

So when overseas people can't understand our news we have a problem […] there actually is a world out there and we are part of it and our news needs to be understood by more than just us.

*[**#47**_2013_p.9/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]*

Agree. I can't listen to the news during Summer on One because of that woman who speaks through the nose. And mangled Unglush a la John Key is not pretty.

*[**#48**_2013_p.33/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment].*

> […] we [New Zealanders] have lazy single vowels…of course it is laziness! [provided example: "fush and chups" and "Wallington"] It's not a choice, they are lazy and they don't realise it, absolutely!
>
> *[#49_2014_ Interview_SpeechCoach]*[86]

> […] if we can all accept that it is desirable for people to look good, why can't we accept that it is desirable for them to sound good?
>
> *[#50_2014_Interview_LP]*

Some of the interviewees tried to explain the origin of these ideological schemata, especially the primacy of a British norm in broadcasting:

> […] our culture was transplanted from British culture so everything was designed to be British…we also used to get the news from Britain, even before the New Zealand news…there was no consideration that there could be a need for a New Zealand accent to be used…only when private broadcasting started...less regulation…it changed all completely. But there still was this lingering Britishness about public broadcasters up to ten years ago.
>
> *[#51_2014_ Interview_ JournalismSchool_1]*

> […] it was a mimicry of the way things should be done…it was also a class, upper class thing…the news were serious and formal and they all had that upper class British well rounded accent and it would be unusual for the news to be presented in a style that was different from what maybe the politicians were doing as well….essentially a copy-cat…because it was considered common sense and it was part of the ideology of what news actually was…it was serious, it was based on a British model and so it should therefore be presented in a British way as well…**it was the norm and a sign of authority**…there was no norm for presenting in a New Zealand accent…all media were presented like that and there weren't many media outlets at that time…you haven't got a range of voices trying to find their voice…there were just the same people mimicking the same style.
>
> *[#52_2014_ Interview_Broadcasting_School]*

The main ideology that can be seen as underpinning these delegitimising voices is the ideology of the standard language, and especially of Standard English. This is not surprising since, as Mazzon (2000: 73) points out the history of the new varieties (i.e. 'Extraterritorial Englishes' including New Zealand English) "was influenced by the idea of Standard English and by the ideology surrounding this notion" (for a more detailed explanation of the standard ideology see Chapter I). As a short reminder, the standard language ideology entails a belief in a homogenous, superior, discrete "standard variety" that leads to the devaluation of other variants as inferior and deficient, and of their speakers as less competent (Wiese 2014). Milroy (2000) points to several characteristics that a standard language (especially English) is presumed to have and that can be, explicitly or implicitly, invoked in order to justify its selection over local dialects: a) uniformity and invariance are valued (see for example quotes #7 and #8); b) linguistic change and variability are rejected (see for example quotes #25, #26 and #52); c) standard language is often equated with prestige. It has therefore social prestige and can be linked to social exclusiveness (see for example quotes #7 and #52); d) it has historical depth and has a unilinear, pure history. For the English language this

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[86] The conventions for transcribing the interviews that I have conducted are the following: 1) '…' symbolizes a pause in the enunciation of the sentence, or an hesitation; 2) words enclosed between two '*' symbols were emphatically enunciated by the interviewees.

meant a "movement to establish and legitimise standard English (the Queen's English) as the language of a great empire – a world language" (ibid). Abuses to the Queen's English are thus "*morally* reprehensible" because they undermine the integrity of the language (ibid: 16) (see for example quotes #7, #8, #25 and #52); e) it is 'educated speech', 'correct speech', it represents the 'proper use of the organs of speech', and it is associated with an elite variety: dialectal developments are "dismissed as 'vulgar' and 'provincial'" (ibid: 17) (see for example quotes #8, #25, #26 and #31); f) it has intrinsic features that facilitate communication, which is the purpose of all languages (see for example quotes #26, and #31); g) it is monostylistic and is associated with formality, good manners and authority (see for example quotes #33, #50, #52 and #57).

Standardisation often implies legitimacy for a language variety, a standard language carries prestige and symbolic power. There is thus an ideologisation of BrE as the superior standard of speech, and the standard language is "uniform, it has prestige, and it is also 'careful'" (ibid: 19). Additionally, it is important to note that "standardisation is implemented and promoted primarily through written forms of language" (ibid: 14), and this thus facilitates the filtering of its related ideology into the educational system. As a consequence, in New Zealand, as Gordon (2009a: 43) points out, "[t]he definition of what was 'good' or 'correct speech' was always the speech of the educated man – and he was the educated man in England". BrE embodied the idea of "correct speech", speaking "properly", "good speech", "proper use of the organ of speech".

This definition, and its manifestation in the more general meta-discourse about 'Standard English' is clearly also underpinned by a colonial language ideology. Within this ideology former colonial varieties are considered the most valuable on the linguistic market (cf. Bourdieu 2005) and a colonial prejudice is still observed. BrE is in fact valorised in these metalinguistic debates and NZE is still seen as a 'bad copy' of it, an "objectionable colonial dialect" (Gordon and Abell 1990). This also relates to an 'ideology of eternal incompetence' (Starčević, A., M. Kapović and D. Sarić 2015): the standard language is difficult to master, it requires training, effort and time. Thus, language, and in this case 'Standard' language mastery and skills, is often framed as something that is in a permanent unfinished state, one is always learning, the process is never complete.

Furthermore, the harsh criticism of NZE appears to be a product of the semiotic process of fractal recursivity (see Chapter I) whereby language phenomena are extrapolated to become very general, dramatic facts, and the criticism thus acquires a moral tone. NZE is seen as undermining civilisation and preventing education and good manners. As a brief reminder of what these semiotic processes entail:

o **Iconisation**: "[l]inguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 37).
o **Fractal recursivity**: "[i]nvolves the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38).
o **Erasure**: "is the process in which ideology, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38).

The semiotic process of iconisation is also part of the picture here as an iconic link is created between personality traits and language use (e.g. 'lazy tongue' equals 'lazy people'), as it is exemplified by this quotation:

> There used to be a saying that sloppy use of words was the result of sloppy thought. Does Mr Hall agree?
>
> *[**#53**_1976_p.16_NZListener_GordonCopus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

Finally, it is interesting to note how these discourses allow for the erasure of language variation in Britain, and especially in England: everyone there speaks RP or the 'Queen's English' (see for example quotes #25, #43, #46, #56 and #57). This could be because of a need to indicate a 'more concrete', and superior, variety with which NZE can then unfavourably be compared. This also implies a certain level of essentialisation. These semiotic processes will be further discussed later on as they underlie much of the language ideological reasoning also in the 'legitimising' dimension of the debate.

 To conclude, the ideological threads that underlie these metalinguistic debates concerned with the value of these two English varieties, can be further deconstructed with the help of Geeraerts' (2008) and Woolard's (2008) models (for the sake of simplicity I will here use Geeraerts' terminology). Underlying the discourses about the legitimisation and superiority of BrE as a speech standard we can find features that belong to both the rationalist and the romantic model. Within the logic of these delegitimising voices, in fact, BrE should be endorsed as the main speech standard in New Zealand because it is a neutral and efficient medium of communication, and language is seen as primarily a communicative tool:

> [l]anguage is just a process we use to communicate information and ideas. It is the communication aspect that is the most important, not the language.
>
> *[**#54**_2012_p.14_NZHeraldOnline_DebateSirBobJones_comment]*

> [b]ut what solely counts with language is its functional value which is diminished when mis-used
>
> *[**#55**_2012_p.1_NZHeraldOnline_DebateSirBobJones_article]*.

Cameron (1995: 23) comments on this and explains that "[t]hat the true function of language is to serve as a 'means of communication' is a theme harped on by verbal hygienists across the cultural and political spectrum". BrE is thus a "medium of participation and emancipation" and a "key to the world of learning and higher culture" (Geeraerts 2008: 47), whose maintenance should be encouraged by the educational system. The value of BrE is thus located in its accessibility and universal intelligibility, and thus "[t]he referential function is ideologically all-important" (Woolard 2008: 4). Notions of democracy and civilisation are thus also called into play, as this claim from an online debate – where the author urges for the eradication of NZE features from broadcasting – epitomises: "Not only being able to watch the news again, but also freedom and civilisation themselves, are at stake" *[2013_p.2_DebateLindsayPerigo_article]*. On the other hand, it seems that a more romantic view of language variation also plays a role in the legitimisation of BrE. In fact, arguments in favour of BrE often rely on its authenticity as a reason justifying its legitimacy and superiority: BrE is *the* original variety of English since it has emerged in *Britain,* the mother country of the English language. Therefore, matching more closely the ideals encompassed within a romantic model, BrE is "deeply rooted in social and geographical territory" (Woolard 2008: 2), its legitimacy and superiority are derived from its relationship to a particular community – Britain – and to a sense of historical depth (i.e. tradition, lineage; see Chapter I). Following this logic thus, NZE cannot make a claim for legitimacy because it is a newly developed and colonial 'dialect',

lacking in historical depth, and thus also in authenticity. This last idea is encapsulated in the second ideological schemata discussed below, and it tended to justify especially earlier dismissals of NZE.

4.1.1.2 Ideological Schemata 2:

Ideological schemata 2: NZE is ideologised as not being a legitimate variety of English because it is inauthentic, a derivative variety. On the other hand, BrE is ideologised as being the only authentic and natural variety of English because of its longer (historical) tradition.

Several interviewees explicitly commented on these schemata, even though in several cases they do so in order to explain how NZE has recently acquired legitimacy (i.e. from a legitimising point of view, which nevertheless allows us to have an insight into the delegitimising voices that were common in earlier years). We will see in section 4.2 how these ideological schemata have been subverted in order to legitimise NZE.

Kiwi voice is considered authentic, having a BBC voice was the way that news was to be presented because news were serious and seriousness and **authenticity came from a British accent because that exuded the Mother Country and correct English**; while now authenticity is being yourself!
*[**#56**_2014_Interview_Broadcasting_School]*(**my emphasis**)

There was an idea that the **New Zealand accent was less authentic**, definitely…there was a concern that it wasn't as correct and didn't have the authority of the British accent…it was lazy and common, mongrel, a mix of things (an unpleasant mix of things) not educated, not refined, lower brow […]. It was seen as less **authentic because Britain was the role model, we brought Britain here**…it was considered highly educated. NZE was considered more informal. […] The New Zealand accent was too emotional, British English more formal and not emotional.
*[**#57**_2014_Interview_ JournalismSchool_1]* (**my emphasis**)

BrE was considered authentic until a certain point (1950s-1960s) but then it changed. The audience stopped to see this accent as authoritative (mid 1970s).
*[**#58**_2014_Interview_IF]*

New Zealanders were looking for an authentic kiwi identity that will be different from that of their parents […]. By working out what was authentic about us…and language is one of these things…together with literature, painting, arts.
*[**#59**_2014_Interview_IF]* (**my emphasis**)

In this last quote, there is the implication that the foundations on which an "authentic kiwi identity" were based were changing in response to changes happening on a societal level (see sections 1 and 2.2). New notions of an authentic kiwi identity seem to have correlated with new notions of authenticity in language (see section 4.2).

As Watts (2011: 120) points out in relation to his legitimate language myth, "[l]egitimacy is characterised in terms of homogeneity and immutability". This fits in with the discursive ideology of standardisation, and geographical stasis and immobility have long been considered fundamental also to notions such as the 'authentic speaker' and an 'authentic dialect': "the most authentic speaker belongs to a well-defined, static, and relatively homogeneous social grouping that is closed

to the outside" (Bucholtz 2003: 404). From the perspective of BrE's advocates (ideological schemata 1 and 2), this variety fulfils all of the criteria to be considered a 'legitimate language' as it a) is authorized by a recognizable authority (e.g. Britain and the BBC); b) is an expression of an official national identity (a British one, or a 'Better Britons' one); c) is the language of the law, of political discourse and of education; d) is a commodity (which is economically valuable also on an international level); e) its history is perceived as being connected with the history of a nation state (Britain and the Empire in this case); f) its users have confidence in its functionality, fluency and efficiency; g) is easy, pure and aesthetically pleasing. NZE on the other hand is here ideologised as: 1) an inferior, non-standard and corrupt colonial variety of BrE – that as a consequence should be eradicated and/or corrected; 2) a non-legitimate variety of English – especially in the public arenas of the media and education; 3) an inauthentic and derivative variety of English; 4) an English variety that lacks in communicative value and clarity – communication being considered the main purpose of language in several instances.

4.1.2. Legitimising NZE and Delegitimising BrE

Delegitimising comments about NZE continued to be expressed for a long time and still are today. However – as Bell and Holmes (1990: 33-4) point out – from the 1950s onwards more tolerant voices appeared more frequently and the educational system was changed accordingly:

> In the 1950s George Turner taught the language component in the Stage One English class at the University of Canterbury. Here he presented NZE as a variety in its own right and suggested that it was a fascinating subject for study. His book *The English Language in Australia and New Zealand* (1966) did much to assist the study of NZE and it has been widely used in schools and universities. The former elocution teachers who attempted to make New Zealand school children produce the vowels of Received British Pronunciation have now been replaced by members of the Speech Communication Association (NZ) Inc., whose emphasis is much more on communication – 'helping students to speak with clarity, confidence and courtesy in different situations', as one of their aims states (NZ speech Board, 1986: 1).

As it has been mentioned in previous sections, this seemed to reflect a new, stronger emphasis on a local national identity – a stronger sense of independent nationhood seemed to have developed over the years, i.e. as an independent South Pacific nation separate from Britain, the former 'Mother Country'. Gordon (2009a: 44) supports this claim:

> Is this acceptance of the way we speak as New Zealanders also a sign of a comfortable acknowledgement of our New Zealand identity? Does it mean that we are no longer the colonial cousins, insecure and ashamed of ourselves in the company of those who we fear might judge us? Can we say that the current attitude to our New Zealand accent reflects attitudes to our New Zealand identity? I think it does.

'Accent' thus became a powerful social symbol indexing one's allegiance: New Zealand or Britain and the Empire. These speech forms have thus reached a third-order of indexicality within this particular community, following the meaning of the term intended by Johnstone 2008 (9):

> Third order indexicality involves explicit metadiscourse and results in increased codification of [speech forms]. Forms start to become third-order indexicals when people who notice the

existence of second-order [language] variation link the regional variants they are most likely to hear with [a certain] identity, drawing on the idea that places and dialects are essentially linked (every place has a dialect; knowing a place means knowing its dialect). These people can use [speech] forms drawn from highly codified lists to perform local identity […]. This use of local features presupposes that there is a correlation between local orientation and local-sounding speech (local forms can thus be used even by people who have never actually heard local speech) […].

In relation to this Mazzon (2000: 79) explains that "claims to the existence of local varieties of English and their validity as autonomous standards [may] become part of the struggle for political independence". This will become evident for the present dataset with the following examples, as it is to these legitimising voices that we now turn with ideological schemata 3, 4 and 5. The following extract from the 'A Taste of Kiwi' documentary script, emphasises the influence of this newly developed sense of independent nationhood on the ways NZE (the 'Kiwi accent') came to be perceived. This also seemed to go hand in hand with an urge to "dislodge Received Pronunciation from its pedestal". In fact, "the process of standardisation of these varieties [Extraterritorial Englishes] often works towards the elimination of RP-like variants" (Mazzon 2000: 79).

Then in the 1960's and 1970's, we started to loosen up. New Zealanders, like Australians, increasingly chose to speak with a more discernibly local accent. It became 'uncool' and 'up yourself' to sound like a toff, or even a refugee from the BBC. **This reflected a burgeoning sense of national identity and an assertive cultural nationalism.**

Further variations within the accent developed as a result of the Māori renaissance and as migrants, particularly from the Pacific, and their descendants began to infuse their own sounds into the accent. These more recent influences have added to the already existing regional diversity in Kiwi accents. […]

In the late 50's and through the 60's a tidal wave of popular culture **started to dislodge Received Pronunciation from its pedestal**. Barry Crump's *Good Keen Man* talked on radio like our hard case uncle from the farm. On the Sunday request session, Peter Cape sang *Taumaranui on the Main Trunk Line* and other light classics in recognisable Kiwi. We belted out rock and pop in Kiwi, or Liverpudlian, or American – as the mood took us. Speaking like a Kiwi became seriously in vogue on stage and screen. […]Then, of course, John Clarke created a giant in Fred Dagg, who ripped up the rule book and established a whole new set of standards.

[#60_2011_'ATasteofKiwi'_documentary-script] (**my emphasis**)

4.1.2.1 Ideological Schemata 3:

Ideological schemata 3: NZE is conceptualised as a legitimate variety that represents the Kiwis' recently developed national and local identity; it reflects a sense of independent nationhood that also implies a shift 'towards' the Māori culture and language. BrE represents anti-nationalistic 'feelings', New Zealand's colonial past and a colonial identity. People who insist on using this variety over NZE are still affected by the well-known 'cultural cringe' (see section 1).

The discussion of linguistic variation is here connected with a concept of non-standard, local varieties that is positively connoted, and thus collides with the standard language ideologies outlined in chapter I. Competitive ideological views are thus expressed in these language debates,

which can be considered as "clashes or disjunctures in which divergent ideological perspectives on language and discourse are juxtaposed, resulting in a wide variety of outcomes" (Kroskrity 2010: 198). These points of disjuncture are important as they can "disclose critical differences in ideological perspectives that can more fully reveal their distinctive properties as well as their scope and force" (ibid). Several examples will be provided in order to demonstrate the pervasiveness, and thus arguably the salience, of these ideological threads across media, sub-discourses and time periods. The first quotation is taken from a very heated debate that flared up in the 'Letters to the Editor' section of the *NZ Listener,* and spanned over two years (from 1973 to 1974). This letter series was published under the title 'points on pronunciation'. This first quotation finely encapsulates the main motifs that will be examined in this section, both for ideological schemata 3 and 4.

Sir, – In his defence of what he calls Standard English (meaning Standard Southern England Upper Class English of the Victorian Era), and in his criticism of Slipshod English (meaning New Zealand speech), I. S. Trew raises an interesting point (December 22). What, he asks, would be the result, if say, *Othello* were performed in the New Zealand idiom? I can suggest two beneficial results: The first is that the company producing it might find that its potential market had broadened from captive school audiences and the artistic minority to the 2.8 million or so New Zealanders who at present are not interested in the theatre, perhaps to a considerable degree because of the cultural snobbery of the arts in this country. The use of the New Zealand idiom might signify to the mass of New Zealanders that performances were no longer aimed at the "cultured" few. The people would have no trouble understanding their own accent, as Mr Trew seems to believe they might. The pronunciation of many of the words might be nearer to that of the Elizabethans than is Standard Elocutionese. The second is that more New Zealand actors would have to learn how to speak in the style of the majority of their countrymen, even if they only wished to speak like this on stage. Before *Pukemanu*[87] it was rare to hear an actor able to portray a character who could pass for a New Zealand working-class citizen. Their efforts usually resulted in contorted gabble like a Cockney amateur actor mimicking a farmhand from a remote English shire. Similarly, on children's radio programmes, for example, one still finds entertainers adept at speaking in the various British accents, but lost when they try to speak like fellow citizens who have had the fortune not to have had their speech distorted by the elocution industry. Admittedly, elocution teachers may do fine therapeutic work among persons with physical vocal defects, but they do their pupils a disservice by using as a **model an outdated, imported and socially stratified mode of speech. As long as they continue in this they will be open to the accusation of being cultural Uncle Toms, trying to make New Zealanders feel ashamed of their speech. In this, they are part of a series of wider cultural cliques, which, in many former frontier countries, have, for a time, alienated the bulk of citizenry from the arts by their elitist, anti-nationalistic attitudes.**

*[**#61**_1974_p.3_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]* (**my emphasis**)

It is interesting to note that legitimising comments were present in the metalinguistic discourse about NZE from the very beginning, even though these were rarer, and probably considered 'non-mainstream'.

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[87] From the 'New Zealand on Screen' website: "Pioneering series *Pukemanu* (the NZBC's first continuing drama) followed the goings-on of a North Island timber town. The series was conceived by former forester Julian Dickon (who quit the series and was replaced by *Listener* critic Hamish Keith as writer). Producing two seasons of six episodes was a key step in industry professionalisation, and many of the cast became stars (Ginette McDonald, Ian Mune). It offered an archetypal screen image that Kiwis could relate to: rural, bi-cultural, boozy and blokey; and reviews praised its Swannie-clad authenticity"(http://www.nzonscreen.com/title/pukemanu/series; accessed on 27.11.15).

I am sure there are a good many listeners like myself who do not listen for mistakes in English or in grammar, but who like to hear announcers just speak as New Zealanders. A young nation will find a language of its own sooner or later and the vowels and accents will very likely change to suit.

[#62_18/5/1941_NZListener] (Gordon 2009b: 8).

Sir, - Right from your first issue various well intentioned writers have broken out with complaints of wrong pronunciation and bad English heard over the air, I suggest that it is time these people realised that English is not spoken in New Zealand. **The language we speak is New Zealandese, with its own idiom and pronunciation, and this is just as distinctive** as the language spoken by Americans, South Africans, Australians or Canadians. All the efforts of purists to persuade us to pronounce according to the Oxford Dictionary are doomed to failure. But their labours will bear fruit if they are concentrated on securing a standard pronunciation within the framework of the best New Zealand practice.

[#63_1944_p.11_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor] (**my emphasis**)

[…] every Dominion seems to be evolving its own way of speaking and pronouncing English, just as America has done. **This young and growing country must not be expected to remain a shadow of the mother country**, much as we admire her way of life. We are told that we are the most English of the Dominions, and perhaps this leads English people to expect too much of us. Other outside influences will leave their mark on a country so isolated by distance from the world's centres. [..] But we cannot honestly apologise. For this is New Zealand!

[#64_1956_p.5_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor] (**my emphasis**) [88]

[…] I do not see that there is anything to be ashamed of if New Zealanders develop their own type of English, as well as their own type of physique. There has been plenty of criticism in England of what is called "BBC" English, and the difference between the language spoken in London ad that spoken in Devonshire or Lancashire, is a great deal more noticeable than the difference between New Zealand English and the English used by the late King George the Fifth, for instance. Certainly I think that, if New Zealand children were encouraged to speak more from the roof of the mouth than the back of the throat, they would speak more pleasantly that they do, but there is one language for the school and another for the playground and the home, and I am inclined to think that we will, as one generation succeeds another, go on developing our own native method of speech as influenced by our environment, rather than by the example of the other English speaking nations.

[#65_1957_p.4_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor] [89]

[…] which makes it unlikely that we can be taught to speak better unless our whole (alleged) national character is made over.

[#66_1957(2)_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]

New Zealandisms are as distinctive a feature of the local scene as the landscape and the vegetation.

[#67_1957(3)_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]

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[88] In the context of a substantial debate on the topic of the BBC broadcast.
[89] In the context of the debate generated by A. R. D. Fairburn's article in the *NZ Listener* (see previous section).

Vowels: Sir, – Vowels are not sounded in the same way in every English-speaking country. The North and South of England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, East, Midwest and Western America, Australia and New Zealand all have their own peculiar vowel sounds. It is utter arrogance for the few thousand educated in the universities of South East England to presume and to proclaim that their pronunciation alone is correct. It sounds absurd to millions. Language is for communication between people living in the same community; the speech commonly used in that community is correct for it. Anyone living in that community tries to conform [...].

*[**#68**_1966_p.6_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

New Zealand Language: My first reaction on hearing in *Aspect* (National Programme) that Professor L. F. Brosnahan of Victoria University was in the process of compiling a dictionary of New Zealand pronunciation, was one of surprise. First, because I cannot imagine anyone wishing to perpetuate in print what passes for the New Zealand accent, and also because I have always imagined that New Zealand pronunciation was fairly constant throughout the country. Yet correct pronunciation is little more than the manner in which words are pronounced by the majority of educated people, and there is no reason why New Zealand English should not in time become as wide a variant of the mother tongue as American English has proved to be. An educated American makes no pretence of copying BBC English – and indeed, there is no reason why he should. Similarly, and probably within the next hundred years or so, New Zealand may well have shaped its own pronunciation along a distinctive course. [...] He admitted in this programme that his dictionary is not being prepared with the intention of offering it as an authority on New Zealand speech, but merely is a descriptive record. But since it is likely to be the only one of its kind it may well become the standard reference work, even though its use may be cultural rather than linguistic. [...]

*[**#69**_1968_p.2_NZListener_GordonCorpus_article]*

[...] The ATSD (Association of Teachers of Speech and Drama) wholeheartedly accepts the fact that New Zealanders speak a form of English which has inherent variations from that spoken in the South of England, or anywhere else for that matter.

*[**#70**_1974_p.8_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

A manner of speaking . . .

Though the Pommies may think us crude and the Aussies call us posh, nevertheless it's all our own. Staff writer Frances Parkin looks first at the characteristics and origins of English, New Zealand style, and — on the facing page — at a local language of rather a different sort.

Dare Nunder, there's a name for the way we speak. It has been called New Zild

*[**#71**_1977_p.10_NZListener_GordonCorpus_article]*

The English language is not the possession of people born in England.

*[**#72**_1978_p.19_NZListener_GordonCorpus]*

Another interesting debate was triggered by Dame Ngaio Marsh's article 'It is not what we say', published in the *NZ Listener* in 1978 (see Table 6). The article is here reproduced, and the first four paragraphs – summarising the arguments used by NZE's advocates – are particularly

noteworthy for the present analysis. This suggests that these ideas and "prevailing attitudes" were circulating earlier than 1978 and might have been considered 'common knowledge'.

It's not what we say . . .

NGAIO MARSH

WHAT ARE the prevailing attitudes of New Zealanders toward their manner of speech? That we speak good old Kiwi, and good old Kiwi will do us? Who wants to talk like a bloody pom?

Or that speech habits inevitably change when remote from their country of origin and for New Zealanders to attempt to adopt, maintain or restore the spoken English of, for instance, Sir Huw Wheldon, Bertrand Russell, Laurence Olivier, Prince Philip or the late Edith Evans, would be a sterile and artificial exercise?

Or that while we should certainly concern ourselves with establishing a standard of speech, it should be a standard of New Zealand speech as distinct from any other form of English, including *how* English English?

Or that *how* we communicate is a matter of no importance as long as we understand one another and, as far as we're concerned, that's it? Beyond that point we couldn't care less.

If I am right in thinking those are prevailing attitudes, is it not odd that none of them takes stock of aesthetic values? Nobody seems to worry about the actual quality of sound produced by New Zealanders when they make use of the elegant, sophisticated instrument with which each of us has been provided: an instrument capable of sounds as subtle, varied, delicate or dynamic as those of a violin or organ. We are told, by the way, that this instrument of ours is formed and operates very much in the manner of an organ. Our lungs are the bellows, our throats the pipes, our vocal chords the reeds, our mouths, noses, sinus cavities and the chamber behind our foreheads, the resonators. We have a pad of controllable muscle that acts, if we let it slacken, like a soft pedal or muffler, shutting off the passages to the resonating chambers and producing a metallic sound that we think of, mistakenly, as nasal.

Finally, we can shape the sounds our organ makes and, by the use of our tongues, lips and teeth, form them into words. As Hamlet says in another context a "most miraculous organ".

In the dialect we have developed and are rapidly consolidating, we may be said to use these facilities in the manner of a pianist wearing clown's gloves, keeping his foot on the soft pedal and, on the whole, despising the instrument he plays.

Does speech reflect the climate, occupation or habits of the speaker? I have heard it argued that the tinny sounds produced by many Australasians result from the screwing up of facial muscles against the sunny glare of these Antipodes. The lips are stretched sideways, the nose wrinkled, the teeth scarcely separated and the resulting sound of customary greeting comes out as: "Allow."

Indulging this notion we may instance the professional soldier roaring out parade-ground orders. His aim is to make himself heard and to that end he exaggerates his vowels, particularly the "a" sounds.

"Gu-a-a-rd" "Ma-a-ark" "Squ-a-a-d", he bawls. Does not this, it may be urged, lead to the habitual and much parodied English army mannerism by which "beer" becomes "b'yah" and "hear" "h'yah".

And what about the clergy? The "parsonic" voice is less often heard nowadays but it still booms. Is it not born of an attempt to compete with the notoriously baffling acoustics of holy places? If ordinands were instructed in speechcraft might they not win this painful battle and become less vulnerable to the discomforts of "clergyman's throat"?

I incline to think that New Zealanders' mode of communication derives in part from our insularity, from a kind of self-consciousness linked to a fear of giving ourselves away. Few of my fellow New Zealanders, I believe, would agree with this speculation which has arisen in part from 30 years or so of directing student actors in the plays of Shakespeare. Over those years I never encountered a student who, after being invited to think about it, did not agree that the New Zealand dialect was an unsatisfactory vehicle for the magnificent words he was called upon to use, nor a student who was not ready and able to abandon it. Pinched "O's", tinny "A's", long drawn-out "E's" and neglected consonants all righted themselves and nobody a penny the worse. There was pleasure and excitement in learning to play the instrument they had scarcely known they possessed and in discovering that it could be used naturally without affectation or distressing attempts at "the voice beautiful".

It would be nice to be able to say that from now on all my young New Zealanders preferred to be fully articulate, to speak as clearly off-stage as on. But no. A few did but for most it would have been asking too much to expect it. They would be jeered at, mimicked (although very badly), taken-the-micky-out-of: in a word they would have given themselves away.

The last time I ventured publicly upon this tricky ground I was rung up by an infuriated Kiwi who, in broadest dialect and using several four letter words that I recognised, and some that were new to me, let fly with 60 seconds of vitriolic abuse. He ended by shouting with the utmost scorn: "*Gid-dy!*" and cramming down the receiver.

Which is the sort of thing one gets for trying to be helpful. ●

[#73_1978(4)_p.15_NZListener_GordonCorpus_DebateNgaioMarsh_article]

The following letter was sent to the editor of the *NZ Listener* in response to Ngaio Marsh's article:

> Sir, – So Ngaio Marsh (October 14) doesn't like the New Zealand accent. She believes that the present dialect of the upper classes in Southern England ("Received Pronunciation" or RP) sounds better on stage and off. To the RP speaker (Ngaio Marsh is one) our vowel sounds may indeed sound tinny, pinched or long-drawn-out. But conversely, to the New Zealand speaker, the RP accent may sound unattractive. It depends totally on one's point of view. Why should the RP accent be accorded the status of being more correct, more valid? It is just one of the many dialects or accents of the English language. It has acquired its current status because it also happens to be the accent of the present royal family. It has no inherent superiority to any other accent or dialect, although Ngaio Marsh obviously believes that the New Zealand accent is an inferior form of language. […] However, I am not surprised to discover that Ngaio Marsh has this rather illogical belief in the superiority of one particular accent. I sat through television adaptations of two of her thrillers, and found the attitude of those characters with RP accents (who were all high-status) towards those characters with New Zealand or other "regional" accents (who were all low-status) insufferably condescending. Perhaps Ngaio Marsh should have made sure that something was, in fact, wrong before she tried to be "helpful". In my opinion, the main thing that needed correcting was her attitude.
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> *[#74_1978(5)_p.5_NZListener_DebateNgaioMarsh_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

Theatre and drama were central arenas around which the language debate revolved, and where a shift in the speech standards (and ideologies) could be more readily traced because there was a professional involvement with language, and therefore reflexive (metalinguistic) practices were not uncommon. Additionally, it was likely that these institutions regulated the use of language in certain ways, for instance with pronunciation guides and pronunciation exercises. The same is true for the metalinguistic discourses that revolved around broadcasting, and especially radio. This is exemplified here by the debate (in that same year) that was generated by the article 'Stylin' the news', published in the *NZ Listener*, and by extracts from the RNZ Pronunciation guide of 1996 and 2013 collected in Wellington. The *NZ Listener* article was based on Professor A. Bell's findings concerning "Kiwi" sounds in the news. One of the editor's correspondents wrote:

> **Stylin' the news:** Sir, – We joke about the poncy BBC accent even if we did kinda think that they had what Mr Bell (May 13) calls "prestige". I reckon he's dead right; we oughta have our own style of readin' the news […].
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> *[#75_1978(2)_p.14_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

As it pertains to pronunciation guides, these two extracts address the same concern:

> **We use New Zealand English rather than any foreign pronunciation where the New Zealand pronunciation is accepted as correct in New Zealand**; we pronounce Māori words in Māori.
>
> We prefer pronunciation associated with the achievement of high levels of education, authority and the expert speech of those who respect the language.
>
> When possible we pronounce words in a way which will not irritate our listeners; we often choose older pronunciations over newer forms for this reason. But we are not pedantic and do not use forms of speech which have passed from educated and expert use in New Zealand.

> By pronouncing words in the style we have set, and by avoiding the handful of undesirable speech habits noted in this style guide, we encourage the listener to trust our news. We are associated with education, authority and credibility. We are a leader and must set high standards in the use of language. All air staff, without exception, must meet our pronunciation standards.

[#76_1996_RNZ Pronunciation Guide] (**my emphasis**)

> The internet is a valuable tool for finding the correct pronunciation of a word or name […] Remember, though, that many sites are American and so need to be interpreted in a New Zealand-English context

[#77_2013_RNZ Pronunciation Guide: "The Summary"][90]

It is here important to observe that, the dates indicating the years when the shift in attitudes towards speech standards in broadcasting is supposed to have happened do not always match from one commentator to the other (see the following quote). Contrasting opinions about when this shift was first picked up by television or radio have also been expressed. Ideological changes cannot be pinned down to a specific point in time, as they are gradual; the two (or more) contrasting views normally keep on coexisting, and they are also context-dependent. See for example the following quote which points to the 1970s as the starting point of this shift.

> "Until the 70s, we werent's allowed to use Kiwi accents on television. It wasn't until *Pukemanu* that Tony Isaac and Murray Reece decided they wanted actors to be New Zealanders…Up until then I used to have this beautiful Oxford accent and I had to get rid of it". […]

[#78_1990(5)_p.1_NZListener_GordonCorpus_article]

The publication of the first New Zealand Dictionary edited by H. W. Orsman in 1979 also triggered a fair amount of debate, with some insightful commentary such as the following extract from a review piece entitled "Dictionary for the patriot-in-the-street". Articles about this important publication were published in several national newspapers and readers were encouraged to contribute to different sections of the Dictionary. Most of the comments remained negative in the *NZ Listener*, but some praised it as a patriotic achievement.

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[90] A scanned version of the (current) RNZ Pronunciation Guide "The Summary" is provided in the Appendix.

NEW ZEALAND
  DICTIONARY
edited by H. W. Orsman
Heinemann Educational Books, $9.95.

WITH A FLUTTER of flags and Pete Sinclairs the *Heinemann New Zealand Dictionary* has been launched onto the bookshops. The implications are clear that this is a patriotic work and it is a Challenge. In comparison, the counterpart *Australian Dictionary* has a sober, lettered appearance, perhaps because the Australian language, as an idea, passed through its birth-pangs quite a long time ago. New Zealanders have grown aware more slowly that they have a right to claim certain words and pronunciations as national property — not without some agony as to whether, if in doubt, one should line up with Fred Dagg or the BBC. Somewhere between, no doubt, an educated New Zealand usage is slowly being hammered out, and it is metal of that temper which the *Heinemann Dictionary* has sought to attract into its pages, metal on the whole well-forged but occasionally giving forth an uncertain note.

From the parent Australian dictionary comes the format, which is perhaps the most striking feature. For what must be almost the first time, there exists a volume that contains most of the important words in the language and yet can be understood by anyone without the need of a training course. (One might risk noting that in both countries academics have played an important part in producing these person-in-the-street's dictionaries: the staff of La Trobe University in Australia and Harry Orsman of Victoria University here.) There are no abbreviations to guess at, no symbols to master. Not only is the type big enough to read, but it is well spaced out so as to make reading pleasant.

[#79_1979(2)_p.10_NZListener_GordonCorpus_review article]

This demonstrates that similar ideological schemata recurred also in related discourses about lexicon (i.e. New Zealandisms) and literature. The following two quotations illustrate this same point. The first one testifies once more to the presence of an academic language discourse in the public meta-discourses about NZE. This book review was, in fact, written by Tony Deverson, a well-known linguist working in New Zealand.

A correspondent to the *Listener* in 1946, taking a firm stand in favour of British models for New Zealand speech, declared that the production of a New Zealand dictionary was a "remote and improbable contingency" that would be "nothing short of a calamity". At a time when this country had recently and once more gone where Britain went, and stood where she stood, lexicographical recognition of its distinctive usage was indeed still a distant and to many a subversive prospect. Not until more than 30 years and a considerable loosening of ties with Home later did the prospect become reality, in the form of the *Heinemann New Zealand Dictionary* in 1979 (HNZD1) [...]

[#80_1990(2)_p.7_NZListener_GordonCorpus_article]

English Syllabus: With regard to comments by our new Minister of Education, Lockwood Smith, on the sixth-form and seventh-form English syllabus expressed on the National News (November 8), I would like to present my own views. The entire planet is going through an ecological crisis and every country should be looking to its own resources rather than gaining a "position in the international scene", New Zealand is lucky in that it has so many resources and so few people. We can support ourselves better than most countries will be able to. It is difficult for many people (and especially a National government) to comprehend that the only way for New Zealand to survive in the international scene is **to have a strong identity culturally**. Our society is sometimes identified through sporting achievements (both nationally and internationally), but we have other things bonding us as a nation, and these include the unique experience we share with each other, the stories that our authors, poets and playwrights give to us. The arts already have a Third World status in this country. **Do not stifle them more by denying the New Zealand voice in our schools. We are no longer English pioneers; we are the people of New Zealand.** We need only look at the achievements and acclaim of the film *An Angel at my Table* to realise the importance of our voice here and overseas.

*[**#81**_1990(6)_p.18_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

Similar views seem to have intensified as the years passed and the delegitimising voices to have become generally more tolerant, more muted. This might also be due to the steady influx of academic opinions and concepts that were filtering through the main mediums (i.e. radio, printed press, videos) on the matter. Another possible reason is the intensification of the awareness of the important nexus between language and culture, that may have been connected, among other things, to the Māori Renaissance in the 1970s (more details on this connection are provided below with some interview extracts).[91] Here some additional relevant examples of the current ideological schemata are provided.

[…] Then there was her accent. Women seemed to hate it a lot more than men, says Morris. "They would come and complain: 'It's her voiyce. It's tearible.'" Hay has never had speech lessons – and doesn't intend to. **"I'm a New Zealander, I'm not ashamed of my New Zealand accent"**. She did have her voice examined, though, by a Radio New Zealand announcer trainer last year. The diagnosis was a lazy tongue: "I say 'moolk' instead of 'milk'." Her drawled-out delivery makes even Phillip Sherry seem like a race track commentator. But learning to modulate her speed would mean losing the North Island accent. "I don't see why I should. My grammar is perfect. The only pressure is from those bloody poncy people in the media who like to sound like BBC announcers. I'm not going to become that plastic for anybody".

*[**#82**_1984_p.16_NZListener_GordonCorpus_article]* (**my emphasis**)[92]

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[91] Since the late 19th century Pākehā have included Māori traditions, customs and images in displays of New Zealand's distinctive national identity. Cultural and trade exhibitions featured Māori performers and art forms from the 1880s, and Māori traditional life was a key attraction of the country's tourist destination Rotorua. From the 1900s Māori carving became accepted as a symbol of New Zealand. Important foreign visitors were greeted with a formal Māori welcome. From the 1970s New Zealand made a steadily stronger commitment to biculturalism – the idea that the Māori and Pākehā cultures could exist on equal terms. Major policy changes to reflect biculturalism were made by government departments and other state agencies. One of the most noticeable changes was made by the education system in response to declining use of the Māori language. By the 1970s this was in danger of disappearing and initiatives such as kōhanga reo (Māori-language pre-schools), kura (schools) and wānanga (universities) were set up to revive the language. Accessed on 30.10.15, at http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/Māori-pakeha-relations/page-6.

[92] An extract from the article 'Who's that girl?' about Karyn Hay, presenter of *Radio with Pictures*.

Why all this fuss about New Zealand pronunciation? Certainly the plural of woman is pronounced wimmin, but New Zealanders are not British, not American, and certainly not Australian. Our accent has evolved into what is over the 150-odd years since European immigrants first came here. We don't want to be English, so why do so many people want us to speak like them? We may say mulk instead of milk, have fush and chups on Friday nights, but it is Kiwi – it is the way we are. Stop trying to change us.

[#83_1986_p.8_NZListener_LiddellDebate_Letter-to-the-Editor]

Sir – With depressing regularity, it seems, we become targets for cranks obsessed with the notion that we should forgo our own delightful language for some strange dialect of English indistinguishable from that taught in English public schools several decades ago […] Though these people are quick to reassure us that English is indeed a "living language", it seems that their personal version met an untimely death around the end of World War 2. I fear that rather than beginning school from a position of advantage, Mr. Gunn's daughter will face serious ostracising due to her inability to speak the local language.

[#84_1997_p.1_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn_Letter-to-the-Editor]

We don't sound like that, and we don't want to sound like that. We are not British. But we do speak English, and our spoken style, New Zealand English, should be a matter of pride, quite as much as is the Māori language.

[#85_2009_p.41_NZListener_DebateMincingWords_article]

Sir – Having not long returned from a 10-years sojourn in the home of English(es), I think the situation is worse than Dr. Gunn realises, and exhort him to start his campaign for proper English at the heart of the rot. We are mere amateurs here in linguistic obfuscation via pronunciation. Why, in the Home Counties, the traditional HQ of Received Pronunciation, middle-class teens are deserting pure speech in droves. They are affecting a Mockney glottal stop: an infection known as "Estuarese"- Save for the Queen, even the English can't speak English; could they ever? It's well, wicked; know what I mean?

[#86_1997_p.5_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn_Letter-to-the-Editor]

This last quote creates an interesting link with the second case study that will focus on the metalinguistic debates revolving around 'enregistered non-standard contact varieties of the south east of England', where Received Pronunciation once more appears as pivotal to the language discussions (see Chapter III). NZE and BrE are so frequently juxtaposed in these quotations, giving a first indication of how strongly (arguably ideologically) connected the two are, and of a mechanism whereby ideologies that promote the legitimisation of these new varieties are intimately connected with those that delegitimise standard varieties of English. Finally, as the years pass the nexus between NZE and an independent, local, South Pacific identity was invoked more frequently and explicitly.

All languages change all the time and it is just as valid (though not as common) to see ongoing changes as having an enriching effect […] for an appreciation of the richness and value of our national variety […] Ours is a variety that identifies us clearly as New Zealanders, is by no means an inferior means of communication, and doesn't, we believe cut us off from most of the English speaking world […] **The time is past for putting ourselves down. New Zealand has come of age as a nation and there is no reason whatsoever to deny our linguistic identity** […] New Zealand English is a variety in its own right with as many potential styles as any other variety.

[#87_1997_p.7_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn_article] (**my emphasis**)

"When I first started university teaching in 1967 I had to defend New Zealand English. It was radical stuff", says Gordon. "Now I don't have to do that. Students would be surprised if I did." […] but, like uninvited guests, Dame Ngaio Marsh's "pinched O's, tiny A's, long drown out E's and neglected consonants" have won a certain respectability, **simply because they are ours** and because they have resisted all attempts at eviction.

[#88_2001_p.3_NZListener_DebateCow_article] (**my emphasis**)

The 1990 issue (No 4) of the *New Zealand English Newsletter* contains a thoughtful editorial: "Both Māori and New Zealand English have been victims of the same kind of colonial attitudes. Māori suffered in the shadow of English, and New Zealand English has similarly been put down, perceived as an aberration from the British English norm rather than as a legitimate variant of English in its own right" […].

[#89_1990(3)_p.1_NZListener_GordonCorpus_feature]

There's only one thing for it: embrace the vocalised "l" ["how do you feeoow?"] and the high rising terminal. And consider "anythink" a **national treasure**.

[#90_2004_p.4_NZListener_article] (**my emphasis**)[93]

The strong presence of professional linguists' opinions on the topic must here be reiterated. The first quotation is, in fact, taken from an article written for *The Press* by Gillian Lewis from the Linguistics Department of the University of Canterbury. The second quotation comes from an interview with Professor E. Gordon published in the *NZ Listener*. The third quotation mentions the academic journal and views on language variation.

Jim Mora[94], a very well well-known TV presenter in New Zealand, was interviewed on the topic and pointed to the attitudinal shift towards speech standards and its linkages to acts of identity and the different national allegiances (see previous sections).

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[93] An extract from 'Beer & Fear by Ear: New Zealand vowels ring around the universe', by Olivia Kember.
[94] From the RNZ webpage about Jim Mora: "Jim Mora has worked across media, and has won national awards as a television journalist and as a columnist. He has also made and narrated a number of TV documentaries, and presented various television series. He is the author of children's books, and successful TV animations for children, which have screened in many countries around the world".
Accessed on 20.10.15, at http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/presenters/jim-mora.

"People used to think that if you spoke with a British accent, or something sounding like one, you were a more successful person," says host Jim Mora. **"Now we're asserting our identity. We're prouder of the way we sound."**

"Since the 19th-century goldfield days, when the children of Australian and European settlers merged accents in school playgrounds, **we've become friendlier and "more common"** in our speech, says Mora, **as we established an identity removed from Mother England".**

"We seem to be using language as part of our turangawaewae[95], as part of our way of saying, 'This is where I'm from'. We're proud of our New Zealand accent in a way we never used to be."

[#91_11.10.2005_NZHerald_online article] (**my emphasis**)[96]

More examples of this tendency are to follow.

Dinkum diction? I noted with amusement the letter by Professor Margaret Clark (April 2) about "the clear diction and gentle wit of Sharon Crosbie". For this opinion contrasted somewhat with that of Sheridan Keith in the same issue. She says that we no longer want or expect our broadcasters to speak "received English" or its Kiwi equivalent (whatever that is). I do not doubt Miss Crosbie's reputation as a first-class broadcaster, but too many of our frontpersons seem to talk in imported tones. I do not suggest that we need large doses of Pam Corkery or Berry Crump, but why is the media seemingly top-heavy with people having such voices, many of them British imports? I also feel that radio New Zealand's early-morning slot should have at least one frontperson other than of white, middle-class origin. I am sure that TV3 is drawing a wider mix in its audience through wiser choice of its front personnel. **Admittedly, many of us are from British rootstock. But possibly we should now be thinking of ourselves more as a Pacific people. We need persons sounding, over our new shortwave programmes, as though they were part of this new developing image.** If we don't change this, our kookaburra cousins will beat us hands down.

[#92_1990(2)_p.8_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor] (**my emphasis**)

Lusun cloyslie: Mark Bezzant's puerile attempt to phoneticise New Zealand English (*Letters,* May 5) was the latest in a long line of bitchy little letters about how bad our pronunciation is, going back to our great-grandparents' time. **How long must we endure these put-downs of what we are?** When he asks "what the country does when Newzild is no longer understood by English-speaking people", to which English-speaking people is he referring? Is it to those from Lunnin, Munchista, or Oodizfeeyald, or is it those in Nu Yoik, Bawston or Seednee? More likely his holier-than-thou "English-speaking people" are those who imitate Mrs Bucket; instead of trying to talk proper they like to talk correct. An accent is an accent, and is neither right nor wrong, unless by some highbrow criticism you attempt to establish your superior status. It is a fair bet that Bezzant's perfect vowels do not stretch to an attempt at better Māori pronunciation. He is more likely to be a Toweronga, Wonganewy, Ahoka kinda guy.

[#93_2001_p.6_NZListener_DebateCow_ Letter-to-the-Editor] (**my emphasis**)

In most of these quotations, especially in the two entitled 'Lusun cloyslie' and 'Dinkum diction', there is an explicit ideological association between language (here NZE) and social identity, which seems to be embedded within a nationalist discourse. One of the main arguments

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[95] Tūrangawaewae is one of the most well-known and powerful Māori concepts. Literally tūranga (standing place), waewae (feet), it is often translated as 'a place to stand'. Tūrangawaewae are places where we feel especially empowered and connected. They are our foundation, our place in the world, our home. Accessed at:
http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/papatuanuku-the-land/page-5, on 20.10.2015

[96] 'New Zilunders and proud of it', accessed on 20.9.2014, at:
http://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=10125619

advanced in support of the legitimacy of NZE is that it represents a new, independent and local social identity because it is a language variety that *can only be found here*. Māori culture and Māori language are two 'things' that also can *only be found here* and it can be observed that the legitimacy of NZE (i.e. a local, independent standard) seems to go hand in hand with a move towards Māori culture and the Māori language, with a reorientation towards a local South Pacific culture and history. Jim Mora makes this connection very explicitly when he inscribes the use of NZE with the powerful Māori concept of turangawaewae, i.e. 'our place in the world' and 'our foundation'. As Mazzon (2000) has envisioned, RP-like variants (referred to with various labels such as "The Queen's English", "British accent", "BBC English", "BBC accent" etc.) are the most criticised in these debates, together with an emphasis on the correct pronunciation of Māori words and place names. Another interesting point that this last quotation allows me to make, is that this shift in speech standards also seems to be associated to a shift towards a more informal, "more common" and "friendlier" way of life. A general underlying belief is that the rigid British class system was not recreated in New Zealand (see section 1 and Chapter I), and therefore that New Zealand's society is much more egalitarian than the British one. This is mirrored in the characterisation of NZE as reflecting egalitarian ideals, while BrE is characterised as being an implement of social stratification, and thus sometimes oppression (this will be the focus of the discussion revolving around ideological schemata 4). Note also how this recalls Geeraerts' romantic model.

The five-page article 'Mincing Words' published in the *NZ Listener* in 2009, and written by Jane Clifton, triggered a heated debate in the 'Letters to the Editor' section of the magazine, which lasted for several months. The subtitle of this article sums up the main points: "John Key is just one Kiwi who cops flak for his diction. Linguists say changes to our accent are the result of complex influences. But some people blame lazy "duction" for making us sound ignorant – even incomprehensible." Following the publication of such a recent article, several writers came to the defence of NZE, and emphasised its uniqueness and distinctiveness in support of its legitimacy. The link between NZE and a new sense of independent nationhood is once more made explicitly here, while "Oxford scholars'" English is ideologised as a sign of a persistent "cultural cringe". Interestingly, even though the author of the main article specifies that "good New Zealand English" does not correspond to "BBC English", in the letters the two are once more insistently juxtaposed. BrE – in these debates – is usually constructed as 'Standard' English (i.e. *the* 'standard'), while NZE rarely is, and it acquires its legitimacy precisely because *it is not* the standard, but a locally owned and distinctive variety. There thus seems to be an emphasis on a more romantic view of language where the notion of the 'standard' seems to be incompatible with that of a local identity. The first two quotes belong to the main article, and the following three letters from the 'Letters to the Editor' section.

Is this the end of the world? Hardly. **Actually it makes us unique**. Our linguistic scholars celebrate the special features of the New Zealand accent, which are multiplying every decade.
*[**#94**_2009_p.36_NZListener_DebateMincingWords_article]* (**my emphasis**)

[…] But it's our ixent, at the end of the die.
*[**#95**_2009_p.42_NZListener_DebateMincingWords_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

> **What a sad piece of cultural cringe**. If citizens of such ex-British colonies such as Canada, the US and Australia are happy with their home-grown accents, **why should ordinary kiwis in a supposedly egalitarian New Zealand speak like Oxford scholars?** Surely what a person says is more important than how they sound. New Zealand, like England itself, is being de-anglicised by immigrants from all corners of the globe who bring their own way of speaking English. **Time to spit out the plums, Jane – the Empire has fallen.**
>
> *[#96_2009_p.45_NZListener_DebateMincingWords_Letter-to-the-Editor]* (**my emphasis**)

> Life and language move on. New Zealand English has inevitably also […] the real question, then, is not a linguistic one. It's whether we're sufficiently confident about who we are as New Zealanders to tell others who sneer at the way we speak to just get over it (and themselves).
>
> *[#97_2009_p.45_NZListener_DebateMincingWords_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

I will now turn to some more recent, and mainly digital, debates so that the examples include most of the analysed time span and touch upon a wide range of media.

> […] So long as he is using the correct words, does it really matter if he uses a "New Zealand" accent? We are, after all living in New Zealand. Let's face it in the birthplace of the English language there are plenty of different ways of pronouncing words. Do people in Newcastle speak incorrectly or maybe it's Manchester or perhaps Cornwall.
>
> *[#98_2012_p.20_NZHerald_DebateSirBobJones_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

The very prescriptive tone of the online article 'Kiwi accent killing the news' by Lindsay Perigo triggered an uproar of voices in defense of NZE, and these were traceable in the comments section following the main article. Mr. Perigo is well-known in New Zealand for his strong reactionary views on language and his condemnation of NZE. He has even started a public campaign, with a related speech course, called 'Kiwis don't quack' where he looks for those who "can already speak and would like to help [him] in his campaign against the spectre of a nation which cannot". To support his claims he invokes Professor Higgins' well-known phrase "Ours is the language of Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible", and exhorts "Let us reclaim it".[97] [98] The first half of the article is here provided to exemplify its tone.

> I wonder how many television viewers there are like me for whom watching the six o'clock news on TVNZ or TV3 was until recently a staple of their daily routine, but who now repair to online sources for their news because the network bulletins have become unwatchable - or more precisely, unlistenable?
>
> An army of airheads has been let loose on the airwaves who have no business being anywhere near a microphone sounding the way they do. They don't speak, they quack.
>
> Many newsreaders and most reporters on flagship news bulletins now sound like panicked ducks at the start of the shooting season.
>
> Their employers, far from being alarmed by the situation and sending their uneducated charges off for remedial speech training, embrace the barbarian triumph as a victory for the authentic Kiwi accent. It is nothing of the sort.

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[97] You can read about this campaign and his views on langauge on his personal webpage at: http://lindsayperigo.com/#kiwis-dont-quack.

[98] It is interesting to note that even though he claims that "No, you don't have to sound like an NZBC announcer; you *can* sound like an educated, polished and intelligible Kiwi, and be a proud testament to the fact that such a thing is not a contradiction in terms"; he then considers 'typical' NZE pronunciations as mistakes and barbarisms.

The quacking epidemic spawned by TVNZ and TV3 is now a national plague and an international joke, an unseemly blight on a nation claiming to be civilised. […]

The newsreaders' quacking, droning, grunting and mumbling are our worst form of noise pollution.

Their "yeah-no," "you-know," "like, like," "awesome," "cool," "wodevva," and so on are the bane of coherent conversation. Their mangled vowels and muddied consonants make swine sound educated.

They are clueless about the distinction between "children" and "choowdren," "Wellington" and "Wawwington," "vulnerable" and "vunrable," "the six o'clock news" and "the sucks o'clock news," "showers" and "showwwwwaz," "known" and "knowen," "well" and "wow," "health" and "howth," "New Zealand" and "New Zilland".

The locus of their emissions is not the mouth, but the nose. Their assault on the English language is a [N]ational scandal. Theirs is not an accent; it is a disease.

In their childlike glottal stops ("thuh office"), their selective emphasis that is 100 per cent wrong (hitting conjunctions and prepositions — "Woow arroyv UN Wawwington ET sucks o'clock"), their spluttering nasality, their dim-witted droning and silly sing-song, their inability to scan ahead and phrase intelligently, our reporters are stuck at the level of an infant.

It may be that they are not truly "airheads", but they certainly seem like airheads with such retarded speech patterns.

*[**#99**_2013_p.1_DebateLindsayPerigo_main article]*

The ensuing public debate in the comment section of this online article yielded a wealth of data on attitudes towards NZE, BrE and how these interact with public conceptions of national identity, elitism, freedom, civilisation and colonialism today. Here are some of the most representative comments in response to his article, we will return to this article for the fourth ideological schemata below.

Gone are the days when we had to cringe about our enzed accent, eschewed in favour of a middle-class pom parody

*[**#100**_2013_p.30_ DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]*

Accents are who we are and we're certainly not British anymore.

*[**#101**_2013_p.5_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]*

But that's something of a joke because Britain has hundreds of different accents some are so different they sound like different languages. That's why I could understand the insistence on speaking "the Queens english" [sic] or close to it, because they need something universal. But here, apart from the odd deep south rolled "r" or dodgy Hamilton grammar there isn't much difference so speaking like a[n] upper class pom makes absolutely no bloody sense.

*[**#102**_2013_p.11/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]*

> Everyone speaks English with an accent. You can't say that one way is more correct than another really. Look at the huge variety of accents on display in England. Which one are we supposed to start to imitate. And often I find it difficult to differentiate when some one says 'don't pronounce it like that, say it like this . . ." and they sound the same to me. And New Zealanders live in far too much fear of what other countries think of us, are they laughing at us, do they think we are silly. Stuff 'em. Every country makes fun of every other country's accent. It is better to be proud of what makes us unique than to live with the fear of shame and inferiority. If people judge your intelligence by your accent then they are demonstrating bigotry and prejudice.
>
> [*#103_2013_p.27/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment*]

> Lindsay has been harpiong [sic] on about this for years. I think he suffers from extreme cultural cringe […] Move to the UK if you want to feel included.
>
> [*#104_2013_p.3_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment*]

> […] All accents change over time, it is just a sign of us growing as a nation and becoming more unique […] I'm proud to be a kiwi and sound like one […].
>
> [*#105_2013_p.5_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment*]

> Whether you like it or not we have our own identity and should embrace it, not put more and more English accented people in the presenting roles on our local TV shows.
>
> [*#106_2013_p.10/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment*]

> **Ahh the last few words sums up the ideology here, "freedom and civilisation". If we don't sound "right" then we are apparently doomed**. Mr Perigo, you are a peddler of quackery yourself. What is right is so subjective that's it's an impossibility. Many governments have tried to enforce what is "right", basing their opinion on many things, among them, language. This article is so horrific it's embarrassing. I for one embrace my New Zealanderish accent, it is a part of who I am.
>
> [*#107_2013_p.12/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment*] (**my emphasis**)

Interviewing people who were actively involved in this metalinguistic debate and were mostly professional speakers with a distinctive language awareness, has allowed me to gain invaluable insights into the ideological schemata, and motifs, that underpin it. This was especially true for the sub-discourses revolving around broadcasting practices and policies and the educational system. The extracts here reproduced stem from five different semi-structured ethnographic interviews (see Table 7 for more details): 1) the interview with the curriculum leader for radio at AUT ('Interview_JournalismSchool_1'); 2) the set of two interviews with the radio course leader at the Christchurch Broadcasting school ('Interview_Broadcasting_School'); 3) the interview with two representatives of the Ministry of Education, and more specifically with the Adviser for the design of the teaching curriculum in New Zealand's schools, and the Lead Adviser for the English curriculum and teaching ('Interview_Ministry_Education_1&2'); 4) the set of two interviews with the editorial Policy Manager at RNZ ('Interview_RNZ_2'); 5) the interview with a professional voice coach for radio and TV personalities ('Interview_SpeechCoach'). The interviewees' explanations of what happened on the linguistic level provide helpful comments that facilitate the understanding of what was/is happening on an ideological level, and they point to the main motifs that I will discuss in more detail further below.

[…] They deliberately brought people from Britain to help and also teachers…they basically took the British system and transferred it, so you basically learned the same things as a kid in London, same history, same books…books from the 1930s are really stunning, they didn't even mention New Zealand, they mentioned New Zealand as a colony…today much more **Kiwiana** even though we are still decolonizing […]

[…] in the old days they used to train all those Radio New Zealand guys in Received English, BBC pronunciation and this was relevant until probably the 1980s they did that…and then they realised there is nothing to be ashamed of. […] there is a lot of influence from Pasifika and Asian accents…It is a real mix now, so many accents…we don't teach them how to speak anymore…there is a Pākehā accent almost too…BBC is not a reference anymore is more a kind of cultivated New Zealand accent […]

[…] as we are growing out of a colonial path we have become more confident about our accent…now it doesn't matter how you sound like it is what you say…the content now is more important, before it was the opposite…broadcasting was just about saying it correctly […]

[…] It all started when radio became privatized…they didn't want to do the BBC thing at all…they wanted to do pop music…and not an English style of **authoritative** stuff…in 1989 deregulation…it is the biggest shift and we are the only country in the world with such a deregulated system…there are no rules at all apart from good taste etc.…people weren't trained, there weren't radio training schools, it wasn't done. With [Speech Coach's name] we teach about how to pronounce well but in your own accent […]

[…] several governments started playing around with education in the 1980s, trying to find a new way of doing it in a cost effective way…in the 1970s growing dissatisfaction of what happened with the Treaty [of Waitangi]…Māori Renaissance…we started to get books that were New Zealand and not just British, and we started to move to a system that was locally generated…we still have the national curriculum that everybody has to do…that changed slowly and in the 1980s a question came up of what was being taught especially as it was so English focused. Today the focus on Britain is gone, we don't consider ourselves as part of Britain anymore even though we are part of the Commonwealth. They are teaching stuff like environmental policies and what is happening in South Sudan…it's just as important today as what is happening in Britain, every kid in New Zealand knows a few Māori words and can sing a Māori song. **Building a national character and culture**…idea of the Treaty as a partnership…and there has to be equality in the partnership. Māori language is very important for Māori people…it has made our education system much more balanced and outward looking, less about Britain. **Shift away from Britain is also a shift towards a Māori, local identity**. **There has been a shift in what is considered important as part of New Zealand culture.**

[#108_2014_Interview_JournalismSchool_1] (**my emphasis**)

In the 1960s-70s New Zealand became aware of ourselves as our own nation and we started to realise that we have got our own identity, we are not just part of the Commonwealth, or part of Britain, we have our own identity, we have our own way of doing things, values, laws…and at that point in the 1960s people started to realise that mimicking Britain wasn't a proud or good thing to do…and of course that was also the point when a lot of American content was filtering through music and movies and on TV…[people were] exposed to all range of different accents and I think that New Zealand has decided at that stage that we shouldn't sound like everybody else, **we should sound like ourselves, we grew up as a nation and decided that perhaps now it's time to be proud of who we are and be honest to who we are in the way we speak, rather than pretending to be someone that we are not.**

The New Zealand accent should be protected because it creates something about who we are…something worth protecting because I don't want us to be a carbon copy of America…I didn't ever want to lose **who we are** and our way of doing things and that includes our relationship with Māori culture that is **uniquely ours** and the way we present [the news]…I don't like us speaking in pseudo-American accent…so I correct my students because I don't want them to sound like America…I prefer British because it is part of our history, American pronunciation has never been part of our history.

I think we have moved on…all culture changed, no static culture, we have moved a long way away from being a carbon copy of the BBC…I think we are still trying to avoid moving towards an American style…people complaining about NZE are just old and pedants…the model has changed a long time ago…now someone presenting in a British style is completely unusual and would be made fun of…**and they are being true to themselves because a true New Zealander doesn't sound like a British person anymore and they surely don't sound American**, they sound 'who we are' with our funny vowel sound, and we speak too fast…that is the way that Kiwi speak and that is what we are trying to protect […] Trying to protect what makes us unique because without being unique we are nothing…why would you want to be like the rest of the world?

*[**#109**_2014_Interview_Broadcasting_School]* (**my emphasis**)

[…] it was quite a significant shift in terms of the acceptance and valuing of NZE in an educational context. […] there has been an identity shift…New Zealand identity, valuing New Zealand bicultural heritage…it is quite recent. […] It echoes our development as a nation…as it happened the language shifted…Janet and Jones material, it was very stilted and formal language, British English…and if you look at what the reader shifted to, you see, New Zealand contents, New Zealand names…Māori names. […] also [there is] no vowel exercise anymore…British received English was also the standard used in broadcasting…but there has been a shift…New Zealanders wanted to hear and acknowledge the New Zealand dialect being spoken…it is also an increased informality that goes with the way we use language…New Zealanders do use language in quite an informal way and so that pervaded both written and oral use of our English. […]

[…] **Today there is nothing in the curriculum about pronunciation standards** […].

Question: there are still debates [on NZE] that take place in the public arena…what is the correct version of English?
[…] we are quite a democratic society so people are allowed to express their views…in the media there has been quite a considerable relaxation even around RNZ that tended to be really formal and British oriented…some people objected to that relaxation….impact of globalization…people are much more accepting that there are different ways in which English can be spoken...as people travel, if we also think about the diversity in New Zealand we have 162 languages spoken in New Zealand's schools (112 ethnicities)…it is about acceptance…**it is about valuing people's cultural background and linguistic diversity**…as well as keeping acceptable conventions.

[…] the cultural cringe is still here but I think it is reducing as New Zealanders get more and more staunched on their identity…**the acceptance of who we are as a people, how we speak as a people…the diversity of the way people speak in New Zealand**…overseas was [considered] better in every area…and so there was cultural cringe…but now it is reducing gradually as New Zealanders recognize that they are not trying to align themselves to any other country…far away country, is counter-productive.

*[**#110**_2014_Interview_Ministry_Education_1&2]* (**my emphasis**)

> […] It was a standard that was set and you had to sound like that…we followed everything from Britain then…from 1950s and 1960s we started to pull away…1970s still making the move till the 1980s-90s…it comes more certain as identity…New Zealand is such a young country really.
>
> *[**#111**_2014_ Interview_RNZ_2]*

> […] fifteen years ago and before people were more aware of how people sounded on radio and television and there were more letters of complaint…now they have got so used to hear a wide range of pronunciations that no one cares. In the 1960s-70s and 1980s there was much more criticism…in the 1990s much less, I didn't notice much.
>
> *[**#112**_2014_Interview_SpeechCoach]*

Before moving on to the next ideological schemata, I will highlight some important thematic and ideological strands/motifs which will also help me to recapitulate what has been discussed in this section. These will additionally become relevant for next ideological schemata and for the discussion on de/authentication in section 4.2.

First, the excerpts in this section illustrate the awareness of a shift happening in both New Zealand's broadcasting and the educational system. This is especially true for those extracts coming from the semi-structured ethnographic interviews, in which a higher level of consciousness of language ideologies can be expected because of the interviewees' professional involvement with language and language policies. However, this awareness also appears in several contributions not stemming from the interviews, as this quotation exemplifies: "[s]ince its early days of compulsory Received Pronunciation, the state broadcaster has undergone a massive change, as illustrated by its 21st century Sounds Like Us Campaign, in which the National and Concert stations advertised themselves as an Everyman – and by definition, every accent – institution"*[**#113**_2009_p.41_NZListener_DebateMincingWords-main-article]*. On the other hand – interestingly – some people believe that New Zealanders are still decolonising, and there is a general agreement on the fact that the institutional shift (i.e. concerning language policies and guidelines) has started somewhere around the 1960s and 1970s (even the 1950s according to one interviewee). The ideological and attitudinal shift has probably started much earlier. There is therefore a recognition that a legitimisation process is under way, entailing a decrease in the presence of delegitimising voices and an increase in that of legitimising ones in the metalinguistic discourse. Some rough quantitative estimates based on the Gordon's Corpus will be used at the end of the next section to verify this commented-upon tendency. Mazzon's (2000) concept of "institutionalisation" can throw some light on what these metalinguistic debates are pointing to. Mazzon (2000: 83) explains that in the latest stage of the evolution of new English varieties, "schools, media and government all have important roles, as have local intellectuals", "[t]hese varieties […] gradually acquire extension of use, length of time in use, the emotional attachment of users to the variety, functional importance and sociolinguistic status […]: this makes them institutionalised varieties, with a wide range of registers and styles, a body of literature, and so on". The sociolinguistic effects of the institutionalisation of new varieties can be observed in the examined metalinguistic debates, in fact this usually "coincides with the stigmatisation of those forms which adhere too closely to the old [model]. The new variety […] is thus associated with identification values, […] prestige becomes transferred onto the local variety, and eventually the local governments themselves will insist on its use". In line with this, and specifically for the NZE case, Deverson (2001: 28) believes that the institutional standardisation of NZE through

New Zealand dictionaries was "part of a continuing development of national awareness, a process that has been under way from about the beginning of the century and that has slowly gathered momentum".

Second, the link between NZE and national identity is made explicitly in most of the quotations provided in this section, and it is arguably embedded within a 'national awareness' discourse. NZE in these metalinguistic debates is conceptualised as representing a "[n]ew found national maturity and South Pacific identity" (Moore 2001: 28) because it is a language variety that *can only be found here.* While BrE is perceived to be – by comparative logic – a representation of the colonial past, an "imported", "unnatural", "out-dated", "stilted" "artefact". NZE's distinctiveness is thus emphasised in order to support its legitimacy, and a sense of ownership is pervasive relating to a nation-building and distance-from-Britain discourse: "New Zealand English is being recognised and studied for what it is unique"*[#114_2001_p.1_NZListener_DebateCow_article]*. This line of reasoning also assigns a value of authenticity to the variety, and this will be the focus of section 4.2. In relation to this Mazzon (2000: 83) states that "nationalistic arguments go, let it at least be enriched with local features, no longer seen as mistakes but as a sign of the appropriation of the language and of its adaptation to the new context. The 'New English' thus receives its legitimisation to be used by a free people in a free country". Gordon (2009a: 41) also points to the connection between NZE and national identity when she claims that "the way people regarded New Zealand speech in the past, I think it can throw light on how New Zealanders at that time saw themselves and their identity. It was very much tied up with their relationship with what was then called the Mother Country". In line with this, one online commentator exhorts: "try being proud of your accent, it is your identity!" *[#115_2013_p.10_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]*.

This emphasis on an independent, South Pacific nation therefore entails more recognition for those elements that make New Zealand unique (especially in comparison to Britain, and arguably Australia), and within these are its Māori heritage and the Māori language. As a consequence, it can be claimed that assigning more legitimacy to NZE also implicates a greater degree of legitimacy for the Māori language and culture in the public sphere. This might also bear a relation with the increasing globalisation, which lead to a reinforcement of positive attitudes towards linguistic diversity. According to Deverson (2001: 24) the practice of dictionary making offers some insights in this important dimension of the metalinguistic discourse: "the two broad kinds of English dictionaries now available in New Zealand (the local and the imported product) are a good indicator of how the country and its variety of English are to be defined in the post-colonial era, as simultaneously unique and different and as part of and under the strong influence of a wider global community". Also interesting the fact that in more recent times 'American English' – and no longer British English – is perceived as one of the main cultural threats to NZE and to a New Zealand's identity, as this quotation exemplifies:

> America on air? What is wrong with New Zealand? What is wrong with being a New Zealander? What is so embarrassing about being a kiwi? Each night I watch Shortland Street, for instance, and I look for signs of its New Zealand origin. I see white and brown faces speaking pseudo black Americanese. They say things such as, "Hey Hone, my main man" and, "Hey man, this is really bad man". One character implored others to tell him, "What is going down"; and a couple are reportedly, "doing the wild thing" (you'll have to imagine the appallingly accented US drawl). None of these are stock Kiwi sayings by my reckoning. The Americanised word "butt" seems to have a more attractive, exotic quality than the more pedestrian "bottom", "bum" and "buttock" we are used to. And when are those among us who are vocally challenged going to rebel against the overexposure of the predominantly US usage of the word "dumb" to mean stupid. US culture is already invasive enough, entering our lives uninvited, without us having to copy it openly, emulating it, encouraging it and ultimately glorifying it. […] **Just when I thought we were getting an identity of our own…just when we should be getting an identity of our own…**and paid for with the help of our broadcasting fee so that we can see more of America On Air.
>
> [**#116**_1994_NZListener-GordonCotpus_Letter-to-the-Editor] (**my emphasis**)

Bell (1982: 254) envisioned that this would happen in 1982 when he wrote "[…] New Zealand is in danger, culturally and linguistically, of falling out of the British frying pan into the American fire. One wonders if a small country such as New Zealand can find and maintain its own identity under the pressure of its (British) colonial past and threat of an (American) neo-colonial future".

Finally, the conception of language that here appears within a national awareness discourse – i.e. NZE as an index of an independent South Pacific nation – implies a conceptualisation of language based upon more romantic values (rather than rationalist ones). In fact, Geeraerts' (2008) *romantic model* negatively evaluates standard languages, and BrE in these debates is in most cases framed as the standard language (see Chapter I). On the other hand, NZE is rarely framed in this way and its legitimacy is linked to the perception of it being a locally owned and distinctive variety that expresses an individual and independent identity. A romantic view of language also assumes that standard languages are "instruments of oppression and exclusion" (Geeraerts 2008: 52) and is thus subject to the danger of a discriminatory dialectic. This line of reasoning is arguably present in the next ideological schemata, within which supporting BrE as the speech standard is often equated to being elitist. Therefore, this particular metalinguistic debate seems to be mainly underpinned by the ideology of "identity nationalism"(59). Identity nationalism is characterised by a tendency towards individuality, "[j]ust like the rationalist perspective tends to maximize communicability, the romantic perspective tends to maximize individual variation. The romantic conception deals with the language of groups rather than with the language of individuals. The identity that is expressed by the language is the identity of a community, and the community is a nation when it acquires political autonomy" (ibid: 59). This romantic nationalism seems thus to be the key to the metalinguistic debates examined here where NZE is associated to the new nation and "the nation derives its political legitimacy from the cultural identity of the people, and language is one of the factors establishing such identity" (ibid: 60). This line of reasoning can, for instance, be clearly seen in the following quote:

> Sir – Many other nationalities speak their own dialect as well as a national language and we could do the same. This would accommodate the various strong views expressed in your correspondence column. Global English – or Globeng – would pursue its leisurely, conservative path, being understood by most of us around the world. Newzeng would be our living, evolving language, reaching new heights of lingual fantasy both verbally and in unrestricted avant-garde writing. After all it is how you feel that matters, not whether you are understood. No grammar, no spelling, no big words, the mind bogles at the implikashuns for indivijal ekspreshun. OK? Pairtoth'peepil. Ear sick horse.
>
> *[#117_1997_p.8_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

Based on these constellations one might argue that these two different kinds of nationalism discussed by Geeraerts (2008) are central to the metalinguistic discourses about NZE, and are tightly connected to the two sets of voices that are represented within it. The delegitimising voices about NZE appear to be placing more emphasis on a civic nationalism perspective with arguments about the intelligibility and universality of BrE as opposed to NZE. While the legitimising voices about NZE appear to emphasise an idea of romantic nationalism. The metalinguistic language debate here seems to be a vehicle for a discourse of national and cultural independence.

4.1.2.2 Ideological Schemata 4:

Ideological schemata 4: NZE is ideologised as representing the egalitarianism of New Zealand's society, in which there are no classes and people are "too outgoing" to care about standards in speech. Therefore, NZE is the language of 'ordinary folk', of the 'ordinary kiwi', it is "down to earth" and sincere. On the other hand, BrE represents elitism, social stratification, snobbery and hierarchical relations. It is cold, impersonal and formal. Prescriptivism seems to be associated with elitism and purism in many of these debates (see Chapter I).[99]

Before moving on to the quotes for ideological schemata 4, I will here provide some details on the development and features of the folk persona of the 'ordinary kiwi' or the 'kiwi bloke', which figures prominently here, and is pivotal to the discussion. According to Bannister (2005: 1), this persona has its roots in the period immediately after colonisation. He explains that the view of what a man should be in New Zealand was shaped by a reference to "a powerful legend of pioneering manhood ... a model of courage and physical toughness", a man should be […] [a] "rugged practical bloke [who] fixes anything, strong and tough, keeps his emotions to himself, [is] usually scornful of women" (Jock Phillips, as quoted in Bannister 2005). This model, he claims, is based in a puritan work ethic and an "ethos of exclusive masculinity based on "mateship" – the male camaraderie of pioneers united by common physical struggle against the elements, in war or sport, all cemented in the pub" (ibid: 1). This archetype of the "Kiwi Bloke" – was acknowledged by both men and women – has a long history of representation in local culture, "from literature to film, TV and popular music" (ibid: 2).[100] A 2004 ethnographic and semiotic study that compared the concepts of national identity in Australia, New Zealand and the United States observed the

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[99] The purism that is intended here is the hegemonic purism of standard languages. For discussions of indigenous purism and a typology of purism see J. Hill's work.

[100] As in the case of several other "settler" cultures such as in Australia or Canada, New Zealand "has historically identified itself with a model of tough, rural, "pioneering" white masculinity whose presence is naturalized by association with the landscape and a "frontier" model of pragmatic, physical industry (Pearson 2001: 7)" (Bannister 2005: 2).

"blokiness" emphasis of how Kiwi culture: "[w]hen we looked at all the symbols for what is New Zealand ... men and women all bought the same ... symbols: rugby, All Blacks, barbecues ... gumboots, tractors […]" (Jacqueline Smart of FCB, quoted on Campbell Live; as quoted in Bannister 2005). The "Kiwi bloke" thus remains today the "most visible representation of New Zealand masculinity. In cartoon, film, TV and literature he performs the strange magic of rendering invisible the variety of ways in which masculinity is constituted, contested and co-opted by both men and women in New Zealand" (Law, Campbell, Schick: 15; as quoted in Bannister 2005). Not surprisingly, according to Bannister (2005: 4), this persona is closely entwined with notions of national identity and egalitarianism, and thus also with the British history of the country:

> white colonisers were also themselves constructed as inferior in relation to the centres of imperial power in Britain, and […] this "inferiority complex" is both articulated and disavowed through the identification of the Kiwi bloke with New Zealand national identity. […] Hence the idealisation of the "Kiwi bloke" fitted with New Zealand's role within the Empire. [Moreover] the Kiwi bloke was also produced within an international context in which the "blokey" egalitarianism of working class masculinities signalled their incorporation and subordination into the hegemony of modern industrial societies […].

These local discourses of "mateship" also connect to the aforementioned ideology of New Zealand as a "classless" society, where "bourgeois concerns about social standing are generally attributed to women" (ibid: 9). In relation to this, Bannister (2005: 9) explains that, "[f]rom the beginning of colonisation, New Zealand was constructed as an egalitarian Arcadia, "workers' paradise", a triumph of social engineering and an escape from the oppressive British class structure (Belich: 21-22). Egalitarianism functioned both as socio-political ideal in the colony, and as a discourse of male working-class solidarity. Politically, New Zealand egalitarianism was based on and reflected in the social reforms of successive Liberal/Labour governments as a response to economic depressions of the 1880s and 1930s. This basically acted to provide men with job security and encouraged women to stay at home. Finally, Bannister comments on the different ideological repositioning of this persona in the globalisation era by arguing that "the Kiwi bloke now serves new masters – not colonial, but multinational". This is linked to the various phenomena grouped under the term 'globalisation', which on the one hand, challenges traditional representations of national identity "by opening up nations to global economic, cultural and even demographic flows and creating continuities that erase local difference", and on the other "it is also about the continuing production of local difference" (ibid: 16). As a consequence, "increased "branding" or commodification of New Zealand was deemed necessary in order to be "internationally competitive" and thus the hegemony of this persona has shifted from "a basically colonial model to one of global capital". The postcolonial heritage of "the bloke", with its connotations of isolation, autonomy and DIY (do-it-yourself) "uniqueness", "masks a profound indebtedness to the economic and social conditions of globalization" (ibid: 18).

To conclude, Bannister (2005) is not the only one who has commented on this archetype (or folk persona) and its linkages to conceptions of national identity and egalitarianism. In fact, Smith (2005: 661)– following Belich (2001) – points to the "confusion amongst white New Zealanders in understanding their identity […] [an] instability which spilled over from decolonisation into the 1990s left a void for New Zealanders seeking to establish who they really were". As a reaction to these social conditions, she explains, "[p]rogrammes such as the television series Heartland provided a convenient and entertaining resource for establishing an answer to

'what is our national identity?', seeking to show that diversity within a population can lead to unity". The series' presenter, Gary McCormick, in fact displayed a

> specific 'Kiwi-bloke' persona consistent across his television roles […], which promoted him as a seemingly hard working, down-to-earth, macho male, with a few rough edges, a heart of gold, a sense of humour and a love for the New Zealand way of life. […] But the key to his popularity was that he represented the ordinary 'Kiwi' genuinely seeking out other ordinary New Zealanders.

<div align="right">(ibid: 662-666) [101] [102]</div>

Going back to the metalinguistic debates and ideological schemata 4, the following commentary stemming from the Lindsay Perigo debate (see previous section), and an extract from an interview conducted with the article's author – even though they belong to the delegitimising dimension of the debate – effectively illustrate the core of the ideological schemata that will be the focus of the present section.

This is a very pertinent and timely (perhaps even a little too late?) article, and I commend Lindsay for having the courage to attack this scourge of modern New Zealand; viz. lazy speech - which is now endemic in our country. The criticism of Leo Selene aside (a pedantic, if correct, observation), the piece is extremely well written. **We have many 'sacred cows' in our culture - and one is this idea that 'Kiwi speech' is to be shielded against those who are seen to be advocating a return to a more 'English' way of speaking.** The truth is that modern 'kiwi speech' is one (of many results) result of the lack of emphasis in our schools on learning the English language properly. **It is a terrible fate that has overtaken our Culture - that striving for high standards in our language is seen as somehow 'elitist' and archaic (and even 'colonial'), and therefore unfashionable.**

*[**#118**_2013_p.9_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]*(**my emphasis**)

[…] the problem is with the attitudes…if you talk about improving speech, that is seen as somehow anti-egalitarian, elitist, and therefore not to be considered. Therefore no political party is going to say we are going to tidy up children's speech at school […]

*[**#119**_2014_Interview_LP]*

In the first part of this section, I discuss one of the most heated and representative debates that can be subsumed under these ideological schemata, I then proceed chronologically with the examples as in the previous sections. This debate is the online 'Lindsay Perigo debate', and I here reproduce only the second half of the main article that has triggered the debate, since the first half was provided in the previous section. This debate has led to a sharpening of the discussion about what it means to speak with a 'British accent' in New Zealand, bringing into focus the way linguistic value systems interact with social exclusion vs. inclusion, therefore shaping power relations and indexing social stratification.

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[101] Cf. Longhurst and Wilson (2002).
[102] For more information on this television series see: https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/heartland-1991/series

No, one is not demanding they speak like the Queen, but is it too much to ask that they sound like educated adults?

All that attention to how they look, and none whatsoever to how they sound! (Except when articulating Māori words. If it's good enough for Māori, why not English?)

One of my pupils, a budding TV actor barely in his 20s, confessed that he was in deathly fear of being made to sound "posh."

Sounding "posh," he believed, would activate Tall Poppy Syndrome, be "uncool" and jeopardise his career.

By "posh" he evidently meant "plummy, like Sam Neill," whose career doesn't seem to have suffered for it.

I pointed to the impeccably Kiwi rugby commentary duo of Grant Nisbett and Tony Johnson both of whom speak clearly and well without sounding remotely "plummy."

And what about the beautifully-spoken Sir Paul Holmes? Or Eric Young and Alistair Wilkinson on Sky?

What does it matter, the barbarians' cheerleaders will ask, as long as we get the gist of what they're saying? Dominion Post columnist Karl du Fresne answered this as follows:

"I have heard it argued that none of this matters as long as we can understand what people are saying, to which my response is twofold. First, it's physically painful to listen to some of these awful voices torturing the language; and second, it's getting to the point where we can't understand them. It's only a matter of time before we'll need subtitles on the TV news bulletins to explain what some female journalists and newsreaders are saying."

A New Zealand in which quacking is as universal as it's threatening to become will intellectually bankrupt us. Its democracy will be a travesty of freedom as vapid voters who routinely quack inanities such as "Yeah, no, I'm like, oh my god, that's so totally awesome" will thus mindlessly endorse the most unconscionable bribes offered by the most unscrupulous politicians.

Not only being able to watch the news again, but also freedom and civilisation themselves, are at stake.

[#120_2013_p.1_DebateLindsayPerigo_main-article]

Here are some of the legitimising comments written in response to this article, the posters mainly criticise the use of BrE and uphold NZE as the only legitimate speech standard of present-day New Zealand. Early on, the discussion moves from speech standards to broader issues of linguistic integration, freedom and civilisation. This kind of comments accounted for the majority in the section following the online article, which consists of a total of 545 comments.

It is like you people are trying to bring a British style class system to New Zealand, where only those with the proper breeding should be allowed on TV.

[#121_2013_p.18_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]

I'd rather have readers I couldn't understand than that terrible pretentious posh-brit affected B.S. that used to be the go.

[#122_2013_p.29/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]

Mr. Perigo tries to leaven his outrageous article by pretending it is tongue-in-cheek (yes, I see the pun there) **but in reality it reflects classist views.** TV news, he is saying, ought to reflect not only the values, but also the sound, of a certain (insert approbative adjective here: learned, upper-class, white, European come to mind) sector of society. **'Sounding right' is to him more important than being inclusive.** Does he want a return to the dreadful days when the news sounded like it had been sent over on 8-track tape from London? (Yes, I'm looking at you, Mr. Perigo.)

*[**#123**_2013_p.32/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]* (**my emphasis**)

[…] Look at it this way – It ultimately reflects the casual, relaxed nature of the New Zealand society which is what so many people like about New Zealand. It gives us our own unique take on the world, and not one directly like our old mates in Britain.

*[**#124**_2013_p.6_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]*

[…] Perigo used to be a television newsreader back in the day where they put on fake English accents to make themselves sound more esteemed/educated.

*[**#125**_2013_p.7/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]*

I would rather a nation of Quakers than self satisfied elitists.

*[**#126**_2013_p.19/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]*

A common thread here is that of 'elitism' or 'classism'. There is thus a strong ideological association of BrE and socially exclusionary attitudes. Posters representing the opposing view claim that NZE's advocates are obviously "of the peasant classes" *[2013_p.9/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]*, thus substantiating this ideological association. I believe that this debate represents one of those points of disjuncture that Kroskrity (2010) points to, where divergent ideological perspectives are explicitly juxtaposed. The following quotations from other debates further illustrate the line of reasoning which associates BrE with elitism and NZE with egalitarianism, and that appears in the corpus as early as 1953.

Pronunciations: Sir, – Having received an excellent education in New Zealand, it would seem that, according to our radio generally, my speech must be incorrect. I was not taught to pronounce broadcasting as "brawdcawsting," fire as "fah," power as "pah," recorded as "recawdid," played as "plaird," mild as "mahld," railway station as "rellweh stechon" (with a variation of "stairshun" in lieu of "stechon"). Such pronunciations, in my opinion, cast a reflection upon our entire educational system, unless they are actually correct. However, they are certainly not of New Zealand English as taught in our schools, and it could be suggested that **down to earth New Zealand speech** of good quality would be preferred by most listeners in any case. What do they think about it, or is the present letter to be deemed near-sacrilege? NAH IS THE AHR (Wellington).

*[**#127**_1953_p.5_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*(**my emphasis**)

Pronunciation: Sir, – I was most gratified to read the letter in your issue of March 23 from "Nobody in Particular" who criticized the common mispronunciation of the suffix "-y" in this countruh. I thoroughluh agruh that the "-ee" sound so often hard is both ugluh and incorrect. **The difficultuh is, however, that it is so widespread and ingrained that those of us who take the trouble to pronounce it correctluh are often accused of affectation or snobberuh!** Sometimes, too, it is plainly obvious that some people who make the sound correctly are doing so only by dint of conscious effort; it could hardlee be said to come to

> them naturallee, and one can sometimes detect an uncertaintee in their diction, with some of the old gaucherie slipping into their pronunciation. However, despite the fact that 99 per cent of the countree – excuse me, countruh– persists in the fallacuh, there is no doubt that in matters of diction the majorituh does *not* rule, and "noboduh in Particular" and I are on the side of probitee– er, probituh.
>
> *[**#128**_1964_2_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]* (**my emphasis**)[103]

> It was a rude awakening for many National Programme regulars, reared on a breakfast diet of Horst Jankowski and announcers who sounded as though they were wearing dinner jackets.
>
> *[**#129**_1977(5)_p.9_NZListener_GordonCorpus_article]*

> Sir – Dr. Bernard Gunn's ridiculous attempt to bolster his misguided and ill-informed roadside on New Zealand speech (April 30) plumbs new depths in arrogant **snobbery** […] My opinion (untested of course) is that over 75 per cent of our population under the age of 90 could be, would be, and are insulted and unimpressed by Dr. Gunn's **elitist pretensions.**
>
> *[**#130**_1997_p.16_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn_Letter-to-the-Editor]* (**my emphasis**)

> If you're not proud of the flat A, dumbed down I and upward inflection, you're a snob and unpatriotic.
>
> *[**#131**_2005_p.9_NZListener_DebateNewZildDoc_reply-article]* [104]

> When me and my bros were kuds, our mother used to invite brown-uniformed gels from nearby Nga Tawa school out to the farm on their exeat days, thinking it might improve our eccents and get us invitations to the Queen's gahden pahty.
>
> *[**#132**_2009_p.42_NZListener_DebateMincingWords_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

In relation to this last quotation, commentary coming from an educational context provides some insights into school's language practices and further detail on these motifs. A speaker interviewed about his experience of moving from a public (state) school to a private school in the 1950s states that "it is the first time I realised that the way I was talking in the state school wasn't the way we should speak in this private school… people [in the streets] laughed at us…at our ridiculous posh voices…it gave me a feeling of inferiority about the way I speak…that there was something wrong about the New Zealand accent, and that I should speak like someone from the British Royal family" (*Side-A_'The Way I have come'_TonyDeverson's tape).* These motifs recur in other similar contributions, David Ballantyne (a young New Zealand writer) was interviewed on the radio, and asked to recount some of the main opinions that had been held about this "vexed question of accent":

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[103] Even though this quotation belongs to the 'delegitimising' side of the debate, it is interesting to notice that the association of BrE variables with snobbery and affectation is evoked by the author.

[104] Even though this last quotation is ironic in tone and comes from a delegitimising discourse, it illustrates the same ideological association.

> It is also suggested that our accents stem in part from our uncultured ancestors, the rough talking pioneers […] and from the influence of Māori words as in the lengthening of final vowels. […] It is when I talk of the obviously slovenly features of our speech, that the critiques are on safest ground, we should know better, all right. But I doubt that their lesson will ever really stick, the average New Zealander is immediately suspicious of anybody he thinks is putting on a dog, he is embarrassed by the elocutionists, he is not sure either what you mean by 'Standard English' and he is too easy-going to care.
>
> *[**#133**_Side-B_'The Way I have come'_TonyDeverson's tape].*

One of the main beliefs underpinning these debates, and that is considered a "nice thing about New Zealand" is that New Zealanders "will never be like the England lamented in the old my Fair Lady song – the minute an Englishman opens his mouth, another Englishman despises him" *[2009_p.38_NZListener_DebateMincingWords_main-article]*. This is because of the – previously explained – commonplace belief that the British social class system was not replicated in New Zealand, and thus that NZE does not index socio-economic standing as BrE and British 'accents' do (see section 1):

> One inarguable facet of New Zealand English – or, rather, a facet it seems increasingly to lack – is as a marker of socio-economic standing […].
>
> *[**#134**_2009_p.38_NZListener_DebateMincingWords_main-article]*

This set of two interviews with the Ministry of Education's delegates provides some additional insights, that confirm these suppositions and highlights the link between language and democracy that frequently appears in this debate; NZE comes to represents democratic values.

> […] people are wanting to…they are wanting to use accent as a cultural marker and as an identity marker…so sometimes it can be used in all sort of conflicts in terms of whether you speak more with a received British pronunciation or how you speak can be like 'oh you are a wannabe', you want to aspire to the upper classes…tall poppy syndrome in New Zealand…who tries to put themselves above others is pretty quickly cut down at the knees, and that is attributable to the colonial history…many migrants left England because of the class system so they didn't want to replicate it here…but it still happened to a certain degree because it was a familiar thing you know…sometimes it [accent] can be a social marker, social class marker, it can be used as an exclusionary thing.
>
> *[**#135**_2014_Interview_Ministry_Education_1&2]*

> […] language is quite a democratic thing you know…you are influenced and you influence…who can decide what is correct, appropriate and what is not.
>
> *[**#136**_2014_Interview_Ministry_Education_1&2]*

What is considered to be even more objectionable in these debates than speaking with a 'British accent', is to affect one. This implicates notions of authenticity in language; these will be the focus of section 4.2.

> It may be an equivalent sin to speaking uni-vowel New Zild, to cleave to the haute vowels sounds of upper-class England – particularly if it doesn't sound as though one has come by one's plummy accent honestly…an unnecessarily genteel accent.
>
> *[**#137**_2009_p.38_NZListener_DebateMincingWords_main-article]*

The formerly discussed semiotic ideological processes that define linguistic differentiation at work (i.e. iconisation, erasure, fractal recursivity) can be identified as underpinning this side of the debate too. Iconisation in these debates emerges in several aspects of the linguistic description of NZE and BrE, such as in discourse describing the (emblematic) linguistic particulars of the two varieties, such as the honesty, informality, down-to-earthiness and uniqueness of NZE, as opposed to the arrogance, formality, coldness, snobbery, artificiality, foreignness and elitism of BrE. Iconisation is also obvious in the process of equating accent to social class, and to a specific national allegiance. Linguistic practices are linked to identity allegiance here, if you speak BrE you are a "Pom", an elitist or are affected by a colonial cringe; if you speak NZE you are a "real kiwi", patriotic, and an authentic member of the new nation. 'Accents' here are thus assumed to indicate different loyalties. A final example of arguments through iconisation (and erasure) in these debates is the fact that some linguistic features (or more specifically levels) are selected as a topic of debate, while others are ignored or explained away (cf. Irvine and Gal 2000). It is in fact specifically the phonetic and lexical variation that is picked upon in the meta-commentaries (often accompanied by inventive phonetic transliterations), while the features that are similar to BrE (e.g. grammar and syntax) and which are superior in number to those that are dissimilar, are never mentioned. This has the effect of emphasising the distinctiveness of the two varieties (or 'accents'), which is essential here as they relate to different identity stances. These linguistic features and the varieties as a whole can once more be claimed to have reached a third-order of indexicality within this community. The nexus between NZE and a specific kind of identity, which seems to have become more salient over the years, might be one of the reasons why more recent delegitimising commentary is typically more muted and tolerant. The kind of harsh criticism that was commonplace in the first three decades (of the corpus examined here) seems to have gradually subsided together with the overall frequency in the appearance of this kind of commentary. Nowadays, strong criticism is still expressed at times – but increasingly frequently – this is met with ridicule and dismissal (see for instance the Lindsay Perigo's debate discussed above).

As opposed to the colonial ideology that underpins much of the delegitimising dimension of the meta-discourse revolving around NZE, an anti-colonial language ideology prevails here. Within the logic of this ideology, if we get rid of the old colonial standard (i.e. BrE), we will be free and independent. This is also an act of identity and is probably in direct reaction to the colonial ideology discussed in the previous sections. The way in which language ideologies mediate between forms of talk and social forms, between language and culture becomes apparent here (cf. Blommaert 1999a, 1999b, 2006; Kroskrity 2004, 2010; Woolard 1998), together with the ways in which these may become essential for (national) identity work. This evokes Auer's (2007: 2) observation about "[n]ation-states' reliance on a natural link between a nation and its language". In relation to this a 'monovariety' linguistic ideology[105] is also apparent here. The debates, in fact, always point to the necessity of making a choice, only one language variety can be chosen to be the variety used in the public arena in New Zealand: either NZE or BrE, but not both. This is also inextricably linked to identity stances, where speaking with a 'Kiwi accent' shows attachment to the new nation. The essentialist perspective which associates national language practice with national character still features in these metalinguistic debates, together with the well-known 'one language

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[105] The reference here being to the monolingual linguistic ideology.

(or one variety in this case) – one nation' ideal.[106]

A final point that deserves attention is the question of informality, which recurs regularly in the corpus. As several of the quotes illustrate, the shift in speech standards is associated to a shift towards a more informal, "more common" and "friendlier" register, and by analogy way of life. A commonplace assumption is that the rigid British class system was not replicated in New Zealand, and therefore that New Zealand's society is much more egalitarian than the British one. This is then reflected at the linguistic level (semiotically through fractal recursivity) as NZE is believed to reflect these egalitarian ideals, while BrE is perceived as an implement of social stratification, and thus sometimes oppression, as we have seen in this section. The saliency of this shift towards informality could be claimed to fit the pattern towards the conversationalisation of news that Bell (2011: 191) has recently pointed out. This has also some interesting linkages with the 'ideology of variationism' discussed by Kroskrity (2009), who claims that many groups naturalize linguistic diversity and refuse to use linguistic difference as a basis for social stratification. Most of these societies are themselves egalitarian and remarkably lacking in social hierarchy.

To conclude, within the legitimising dimension of the debate, NZE is ideologised as: 1) a legitimate variety of English for New Zealand – therefore representing New Zealand's newly developed local identity and sense of independent nationhood; 2) a variety that represents egalitarianism ideals – which are essential for New Zealanders' view of their own society; 3) an informal variety – reflecting New Zealanders' friendly and informal character; 4) an authentic and sincere variety of English – which should consequently be the main variety used as a speech standard in public arenas such as the media and the educational system. NZE therefore becomes emblematic for an authentic 'kiwi identity', demonstrating the "symbolic 'quality' of languages and varieties as emblems of nationhood, cultural authenticity, progress, modernity, democracy, self-respect, freedom, socialism, equality, and many more 'values'" (Blommaert 1999a: 2). The last point, concerning NZE's authenticity, will be the focus of the next section (4.2).

In the current section we have been able to identify a number of themes/motifs that recur across different categories of metalinguistic comments, media, time periods and sub-discourses, and centre around four main ideological schemata. Some of the main language ideologies that underpin the public commentary on NZE have also been identified: a colonial language ideology, a standard language ideology and an ideology of eternal incompetence for the delegitimising voices in the meta-discourses, and an anti-colonial language ideology and a mono-variety linguistic ideology for the legitimising voices. We have seen the semiotic processes of fractal recursivity, iconisation and erasure at work in these metalinguistic debates, as well as how Geeraerts' (2008) cognitive models of linguistic variation provide fundamental insights into the conceptualisations of language displayed in these debates. Figures 10 and 11 visually summarise what has been discussed in the present section, by illustrating the main linkages for the two sets of voices examined.

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[106] This ideology (often linked with Herder) imagined "inherent, natural links between a unitary mother tongue, a territory, and an ethnonational identity" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 60). The prerequisite here being "the ideal political order of one nation, speaking one language, ruled by one state, within one bounded territory"(ibid: 63).
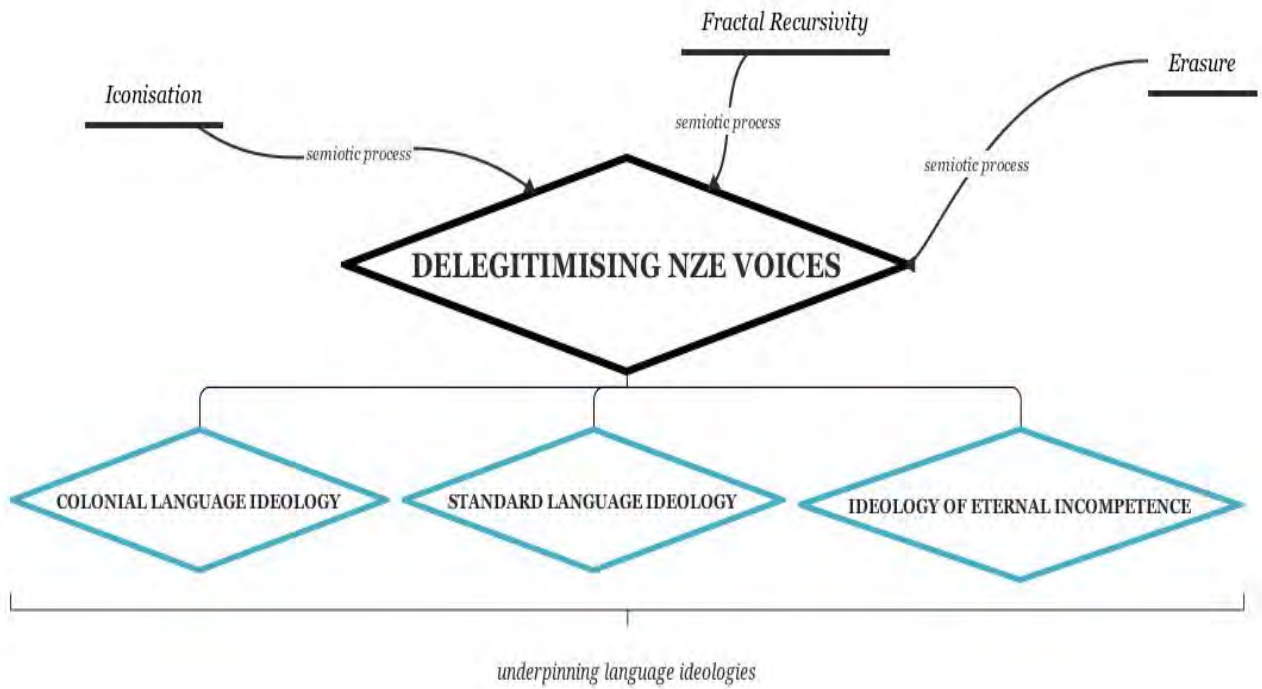
Figure 10. Underpinning ideologies and semiotic processes involved for the delegitimising voices in the metadiscourse
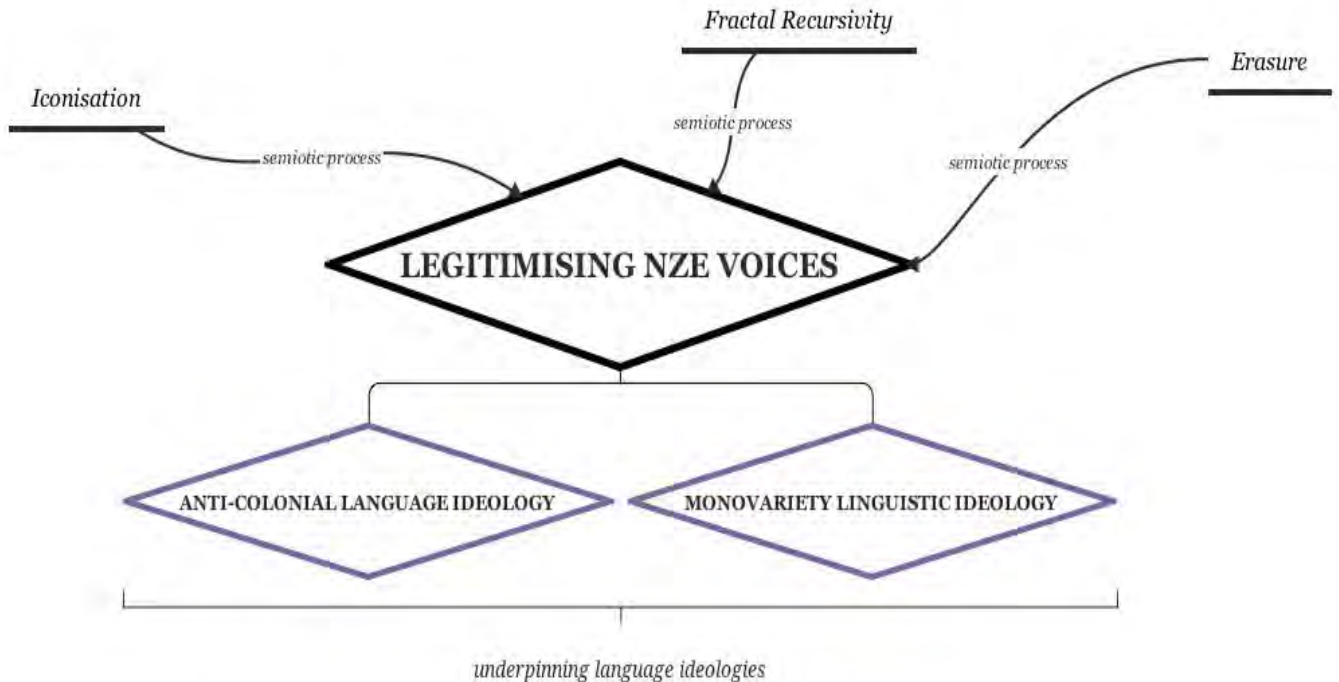

Figure 11. Underpinning ideologies and semiotic processes involved for the legitimising voices in the metadiscourse

Before moving on to the next section on de/authenticating discourses and practices, Figure 12 provides some estimates on the number of legitimising and delegitimising meta-commentaries on NZE over the years (from the 1960s to 1994). The figure also shows the total number of mentions

of NZE. This figure is based on the data available in the Gordon Corpus, thus belonging to the National Press Data sub-discourse and the *NZ Listener*. Statistical significance cannot be claimed for the calculations displayed with this figure because the assignment of a particular commentary to one of the two aforementioned categories entailed a subjective reasoning process. Nonetheless, this table can provide some relevant diachronic insights into the legitimisation process of NZE. The focus, for the categorisation, were legitimising and delegitmising comments about NZE (also referred to as 'New Zealand Speech', 'Kiwi English', 'New Zealand accent' etc.) its features and use. Priority was given to phonetic and lexical variation, and complaints about a general lowering of standards were here discarded.
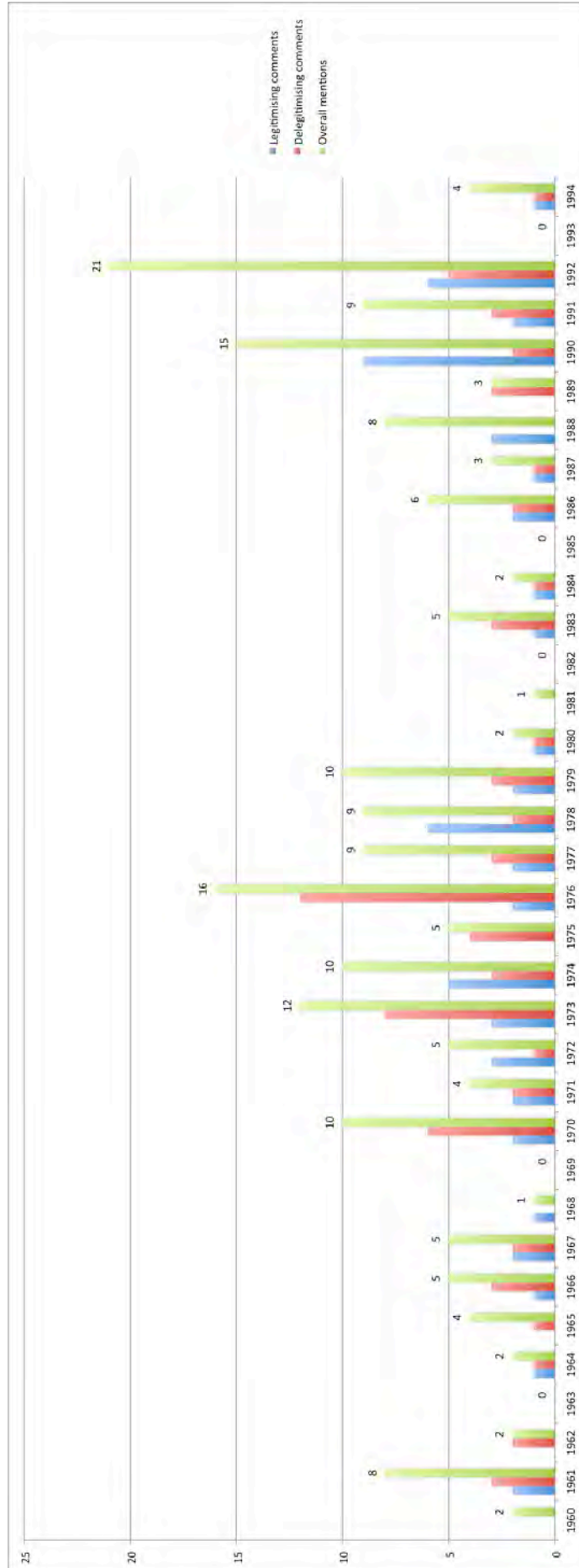
Figure 12. Quantitative estimates of legitimising and delegitimising
comments per year, based on the Gordon Corpus

Interestingly, the 1970s and the 1990s represent the peaks for the metalinguistic debates in this medium, as the number of mentions of NZE is the highest. This is particularly interesting for the 1970s – especially after 1973 – as this date has been identified as the potential 'Event X' by several scholars (see sections 1 and 2.2). The year 1992 registers the highest number of mentions of NZE, even though a specific 'enclosed' debate was not identified. On the other hand, Figure 12 demonstrates the relevance of the following debates, which took place in the *NZ Listener*, and from which I have drawn several of my examples in previous sections (see table 6 for the names of the debates): a) 'DebatePoints' (1973-4), which was particularly heated; b) 'Debate Giz-a-go' (1976); c) 'DebateNgaioMarsh' (1978); d) 'DebateKarlduFresne' (1979); e) 'DebateReviewNZE' (1991).

Few comments were articulated in the 1960s, with the majority being delegitimising ones (7 against 5). In the 1970s the majority of the comments are still delegitimising ones (44 against 27), but many more comments were articulated overall. The first five years of the 1980s seem to have been particularly calm for the language debate; overall there were two more delegitimising comments (11 against 9). For the years 1990 to 1994 we can see that the legitimising comments predominate slightly (18 against 14). The number of legitimising comments thus fluctuates from being the minority in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, to being the majority (even though just slightly) in the available years of the 1990s. Figure 13 illustrates the overall tendency of the delegitimising and the legitimising comments over these four decades. The number of legitimising comments seems to have kept on increasing from the 1960s to the 1970s, to have then slightly decreased in the 1980s, and to be on the growth again in the 1990s.
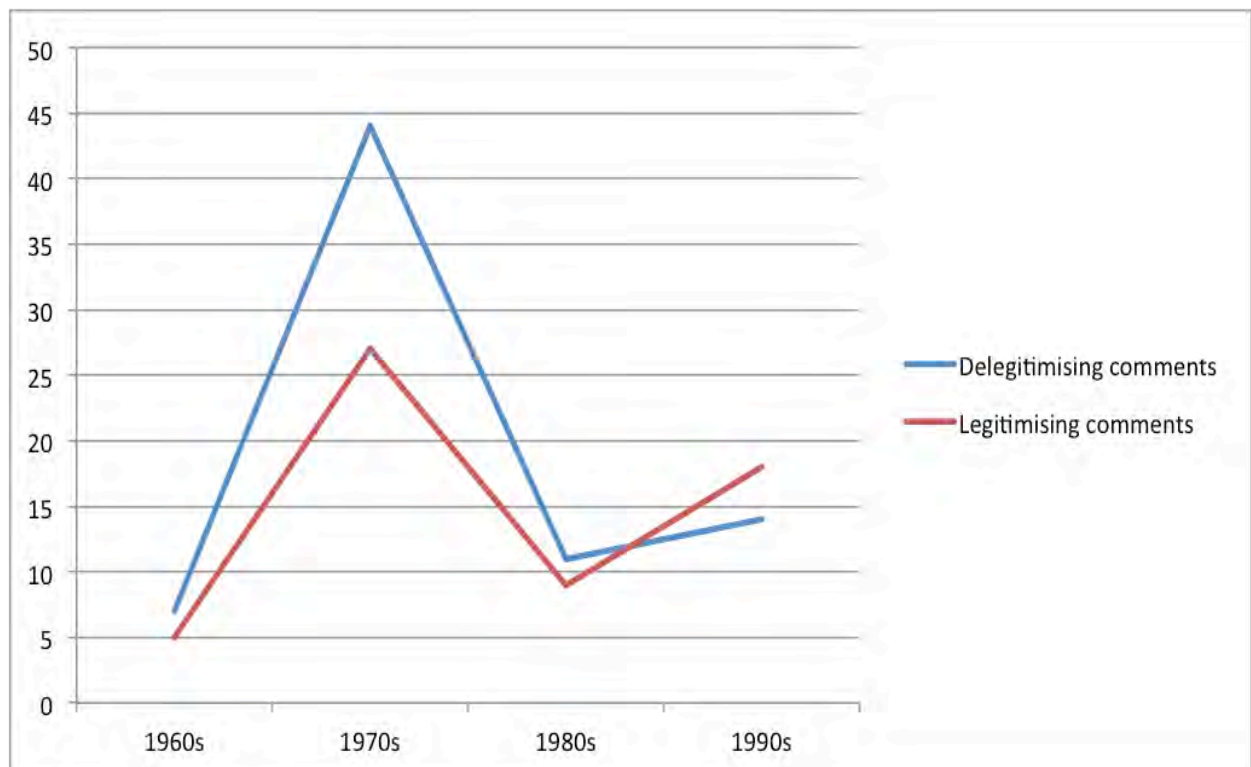

Figure 13. Overall tendency of delegitimising and legitimising comments over time

It is here important to remember that the data used for these estimates came from a conservative medium and the majority of these data were letters to the editor. As we have seen in Chapter I, this 'genre' is known to be a typical outlet for 'complaint tradition' voices. Even though mathematically

significant conclusions cannot be drawn from these two figures, they give an idea of the progression of these two voices over three decades in this rather more conservative, edited, gatekeepered outlet.

4.2. Authenticating NZE and De-authenticating BrE

Ideological schemata 5: NZE is ideologised as legitimate because it is the authentic English variety of New Zealand, and can only be found in New Zealand: it is distinctive, genuine, natural, not affected, it reflects everyday, 'real' usage. As a contrast, BrE is conceptualised as inauthentic, affected, as a pretentious imitation that does not reflect real usage, is imported, foreign, dishonest, obsolete, and unnatural.

In this section, I identify a key narrative revealed in the comments and debates here examined, on what speaking a legitimate language variety means. This narrative targets the concepts of authenticity, the conflict between a 'standard' English variety and a locally developed English variety, and sheds light on the complex relationship of language and identity, and on metalinguistic de/authenticating practices and discourses.

Some preliminary remarks are necessary here. First, some of the quotes in this section are quotes that have been used earlier in order to exemplify other ideological schemata. As it has been previously mentioned, these ideological schemata are closely interrelated within the larger public meta-discourse on NZE and they have been laid out as seemingly self-contained entities uniquely in order to facilitate their deconstruction. It will once more become evident here, how different layers and meta-discourses interact in these metalinguistic debates. Second, some relevant aspects of the socio-historical (see sections 1 and 2.2) and theoretical background (see Chapter I) will here be reiterated. This will add to the cohesion of the present chapter and its signposting.

As it was previously outlined, in discussions of the value of language and of different language varieties, some specific ideological characteristics that denote 'authenticity' emerge. I here reproduce Woolard's (2008: 2)[107] definition of the ideology of authenticity, as this will be helpful for the interpretation of the examples that are to follow.

> The *ideology of authenticity* locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community. That which is authentic is viewed as the genuine expression of such a community, or of an essential Self […] a speech variety must be perceived as deeply rooted in social and geographic territory in order to have value. For many European languages, these roots are in the mountain redoubts of peasant folk purity […] To be considered authentic, a speech variety must be very much 'from somewhere' in speakers' consciousness, and thus its meaning is profoundly local. If such social and territorial roots are not discernable, a linguistic variety lacks value in this system […]

Several sociolinguistic studies have recently pointed out that new (colonial) linguistic varieties (such as NZE), present a serious challenge to ideas about 'legitimate' languages and dialects, as geographical stasis and immobility have long been considered fundamental to notions such as the 'authentic speaker' and an 'authentic dialect', and these notions frequently seem to play a primary role in legitimisation processes. In relation to this, Bucholtz (2003: 404) claims that according to the ideology of isolationism the most authentic language is "removed from and unaffected by other

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[107] The page numbers reflect the version of the paper that has been retrieved online.

influences, and thus the most authentic speaker belongs to a well-defined, static, and relatively homogeneous social grouping that is closed to the outside". Thus, according to the logic of this ideology, "the effects of social and linguistic contact are problematic" (ibid), and as a consequence for several decades, contact varieties of English were denied a claim to authenticity, and thus often also to legitimacy (cf. Woolard 2008). However, in the context of decolonisation and increasing globalisation, positive attitudes to linguistic diversity, as a consequence of mobility and language contact, have become fortified. In New Zealand the emergence of a new endonormative standard has called for a reworking and adjustment of existing language ideologies to the new sociolinguistic situation (which has been brought along by a complex set of phenomena related to greater scale processes such as globalisation and independence) (see section 1). Even more importantly, the data from the present corpus seem to suggest that the notion of 'authenticity', or of what constitutes an 'authentic' language variety, has here been reworked in order to fit its new sociolinguistic context. In relation to this, one of the patterns that has been observed in the commentaries is that the beliefs that used to be called upon in order to legitimise the superiority of BrE have recently been reworked and subverted in order to legitimise NZE. This has to do with a stronger emphasis on a distinctive, authentic and local New Zealand identity, which has been extensively commented upon in the literature on NZE (in section 1) and has been discussed within ideological schemata 3. Two themes, that I have labelled **Dynamism** and **Naturalness**, have been put forward in these public metalinguistic debates in order to promote the authentication (and consequent legitimisation) of NZE. Within these authenticating discourses then a contrast has been drawn with the stability, historical depth and affectation associated with BrE.

I will here begin with some examples that illustrate how NZE in more recent times has come to be associated with authenticity. As a consequence, within the present discourse, the authenticity of BrE, which was frequently called upon within the delegitimising dimension of the meta-discourse on NZE, is explicitly rejected or questioned. BrE is here seen as inauthentic, imported, an affectation.

[…] the kiwi accent is a different matter. It is who we are, that is to replace most vowels with a u. This will not change and I'm sure **the real kiwis** wont [sic] have it any other way.
*[**#138**_2013_p.11/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]* (**my emphasis**)

We got away from the whole idea of mimicking England, it's all about what it means to be a New Zealander today…**authentic is now Kiwi**…people with a British accent are considered posh or tossed up themselves […] I can't imagine a politician with an accent like that…'who do you think you are mate?' […] and privileged which we don't like in New Zealand […] we are very egalitarian.
*[**#139**_2014_Interview_JournalismSchool_1]* (**my emphasis**)

Kiwi voice is considered authentic…having a BBC voice was the way that news was to be presented because news were serious and seriousness and authenticity came from a British accent because that exuded the mother country and correct English; **while now authenticity is being yourself!**
*[**#140**_2014_Interview_Broadcasting_School]* (**my emphasis**)

The New Zealand Voice: A GREAT deal of rubbish is spoken from time to time about the New Zealand accent; some elocution teachers wax eloquent about its flatness, its gross impurities, in that no vowel is a clear sound but is always broken into another, for instance, the notorious "yearss" (yes), and the upshot from their lucubrations seems to be "talk as much like the BBC as possible." Now this is arrant nonsense. A good New Zealand voice can and does make pleasurable music from the Queen's English, and I wish we heard it more often on the radio. The greater part of the voices which we hear in the plays produced by the NZBS are neutrally tinted; if they have no barbarities of pronunciation, equally they have no character either, and outside the convention of regional comedy, in which, I must admit, they are extraordinarily skilful, turning on Welsh, Irish, Scottish, Somerset and any other with great conviction, all voices turn into what I will call "NZBS provincial", which is to say, colourless, inoffensive, characterless neutrality. These reflections are prompted by hearing Nancy Ellison on *Women's Hour* reading passages from her book on Whirinaki Valley. Now here was a voice, unmistakably New Zealand, yet full of colour and vigour, and its owner showed as lively a respect for the cadences of her tongue as any Irishman or Scot. We need more of them, as many as we can get, for otherwise, how is the NZBS going to cope with the trickle of New Zealand plays which has already started, but in the next 10 years will become a gush and a flood? Only, I suggest, by cultivating a respect for **the authentic voice of this land.**

*[**#141**_1958(1)_p.1_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]* (**my emphasis**)

[…] Admittedly, elocution teachers may do fine therapeutic work among persons with physical vocal defects, but they do their pupils a disservice by using as a model an outdated [sic.], **imported** and socially stratified mode of speech. As long as they continue in this they will be open to the accusation of being cultural Uncle Toms, trying to make New Zealanders feel ashamed of their speech. In this, they are part of a series of wider cultural cliques, which, in many former frontier countries, have, for a time, alienated the bulk of citizenry from the arts by their elitist, anti-nationalistic attitudes.

*[**#142**_1974_p.3_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]* (**my emphasis**)

If we want to remain New Zealanders – to feel like New Zealanders, to act like New Zealanders, to present ourselves to the wider world as New Zealanders – then we must listen to our own voices and trace our own footsteps; we must have our own heroes and heroines to inspire us, our own epics to uplift us: we must be prepared to persist with building our own culture rather than import its ingredients from abroad, cheap and ready-made. We cannot shut the wider world out, but we should try to welcome it as an equal partner – not as a land culturally bereft and waiting to be colonised a second time.

*[**#143**_1978(2)_p.3_NZListener_GordonCorpus_extract from editorial]*

Comments on the meta-discourse itself – even though some of these stem from the delegitimising dimension of the debate – also illustrate this association.

Yet there have always been a few fighting a brave rear-guard action – condemning the **imported** upper-class vowels taught by elocution teachers as "refrained, vile, **affectation**". The language we speak is New Zealandese, they wrote, with its own idiom and pronunciation, and is just as distinctive as the language spoken by Americans, South Africans, Australians and Canadians […] Elocution is "out" in the 1990s.

*[**#144**_1991_p.8-9_NZListener_ DebateReviewNZE_article]* (**my emphasis**)

Elizabeth Gordon, the chief expert relied upon, actually predicted with unbounded joy the day when we all spoke like Bill English, Trevor Mallard and Lianne Dalziel, whom she rated as super-clear communicators and possessors of the **most desirably authentic** New Zealand accent.

*[**#145**_2005_NZListener_DebateNewZildDoc_Article: "A werd about are eccent", by Jane Clifton]* (**my emphasis**)

[…] their employers, far from being alarmed by the situation and sending their uneducated charges off for remedial speech training, embrace the barbarian triumph as a **victory for the authentic kiwi accent**. It is nothing of the sort.

*[**#146**_2013_p.1_DebateLindsayPerigo_main article]* (**my emphasis**)

These examples demonstrate how discourses about authenticity are interlinked with several other discourses about national identity, colonialism and social class. The discursive construct of the 'real kiwi, 'the ordinary kiwi', which recurred also in earlier quotes, seems to be particularly salient in relation to the notion of authenticity. The 'real kiwi' is ideologised as not being ashamed to speak NZE, as being proud of it since this 'dialect' represents an authentic local identity and – on a larger scale – allegiance to an independent New Zealand nation. The 'real kiwi' is also represented as being 'ordinary' (and this adjective sometimes substitutes 'real' in the comments) and as being against social stratification and elitist attitudes. This construct will be further discussed below.

The next set of quotations (in order of relevance) exemplifies the aforementioned **Naturalness** theme: NZE is considered authentic (and legitimate) because an authentic language is **natural**. According to this logic BrE is thus seen as lacking in 'naturalness' and is described as being "a false standard", "fake", "borrowed", affected, imported, and even "a tyranny". With this umbrella term I intend to capture different facets of the concept of naturalness and its relation to notions of genuineness, sincerity, honesty, spontaneity, normality and ordinary nature. 'Naturalness' here is taken to include the idea of something relatable and that reflects/represents usage and everyday's (New Zealand's) reality. This is part of an authentication discourse (or strategy) and it is important here to note that the link between authenticity and 'naturalness' – and 'naturalness' and linguistic change – has been previously made in the academic literature. Coupland (2001b), for instance, makes this link in his typology of sociolinguistic authenticities (see Chapter I), especially for the postulation of his 'authentic language 2' condition: "naturally occurring language". Cameron (1995: 19-20) while also commenting on linguistic change, states that importance is "attached to the category of the 'natural' in discussions of linguistic change. The pairing 'natural/unnatural' is parallel to 'descriptive/prescriptive', and its terms have similar values attached to them: 'natural' change is good, while 'unnatural' change is bad". This implies that "change is healthy only when it comes 'from below, or within' – that is without the conscious agency of language-users" (ibid: 5). We will see later on in this section how this has linkages with Coupland's (2001b) differentiation between 'authenticity-from-above' and 'authenticity-from-below'. In relation to this, Cameron (1995: 21) explains that "identifying the good with the natural (and the bad with the unnatural) is an effective device for circumventing arguments about the validity of certain judgments; for, according to popular wisdom as well as science, 'you can't argue with nature'".

Examples for this Naturalness theme are provided below; note that this connection was salient as early as 1958.

[…] Then there was her accent. Women seemed to hate it a lot more than men, says Morris. "They would come and complain: 'It's her voiyce. It's tearible.'" Hay has never had speech lessons – and doesn't intend to. "I'm a New Zealander, I'm not ashamed of my New Zealand accent". She did have her voice examined, though, by a Radio New Zealand announcer trainer last year. The diagnosis was a lazy tongue: "I say 'moolk' instead of 'milk'". Her drawled-out delivery makes even Phillip Sherry seem like a race track commentator. But learning to modulate her speed would mean losing the North Island accent. "I don't see why I should. My grammar is perfect. **The only pressure is from those bloody poncy people in the media who like to sound like BBC announcers. I'm not going to become that plastic for anybody**".

*[**#147**_1984_p.16_NZListener_GordonCorpus_article]* (**my emphasis**)

Times have changed, even the BBC allow 'regional' accents to be heard on the airwaves. Shock! Horror! Imagine that! People on television becoming **an actual representation of the people they are communicating to?** Civilisation will crumble!

*[**#148**_2013_p.8_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]* (**my emphasis**)

I am glad we're moving away from the 'RP' and Aussie accents and developing our own 'kiwi' sound. It is not something to be corrected or looked down upon, but is instead something that should be celebrated. And I hope the New Zealand networks keeps up the good work in promoting our accent and ignores people like you who want to make us **British clones**. Long live the 'barbarians'!

*[**#149**_2013_p.6_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]* (**my emphasis**)

If they come to the broadcasting and they are born with a New Zealand accent we encourage them just to be themselves because that is **relatable everyday language** and that is how we relate in radio…**it is about relating to real everyday people and the way that you relate to them is sounding like them**…no one has any problem with your **normal** New Zealand accent.

*[**#150**_2014_Interview_Broadcasting_School]* (**my emphasis**)

From an educational perspective, there was previously in both public and private context a focus on British received English as a lingua franca. Shift in the 1960s in education…from a very British style of literacy material for young learners, and then they were very British based (for example the Janet and Jones series)…especially for early literacy […] the language patterns were very British and they didn't reflect the **natural language patterns** of young New Zealanders and so there was a shift in the language patterns that had developed over the years [...] to much more of a New Zealand **natural language patterns** […] the Ministry of Education has started producing and publishing instruction literacy text for our schools…provided free to schools […]

*[**#151**_2014_Interview_Ministry_Education_1&2]* (**my emphasis**)

The New Zealand Voice: Sir, – How very refreshing to see someone standing up for the poor old, much deprecated New Zealand accent! Your reviewer, B.E.G.M. (Listener, May 23) deserves a cheer for this, I myself have long felt that by copying English manners customs and speech in this country we are hindering our own progress as New Zealanders. Of course many New Zealanders come by these attitudes **quite honestly**, but for most of us they would be sheer **pretension,** designed to show off our "culture" (which, of course, would be **borrowed,** like our accent) and our social standing. A pleasant, genuine English voice is undoubtedly very attractive – but so is a pleasant, **genuine** Scots, Irish, Welsh or American voice, to say nothing of the charm of a foreign accent. Even a comparatively uncultivated style of speech can have

character and interest. […] To return to the New Zealand voice it can be, as B.E.G.M. points out, pleasant to listen to. For instance, I myself greatly enjoy hearing Les Cleveland's forthright, cheery and definitely colonial voice in his "Backwoods Ballads" series. Let us keep the English accents for English poetry and drama, but for New Zealand subjects and everyday speech we should not be shamed to be New Zealanders. **Then, no doubt, we will develop our own distinctive national culture, as I believe we are really beginning to do**.

[#152_1958(1)_p.3_NZListener_GordonCorpus_ Letter-to-the-Editor] (**my emphasis**)

New Zealand Speech: Sir – Your correspondent, L. D. Austin, need not feel so disturbed. No one here, I am sure, is condoning bad speech. But neither do we care for the characterless, **imitative** variety, for we [unreadable] that there is a type of New Zealand speech that is both pleasant and characteristic. I think that most teachers of elocution in this country would agree that the first requirement of expression is **sincerity, in true harmony with the life and temperament of our people**, and that a **false standard** does not encourage the desire for better speech. It would be ridiculous, for instance, to expect our really young colonial Huck Finns to speak like Fauntleroy's. […] Any standards accepted by New Zealanders, either in speech or modes of living, should be modified and adapted to our own requirements, and infused with the colour of our individuality. **This would be far better for our national character than a slavish following of the standards of another way of life – however much we may admire them.**

[#153_1958(1)_p.5_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor] (**my emphasis**)

Points on pronunciation: Sir, – I am one **ordinary Kiwi** who has had enough of the effete pedants who are nagging radio announcers in particular and New Zealanders in general for daring to speak their own regional dialect. Why do harping elocutionists wish to turn our speech into that of the **Victorian upper class of southern England**? Perhaps, in their quest for what they presumptuously call "correct" language, the critics should consider the advantages of the environment in the Antarctic, the last spot on earth unsullied by workaday people. In the frozen south, our hypersensitive friends would surely find bliss among the pure vowels of the screeching skuas and the precise, clearly enunciated oinks of the blue-nose seals. At least we would be free of their smug, condescending vituperation. So would the plum-in-the-mouth brigade please prepare for the long-overdue migration south. Or, as a compromise, would they please form some sort of society where they can bray in private about the rise of the New Zealand idiom and leave we **ordinary folk** alone to speak **naturally** and **sincerely** and in our own way.

[#154_1973(2)_p.15_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor] (**my emphasis**)[108]

[…] people would learn and mimic the British model in the past, because that was the way that news was, a serious BBC style presentation. Things have changed and we have become a little more comfortable in our own enunciation and the way we present our words. And there is a Kiwi slang, we sound somewhat different from Australia…in radio to be a presenter and to read ads we are looking for ***real*, relaxed English** so the days of speaking properly in a BBC accent are gone and this is very much the case for journalism and for announcers…that are **now just trying to reflect the common New Zealand accen**t without sounding too country and too casual, and it's pseudo conversational…we try to use elements of Kiwi accent, it's got to be correct but it doesn't have to be perfect…**it just got to be *real* and *relatable*.**

[#155_2014_Interview_Broadcasting_School]

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[108] This debate was so heated and the letters so numerous that the editor decided to put an end to it: "No more letters on specific points of pronunciation will be published, although letters on the general issue raised so vigorously above will be accepted, – Ed." *[1973(2)_p.15_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Editor's Comment]*. More letters belonging to this debate are provided in the section on the Dynamism theme.

You're right! Having news bulletins with **people speaking the same way we hear it in the street** is likely to cause the collapse of civilisation! Mr. Perigo tries to leaven his outrageous article by pretending it is tongue-in-cheek (yes, I see the pun there) but in reality it reflects classist views. TV news, he is saying, ought to reflect not only the values, but also the sound, of a certain (insert approbative [sic] adjective here: learned, upper-class, white, European come to mind) sector of society. 'Sounding right' is to him more important than being inclusive. Does he want a return to the dreadful days when the news sounded like it had been sent over on 8-track tape from London? (Yes, I'm looking at you, Mr. Perigo.) Finally, along with the disclaimer at the end of the article, ought to be a note that Mr. Perigo is a founding member and first leader of the Randian far-right Libertarianz Party. Now his article makes sense.

*[**#156**_2013_p.32/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]* (**my emphasis**)

The New Zealand Speech Board examines children and adults in speech, drama, oral communication and public speaking throughout New Zealand. Its syllabus is devised with a strong emphasis on New Zealand culture, including its debt to its English literary heritage. Its examiners encourage the use of speech of agreeable international standard **free from affectation** and from any speech habits that may cause ambiguity or embarrassment […] highly qualified teachers vitally concerned to develop the best in our indigenous speech patterns.

*[**#157**_1974_p.11_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]* (**my emphasis**)

Why should New Zealanders acknowledge, as the norm of how English should be spoken in New Zealand, a dialect which has its home 20'000 kilometres away, and **which none of us speaks without specific training** […] our language standards are only one manifestation of the very general orientation of New Zealand culture towards Britain […].

*[**#158**_1978(2)_p.9_NZListener_GordonCorpus_article]* (**my emphasis**)

"Sometimes people say standards have dropped – standards have changed, they haven't dropped. We like New Zealanders who are speaking to New Zealanders **to sound like New Zealanders**" says presentation manager for National Radio Bernard Duncan.

*[**#159**_2001_p.3_NZListener_DebateCow_main article]* (**my emphasis**)

I'll bet this programme set hackles rising the length of the country. There are those who glory in the eccentricities if New Zild, and find "received" or BBC English **a tyranny**, and they would have delighted to see our Pommy heritage stomped upon in the way chronicled by the programme. And there are those, like this reviewer, who have aesthetic – as well as clarity-related – reservations about intensifying our accent.

*[**#160**_2005_p.9_NZListener_DebateNewZildDoc_Article: "A werd about are eccent", by Jane Clifton]* (**my emphasis**)

I, for one, like our accent and I would expect nothing less from the television journalists to pronounce the words **as we would in normal conversation and not sound like something we are not.** We are not British […].

*[**#161**_2013_p.10_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]* (**my emphasis**)

wat [sic] do u want another Julie baily [sic: Judy Bailey] with a **fake** English accent or just **normal kiwi accents reflecting our great nation**.

*[**#162**_2013_p.4/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]* (**my emphasis**)

Radio New Zealand was a bastion of the connection to mother England…and there was an idea that broadcasting was too important to be left rough and **natural.**

*[**#163**_2014_Interview_JournalismSchool_1]* (**my emphasis**)

Hauraki's newsreaders might sometimes drop their "gs", "hs" and say "doesn't" instead of "does not", but isn't that the way most New Zealanders talk to one another? Personally, I like this country because prestige and status are non-issues to most New Zealanders. As a broadcaster I disagree with Mr Bell's suggestion that, "radio listenership is one reflection of the ways our society ranks the status of its members". Instead of studying articles, deletions and contractions, why doesn't Mr Bell just listen to the way his neighbours communicate with one another? He will find they sound remarkably like Radio Hauraki's newsreaders.

[#164_1978(2)_p.21_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor] [109]

Imagine newsreaders in New Zealand speaking with a New Zealand accent. I, for one, am shocked. This is outrageous and I demand something is done about this immediately!

[#165_2013_p.9_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]

What could be more appropriate in New Zealand but to speak with a New Zealand accent? We're not the UK, so why should we try and sound [sic.] like, say, the BBC? We're not Brits and it's pretty sad when we are unnecessarily embarrassed about sounding like what we actually are: Kiwis. Something I notice about us as a people: we're really insecure.

[#166_2013_p.1/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]

Seriously? We are in New Zealand, why wouldn't the news have a NZ flavour to it.

[#167_2013_p.5/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]

What? Kiwi using kiwi accents on kiwi news? Really […]

[#168_2013_p.8/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]

What the hell? Of course they're going to have a kiwi accent.

[#169_2013_p.29/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]

[…] Dialectical differences that we have…influence of Te Reo Māori and Pasifika languages…that is acceptable because **that is what people are using.**

[#170_2014_Interview_Ministry_Education_1&2] (**my emphasis**)

Thank you Whale Rider for showing our natural speech as, well, natural.

[#171_2004_p.49_NZListener_Letter-to-the-Editor][110]

Reminds me of when I was living in London: I'd been there about 18 months, my brain had been reconfigured for the London accent: and went into a bank. There was a clean-cut young couple there talking to a staff member, and I clearly recall their answers to the questions being a **sincere** series of "Yiss. Yiss. Yiss." Fresh Off The Boat. OK, it made me cringe a little (worldly and urbane quasi-Londoner I imagined I had become), but I remember also feeling absurdly proud of them: they were out in the world, giving it a shot, and **remaining nice young Kiwi's in the process**. It often does mark us out, and for all the right reasons.

[#172_2011_p.9_Stuff_DebateBadge_comment] (**my emphasis**)

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[109] This letter was written by the General Manager of Radio Hauraki of the time, in response to the article "Stylin' the News", in which Professor Bell (a well-known linguist) exposed his views on the sound of the New Zealand news.

[110] An extract from 'Beer & Fear by Ear: New Zealand vowels ring around the universe', by Olivia Kember.

> Sir, – The pettiness of the correspondents' criticism of New Zealanders' pronunciation is well illustrated by the letter from H. Gretton (January 12). Virtually ignoring what J. N. Birss wrote (that there is now a New Zealand idiom, and this should be taken into account), Mr Gretton seizes on a minor grammatical error which is common usage, and then nags on. The wood is not seen for the trees. That knowledge of the rules of grammar does not necessarily carry with it ability to handle logic is demonstrated by Mr Gretton's sudden wild assumption that the grammatical error was made on class grounds. In the light of the earlier criticism of New Zealanders' speech, Mr Gretton's claim to be a spokesman for **"us" ordinary people** is a transparent ploy. As William Hazlitt wrote: "There is nothing so pedantic as pretending not to be pedantic.
>
> *[#173_1974_p.3_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]* (**my emphasis**)

This theme recurs also in discussions of the attitude of the different broadcasting media and how these changed over the years. Two of my interviewees elaborate on this topic in precisely these terms:

> TV held on to British English for longer than radio…radio broke out and they started to realise they had to speak to *real* people…radio has always reinvented itself to match its audience and has never died. So, at that time radio was going around the country and was talking to real people and bringing real New Zealanders back into the Radio fore…while TV was trying to use this one particular style because it was broadcasted through the whole country at one time, while radio could change. A radio station that was broadcasted to the country…it could talk to real country people and **bring real country New Zealand authentic accent to the fore**. […] TV had very much the BBC model throughout the 1960s, and started to change in the 1970s.
>
> *[#174_2014_Interview_Broadcasting_School]* (**my emphasis**)

> This issue of the accent was very strong in the 1970s, but in 1974 the interviewee went to work on TV and his voice suddenly stopped being an issue. Within three years radio followed]. TV was looking for **authenticity**, which was thus the Kiwi accent. TV wanted authenticity because of its public, it was a popular mass audience that **demanded to have people that talked like they did** […] it became clear (especially to the people who were running commercial radio stations and TV) that this new audience was looking for people who spoke the way they did.
>
> *[#175_2014_Interview_IF]* (**my emphasis**)

To conclude, this theme recurs across a wide variety of data types: interviews, online debates, letters to the editor and comments on the meta-discourse itself. This association seems to have been there from earlier periods, and this suggests that 'Naturalness' is a very salient concept in the linguistic and discursive consciousness of the speakers (or at least of those who take part in these debates). Another interesting point – as noted previously – is the fact that the way one 'sounds' is in many instances iconically linked to 'what/who one is'. Therefore, the semiotic process of iconisation seems to be at work here: the way one talks is assumed to be a true representation of who she/he is. Moreover, the linkage between NZE and a national, local identity is once more fairly pervasive in these quotations, especially when the sentence 'sound like us' is brought up (see also below). This obviously also creates an 'us' – 'them' dichotomy. The 'naturalness' here seems to naturalise the iconisation of language and national identity often associated with standardisation but rejects the usual indexical bundling of the state-endorsed variety with official, formal state functions and with linguistically indexed forms of social stratification.

The theme of **'Dynamism'** will be the focus of the next few pages: NZE is considered authentic (and legitimate) because an authentic language is **dynamic**. The main ideas behind this umbrella term are that language changes constantly and it adjusts to the conventions of the time and place, and that this change is unavoidable, positive and natural. Within this logic language is often compared to a living organism, that is fluid and not uniform. Therefore, BrE's static nature, uniformity and immutability are here unfavourably emphasised. The following examples from a wide variety of sources, and a wide range of time-periods, exemplify this theme (in order of relevance).

Language and accents are a perpetual fad. Neither is stable. Indeed, the BBC accent itself was/is a fad. […] Language (and I include accents as part of that) is never purely about communicating content. It's also about communicating to the listener the kind of person who is speaking […] Times change, and so does language (and pronunciation). Get over it. Or have a cry…about how someone else speaks.
*[**#176**_2013_p.27/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]* (**my emphasis**)

[…] Further to that language **is a living thing** and English was not fixed in 1940, never to change again. Language standards have not declined, they have simply moved on from Sir Bob.
*[**#177**_2012_p.13_DebateSirBobJones_comment]* (**my emphasis**)

We respond to many letters about English and correct use in the schools, our standard response to that (as a Ministry) is that **English is a dynamic language, it changes over time** and we try to reflect the accepted conventions of the time […] those queries are generally coming from older people because they are used to the grammar conventions of their school years; those conventions have changed and we also have influences from American English […] in New Zealand, English absorbs a lot of those conventions as well.
*[**#178**_2014_Interview_Ministry_Education_1&2]*

Pronunciation Standards: Sir, – Your correspondent M. R. Muir makes some interesting observations on pronunciation. However, most will acknowledge a **living language does not, cannot remain static. One therefore is immediately suspicious of opinion on pronunciation when reference is made to "traditional" versions.** A contemporary pronunciation, if that of the majority of educated, cultured speakers, is likely to be nearer the mark as the accepted pronunciation. Embracing tradition too easily leads to pedantry in speech and denies **the changes inevitable in a living language. Usage must win** […]. Sometime in the future it may, as the speech of its trained personnel must reflect the fairly rapidly developing New Zealand dialect. It is of course the latter which is dictating (whether we like it or not) the increasing number of words with a change to first syllable stress heard from well spoken New Zealanders. So resist it as we may, usage dictates these changes. […]
*[**#179**_1971_p.13_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*[111] (**my emphasis**)

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[111] The present letter was written by the Head of Announcing Services at NZBC of the time, in response to a previous letter that criticised NZBC's speech standards.

Pronouncing English: Sir, –I have enjoyed the correspondence sparked off by Mr Maurice Joel (*Listener*, November 16) on the pronouncing of English because it has demonstrated that our **flexible tongue is changing and adapting to contemporary needs, as it has always done.** May I never see the day when we cease to argue over it! Yet I feel I should point out that there is no "standard English" and there never has been, in spite of what the BBC may say.

[#180_1971_p.1_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor] (**my emphasis**)

Points on pronunciation: Sir, – Linguistically speaking any form of a spoken language can be called correct as long as it carries out its function of communication, whether or not it is aesthetically pleasing to the users of another equally correct form of that language. The type of English spoken in New Zealand is a distinct, and completely adequate form of the language. **It is inevitable that, once removed from its original environment, and subjected to differing influences, a language will change. English itself developed through the effects of migratory and political movement of the population in Western Europe**, and the form spoken in New Zealand is growing in the same way – through the adaptation of language to unique situations and contact with speakers of other languages. American English, identified by I. S. Trew as the source of all New Zealand's grammatical and pronunciatory errors (November 10), has already developed in the same manner and is now playing its part in contributing to other younger and less developed forms of English. **Living languages are essentially dynamic** – that is, open to constant change in grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary. If one was to attempt to create one standard form of English for the millions of people who use it in daily living, one would first have to stop this change, or "kill" the language before it would be possible to fix it within a rigid grammatical, lexical and pronunciatory framework. It is no more wrong for a New Zealand radio announcer to use commonly-used American expressions and pronunciations than it is for any other New Zealander. Not to do so would result in pedantic and stilted radio broadcasts that **have absolutely no relation to the language used by most New Zealanders**. New Zealand has its own individual and efficient form of the English that is perfectly acceptable to use. The complaint that American English is downgrading New Zealand's language is linguistically invalid, as the only real criteria for the judgment of a spoken language is its effectiveness as method of communication, not its aesthetic values.

[#181_1973(2)_p.19_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor] (**my emphasis**)

NZ Speech: Sir, – In response to the article on "NewZild speech" … (April 14), Dr. Gunn's humorous approach enlightened me enough that I stayed glued to his accounts of "misunderstanding a Kiwi". However by stating that "our language has gone" he misses badly in concluding an account of what is happening to New Zealand English. **A language is dynamic, something fluid, not of solid state,** that can be categorised and filed away uniformly. Besides, foreigners love our accent. I was hired at a prestige English school in a foreign, non-English speaking country as a conversationalist solely because my speaking broadened the students' understanding of the world's different accents. One of my most memorable times in New Zealand (and for many others returning from overseas, I imagine) was staged on arrival at Auckland International Airport as the sweet, sweet sound of Kiwi accents played music to my long-awaiting ears. Long live Newzild 4reva!

[#182_1997_p.3_ThePress_DebateBernardGunn_ Letter-to-the-Editor] (**my emphasis**)

> There is nothing wrong with the way the language is changing. Why try and hide our accent as some who cling to our British Imperialism find it embarrassing. The Empire is almost dead and its [sic] time we start celebrating the way we talk. **Language is organic. You can't attempt to control and correct it, you can merely observe the changes.** The "Posh" and "Proper" accent you're reminiscing about is itself a corruption of and old British accent. And people back then were saying the excact [sic] same thing you say now about the current NZ accent.
>
> *[#183_2013_p.29/33_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]* (**my emphasis**)

> […] this debate is decades old […] The days of cultural cringe should be kept firmly in our past. As other commenters have said, language is always changing and I think it's great that our TV presenters **sound like us.**
>
> *[#184_2013_p.7_DebateLindsayPerigo_comment]* (**my emphasis**)

> **Adapted words**: Sir, – Our English language is a living, growing, ever-changing organism that owes its vitality to its responsiveness to the many pressures for change. Perhaps P. M. H. de Lacy (August 6) would prefer to speak a "pure" language (although 1500 years old) such as Latin or one of the Anglo-Saxon dialects – perhaps the two most influential of English's ancestors?
>
> *[#185_1977_6_NZListener_GordonCorpus_Letter-to-the-Editor]*

> […] I am of the view that language is dynamic and changes, so what is language? It depends of what era you are looking at, in terms of what is considered authentic or standard or appropriate.
>
> *[#186_2014_Interview_Ministry_Education_1&2]*

> […] Language habits should be continuously under revision in order to keep pace with life and custom. […]
>
> *[#187_1977(7)_p.16_NZListener_GordonCorpus_article]*

> Those accents reflect the diversity of the population's origins…we shouldn't try to control the **natural** language evolution.
>
> *[#188_2014_Interview_Ministry_Education_1&2]*

This last quotation renders the connection between these two themes explicit. The above represented idea of language being a living organism has been commented upon extensively in the sociolinguistic literature. For instance, Cameron (1995: 5) claims that:

> [t]he idea of language as a natural phenomenon existing apart from its users is associated historically with the nineteenth-century precursor of modern linguistics, comparative philology. It has 'expert' rather than 'folk' roots, though by now it is part of folk wisdom as well. James Milroy cites it precisely in order to challenge it: as he says (1992: 23), 'it is not true that language is a living thing (any more than swimming, or bird-song, is a living thing); it is a vehicle for communication *between* living things, namely human beings'.

Watts (2011: 183) also comments on this association when he discusses the metaphor of language as a living organism, which is very much related to the conceptual metaphor "LANGUAGE IS A HUMAN BEING" (ibid: 12). According to Watts, this "anthropomorphic conceptualisation of language is so ubiquitous in the Western world, regardless of whether a distinction is made between human language as a general cognitive faculty of human beings or different linguistic

systems (i.e. languages), and it goes back so far into the past that the metaphorical conceptualisation of the nation-state can be said to be derived from it" (ibid: 13).

To sum up, two main themes have been observed in the corpus in relation to de/authenticating practices and discourses. First, the theme of **Naturalness** that implicates that a language variety, which reflects usage, (New Zealand's) everyday reality and ordinary people's talk (cf. the construct of the 'ordinary Kiwi'), is perceived as authentic and legitimate. This is set in contrast to the affectation associated with BrE. Second, the theme of **Dynamism,** which implicates that an authentic and legitimate language variety is one that constantly changes and adjusts to its new (local) environment. This is contrasted with the legitimacy as "characterised in terms of homogeneity and immutability" (Watts 2011: 120) – or stasis – that has been for a long time called upon in order to support BrE as the main speech standard. This dynamic emphasis seems to be especially remarkable as NZE is being seen as more adaptive to a new environment, but it is also running counter to the – often pervasive – language ideology that proper languages should not change (see Chapter I).

It is here significant to observe that in this meta-discourse 'authenticity' is usually equated to 'legitimacy': these two notions here seem to correlate, even though they are obviously not identical.[112] In the public contexts that have been examined, NZE's perceived authenticity seems to have helped with its legitimisation as a speech standard in the New Zealand public arena. Figures 14 and 15 provide a visual summary for this section.

Authenticating meta-discourse

Naturalness: language reflects usage, New Zealand's everyday reality and ordinary people's talk.

Dyanmism: Language constantly changes and adjusts to its (new) local environment
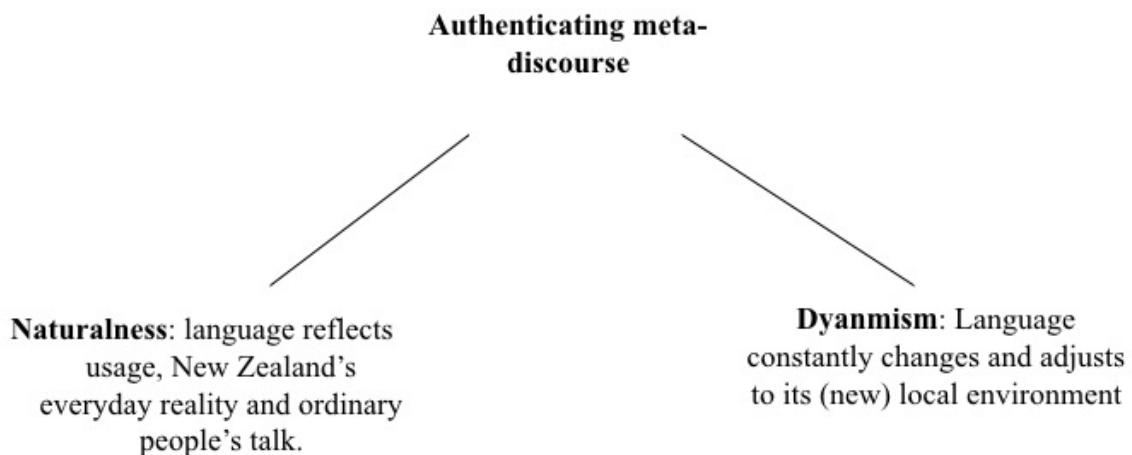
Figure 14. Themes that have been put forward in the public metalinguistic debates analysed in order to promote the authentication (and consequent legitimisation) of NZE

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[112] It is important to note here that this is not necessarily always the case, for instance, in the case of Tok Pisin legitimacy and authenticity do not correlate. This is true, especially in the 1950s, when certain politicians, missionaries and linguists had started to argue that Tok Pisin should be used in public communication in Papua and New Guinea, not only because it was a widespread variety, but also because it was indeed a 'real' and authentic language. Opponents of that view began to point out the negative aspects of this newly discovered 'authenticity'. Claiming that Tok Pisin was authentic in the sense that it reflected the 'current stage' of indigenous culture, they argued that Tok Pisin slowed down or even prevented the development of the whole territory in terms of social, political and economic progress. Consequently, they urged for the abolition of the language, which in their opinion should not play a role in the future of the territory at all. Certain ideas stemming from this type of argumentation - e.g. the widely accepted belief that Tok Pisin is useless in the education system - have been perpetuated until now (Neuenschwander, personal communication).

Authenticity ———— Legitimacy

Figure 15. Linguistic authenticity is here equated with linguistic legitimacy

The topics that have been discussed in the previous pages provide, at least partially, an answer to the first two questions that were addressed in the introduction to this dissertation: a) How is NZE legitimised and authenticated and how are other varieties (i.e. BrE in particular) 'delegitimised' and 'deauthenticated'?; and b) How do these (de/)legitimisation and (de/)authentication practices interact with discourses of nation building and (local) identity construction?

I will now address the last question, namely whether and how these (de/)legitimisation and (de/)authentication practices/discourses have changed over time, and tentatively why. In an attempt to at least partially answer this question, these examples have demonstrated that there has been a noticeable shift of emphasis in the definition of linguistic 'authenticity' and of what represents an 'authentic language variety' in the public discourses analysed. BrE in earlier periods, and within delegitimising discourses, used to be considered the only authentic, and thus legitimate variety of English, because it was the 'only original, and thus natural, variety of English' with the emphasis being on **stasis, historical depth, uniformity**, and derivation through colonisation. As we have seen, these discourses were mainly underpinned by a colonial language ideology and by a standard language ideology (see section 4.1.1). In more recent discourses (especially those of the digital kind), however, authenticity appears to be framed in different terms: an authentic variety is one that can 'only be found here, and is thus a natural variety of English'. This ascribes legitimacy to NZE and the core values of this new notion of 'authenticity' thus reside in the **reflection of reality and usage, on dynamism, local identity and linguistic diversification.** This ideologically-driven shift or redefinition of linguistic authenticity has had a major impact on New Zealand's language practices and policies, both in the educational system (e.g. English Curriculum) and in broadcasting. As we have seen, in fact, NZE is now accepted as standard English in these public arenas (see section 1). Furthermore, this shift ties in with the fact that within the legitimising discourse, an ideology of authenticity seems to prevail over one of anonymity when it comes to the definitions of language (cf. Woolard 2008). The relationship of language and nation, in fact, seems here to be underpinned by a more romantic view of language, rather than a more rational one (cf. Geeraerts 2003; 2008).

Finally, I would like here to return to the distinction made by Coupland (2001b) between "authenticity-from-above" and "authenticity-from below", as this categorisation emerges as salient in the de/authenticating meta-discourse about NZE.[113] The authenticity (and thus legitimacy) ascribed to NZE, in fact, seems to be meta-discursively constructed mainly on this notion of an authenticity from below, which "stresses grassroots and vernacular values and practices. It suggests an authenticity created *in situ* […]"(Coupland 2001b: 421), asserting an independent local identity.

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[113] Note here how this categorisation comes to match fairly well Geeraerts' (2003; 2008) one, with 'authenticity-from-above' corresponding to the rationalist model, and 'authenticity-from-below' to the romantic one.

On the other hand, the authenticity that was/is credited to BrE in the delegitimising dimension of the debate seems to be more of the 'from above' kind, implying validation "from the mainstream institutional viewpoint, recycling long-established, normative and supposedly absolute values. It stresses the continuity of traditional practices within elite systems" (ibid: 421). In the case of the authenticating practices analysed here, this is then explicitly rejected by BrE's opponents who comment on its elitist and out-dated character, and emphasise the importance of a speech standard that reflects local, modern 'sounds' and identities. Replacing BrE and its 'standard authenticity'/authenticity-from-above with that of an in situ, grassroots vernacular representing the 'ordinary kiwi'. Therefore, the new nation seems to rely on less 'traditional' (or less 'conservative') ideas of linguistic authenticity in order to delegitimise one variety (i.e. BrE) and legitimise the other (i.e. NZE). Part of this process is to deauthenticate traditional, from-above conceptualisations of authenticity, and to assert more local value systems. This could be related to the fact that in New Zealand academics (mainly sociolinguists and linguist anthropologists), as we have seen in previous sections, play an important role as ideology brokers in these public metalinguistic debates. This conception of authenticity-from-below, in fact, better conforms to the descriptive and inclusive stance that academia takes on issues of language variation, and thus NZE might have been empowered by this kind of widely recognised and widely present line of thought. On the other hand, this could also reflect a more socially general growing distrust in 'from-above' authority, and a tendency to democratisation, individualisation and anti-hierarchisation that has been observed in more recent times, especially in digital environments (see Chapter I, cf. Milani and Johnson 2008).

To conclude, authenticity in language emerged as a very salient topic in these debates, already from very early on (see for example A. R. D. Fairburn's article published in 1957 in section 4.1.1.1). Authenticity thus appears to be a central concern for the people who participate in these metalinguistic debates and in its definition, notions of dynamism and naturalness – as opposed to immutability, stasis and affectation – play an important role. As Coupland (2014) has pointed out, (in)authenticity becomes meaningful and authenticity disputes emerge more and more often in today's increasingly reflexive and digital societies (see Chapter I). From the meta-commentaries analysed here, the following set of interrelated (and sometimes conflicting) conceptualisations and aspects of an authentic language – or language variety – emerges:[114]

1. An authentic language is natural

2. An authentic language is dynamic

3. An authentic language is owned by a group of people

4. An authentic language reflects people's mentality and honesty, represents an 'authentic' identity (i.e. the 'ordinary Kiwi')

5. An authentic language is perceived as 'local', tied to a geographical space (i.e. New Zealand)

6. An authentic language has a history (the history of the language being connected with the history of its speakers); language with a "recognizable origin" (Kramsch 2012: 115) (especially within delegitimising discourses)

7. An authentic language is stable (especially within delegitimising discourses)

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[114] This could be referred to as a typology of metalinguistic authenticities.

8. An authentic language is pure and homogenous (especially within delegitimising discourses)

The qualities of authenticity mentioned by Coupland (2001b: 417) are here well represented: "the qualities of being perceived to be genuine, authorized, authoritative, real, guaranteed, trustworthy, traditional, noble, durable, stable and so on".

To conclude, the competitive voices within the metalinguistic debates analysed engage with these discursive constructions of authenticity; the advocates of NZE within the debate position themselves as authentic by de-authenticating BrE on the grounds of its affectation and immobility. On the other hand, BrE's supporters do the same by emphasising the lack of historical depth of NZE. Therefore, as it had been anticipated in Chapter I, positioning oneself as authentic frequently depends on positioning the other as inauthentic. In relation to this, the construct of the 'ordinary kiwi' has been identified as being one of the prototypical members of this speech community in the legitimising dimension of this discourse: his/her distinctive features being down-to-earthiness, egalitarianism, friendliness, humility and, obviously, ordinariness. This prototypically ideal member of the new, independent New Zealand appeared to be juxtaposed with the snobbish, elitist, pretentious and affected British sympathisers. Over the years, the British-accented newsreaders in suit and tie (remember the relevance of the link between language, manners and morals in earlier periods) has been moved to a peripheral position, he/she does not represent the 'ideal' Kiwi to which other people should aspire anymore. The 'ordinary Kiwi' now fulfils that role. This demonstrates a shift in societal attitudes that has then diffused to the language domain.

5. Conclusions

In this chapter, after having provided the socio-historical and (socio)linguistic background for the NZE case study, after having described the data collection process and the main dataset, I have presented the main analysis of the collected data. I have identified and partly deconstructed the language ideologies that underpin the metalinguistic debates revolving around NZE over the last four decades (from the 1970s to today). I have also pinpointed some of the changing ideologies that have supported the authentication and legitimisation of this variety, and the development of these authenticating discourses themselves. First, I have outlined the delegitimising voices about NZE that were mainly underpinned by a standard language ideology, by a colonial language ideology and by an ideology of eternal incompetence. The semiotic processes of iconisation, fractal recursivity and erasure played an important role in this dimension of the debate. Both romantic and rationalist views of language (or authenticity and anonymity ideologies to use Woolard's (2008) terminology) were represented in these discourses. After this, I focused on the legitimising voices, which we saw were primarily underpinned by an anti-colonial ideology and a monovarietal linguistic ideology. The three aforementioned semiotic processes play a role also on this side of the debate, but a romantic view of language and of the relationship between language and national identity predominated in this case (see especially section 4.2). In relation to this, Coupland's (2001b) notion of authenticity-from-below appeared as particularly fitting. Moreover, I have pointed out the diachronic ideological change in the definition of linguistic authenticity in these debates, as this is underlain by the two related themes of dynamism and naturalness. Third, I have identified five tightly interwoven ideological schemata that represent the five major ideological threads around which the discussion in these metalinguistic debates is centred. Fourth, when significant, I have illustrated some of the workings of the semiotic processes (i.e. iconisation, fractal recursivity and erasure), language myths and cognitive models (i.e. Geeraerts' and Woolard's frameworks) that underlie these meta-discourses.

All this, has provided relevant insights into the ways in which these metalinguistic discourses about NZE – and especially the debate concerning the legitimacy of NZE vis à vis British models of language – has important linkages with notions of authenticity, national identity and authority. New Zealand English enregisterment has been positive, it has become a symbol of local identity and it has acquired credibility and authority. Additionally, the ideological redefinition of authenticity in language has helped the legitimisation of NZE. As we have seen in Chapter I, these two processes often correlate, and it will be interesting to see whether this is the case also for the data collected for the second case study that will focus on the south east of England (see Chapter III). For what concerns the analysis of the legitimising discourses about NZE, geographical stasis and immobility are not considered fundamental to notions of authenticity in language (as it was more traditionally the case; cf. section 4.2). Authenticity in language here seems to reside in new values such as naturalness and dynamism. The value of homogeneity in language is also increasingly questioned, with an ever-growing acceptance of different varieties of English in New Zealand (e.g. Pasifika English, Māori English), together with that of different cultures. Therefore, more positive attitudes seem to be expressed towards linguistic diversity and language contact (especially for what concerns the Māori language and influence, and lexical variation in NZE)

within these debates, and arguably New Zealand's society at large. In relation to this, it would be interesting for future research to further test these observations with a larger corpus encompassing metalinguistic debates about the other English varieties spoken (or that are perceived as being spoken) in New Zealand (e.g. Pasifika English, Māori English), especially in relation to the notions of restandardisation and destandardisation discussed by Bell (2011: 179):

> […] there has been a long process away from these Eurocentric standards, which we can characterise broadly as 'de-europeanisation'. In principle this implies a form of destandardisation, that is, the former European standard is deconstructed and not replaced. In practice, it will often be a restandardisation, with the Eurocentric standard being replaced by another, whether local or otherwise.

Needless to say, the metalinguistic debates revolving around the relationship between the Māori language and the English language offer an incredibly rich set of data for this kind of ideological research too; and would thus be an interesting focus for future research. Finally, Cameron (1995: 28) makes some interesting points on postmodern metalinguistic commentaries that I believe resonate loudly through the whole case study presented here:

> Currently […] there is a shift towards evaluating diversity more positively, and seeking to preserve rather than eliminate it – what Neustupný labels the 'variation ideology'. […] Democratization, the principle of equal access to and participation in important linguistic practices, can also be seen at work in contemporary verbal hygiene movements. Apart from the 'variation ideology' which valorises linguistic (and ethnic) diversity as a social good in itself, a further argument for accommodating diversity is that it enables minority participation in public discourse. But democratic ideals have other verbal hygiene reflexes too, many of them falling under the heading of anti-elitism. […] He also spoke in less specific terms of a general weakening of norms and a postmodern preference for innovation over conservatism (which in language will often entail a preference for vernacular over historically cultivated elite varieties). Again, there are verbal hygiene movements of resistance to this development (e.g. the Queen's English Society); the tendency itself is more often observable in the weakening or abandonment of traditional practices such as the rigid policing of accent that used to be routine in broadcasting […].

To conclude, it was observed through the juxtaposition of the two varieties, BrE and NZE, that the ideologies that promote the legitimisation of 'new' contact varieties (i.e. NZE) appear here to be intimately connected with those that delegitimise external standard varieties of English (i.e. BrE). Wiese (2014: 30) comes to a similar conclusion in her study on Kiezdeutsch, where she suggests that: "attitudes and ideologies on such new urban dialects as Kiezdeutsch provide us with something like a mirror image to those on standard language: Kiezdeutsch is constructed as everything that 'Hochdeutsch' and its dialects are not […] They are linked in an argumentative structure […]". This will be further assessed with the help of the corpus for my second case study on the 'enregistered non-standard contact varieties of the south east of England' (see chapter III). This will include an examination of the changes in the ideologies of Standard English in order to uncover the ideological underpinnings of public metalinguistic discourses that have revolved around 'Received Pronunciation' – standard British English pronunciation. This will enable me to more precisely evaluate the ways in which ideologies of the standard have shaped the claims to linguistic authority and legitimacy that underlie newly emergent varieties often characterised as 'non-standard'.

Chapter III

Language Ideologies in the South East of England

> It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman hate or despise him.[1]

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[1] George Bernard Shaw, *Pygmalion* (1916, Preface).

1. Sociohistorical, Cultural and Sociolinguistic Background for the South East of England

The aims of the second case study follow those of the first one by focusing on some of the enregistered[2] non-standard contact varieties spoken in the south-east of England. The specific labels of the varieties under investigation that have shaped the data collection are: 'Received Pronunciation', 'Estuary English', 'Cockney' (and 'Mockney'), and 'Multicultural London English' (or 'Jafaican'). These labels will be clarified in the following sections. I proceed in the same way as I did for the first case study in order to identify the salient socio-cultural (and political) debates that have shaped and have been shaped by metalinguistic discourses. I thus explore how these varieties are represented and evaluated in public discourse. This, once again, allows me to pinpoint and deconstruct the language ideologies that underpin these metalinguistic debates, and therefore to examine the changing language ideologies that may lead to the authentication and legitimisation of these new 'non-standard' English contact varieties, as well as their ideological relationship with 'the Standard'. This will additionally allow me to examine some of the changes in the ideologies of 'Standard English' that have been happening in relation to the metadiscourses that have revolved around 'Received Pronunciation'. Note that these new 'non-standard' contact varieties are not as well enregistered as it was the case for New Zealand English in New Zealand (see Chapter II); they are much more hybrid and diffuse. Their boundaries can thus be fuzzy and messy both in non-academic and academic discourses. The present chapter follows the structure of the previous one.

In **section 1**, I provide a short socio-historical, cultural and (socio)linguistic background that will contextualise the varieties under scrutiny within the academic and public literature on the topic. As anticipated, the main labels that will be discussed and that have shaped the data collection are: 'Received Pronunciation', 'Estuary English', 'Cockney' (and 'Mockney'), 'Multicultural London English' (and 'Jafaican'). I will first start with a brief overview of regional and social variation in the British Isles (section 1.1), with a focus on the south-east of England and London. This will allow me to introduce the first three varieties that are analysed here: 'Received Pronunciation', 'Estuary English' and 'Cockney'. I will then clarify the role of mobility and dialect levelling (or supralocalisation) in the formation of the present sociolinguistic situation of the south-east of England (section 1.2). Finally, I will point to some of the phenomena of migration and multilingualism that have led to the development of the variety labelled 'Multicultural London English' and how this relates to language developments in the rest of Europe. In addition, I will mention some of the main academic works on the topic (section 1.3).

In **section 2**, I describe the data collection process for this case study. I first explain what the preparation for the fieldwork trip to London entailed (subsection 2.1). Subsequently, I outline the aims and salient time-periods for the data collection (subsection 2.1). Finally, I discuss in

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[2] Enregisterment is the process by which a language variety (e.g. a regional sociolect) becomes a socially recognized register (how it acquires its role in a scheme of social value). See Chapter I.

detail the type of data collected (subsection 2.2).

Section 3, is where the main analysis and interpretation are laid out; the four main ideological schemata that have been identified in the dataset are here discussed in light of the frameworks and concepts outlined in Chapter I. This section is divided as follows. First, – with ideological schemata 1 – I will focus on the notion of 'inverted snobbery' that was found to be central to the public metalinguistic debates analysed here. This will allow me to illustrate how 'Received Pronunciation' [RP] is increasingly rejected as the only authoritative standard, even in formal contexts, because of its perceived lack of authenticity and its affectation (see Chapter II). Second, in section 3.2 – the discussion will focus on the reasons underlying the belief that 'Estuary English' is a more versatile and useful speech variety than RP. This belief is mainly rooted in the idea that 'Estuary English' is classless and it thus allows its speakers to be more socially mobile. Consequently, the idea of language as a tool for social mobility will here be discussed in the context of the south-east of England, as well as how it interacts with the traditionally rigid English class system. Third, in section 3.3, I will discuss the centrality of different notions of linguistic authority and of authenticity for the examined metalinguistic debates, drawing on an example concerning the variety labelled as 'Mockney' (ideological schemata 3). These notions relate to discourses of legitimacy and mobility in the south-east (ideological schemata 4). These last ideological schemata will draw on an example juxtaposing MLE to Cockney.

In **section 4,** I formulate a tentative typology of metalinguistic authenticities based on the results and observations gathered for my two case studies, and on the linguistic and anthropological literatures consulted.[3]

In **section 5**, I draw my conclusions.

1.1 Regionally and Socially Determined Varieties of English in the British Isles: 'Standard English', 'Received Pronunciation', 'Estuary English' and 'Cockney'

The development and history of 'standard English' and 'Received Pronunciation' are well-known topics in academia and much has been written about them. Mugglestone (e.g. 2003; 2006) has covered the topics extensively – especially from a metadiscursive and attitudinal/ideological point of view – (see section 1.2) as well as the Milroys (e.g. Milroy and Milroy 1999; Milroy 2000; Milroy 2001; see Chapter I). Cameron has focused mainly on metalinguistic discourses in the educational system, and on prescriptivism and the 'complaint tradition' (e.g. Cameron 1995). The other regional and social varieties spoken in the British Isles, and especially in the south-east of England, have also been extensively researched by several prominent scholars, including Britain, Trudgill, Coupland, Kerswill, Cheshire, Rampton, Coggle, Fox, Upton, Crystal, Agha, Wells, Przedlacka and Altendorf (some of the works of these authors will be discussed in the following sections). For the current section, I have chosen to draw on Hughes, Trudgill and Watt's (2013) volume in an attempt to provide a comprehensive and up to date overview of the sociolinguistic context of the British Isles, and especially of the south east of England and London; as these are the main foci of

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[3] The interaction and points of juncture of these theories will be treated in more depth in a separate paper as this goes beyond the scope and aim of the present investigation.

the present investigation. This brief overview will also enable me to better contextualise the English varieties – or at least their labels – that have shaped the data collection such as 'Received Pronunciation' [RP], 'Multicultural London English', 'Cockney' and 'Estuary English'.

Hughes, Trudgill and Watt's (2013) monograph mainly aims at providing some idea of the non-linguistic (i.e. social, geographical) factors that condition English variation in the British Isles. Starting with RP[4], they explain how this accent is often presented as a model for foreign learners when British English is taught. They then unpack the term 'Received Pronunciation' and describe an essential attitudinal change that has happened in contemporary British society in relation to this variety, a theme that will be central to the subsequent discussion of ideological schemata 1 and 2 (see section 3):

> 'Received' here is to be understood in its nineteenth-century sense of 'accepted in the most polite circles of society'. The label RP has acquired a rather dated – even negative – flavour in contemporary British society […]. These changes notwithstanding, RP has – at least in England – remained the accent of those at the upper reaches of the social scale, as measured by education, income and profession, or title. It has traditionally been the accent of those educated at public schools, which in the UK are private (i.e. selective and fee-paying) and beyond the financial means of most parents, and it is largely through these schools, and state

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[4] For a more lay audience, taken from the British Library website: "Received Pronunciation, or RP for short, is the instantly recognizable accent often described as 'typically British'. Popular terms for this accent such as 'The Queen's English', 'Oxford English' or 'BBC English' are a little misleading. The Queen, for instance, speaks an almost unique form of English, while the English we hear at Oxford University or on the BBC is no longer restricted to one type of accent. RP is an accent, not a dialect, since all RP speakers speak Standard English. In other words, they avoid non-standard grammatical constructions and localised vocabulary characteristic of regional dialects. RP is also regionally non-specific that is, it does not contain any clues about a speaker's geographic background. But it does reveal a great deal about their social and/or educational background. RP is probably the most widely studied and most frequently described variety of spoken English in the world, yet recent estimates suggest only 2% of the UK population speak it. It has a negligible presence in Scotland and Northern Ireland and is arguably losing its prestige status in Wales. It should properly, therefore, be described as an English, rather than a British accent. As well as being a living accent, RP is also a theoretical linguistic concept. It is the accent on which phonemic transcriptions in dictionaries are based, and it is widely used (in competition with General American) for teaching English as a foreign language. […] The phrase Received Pronunciation was coined in 1869 by the linguist, A J Ellis, but it only became a widely used term used to describe the accent of the social elite after the phonetician, Daniel Jones, adopted it for the second edition of the English Pronouncing Dictionary (1924). The definition of 'received' conveys its original meaning of 'accepted' or 'approved' - as in 'received wisdom'. We can trace the origins of RP back to the public schools and universities of nineteenth-century Britain - indeed Daniel Jones initially used the term Public School Pronunciation to describe this emerging, socially exclusive accent. Over the course of that century, members of the ruling and privileged classes increasingly attended boarding schools such as Winchester, Eton, Harrow and Rugby and graduated from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Their speech patterns - based loosely on the local accent of the south-east Midlands (roughly London, Oxford and Cambridge) - soon came to be associated with 'The Establishment' and therefore gained a unique status, particularly within the middle classes in London. RP probably received its greatest impetus, however, when Lord Reith, the first General Manager of the BBC, adopted it in 1922 as a broadcasting standard - hence the origins of the term BBC English. Reith believed Standard English, spoken with an RP accent, would be the most widely understood variety of English, both here in the UK and overseas. He was also conscious that choosing a regional accent might run the risk of alienating some listeners. To a certain extent Reith's decision was understandable, and his attitude only reflected the social climate at the time. But since RP was the preserve of the aristocracy and expensive public schools, it represented only a very small social minority. This policy prevailed at the BBC for a considerable time and probably contributed to the sometimes negative perception of regional varieties of English. The various forms of RP can be roughly divided into three categories. Conservative RP refers to a very traditional variety particularly associated with older speakers and the aristocracy. Mainstream RP describes an accent that we might consider extremely neutral in terms of signals regarding age, occupation or lifestyle of the speaker. Contemporary RP refers to speakers using features typical of younger RP speakers. All, however, are united by the fact they do not use any pronunciation patterns that allow us to make assumptions about where they are from in the UK".
(accessed at http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/case-studies/received-pronunciation/, on 2.12.2016).

schools aspiring to emulate them, that the accent has been perpetuated. RP, unlike prestige accents in other countries, is not the accent of any particular region, except historically: its origins were in the speech of London and the surrounding area. It has often been contended that it is, at least in principle, impossible to tell from his or her pronunciation alone where an RP speaker comes from (though see Trudgill 2002). As suggested above, RP has greatest currency and enjoys the highest prestige in England […]. For further discussion of the varying prestige of RP, see Milroy 2001; Mugglestone 2003; Fabricius 2002, 2006, 2007; Coupland and Bishop 2007.

(Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013: 3)

RP thus tends to be associated with the high social status, power and wealth of its speakers and, as a consequence (and iconically), it is typically considered to be the best, most beautiful and clearest accent in Britain. This is true even though at the beginning of the twenty-first century it was estimated that only 3-5% of the population of England spoke RP (see Trudgill 2002: 171-2; as mentioned in Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013) (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013). In line with this belief, several people are convinced that RP is the variety that is closest to the standard written form of English (ibid). Moreover, because of its use on radio and television (e.g. the BBC), within Britain, RP has become probably the most widely understood of all accents and thus the most desirable for many. It is important, however, to note that RP, as all accents, is characterised by internal variation (i.e. 'interspeaker' and 'intraspeaker' variation)[5], with a mix of traditional and innovative features (ibid). Gimson (1988) distinguishes three main types of RP: conservative RP, spoken by the older generation and certain professional and social groups; general RP, the least marked variety; and advanced RP, spoken by younger members of exclusive social groups. Wells (1982) also proposes three significant varieties: u-RP (upper crust RP), spoken by the group identified as upper class; mainstream RP, equivalent to Gimson's general RP; and adoptive RP, spoken by those who acquire the accent after childhood (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013). Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013) then point to the affectation that is often associated with RP in more modern times. We have seen this in the New Zealand English case study (see Chapter II) and I will dwell on this key theme in section 3. Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 5) also – very importantly – point to some of the metadiscourses revolving around this accent in the media and how these have linkages with the English variety labelled 'Estuary English' (see section 3):

> […] this form of pronunciation [RP] does sound affected to most British people, even in England […]. For many people with regional accents, all RP speech, however conservative, sounds affected, and it is probably true to say that the supposed affectation is perceived most strongly in places where the differences between RP and the regional accent of the listener are most marked. […] This long-standing association of RP with affectation, social snobbery, arrogance, aloofness and so on is increasingly out of keeping with the kind of image many of the accent's younger speakers would wish to project of themselves. This trend has not gone unnoticed by the media […] **[increasingly large] quantities of column space and air time have been devoted to what has been termed the 'dumbing down' of the spoken and**

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[5] Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 7-8) specify that "[t]here are differences of pronunciation among RP speakers ('interspeaker variation'). There is, in addition, variation in the pronunciation of individual RP speakers ('intraspeaker' variation). Thus, say, for an RP speaker the word ['are'] may be pronounced [ɑ:] in deliberate speech, but (when destressed) will become [ə] in more casual speech, this process being known as vowel weakening. [The authors] refer to intraspeaker variation conditioned by speakers' perceptions of the situation in which they are speaking as stylistic variation".

written English used by young British people. [6] Specifically, the influence of nonstandard, 'ethnic' and non-native accents and dialects of English, along with a perceived deterioration in standards in other modes of behaviour (dress, manners, literacy, community-mindedness, respect for elders, etc.), has been blamed for a rise of 'sloppiness' in pronunciation and disregard for 'proper grammar'. Many media pundits have become so convinced of the decline of RP and Standard English that the emergence of a new replacement variety first dubbed 'Estuary English' by Rosewarne (1984) [7] has been accepted almost universally, in spite of the fact that the existence and separate identity of this 'new' variety are argued for on the basis of rather little reliable linguistic evidence (see Trudgill 2002: 177–9; but also Przedlacka 2002; Altendorf 2003)

(**my emphasis**)

Agha (2003; 2007) has conducted an extensive study on the enregisterment of what he considers to be a "particular phonolexical register of Standard British English" (Agha 2007: 190). He traces RP's origins by explaining that "at the outset [no] widely recognized standard of English pronunciation existed in the seventeenth century; yet by the late nineteenth century the register was well established, widely seen as a form of semiotic capital in British society. By the end of this period, competence in RP was widely recognized as a prerequisite for social advancement, as a gateway to employment in the upper echelons of government and military service.". RP is thus a supra-local accent that – according to Agha – is "enregistered in public awareness as indexical of speaker's class and level of education; it is valued precisely for effacing the geographic origins of speaker. The identifying descriptions associated with its forms consist mainly of characterological labels and discourses that identify speakers in terms of the mental, aesthetic and class attributes […]" (ibid: 191).

Following Agha's (2007) reconstruction of RP's development, we know that "RP is not only one of the most storied accents of contemporary times, it is also among the best studied." "A number of studies have shown that members of the British public typify RP in specific characterological terms, and conversely, employ stereotypes of speech in reasoning about types of persons". The 1972 National Opinion Poll – though not a linguistic survey – provides some first clues. Respondents were provided with a set of eight choices and asked: 'Which two of these would you say are the most important in being able to tell which class a person is?'. The criterion selected by the majority of respondents (33%) was 'The way they speak'. Several patterns have been reported through the use of 'matched guise' experiments. These experiments indicate that British people view accents in terms of a stratified model of speaker rank (Agha 2007). Unmarked or Mainstream RP is the accent accorded the highest social value; aristocratic or U-RP is generally ranked lower, as are the educated accents of Wales and Ireland ('Near-RP); provincial accents form a middle region; distinctively urban accents are among the lowest ranked (Agha 2007). Respondents judge RP speakers to be more ambitious, intelligent, confident, cleaner, taller and better looking […] but also less serious, talkative, good-natured and good-humored than non-RP speakers (Giles 1971) (Agha 2007). Agha (2007) Moreover, points to three main processes in the development of this variety:

1) The emergence of a standard:

There is a particular, Whiggish history of Received Pronunciation – found in many books on the subject – in which RP is viewed as descending from the prestige variety of English spoken

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[6] Cf. the discussion about the 'complaint tradition' in chapter I.
[7] David Rosewarne coined, and gave prominence to, the term 'Estuary English' in an article for the *Times Educational Supplement* entitled 'Estuary English' in October of 1984. The term was then propagated by the British media.

in southeastern England in the sixteenth century, a region including the court in London and the universities at Oxford and Cambridge. Since this speech variety was spoken not by everyone in this region but by a privileged few (such as the London aristocracy, courtiers, those associated with the universities) it functioned at this time as a regional prestige sociolect rather than a dialect common to southeastern England as a whole. But though the sociolect was recommended as a literary standard in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it neither had a large number of speakers, nor recognition as a standard to be imitated by everyone. Even much of the national aristocracy – a landed gentry linked more to their estates than to London – spoke with regional accents without stigma. So the emergence of RP as a national standard involved the expansion of the register construct across social categories of users.

(ibid: 204)

2) Speech chain linkages among accent metadiscourses, ca. 1750-1870:

In transmitting particular messages about the social value of accent, the [literary genres as those mentioned below] served to create, within an increasingly larger public, a greater awareness of the importance of accent. […] particular texts within these genres were linked together by connections between writers and readers of these texts, thus comprising a speech chain structure over historical time. The larger circulation of the later genres greatly expanded the reach of accent metadiscourses. The prescriptivist works […] (treaties, pamphlets, dictionaries) were produced largely in the period 1750-1800; they promulgated accent standards to the aristocracy and intelligentsia. The popular handbooks (etiquette guides, sixpenny manuals) comprised a genre that expanded after the 1830s, and catered to those who aspired to – but did not necessarily belong to – such select social circles. These works were also of interest to novelists who, in turn, brought depictions of accents before the rising middle classes. The penny weeklies combined forms of accent depiction with advice on manners and etiquette, and with advertisements for a variety of products linked to social advancement. […] The existence of a pronunciation standard was an ideal-to-be-achieved for the early prescriptivists; for the popularists it is a 'real' baseline against which deviation can be measured in everyday interactions, and linked to a space of minutely differentiated characterological figures, e.g., 'gentlemen' vs. 'the vulgar' vs. 'the vulgar rich'.

(ibid: 217-9)

3) The transformation of schooling:

There are some obvious ways in which schools are uniquely suited to the replication of speech habits. They are sites of explicitly normative metadiscursive activity to which students are exposed for prolonged periods of time. By the early twentieth century, the British public school had become so centrally linked to the acquisition of RP that the phonetician Daniel Jones proposed the term *Public School Pronunciation* as a name for the accent.[8]

(ibid: 219)

Finally, Agha (2007: 223) observed some important asymmetries of competence and perceptions of value:

Since RP has traditionally been linked to positively valued stereotypic personae (as opposed to slang, for example, which is negatively valorized), its speakers inhabit, through the act of utterance, a social persona recognized as statusful by others. Since the effect is recognized by a

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[8] "Fluency in RP was eventually to become an attribute of a group correspondingly larger than the group of persons born into RP speaking families in each generation. Yet mechanisms of gatekeeping continued to restrict access to the 'best' accents only to students of the [e]lite public schools, contributing to latter-day asymmetries in competence over socially distinct 'speech levels' of RP" (Agha 2007: 221-3).

group of people larger than those capable of performing it, the forms of RP become objects of value – indeed, scarce goods – that many individuals seek to acquire.

To conclude, Agha (2007: 192) emphasises that:

> RP is, after all, what anyone living in the United Kingdom hears constantly from radio and television announcers and newsreaders and from many other public figures. *Everyone in Britain* has a mental image of RP, even though they may not refer to it by name and even though the image may not be very accurate. Many English people are also regularly exposed to RP in personal face-to-face contact. For a *small minority*, it is their own speech. (Wells, 1982, v.2: 279; emphases added). [9]

Thus – and this is fundamental for the contextualization of the present case study – in public sphere metadiscourses, "much of the experience of its forms [is accompanied] by metadiscursive activity typifying accent forms and values" (Agha 2007: 196):

> [i]n our serious newspapers political columnists and other journalists regularly pass comment on the accents of public figures, while television critics discuss the accents of actors, programme presenters, and other television personalities. The correspondence columns of both national and local newspapers frequently carry letters from readers commenting on various forms of accent – favourably, or, more often, unfavourably – and when the BBC uses people with marked regional accents to present radio programmes or to read the news, waves of protest are expressed in letters of complaint to the BBC and sacks of hate-mail to the presenters themselves…Writers of contemporary novels and memoirs use observations about

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[9] Agha (2007: 195-6) explains in detail the development and sociological value of the term RP in metadiscursive typifications (I quote this in its entirety because I find it very helpful for the understanding of the present case study): "[…] A number of personifying terms are very widely known. They are used on everyday descriptions of language use, in prescriptions and proscriptions to others, in public discussions of the 'best' kinds of usage, and so on. These terms are not simply neutral descriptors. They imbue the phenomena they describe with specific characterological values. The class includes expressions like *Public School Pronunciation*; terms like the *Queen's English*, the *U/non-U* terminology, *talking proper* and *talking posh*, all of which apply to diction as well as accent; and, of course, *Received Pronunciation* itself. Many of these terms anchor speech repertoires to named positions in social space but differ in the degree of explicitness with which they achieve the effect. The term *Public School Pronunciation* alludes to a social institution whose products are viewed as exemplary speakers. The term *Queen's English* recalls a Victorian cosmic polity in which differences of rank among the sovereign's subjects were assessed in part by their capacity to uphold a speech standard. Other terms, such as the *U /non-U* terminology […] link speech forms, including accent, to class distinctions. In this case, the accent named can be sociologically centered in an explicit way, as in 'U[pper-class] accent'. In contrast, terms such as *talking proper* and *talking posh* do not specify named positions in social space; they describe discursively performable demeanors – 'doing proper' or 'doing posh,' as it were – associated with particular activities, settings and social types. The term *Received Pronunciation* is rather more implicit in its characterological work. It belongs to a small set of idiomatic phrases formed by using the term *received* (in the sense of 'generally adopted, accepted, approved as true,' now rather archaic) as a modifier to nouns that denote cultural forms having a historically normative force (viz., … *religion/opinion/wisdom/custom/canon*). Though the phrasal idiom is attested as far back as the fifteenth century, the term *pronunciation* was not included in the class of modifiable nouns till the twentieth century. Once accepted in common usage, however, the term *Received Pronunciation* also implies a historical product. It locates a speech variety as something handed down by a tradition about which there is a consensus in the judgment of some contemporary group – its 'receivers', as it were – who, although unnamed by the term itself, are presumably the best judges of its historical authenticity and value. Hence the term describes a speech varieties which is centered elsewhere in social space: it is a discursive variety to which the actual speech of most speakers corresponds only imperfectly […]; it is also a variety whose 'correct' forms and usage (i.e., whose metadiscursive standards) are guaranteed by someone else. The register name thus contributes to a politics of anxiety linked to the register form in its earliest inception. All of these terms link speech to images of persons in various ways. Yet the terms are merely a backdrop to a much wider range of metadiscursive practices linking speech to social personae in everyday life. […].

accent as a crucial part of the description of character… (Honey 1989a: 10) (as cited in Agha 2007: 196)

Therefore, here "phonetic substance is linked to a set of social personae, whether explicitly, as in descriptions of persons and their accents; or implicitly, as in the case of literary treatments, where characters are made palpable to the reader through depictions of accented speech" (ibid).

Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013) also provide a definition of 'Estuary English' as a "compromise between or amalgam of RP and working-class London speech ('Cockney')". From an attitudinal/ideological perspective, 'Estuary English' is thus often perceived as a "'neutral' variety which simultaneously provides the opportunity for lower-class speakers to appear higher status than they are, and for middle – and upper-class speakers to appear lower status than they are, in keeping with the social levelling claimed to have been a key characteristic of life in the United Kingdom in recent decades" (ibid: 5).

Going back to the British Isles, the rest of the islands' native English-speaking inhabitants have some form of regional accent positioned on a dialect continuum that spans from the south-west of England to the north of Scotland. On this continuum, and in relation to social class, speakers of RP tend to be found "at the top of the social scale, and their speech gives no clue to their regional origin" (ibid: 10). While, people at the bottom of the social scale speak with the "most obvious, the 'broadest', regional accents. Between these two extremes, in general (and there are always individual exceptions) the higher a person is on the social scale, the less regionally marked will be his or her accent, and the less it is likely to differ from RP" (ibid). In the past, there used to be great pressure on those seeking social mobility to modify their speech in the direction of RP, while today "[n]ewsreaders and announcers with non-RP accents [are commonplace] on the BBC, until recent decades a bastion of the most elevated and conservative form of RP" (ibid: 11).[10] The same is true for other spheres of public life – i.e. politics, academia or the civil service – where "there is no longer any expectation that RP accents will be used to the exclusion of virtually any others" (ibid). It is thus only in "the highest echelons of British society – the English public schools and elite universities, among the aristocracy and in the officer classes of the military – that earlier attitudes towards RP seem to prevail" (ibid). RP is thus still highly valued among the general public since it is equated with being "'well-spoken' or 'articulate', and is perceived widely as a signal of general intelligence and competence" (ibid: 11), but it is no longer considered essential for certain occupations. A study by Coupland and Bishop's (2007) based on the large online survey undertaken as part of the BBC's *Voices* initiative is telling on this point. This study analysed and ranked 34 varieties of English, including standard accents such as 'Standard English', 'Queen's English' and 'American English', and non-standard ones from within the United Kingdom and other parts of the world (as well as non-native accents). The results of this study are reproduced below in Table 8. Coupland and Bishop (2007) lament the fact that familiar conservative tendencies in the general ranking of the accents are evident from their corpus, with 'non-standard' urban British accents scoring low on the social attractiveness and prestige scales (Birmingham English coming last on both scales), and 'standard English' being regarded highly, even though less so by younger respondents. The 'Queen's English' – often equated with RP – on the other hand, received mixed ratings for social attractiveness. Therefore,

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[10] On this, Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 11) add that however "the introduction of non-standard accents on stations such as BBC Radio 4 has not met with universal approval". For instance, the audience reaction when the voice of Jamaican continuity announcer Neil Nunes was first heard on Radio 4 "was a mixture of approbation and outraged hostility".

"despite its continuing association with intelligence and competence, an RP accent no longer has the 'statusfulness' or 'attractiveness' that it did a generation ago" and the idea that achieving success in certain careers and walks of life "depends quite heavily upon the cultivation of an RP accent has rapidly come to seem old fashioned, and if trends continue there may come a time when the elevation of RP above all other British accents is viewed as little more than a puzzling or amusing historical curiosity" (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013: 12). [11] Additionally, an interesting finding is the fact that people rated their own accents, plus 'Southern Irish English', 'Scottish English', 'Edinburgh English' and 'New Zealand English' ahead of the 'Queen's English' for social attractiveness. If the informants do take the phrase 'Queen's English' to refer to a conservative variety of RP, then – according to Coupland and Bishop (2007: 85-7) – "the survey supports Lynda Mugglestone's (2003: 274) contention that 'talking proper' in Britain is gradually coming to be seen as 'talking posh', even though what she calls the 'rise of the regional' "has some considerable way to go" (ibid). In relation to this, Rampton (2003: 66) in his study of London adolescents putting on exaggerated 'posh' and 'Cockney' accents [see later on in this section] in situated interaction, has found that "[…] a broad London accent [features] in the performance of passionate indignation […], while posh has been associated with being gay […], with sexual restraint/inhibition […], and with elegant wit […]". Moreover, he found that Cockney collocates with "territorial assertiveness […] and with bodily relaxation/freedom. […] Posh on the other hand is used to express mock trepidation at a threat that's judged unmanly, and is linked to inanity in sport […]" (ibid). Following these findings, Rampton (ibid) concludes that "a relatively standard accent is used to articulate an incompetent or uneasy relationship with both the body and with feelings and emotions […] and that there is an association with literate cultivation rather than oral spontaneity […]. A broad London accent, in contrast, is associated with bodily activity, with the expression of feeling unconstrained by social manners […], with profane language that emphasises sexual activity […], and with the disruption of conventional (written) word structure" (ibid). Thus, a pattern – linked to a 'cultural semantic' that is very well-established both in Britain and in class-stratified western societies more generally – emerges, in which

> vigour, passion and bodily laxity appear to be associated with Cockney, while physical weakness, distance, constraint and sexual inhibition are linked to posh. […] at a more abstract level, this can be easily accommodated within a more general set of contrasts between mind and body, reason and emotion, high and low. According to Bourdieu, the notion of 'popular speech' is itself "one of the products of the application of dualistic taxonomies which structure the social world according to categories of high and low…, refined and coarse…distinguished and vulgar, rare and common, well-mannered and sloppy" (1991: 93).
>
> Rampton (2003: 67)

Rampton (2003: 77) concludes by observing that "posh and Cockney were inseparably bound into a binary symbolic and experiential nexus that was foundational in these young Londoners; practical class consciousness" (see the nexus between 'Standard English' and NZE in chapter II).

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[11] In line with this tendency – and the awareness of it in public discourses – Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013) also mention the August 2011 programme *RP – RIP?* broadcasted on BBC Radio 4. This can be listened to at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b012zy1c, and it includes some of the interviews conducted in the context of the British Library's *Evolving English: One Language, Many Voices* exhibition that are part of my main corpus (see section 2).

Moving back to Coupland and Bishop (2007: ibid), they also mention that it would be important to "assess whether the broad evaluative tendencies revealed in the *Voices* survey do or do not carry through into less abstract, more discursively mediated contexts". These are all fundamental themes that will be addressed in section 3 with the four ideological schemata that were identified in the collected corpus. As a preliminary statement, Coupland and Bishop (2007: ibid) suspect that the "judgement patterns revealed in the *Voices* survey do reflect broad language-ideological structures that are the backdrop to accent encounters in contemporary Britain". The current investigation will thus address this statement.

		Social attractiveness	Prestige
1.	Accent identical to own	4.87 (2)	4.14 (3)
2.	Afro-Caribbean	3.72 (21)	2.90 (30)
3.	Asian	3.21 (31)	2.74 (33)
4.	Australian	4.04 (13)	3.51 (11)
5.	Belfast	3.67 (23)	3.11 (27)
6.	Birmingham	2.92 (34)	2.70 (34)
7.	Black Country	3.16 (33)	2.81 (32)
8.	Bristol	3.64 (25)	3.22 (21)
9.	Cardiff	3.67 (24)	3.16 (25)
10.	Cornish	4.22 (8)	3.38 (13)
11.	Edinburgh	4.49 (5)	4.04 (4)
12.	French	4.09 (11)	3.74 (9)
13.	German	3.20 (32)	3.21 (23)
14.	Glasgow	3.45 (29)	2.93 (29)
15.	Lancashire	3.90 (15)	3.24 (20)
16.	Leeds	3.73 (20)	3.15 (26)
17.	Liverpool	3.40 (30)	2.82 (31)
18.	London	3.70 (22)	3.89 (6)
19.	Manchester	3.61 (27)	3.22 (21)
20.	Newcastle	4.13 (10)	3.21 (23)
21.	New Zealand	4.37 (6)	3.84 (7)
22.	North American	3.90 (15)	3.80 (8)
23.	Northern Irish	4.05 (12)	3.30 (17)
24.	Norwich	3.81 (18)	3.38 (13)
25.	Nottingham	3.78 (19)	3.39 (12)
26.	Queen's English	4.28 (7)	5.59 (1)
27.	Scottish	4.52 (4)	3.98 (5)
28.	South African	3.51 (28)	3.34 (16)
29.	Southern Irish	4.68 (3)	3.63 (10)
30.	Spanish	3.88 (17)	3.29 (18)
31.	Standard English	4.96 (1)	5.44 (2)
32.	Swansea	3.64 (25)	3.11 (27)
33.	Welsh	3.95 (14)	3.29 (18)
34.	West Country	4.16 (9)	3.36 (15)

Table 8. Mean ratings (whole sample) of 34 accents by social attractiveness and prestige, reproduced from Coupland and Bishop (2007: 79). The accents are here listed alphabetically with rank-orderings (bracketed) for each semantic dimension. On the seven-point scale, the maximum possible mean value is 7.0 and the minimum is 1.0, with 4.0 being the mid-point.

For what concerns grammatical and lexical variation, these are present in the British Isles and the south east of England but, since the main focus of the present investigation is phonological variation, they will not be dealt with here.[12] It will here be sufficient to remember that the term accent refers to varieties of pronunciation, while the term dialect refers to varieties distinguished from each other by differences of grammar (morphology and syntax) and vocabulary (lexis) (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013) (see Introduction). And that – as Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 13-16) explain – with British English

> though not with all other languages, the separation of accent from dialect is not only logically possible, but is almost required by the relationship that holds between them. The accent taught to most foreign learners of British English is RP. The dialect used as a model is known as 'Standard English', which is the dialect of educated people throughout the British Isles. It is the dialect normally used in writing, for teaching in schools and universities, and the one most often heard on British radio and television. Unlike RP, Standard English is not restricted to the speech of a particular social group. While it would be odd to hear an RP speaker consistently using a non-standard dialect of English, most users of Standard English have regional accents. What social variation there is within Standard English appears to be limited to a rather small number of words. […] Another way in which Standard English differs from RP is that it exhibits significant regional variation. Subsumed under Standard English (or Standard British English) are Standard English English (in England and Wales), Standard Scottish English and Standard Irish English. In Scotland and Ireland […] [v]ariation between these standard dialects is in fact quite limited, and should cause learners few problems. […] Not everybody speaks the dialect of the area they belong to. There is a relationship between social class and dialect similar to the one between social class and accent. The higher a person's position on the social scale, the less regionally marked his or her language is likely to be.[13]

Finally, it is important to note that in the past teachers in British schools made great efforts to eradicate features of local dialect from the speech and writing of their pupils, as they believed that regional features represented mistakes in Standard English. Today, however, teachers and educational policymakers are much more tolerant of regional and social variation in the language used by schoolchildren (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013).[14]

1.1.1. London: Cockney and 'Multicultural London English'

Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013) divide English accents into five major groups: the south of England; the north of England; Wales; the south of Ireland; and Scotland and the north of Ireland. For the south of England area, they distinguish five further groups: the western south-west, the eastern southwest, the south east, the south Midlands, and East Anglia. The region that interests us in the present investigation is the south-east, which includes the cities of London,

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[12] For a comprehensive list of all the grammatical differences to be found between non-standard British dialects and 'Standard English' see Milroy and Milroy (1993), and Kortmann and Upton (2008). For more details on the regional variation in the British Isles and on variability within RP itself, see Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013).
[13] For more on this see Trudgill (1974).
[14] Finally, Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 17-18) point to "three types of thing" that are often said to be incorrect in discourses and practices about 'Standard English': a) "elements which are new to the language"; b) "features of informal speech". This, they argue, is a matter of style, not correctness; c) "features of regional speech". We will see how these themes recur in our corpus.

Brighton, Dover and Reading. The main interest is however represented by the city of London, where the data collection was undertaken. An extract from a panel presented at the British Library exhibition's *Evolving English: One Language, Many Voices* points to some of the main reasons why the speech of London has been the center of so much (socio)linguistic research and is very salient in the public discourses revolving around 'Standard English':

> London has long been home to a staggering number of languages and an extraordinary patchwork of voices. The dialect of the UK's capital and most densely populated city has frequently interested linguists and enjoys a constant presence in popular culture, from literature and music hall to film and pop. Traditional East End Cockney, with its playful rhyming slang, has an enduring fascination. Linguists have become particularly interested in Multicultural London English as the hybrid dialect emerging in ethnically mixed urban areas.

London – in fact – has been the core of large-scale immigration throughout its history, both from Britain itself and from abroad. The population has increased exponentially from the Middle Ages until the second World War (Cheshire et al. 2011). Despite this, it is important to note that until 1800, London also had the highest death rates in the country, which far exceeded the birth rates' This is considered linguistically relevant by Cheshire et al. (2011: 157) because it meant that "both population replacement and increase were dependent on migration, a situation which only changed at the start of the nineteenth century (Inwood 1998: 159, 271)". Cheshire et al. (2011), in their first project called *Linguistic Innovators* point to the multiethnic East End borough of Hackney (see Figure 16) as the core of the development of 'Multicultural London English'.

Figure 16. Map of London's boroughs borders

Two varieties are designated by Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013) as being the most salient in London: 'Cockney', and London English that has been influenced by West Indian and Caribbean Creoles (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013). I will now provide a short phonetic description and development history of these two varieties, as they are central for the present investigation. Figure 17 shows a map of the United Kingdom with the area that is considered the south east (on the bottom right), while Figure 18 shows London and its bordering counties.

Figure 17. The south east of England (bottom right)
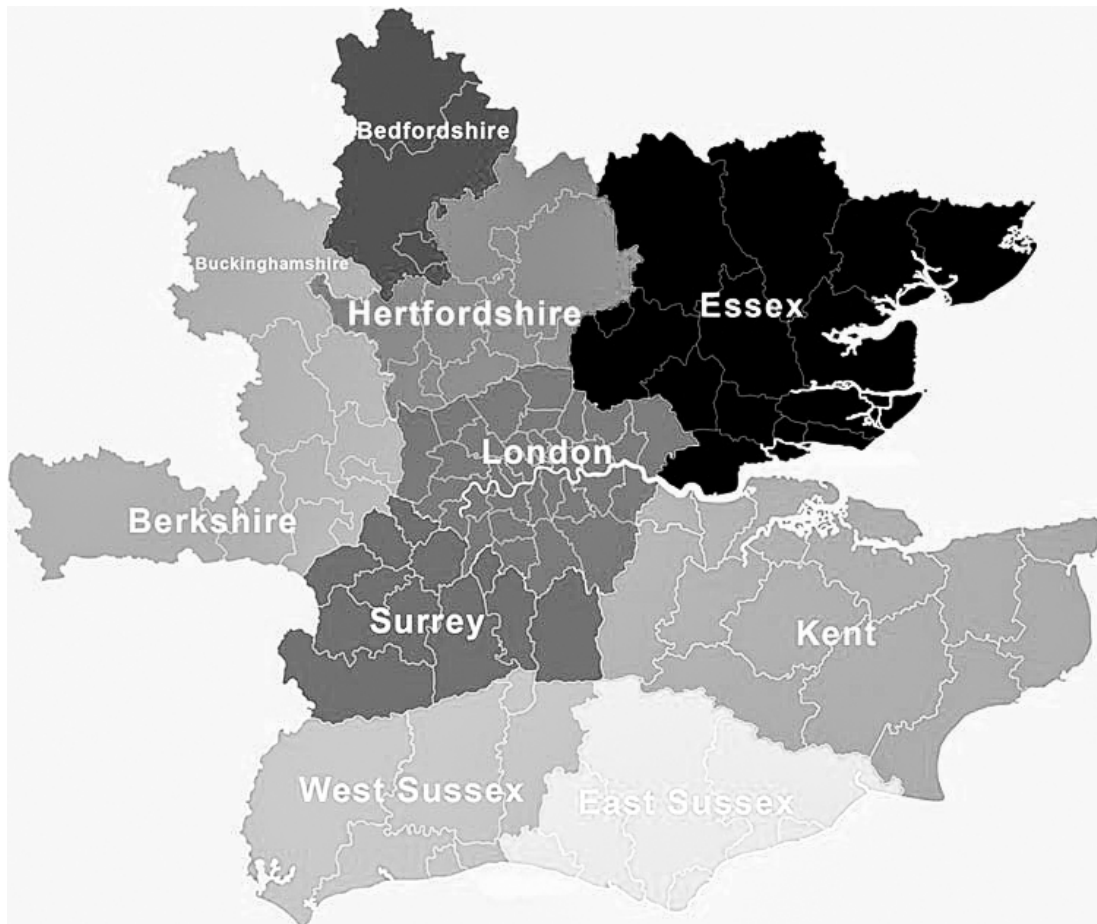
Figure 18. London and its bordering counties

Cockney is the traditional working-class London accent (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013). According to the Oxford English Dictionary, Cockney "may not be a fully-fledged language, although it certainly boasts a proportion of the 'rules' of grammar and spelling (albeit phonetically) that underpin such linguistic formations, but for all that it is so heavily identified with slang […], Cockney rhyming slang, it is if anything a dialect. London's own".[15] More popularly, according to the well-known British rapper Smiley Culture, Cockney is "not a language it is only a slang and was originated inna England. The first place it was used was over East London […]" (1984). On the other hand, Cockney is also the word used to refer to Cockney-speaking Londoners, and over the years this has come to mean "[o]ne who has been born within the sound of Bow bells" (OED), a reference to the church of Saint Mary Le Bow, Cheapside, in the City of London (OED).[16] The Cockney 'accent' has been frequently stigmatised because of its associations with the lower social classes and crime. However, it also enjoys a fair amount of covert prestige seeing that most consider it to be the only authentic and traditional London dialect. We will see in section 3, how

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[15] Accessed at http://public.oed.com/aspects-of-english/english-in-use/cockney/, on 10.12.16.

[16] Further to a study carried out in 2000 to see how far the Bow Bells could be heard, it was estimated that "they would have been audible six miles to the east, five to the north, three to the south, and four to the west, an area that covers Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, Spitalfields, Stepney, Wapping, Limehouse, Poplar, Millwall, Hackney, Hoxton, Shoreditch, Bow, and Mile End, as well as Bermondsey, south of the River Thames. Given the post-war emigration of many Cockneys to Essex, that area can now be seen as substantially larger. […] All sorts of individuals would once have spoken the London dialect, even if the great push for linguistic 'purity' during the seventeenth and eighteenth century prohibited such 'vulgarisms' from the aspirant middle class" (OED).

lately Cockney has come to the fore in recent public metalinguistic discourses, especially in discursive juxtaposition to 'Multicultural London English' and to 'Estuary English'. A good initial example is the following quote by the OED:

> Cockney survives, but not without change. If one can elicit a single pattern then it is the movement beyond purely working-class speech. Mockney (1989) has been adopted by a growing spectrum of the otherwise middle-class and reasonably well-heeled young. As an accent it resembles the more formal concept of Estuary English which was first recorded in 1984 […] And since then, at least among the under-thirties, both working - and middle-class, there is Multi-Ethnic London English, a dialect that reflects the city's multicultural makeup, and blends terms from mainstream slang, the Caribbean and American rap, and of course London's own Cockney.

Cockney is very frequently evoked in discourses and discussions about social class identity in Britain (cf. Bennett 2012; Jones 2012). An interesting term that has recently emerged in relation to Cockney is 'Mockney', and this label will be one of the main foci of the discussion presented in section 3. Mockney is defined by the OED as:

1. *An accent and form of speech affected (esp. by a middle-class speaker) in imitation of cockney or of the speech of Londoners; (generally) mockney accent.*

2. *A person who assumes a mockney accent; a counterfeit cockney.*

Cockney is thus a very salient variety in London and it has recently had a sort of 'meta-discursive revival' because of claims about its possible eradication due to the spread of other 'non-standard' – and often perceived as non-local – varieties such as 'Multicultural London English' (see later on in this section). This revival is represented by an increase of interest for this variety in the media and the emergence of several non-academic booklets and various publications dealing with Cockney or the Cockney rhyming slang. A couple of popular examples are Daniel Smith's (2015) *Cockney Rhyming Slang: The Language of London* (see Figure 19) and Geoff Tibballs' (2008) *The Ultimate Cockney Geezer's Guide to Rhyming Slang*.[17]

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[17] This, additionally, points to a tendency that has already been remarked upon by Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 15), claiming that the sales of books by "self-appointed English usage experts such as John Humphrys and Lynne Truss bear witness to the British public's appetite for being told what they should and should not say or write". Here we could also include N.M. Gwynne's grammar, which will be discussed in section 3.
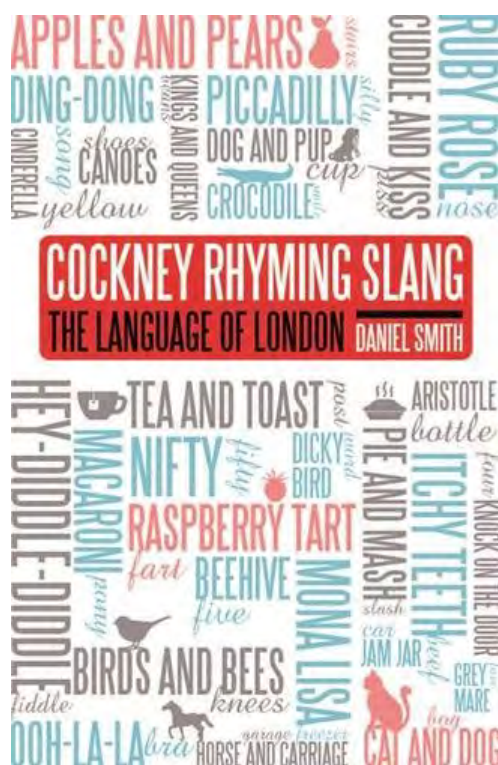
Figure 19. Front cover of Daniel Smith's (2015) *Cockney Rhyming Slang: The Language of London*

'Cockney' is phonetically characterised by the following features mentioned in Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 75-77):

1) /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ are both present and distinguish between, for example, 'put' and 'putt'.
2) /a/ and /ɑ:/ are qualitatively distinct and distributed as in RP.
3) Unlike RP, the final vowel of 'city', is /i/ and not /ɪ/.
4) /h/ is almost invariably absent. When it is present, it is likely to be in a stressed position (e.g. 'happened').
5) The glottal stop, [ʔ], is extremely common in London speech.
6) The contrast between /θ/ and /f/ is variably lost through the process known as (th)-fronting, which collapses the distinction between labio-dental and dental fricatives.
7) Similarly, the contrast between /ð/ and /v/ is also often lost.
8) /l/ vocalisation is frequent (e.g. 'milk').
9) Certain diphthongs are markedly different from RP in their realisations: /eɪ/ is [æɪ]; /əʊ/ is [ʌʉ]; /aɪ/ is [ɑɪ]; /aʊ/ may be [æə], and may trigger intrusive /ɹ/ insertion.
10) –ing is [ɪn] (e.g. 'laying'). In 'nothing', 'something' etc., –ing may be pronounced [ɪŋk].
11) Initial /p t k/ are heavily aspirated, and more so than in RP.
12) The labio-dental approximant [ʋ] can also be heard. This pronunciation has been a feature of London English for some time (see Foulkes and Docherty 2000; as mentioned in Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013) but has in recent decades spread widely throughout England, and there are signs it is spreading beyond into Wales and Scotland.

London English that has been influenced by West Indian and Caribbean Creoles is often referred to in academia with the term 'Multicultural London English' – abbreviated MLE – or, especially

in media discourses, with the term 'Jafaican' (or 'Jafaikan').[18] Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 80) explain its formation with references to mobility and contact phenomena:

> London is one of the world's most ethnically diverse cities, and has a large black population. Immigrants from the Caribbean – in particular Jamaica, Barbados, the Leeward and Windward Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana – came to Britain in sizeable numbers in the decades following the Second World War, many of them settling in London. Over 10 per cent of the population of some London boroughs (Lewisham, Lambeth, Brent and Hackney, for example) are of black Caribbean ancestry. The English spoken by people of West Indian descent in Britain has been influenced by the varieties of English and English-based creoles of the Caribbean region, in particular Jamaican Creole, by virtue of the much larger numbers of immigrant Jamaicans versus people from other parts of the Caribbean (e.g. Sebba 1993). In London, features of West Indian English have been mixed with traditional working-class London English ('Cockney' […]) producing a recognisable London West Indian ethnolect.

As Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013) also mention, it is important here to note that this variety is not spoken exclusively by speakers of Caribbean descent. In fact, children of other ethnicities growing up in areas of the city are exposed to the ethnolect on a daily basis, and are therefore likely to develop at least some active competence in speaking it (cf. Rampton 1995, 2010). Some of the main phonetic features that characterise this variety overlap with those that characterise Cockney: the most salient differences are (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013: 80-81)

1) /h/ is present in relevant words much of the time, but is pronounced emphatically as the uvular fricative [χ] in 'whole'.
2) /k/ is sometimes produced with a conspicuously backer place of articulation than is typical for British English. Adjacent to a back vowel such as /ɑː/, it can be [q], as in 'card' [qχɑːd] (see Cheshire et al. 2008; as mentioned in Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013).
3) /l/ is frequently vocalised in coda positions (e.g. 'control'), but may be a more standard dark [ɫ].
4) London West Indian English is fully non-rhotic.
5) The /əʊ/ vowel has a fronted off-glide: [əʉ] (e.g. 'know').

1.2   Mobility, Dialect Levelling and Accent as a Social Symbol

As pointed out in the previous section, discourses on 'Standard English' have often demonstrated the importance of accent as a social symbol in England. Mugglestone (2003) has comprehensively covered the topic in her monograph entitled *Talking Proper: The Rise and Fall of the English Accent as a Social Symbol*, where she points out that already before the 19th century people were very concerned about 'accent', as this quote from 1856 demonstrates:

> Accent and Pronunciation must be diligently studied by the conversationalist. A person who uses vulgarisms will make but little way in good circles…A proper accent gives importance to what you say, engages the respectful attention of you hearer, and is your passport to new circles of acquaintance.

(full reference in Mugglestone 2003: 1)

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[18] This variety, as well as its labelling will be discussed further in section 1.3.

Another interesting example that she provides, is the following statement by Reverend Williams who affirmed that "[n]o saying was ever truer than that good breeding and good education are sooner discovered from the style of speaking…than from any other means" (as quoted in Mugglestone 2003: 1). In relation to this, Mugglestone (2003: 4) points out that there has been a shift in "sensibilities surrounding accent and the role it was to play in assumptions about social definition and notions of social standing". She focuses especially on the changes that took place at the end of the 19ᵗʰ century, when notions of "an accent free from regional markers (and assimilation to this) had come to act as a dominant social symbol throughout the nation, forming the salient element in what the phonetician Henry Sweet was to define as 'a class-dialect more than a local dialect…the language of the educated all over Great Britain'". As a consequence – as Mugglestone explains – now the best speakers of 'Standard English' were those whose pronunciation least betrayed their locality. A 'provincial' accent was thus perceived as being incompatible with any "ambitions for social acceptability, as well as with any pretensions to either 'culture' or 'cultivation'" (ibid). This progressively lead to the creation of a set of non-localised and supra-regional norms – i.e. a set of 'standard pronunciation features' – which become central in this period (Mugglestone 2003). This then culminated in notions of 'Received Pronunciation', "the non-localized accent which was and is 'widely regarded as a model for correct pronunciation'" (ibid) (see previous section). In line with this, Mugglestone (ibid) explains that it is in the period from the late 18ᵗʰ century onwards that we can observe the "creation, and consolidation, of a number of national stereotypes in terms of speech: the 'educated accent', the 'Public School' accent, the 'Oxford' accent, 'talking without an accent', 'talking proper', and eventually 'BBC English' too". These stereotypes and discourses will be central in the analysis presented in this chapter; even more so since they resonate through discourses about 'new' non-standard English varieties such as 'Estuary English'. Mugglestone (2003: 4), in fact, claims that "'Estuary English' has, in the late twentieth century and afterwards, come to share in the continuing pattern of sensibilities which surround the act of speech, though in this instance it is images of 'classlessness' rather than 'class' which have come to the fore". This will be discussed in more detail in relation to ideological schemata 1 and 2 (see section 3).[19] Finally, Mugglestone (2003: 5), claims that "[l]ike class itself, accent was, in effect, to become a major national obsession over this time", and she brings one of George Gissing's statements as an example: "[c]lasses are getting mixed, confused…we are so conscious of the process that we talk of class distinctions more than anything else, – talk and think of them incessantly". Thus, "it was accent which popularly came to be conceived as a prime marker of such class distinction, this habit was, in many ways, thus almost guaranteed to ensure its prominence in the public mind". Today, these discourses often come to be imbued with values and notions of class and identity, and within the meta-discourse revolving around these concerns, authenticity and legitimacy emerge as particularly salient, especially in the 'fluid' discursive spaces of more modern times. This 'fluidity' is due both to the intense mobility that has characterised this geographical area in the last fifteen - twenty years (especially in the city and suburbs of London), and to the advent of new technologies that has given new voices access to the public metalinguistic discourse thanks to digital discursive spaces. The mobility under consideration here has been triggered by a series of important historical events, which have in turn also triggered a change in the

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[19] In relation to this, Mugglestone (2003: 5) observes that writers, both in works of fiction and fact, "[…] attempted to affirm the hegemony of one way of speaking whilst they attempted to exert its persuasions upon their readers, pointing out selected details of 'deviation' and 'vulgarity' in ways which are unparalleled in previous writings on the spoken language".

language practices in act in this dynamic geographical area. This has led to a sociolinguistically interesting contemporary situation.

Supralocalisation (i.e. regional dialect levelling[20]) has occurred in England and especially in the south-eastern region of the country.[21] Supralocalisation has been defined by Britain (2010a: 193) as "the process by which, as a result of mobility and dialect contact, linguistic variants with a wider socio-spatial currency become more widespread at the expense of more localized forms". [22][23] In line with this, Milroy (2002: 8) – drawing on Trudgill – comments on the levelling that is happening in the south east of England by mentioning 'Estuary English':

> [i]n general, levelling gives rise to greater and greater linguistic homogeneity (in the sense that distinctive dialects disappear) and a tendency for localized norms of the kind supported by a close-knit network structure to become obliterated. […] A prominent example of a levelled dialect is the south-eastern English variety popularly known as 'Estuary English' […] which has expanded over the last twenty years or so both socially and geographically.

And Britain (2010b: 152) restates this in another work:

> The previously mentioned social and geographical mobility within these supralocal zones has led to dialect contact between the varieties spoken within them. The result has been the emergence over time of regional koinés – levelled supralocal varieties which are replacing some of the linguistic diversity that once reigned within individual regions.

Why is supralocalisation happening? Britain (2010a: 197) explains that supralocalisation is the result of the "increased mobility and contact characteristic of everyday life in late modernity and an increase in the scale of people's routine day-to-day spatialities". This is related to the linguistic accommodation that takes place in face-to-face interaction, and that – especially when it is carried out over long periods of time – can lead to the "stabilisation of accommodated linguistic behaviour" (ibid) (cf. Trudgill 1986; Kerswill 2002). As a consequence, since "one product of convergent linguistic accommodation is levelling, highly local dialect forms are often beginning to be eroded, levelled away in favour of spatially more widely distributed variants" (ibid). Some of the main reasons why spatial practices have changed in England, thus leading to the linguistic changes just discussed are:

a) Increasing urbanisation: according to Sayers (2009: 71), "UK employment moved progressively to urban centres: in 1921, 14% of UK workers living in rural areas were employed in urban centres. In 1966 it was 37.1%, by which time almost a fifth of rural districts had a majority of workers commuting to urban jobs (Wood & Carter, 2000: 423). […] Increases in urban employment can be interpreted in light of major declines in agricultural employment in Britain

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[20] It is important here to pay attention to the fact that regional dialect levelling is about involvement in a trend, not the absolute adoption or abandonment of any linguistic features, nor the predominance of new target variants or the absence of new innovations (Sayers 2009).

[21] Cf. Blommaert (2010). Mobility here is intended both in terms of intraregional movements and larger scale migration. Globalisation produces a reaction that can be referred to with the term 'supralocalisation' and the two are connected to the mechanisms that Blommaert talks about in his 2010 volume.

[22] 'Supra' denotes "'above', 'beyond', 'transcending', without having to commit to a particular geographical scale – it denotes simply a higher scale – or to a perspective that forces all variables to be analysed at that same scale" (Britain 2010: 196-7).

[23] Obviously, mobility and contact are not modern phenomena and they existed also in the past, however the scale of mobility and contact in the past fifty years can be claimed to be unprecedented (Britain 2010a).

over the 20th century – falling 45% between 1911 and 1961 (Royle, 1997: 94), then a further 39% between 1966 and 1991 (Gallie, 2000: 284). This came as the result of the widespread concentration, mechanisation and automation of agriculture, with its roots in a "post-war agricultural modernization project' (Marsden, 1999: 503)". As a consequence, employment moved progressively away from the British countryside, into urban and semi-urban location, and this contributed to isolate rural residents and their dialects (cf. Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1999: 486)".

b) Increasing counterurbanisation: "[w]hile urbanisation saw large chunks of rural populations moving (temporarily or permanently) into more urban areas, more recently there has been a growing number moving the other way". Counterurbanisation in the UK arguably has its roots in the 1920s when "the spectacular growth of motor transport" allowed "hundreds of thousands of English people of the working and clerical classes" (Burton, 1943: 1) to discover "the countryside" (Sayers 2009: 73). In relation to this phenomenon, Sayers (2009: 77) points out that "[c]ounterurbanisation does not mean a total emptying of cities into the countryside. People are moving both ways; and it is this two-way traffic that is critical […]". This has important consequences for dialect change, "it is both the loss of local dialect speakers, taking with them the density of local dialect features, and infiltration of rural areas by counterurbanisers, that may cause overall diversity to drop" (cf. Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1999; Britain 2004).

c) Increased migration: which often leads to the mixing of populations and thus their dialects (cf. Wolfram, Carter and Moriello 2004);

d) An expansion in uptake of higher levels of education;

e) Increases in public and private transportation;

f) A shift from primary and secondary to tertiary sector employment as the backbone of the economy;

g) An increase in mobile and flexible working;

h) Geographical reorientations of consumption behaviours;

i) Increasing geographic elasticity of family ties: these last five points may lead to an increase in commuting, and the more one commutes, "the less likely one is to maintain local dialect features".[24]

Therefore, there has been a multitude of triggers that have made people more mobile and thus the "levelling of distinctive highly localised dialect variants is unsurprising", as well as convergence in

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[24] Sayers (2009: 79) points out that "[t]his correlation underpins much dialectological research, beginning arguably with Milroy (1980)".

the south east of England (Britain 2010a: 199).[25][26] One of the varieties that has emerged through this process – and that is one of the foci of the present investigation – is 'Estuary English'. According to Milroy (2001b: 240), this levelled variety that has emerged more recently, has "extended both geographically (to oust locally marked varieties in a very large area of southeastern England) and socially in that it is now used by upper class speakers […]". Milroy (ibid) attributes this change in British sociolinguistic structure to "current patterns of mobility following deindustrialisation and the end of the century-long monopolisation of the linguistic market by RP". Some of the main phonetic features that are attributed to this supposedly new variety are: TRAP vowel backing/lowering (see Torgersen and Kerswill 2004; Przedlacka 2001; Kamata 2006); DRESS vowel lowering/backing (see Torgersen and Kerswill 2004; Kamata 2006); GOOSE fronting (see Przedlacka 2001; Kerswill and Williams 2005); FOOT fronting (see Torgersen and Kerswill 2004; Britain 2005); STRUT vowel lowering/centring/backing (see Torgersen and Kerswill 2004); MOUTH vowel levelling (see Kerswill 2003; Williams and Kerswill 1999); PRICE lowering/backing (see Kerswill and Williams 2005; Przedlacka 2001); GOAT fronting (see Williams and Kerswill 1999; Przedlacka 2001; Kerswill and Williams 2005; Britain 2005); Labiodental /r/.

Finally, where would this south-east levelled variety be located? In Torgersen and Kerswill's (2004) study, it seems that this could be the region between and including Ashford and Reading. On the other hand, from Przedlacka's (2001) data it could be located in some parts of Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Kent and Essex. Additionally, Trudgill (1988) mentions Norwich. Milton Keynes and the Fens are also sometimes claimed to reflect some of the features characteristic of this variety (see Kerswill and Williams 2005). However, as Sayers (2009: 98) points out, the question is not so much where is in and where is out, but rather "how levels of engagement in southeast regional levelling match up with levels of involvement in population movement around the southeast, and what explanatory capacity this adds to the regional levelling narrative". Altendorf and Watt (2004: 182) further uphold the explanation of regional dialect levelling in the south east based on the movement of population. In fact, they state that "[t]he restructuring of the Southeast dialect area is in large part due to processes of linguistic convergence […]. These processes have, it is argued, been promoted by an increase in geographical mobility in the second half of the 20th century". They then go on unpacking as follows:

> [a]s people resident in the Southeast now tend to change their place of work more often than they used to, there has been a resultant increase in the levels of admixture of the population within the region. These processes of mobility have increased face-to face interaction among speakers of different accents. This kind of communicative situation tends to bring about short-term accommodation among the interlocutors, which in turn can then lead to long-term

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[25] Torgersen and Kerswill (2004: 24) conduct an apparent time study to show a pattern of regional levelling across the south east, eroding local dialect peculiarities and resulting in "entirely new forms, which, in the case of vowels, may be phonetically intermediate between the older, more [geographically] marked forms". Their data come for Reading in Berkshire and Ashford in Kent and the result is "convergence between the vowel systems east and west of the city [London] – an obvious sign of regional dialect levelling" (Kerswill 2003: 230).

[26] For evidence on the saliency of this phenomenon see Torgersen and Kerswill (2004). In this work, they examined the phonological convergence between Kent, Ashford and Reading, and they found that the two distinct vowel systems had over time become considerably more alike.

accommodation, accent convergence and change […]. In addition, mobility has been shown to weaken network ties and to promote the diffusion of "new" variants.

(Altendorf and Watt, 2004: 184)

As a final point, it is important to note that London is often hinted at as the progenitor of south east regionally levelling features (Sayers 2009) (see for example Torgersen and Kerswill 2004; Kerswill 2003). Note that, the term 'Estuary English' itself implies a London-Thames Estuary origin for south east levelling features (Sayers 2009).[27][28]

From an attitudinal and identity-focused perspective – as previously mentioned – it has frequently been claimed that "contact produces 'neutral' outcomes as distinctive socially or regionally marked forms are levelled away (for example Maehlum 1996; Kerswill and Williams 2000)" (Britain 2010a: 202). One of the important consequences of this – Britain (ibid) clarifies – is that "levelled contact varieties have often been viewed by non-linguists as relatively 'standard'-like (for example Bernard 1969; Gordon 1983; Trudgill 1986) […] This neutrality, proposed in the context of supralocalisation, is driven, some argue, by a desire not to 'signal a strong or specific local affiliation' (Kerswill 2002: 198)". Other studies, however, reveal a deeper complexity, a situation in which the speakers have to negotiate "a somewhat difficult path between not sounding too local, but also not overly disassociating themselves with the locality thereby showing apparent disloyalty" (Britain 2010a: 202) (cf. Kerswill 2002; Foulkes and Docherty 1999). Finally, it is very unlikely that all local features would ever be leveled away, and supralocalisation is obviously also socially differentiated: "class, gender, economic activity and many more factors intermingle to ensure that regional homogeneity would be an unexpected outcome" (ibid). Speakers thus normally adopt "specific constellations of regional, supralocal and local forms, rather than adopting forms from one scale alone. Towns and cities are perhaps more likely to retain local dialect forms in this context, because, given the geographies of service provision, they are more 'self-sufficient' than many rural communities" (ibid).

To conclude, in his work on dialect levelling in the south east and north east of England, Sayers (2009) also comments on the effects that dialect levelling has had, and still has, on the linguistic diversity found in British English. He also emphasises how these changes correlate with movements of populations and thus with regional concentrations from the mid-late twentieth century. In his unpublished PhD thesis he points out that "[t]he exploration of human geography, although quite brief, nevertheless provides a contribution to current debates on dialect change and mobility. This interdisciplinary dialogue has so far been less than complete, despite regional dialect levelling being discussed as a recent phenomenon, and with reference to changes in population movement" (Sayers 2009: 66-7). Despite this, he mentions several examples where this has happened and that I find helpful to reproduce here as an illustration of the academic discourses

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[27] Sayers (2009: 110), however, warns us that "[w]hile southeast dialects certainly seem to be mixing together, and while London does seem to represent a kind of gravitational core for this flow, nevertheless there is little clear evidence that London is the main point of origin for levelling features. Perhaps it is for some, and this must be accounted for; but the evidence seems predominantly to suggest spatial diffusion of linguistic innovations between urban areas around the southeast as a whole.

[28] For more on 'Estuary English' see Coggle (1993), Maidment (1994), and the UCL webpage managed by John Wells which attempts at bringing together "as many documents as possible that relate to Estuary English, as a convenient resource for the many interested enquirers". This can be consulted at:
 http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/. Accessed in December 2015, and several times thereafter.

surrounding this phenomenon:

> The pattern of geographical diffusion suggests very strongly that face-to-face contact, as a result of mobility and immigration [...] must be involved.
>
> (Trudgill 1988: 44)

> [A] high degree of mobility, which leads to the weakening of group-internal linguistic norms, will render a population more receptive to linguistic (and other) innovations.
>
> (Kerswill 2003: 225)

> In Britain, it is mobility, manifested in commuting and other forms of short-distance travel as well as relocation, that is perhaps the most marked indicator of high degrees of contact. L. Milroy (2002: 7) argues that such mobility leads to the "large-scale disruption of close-knit, localized networks which have historically maintained highly systematic and complex sets of socially structured linguistic norms". We can reasonably suppose that a high degree of mobility, which leads to the weakening of group-internal linguistic norms, will render a population more receptive to linguistic (and other) innovations. A consequence of this increased receptiveness is that speakers can be expected to take up diffusing changes more readily, with the result that these changes move more rapidly across the language area.
>
> (Kerswill 2003a: 224-225)

> Convergence of this kind has been shown to occur in mobile populations where there is a high level of dialect contact (see in particular the Milton Keynes project). And this is exactly the case in the south-east of England.
>
> (Altendorf 2003: 140)

> [...] the composite nature of a very shifting population in this district renders the growth of any dialect proper impossible (ibid.: 119) [...] There are so many causes for interference with the natural development of speech, and the population is so shifting, that it would be misleading to suppose that there was any real hereditary dialect or mode of speech....the enormous congeries of persons from different parts of the kingdom and from different countries, and the generality of school education, render dialect nearly impossible (ibid.: 225) [...] For the rural portions of the SE district, I have very slender information. My informants find a shifting population, and nothing distinctive to record. They imagine that if there is nothing different to their hearing than uneducated London speech, there is nothing to report (ibid. : 234-5) [...] the inhabitants of this locality are mainly strangers from every corner of the country who have settled here for a brief space and never remain long. They represent any and no special pronunciation (ibid.: 235)
>
> (Britain 2002a: 62-63)

> [D]ialect mixing and koinéization [...] has been provoked by [...] sociogeographical mobility. Supralocalisation is most extreme in areas with high daily mobility through commuting and visiting and high rates of internal migration.
>
> (Britain 2005: 999)[29]

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[29] The complete references can be found in Sayers (2009).

1.3   Migration and Multilingualism: The South East of England and Europe

On the other hand, regional dialect levelling has not eradicated all local diversity as this is "a *process* not a *fait accompli*" (Britain 2010a: 200). In fact, Britain claims that empirical studies of the south east of England have found evidence of convergence, but also "still found considerable diversity in the extent of adoption of the convergent forms in different parts of the region". In relation to this, Przedlacka (2002: 97) analysing four of the counties surrounding London has concluded that "the extent of geographical variation alone allows us to conclude that we are dealing with several distinct accents, not a single and definable variety" (here disproving the existence of a clear-cut 'Estuary English' variety).

Mobility – as migration – and multilingualism have also given rise to different related phenomena such as the emergence of new urban dialects. A good example is the variety that has been labelled 'Multicultural London English' and that has been widely investigated by Cheshire et al. (2011) in their paper entitled *Contact, the Feature Pool and the Speech Community: The Emergence of Multicultural London English.* In this important work, they define this variety as the overall range of distinctive language features used in multiethnic areas of London, conceptualising MLE as a "repertoire of features" (ibid: 154). [30] [31] Cheshire et al. (2011: 152-3) explain that the emergence of MLE is not a stand-alone phenomenon in Europe, and that, in fact, in the latter part of the 20th century a number of European cities have seen the emergence of "new, distinct varieties of the host languages in multilingual, working-class neighbourhoods". In academia, this has been met by an increase in research on these varieties in several countries including the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Great Britain and Germany. This branch of research has concentrated mainly on adolescents' ways of talking in these neighbourhoods, and has applied a range of approaches "reflecting not just particular research interests, but also the complexity and multidimensionality of the phenomenon" (ibid). This recent increase in interest was also characterised by different ways of positioning these varieties, as well as by the use of different methods of analysis. In fact, some scholars deal with these new varieties as 'lects', which can be described linguistically in relation to the majority language (Wiese 2009) (Cheshire et al. 2011). Others, prefer to avoid such reification of the varieties and adopt a quantitative variationist methodology to the speech communities taken into account, by thus focusing on individual features (Cheshire and Fox 2009) (Cheshire et al. 2011). [32] While others, investigate them qualitatively, seeing them as practices or repertoires

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[30] Kerswill (2014: 432) further explains that "[t]he London multiethnolect, Multicultural London English (MLE), has been studied in two ESRC projects run by Jenny Cheshire and Paul Kerswill, with research associates Sue Fox, Eivind Torgersen and Arfaan Khan. The projects' approach was largely variationist, in that they recorded a sample stratified by age, gender, ethnicity and borough. Linguistic features on the phonetic, morphosyntactic and discourse levels were quantified. The results showed a great deal of variation, with the multiethnic inner-city boroughs being quite distinct from the outer city. Particularly in the inner city, features on all levels tended to be shared across ethnicities, though minority ethnic speakers used more characteristically multiethnolectal variants than did their Anglo counterparts. The ethnic divides were, however, relatively fluid, with a speaker's social network being a significant predictor of the use of these features. We consider that MLE is best seen as the variable output of a 'feature pool' (Mufwene (2001: 4-6) derived from the range of language varieties in the inner city, including second-language English, African, Caribbean and Asian Englishes, local dialect ('Cockney'), London Jamaican Creole (Sebba 1993), Standard English – and also languages other than English".

[31] The features that are referred to here are: a) GOOSE-fronting; b) the new quotative expression *this is + speaker* (and BE LIKE) c) past tense BE; d) Simplification of indefinite and definite article allomorphy.

[32] On the other hand, the term that has gained some acceptance among linguists is 'multiethnolect', originally coined by Clyne (2000) (Cheshire et al. 2011).

"consisting of individual features which are deployed strategically in conversation management and identity projection (Svendsen and Røyneland 2008; Quist 2008)" (Cheshire et al. 2011: ibid). Despite the difference in labelling, analytical methods and categorisations, it seems that these new contact varieties are recognisable to local people all over Europe (Cheshire et al. 2011). For instance, Wiese (2006; 2012; 2014) uses the German term 'Kiezdeutsch' – i.e. 'neighbourhood German' – to refer to the multiethnic youth language in Germany (by maintaining the term used by speakers themselves). This term is subsequently picked up by the German media as Androutsopoulos (2007) explains in detail. In Britain, Kerswill (2014) analyses the use of the term 'Jafaican' referring to youth language in multiethnic parts of London and beyond. This term most likely has "media origins and is strongly associated with hip-hop; it is likewise not essentially a 'members' concept', young people preferring the word 'slang' to characterise their way of speaking" (Cheshire et al. 2011: 152). 'Jafaican' is defined by Kerswill (2014: 428) as "the multi-ethnic youth speech style which has come to be labelled 'Jafaican' by the media. The academic equivalent is 'Multicultural London English' (MLE), a term coined by linguists around 2006 (Cheshire et al. 2011)." Additionally, he makes an important observation about metalinguistic public discourses of the kind that are analysed in the present investigation; he raises the question of whether "a media construction and a linguist's label are ever likely to have the same referent". In relation to this he then – importantly – claims that "[…] there is a tension between the two. Media labels and the discourse around them evoke social stereotypes, and emphasize a handful of linguistic features – often inaccurately. Linguists are reluctant to label varieties, and the labelling they engage in is hedged and seeks to avoid essentialisation" (ibid). In Sweden, Kotsinas (1988) coins the terms 'rinkebysvenska' – after the district's name 'Rinkeby' – to refer to the Swedish characteristic of multiethnic districts in Stockholm. It is important to note that in all three of the above mentioned countries, these labels are "to differing extents part of public discourse […] [and that] [d]espite the differences in naming, there are increasing indications that these varieties have become the unmarked Labovian 'vernacular' for many speakers, and that it is this that older people are reacting to when they claim that young Londoners, for example, sound as if they are 'talking black'" (Cheshire et al. 2011: ibid).

Why did these European multiethnolects emerge at this point in history? Including the case of London in the south east of England, Cheshire et al. (2011: 153) explain that this is probably due to the "specific types of community formation in urban areas which have seen very large-scale immigration from developing countries". This has led to people of different language backgrounds settling in "already quite underprivileged neighbourhoods", and economic deprivation has led to "the maintenance of close kin and neighbourhood ties". [33] Cheshire et al. (2011) go on explaining the dynamics that might have led to the development of these new contact varieties by making a parallel with the language shift that has taken place in Ireland:

> [i]n these communities, there is often a rapid shift to the majority language by the children of the migrants, possibly accelerated by the fact that there are a large number of languages spoken in areas without strong residential segregation. Because majority-language speakers may be in a minority in parts of these districts, the availability of local, native models of the majority language is weaker than elsewhere. This means that the majority language may be acquired from other second-language speakers. This scenario is similar to the kinds of community

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[33] In relation to this, Castells (2000: 436) writes of prosperous metropolises containing communities such as these: "It is this distinctive feature of being globally connected and locally disconnected, physically and socially, that makes mega-cities a new urban form" (Cheshire et al. 2011).

language shift which took place in Ireland and elsewhere (Hickey 2006), with the difference that it is a minority population that is shifting (albeit often as a majority at neighbourhood level), and that the group that is shifting is linguistically heterogeneous. This makes the scenario an example of what Winford (2003: 235) calls 'group second language acquisition', or shift-induced interference (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 75), where minority linguistic groups form part of a larger host community and acquire the target language mainly through unguided informal second-language acquisition in their friendship groups. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 43) argue that if the minority group learners are well integrated into the host community, they may initiate linguistic changes by using forms resulting from their imperfect learning of the target language. Given suitable sociocultural conditions, these forms may then be taken up by native speakers.[34]

Cheshire et al. (2011: 153), however, warn us that in the case of their work in London "although speakers from minority groups may spearhead some linguistic changes, this is not necessarily the result of imperfect learning (Cheshire et al. 2008)". Table 9 shows the number of migrants from Jamaica to the United Kingdom for the period spanning the 1970s to 2006.[35]

Decade	Total number of migrants
1970s	13'831
1980s	4'057
1990s	3'158
2000-2006	2'914
Total	23'960

Table 9. Number of Jamaican migrants to the United Kingdom, 1970s to 2000s. Source: Thomas-Hope 2004 (updated to 2006). Compiled from data in the economic and Social Survey, the Planning Institute of Jamaica, Volumes for years 1970-2008. Retrieved from: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/

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[34] In relation to this, see Rampton's (2015a; 2015b) notion of 'crossing'.
[35] The arrival of the SS Empire Windrush in June 1948 at Tilbury Dock, Essex, in England, marked the beginning of post-war mass migration. *Empire Windrush* is best remembered today for bringing one of the first large groups of post-war West Indian immigrants to the United Kingdom, carrying 492 passengers and one stowaway on a voyage from Jamaica to London (Wikipedia, accessed on 3.1.17).

Later, we will analyse in more detail the discursive linkages of 'Multicultural London English', or 'Jafaican', with 'Mockney' and 'Estuary English' and how these interact with notions of authenticity, legitimacy, social mobility, local identity and 'the Standard' (see especially ideological schemata 3).

2. Collecting Data in London

In this section I will describe and explain the process of data collection that took place from the end of March 2015 to the beginning of June of the same year. The data collection has, once more, been mostly determined by the concept of "ideological apparatuses" that has been advanced by Jan Blommaert (1999b: 430) (see Chapter I).

2.1 Preparation for the Fieldwork Trip and Salient Time Periods

For this second fieldwork trip the preparation was less laborious than it had been for the first one, as I was already familiar with the socio-cultural context, the people involved in the public debate and several of the meta-discourses revolving around the varieties examined. Despite this, a month of the research was dedicated to the overview of the socio-historical and sociolinguistic context of the development of these 'non-standard' contact varieties, together with the academic literature on this and related topics. These included discussions about the discourses and mediatisation of non-standard varieties such as Multicultural London English in the British media (cf. Kerswill 2014) and in Pittsburgh (Johnstone 2011), and the study of attitudes and ideologies on new urban dialects (cf. Wiese 2014). The knowledge gained from this first stage allowed me to identify three main varieties, or better labels, on which the data collection was to be focused. These are: 'Multicultural London English' (and 'Jafaican'), 'Estuary English' and 'Mockney'. These were identified as salient in relation to relevant discussions about authenticity and legitimacy, both in juxtaposition to one another and to the perceived 'standard' variety (often referred to in these debates as 'Received Pronunciation' or 'The Queen's English').[36] The decision to work on these labels was also made in consideration of the advice given by the numerous academics that I have contacted – and discussed the topic with – once in London. The same is true for the time period taken into account. The time period that was identified as being the most salient for the metalinguistic debates revolving around these varieties is that spanning from the mid 1980s to today. I chose the mid 1980s as a starting point mainly for two reasons. First, it is in 1984 that David Rosewarne coined, and gave prominence to, the term 'Estuary English' in an article for the *Times Educational Supplement*. Second, it is interesting to notice how it is especially in the last two or three decades that the linguistic legitimacy and authenticity of certain dialectal varieties in Britain (i.e. the new 'non-standard' contact varieties that are the focus of this case study) seem to be in the process of being ideologically renegotiated and reworked in response to the major societal changes that have been happening in the country during this period (cf. Agha 2003; Bennett 2012; Coggle 1993; Crystal and Crystal 2014; Jones 2012). These changes include the emergence of digital discourses.

The city that was selected for the data collection was London due to the vast amount of resources (i.e. archives and libraries) available in the city, together with the presence of most of

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[36] See previous section for details on these labels.

the interviewees and relevant broadcasting bodies for the present study (e.g. the BBC, Channel 4). As for the previous case study, some of the interviews were arranged from Switzerland, but several came about spontaneously thanks to the suggestions and contacts obtained from other interviewees. An observation that has to be made, is that the search for interviewees – especially those who work within broadcasting bodies such as the BBC and other television and radio channels – has proven to be much more difficult than it had been in New Zealand, and often had to be assisted by local academics through their personal networks. This might be due to the stricter hierarchies in force in the country, or more generally to its larger size.

2.2 The Collection Process: Type of Data and Resources

As for the previous case study (the aims being the same) the data collection was focused on written and audio documents (i.e. newspapers and journal articles, letters to the editor, columns, editorials, broadcasting pamphlets, recordings) that formed, reflected or commented upon the language ideological debates revolving around the above mentioned enregistered 'non-standard' contact varieties and 'Received Pronunciation' since the 1980s. These documents were supplemented with ethnographic semi-structured interviews with the relevant stakeholders, mainly in the media, in policy making and in the publishing industry. An essential part of the collected corpus is made up of online material, since, as it has previously been explained (see Chapter I) the more 'democratic' voices that are expressed within these discourses are particularly valued for the present research.

2.2.1 Modern (Multi-modal) Mass-media

As for the first case study, a combination of national press, radio and different online channels, have been the main source of data. This has been done in line with recent acknowledgments by several prominent scholars on the relevance of the media as a discursive space for the investigation of language ideologies.[37] Johnson and Milani (2010: 182) – as we have seen in Chapter I – claim that language ideological debates "are nowhere carried out with more visibility and impact than in the media", and Blommaert (in several works), Androutsopoulos (2010a) and Johnson and Ensslin (2007) support this claim. In line with Verschueren's (2012) guidelines (see Chapter I) the data will here be analysed in consideration of their context (and genre) of production by bearing in mind questions such as a) Which channels (printed press, radio, the internet) reach what kind of audience/ have what kind of impact in the south east of England? b) Who writes/speaks and with which authority? c) What are his/her aims?

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[37] For more details on the relevance of the media as a discursive space for the investigation of language ideologies, and on the importance of the context (and genre) of production of these discourses and debates see Chapter I.

2.2.1.1 Language Debates in the Printed National Press

The data belonging to the national press discourse were collected from different sources and include a wide variety of newspapers and magazines. This was mainly achieved through online databases that were available at the visited institutions. This highly simplified the task at hand, since it was possible to search for keywords for several publications at once, and for a wide time span. The full texts were then available for download. The three main databases used for this research were a) the Lexis Nexis Corpus, b) The ProQuest Database and c) the Newsbank Database. The last two databases were accessed through the British Library (BL) in Central London, while the Lexis Nexis Corpus was accessed remotely through the Bodleian Library online resources. The latter is an online database that stores issues of all the main newspapers and can be searched by keyword. This database was thus searched for the aforementioned time period and for the following keywords: 'Estuary English', 'Jafaican', 'Multicultural London English', 'Cockney', 'Received Pronunciation', 'Dialects' and 'Authentic Dialect'. This search yielded a large amount of data, and on average the first two-hundred (and, at times, all) results for each keyword were collected for my own corpus. According to their webpage, the 'ProQuest Historical Newspapers' database is the "definitive newspaper digital archive offering full-text and full-image articles for significant newspapers dating back to the eighteenth century. […] The full collection of ProQuest Historical Newspapers™ contains over 30 million digitized pages. ProQuest Historical Newspapers™ provides easy access to the past. Researchers can search over 20 different article types to find exactly what they are looking for, including: News, Editorials, Letters to the Editor, Obituaries, Birth and Marriage Announcements, Stock Photos, Advertisements".[38] Similarly, Newsbank provides Web-based access to the largest newspaper database in existence (according to their description). These two databases were searched for keywords, newspapers and time periods as follows (Table 10 and 11). These three sub-corpora are grouped under the label 'Online Databases' in Figure 20.

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[38] From the database's webpage: http://www.proquest.com/products-services/pq-hist-news.html (accessed on 10.3.16).

	SEARCH 1. (21.5.15)	SEARCH 2. (26.5.15)	SEARCH 3. (26.5.15)	SEARCH 4. (26.5.15)	SEARCH 5. (26.5.15)	SEARCH 6. (26.5.15)
Database	'ProQuest Historical Newspapers', at BL	'ProQuest Historical Newspapers', at BL	'ProQuest Historical Newspapers', at BL	'ProQuest Historical Newspapers', at BL	'ProQuest Historical Newspapers ', at BL	'ProQuest Historical Newspapers', at BL
Keyword	'Estuary English'	'Mockney'	'Cockney' (+dialect OR accent)	'Estuary English' + authenticity OR legitimacy	'Jafaican' /'MLE' /'Jafaikan'+ authenticity OR legitimacy	'East Enders' + Mockney OR accent
Newspapers[39]	*The Guardian (G); The Observer (O)*	*The Guardian (G); The Observer (O)*	*The Guardian (G); The Observer (O)*	*The Guardian (G); The Observer (O)*	*The Guardian (G); The Observer (O)*	*The Guardian (G); The Observer (O)*
Type of documents	All	All	All	All	All	All
Date	1980-2003[40]	1980-2003[41]	1980-2003[42]	1980-2003[43]	1980-2003[44]	1980-2003[45]
Number of Hits	119 (G: 86; O: 34)	190 (G: 134; O: 56)	701 (G: 491; O: 210)	4 (G: 4; O:0)	0	43 (G; O)
Selected and saved	119 (100%)	190 (100%)	500 (75%)	4 (100%)	0	43 (100%)
Sorting type	Oldest first	Oldest first	Relevance	Oldest First	-	Oldest First
Graph	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓

Table 10. Searches with the 'ProQuest Historical Newspapers' Database

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[39] Only these titles were accessible in these databases.
[40] *The Guardian* availability: 1959-2003; *The Observer* availability: 1901-2003.
[41] *The Guardian* availability: 1959-2003; *The Observer* availability: 1901-2003.
[42] *The Guardian* availability: 1959-2003; *The Observer* availability: 1901-2003.
[43] *The Guardian* availability: 1959-2003; *The Observer* availability: 1901-2003.
[44] *The Guardian* availability: 1959-2003; *The Observer* availability: 1901-2003.
[45] *The Guardian* availability: 1959-2003; *The Observer* availability: 1901-2003.

	SEARCH 7. (26.5.15 and 29.5.15)	SEARCH 8. (29.5.15)	SEARCH 9. (29.5.15)	SEARCH 10. (29.5.15)	SEARCH 11. (29.5.15)	SEARCH 12. (30.5.15)
Database	'Newsbank', The Times at BL	'Newsbank', The Times at BL	'Newsbank', The Times at BL	'Newsbank', The Times at BL	'Newsbank', The Times at BL	'Newsbank', The Times at BL
Keyword	'Estuary English'	'Mockney' (+accent)	'Jafaican' /'Jafaikan'	'Authenticity'	'Authenticity' /'authentic' + 'accent'	'Received Pronunciation'
Newspapers	*The Times (UK)*	*The Times (UK)*	*The Times (UK)*	*The Times (UK)*	*The Times (UK)*	*The Guardian; The Observer*
Type of documents	All	All	All	All	All	All
Date	1985-today[46]	1985-today[47]	1985-today[48]	1985-today[49]	1985-today[50]	1980-2003
Number of Hits	161	104	4	5'412	16	43 (G; O:)
Selected and saved	161 (100%)	104 (100%)	4 (100%)	Only graph (0%)	16 (100%)	43 (100%)
Sorting type	Oldest first	Oldest first	Oldest first	Oldest first	Oldest first	Oldest first
Graph	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗

Table 11. Searches with the Newsbank Database

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[46] Accessible only from 1985 to today. It only displayed results from 1993 onwards.
[47] Accessible only from 1985 to today. It only displayed results from 1993 onwards.
[48] Accessible only from 1985 to today. It only displayed results from 1993 onwards.
[49] Accessible only from 1985 to today. It only displayed results from 1993 onwards.
[50] Accessible only from 1985 to today. It only displayed results from 1993 onwards.

The graphs mentioned in the table display column charts for the number of hits per year over the time span searched. These will be used in the discussion when deemed necessary (see section 3). Some additional data for this discourse – mainly newspaper articles – were collected from the webpage of the Department of Speech, Hearing and Phonetic Sciences of UCL managed by John Wells, which brings together several documents that relate to 'Estuary English'.[51] This part of the main corpus will be referred to as the 'UCL Corpus'.

Table 12. displays the press audit results of 2015 and 2016 for the main national newspapers in the United Kingdom.

Title	Average Circulation 2015	Average Circulation 2016
The Sun	1'978'702	1'787'096
Daily Mail	1'688'727	1'589'471
Metro	-	1'348'033
Evening Standard	877'532	898'407
Daily Mirror	922'235	809'147
Daily Telegraph	494'675	472'033
Daily Star	425'246	470'369

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[51] http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/home.htm (accessed on 13.4.15, and several times thereafter).

Daily Express	457'914	408'700
The Times	396'621	404'155
i	280'351	271'859
Financial Times	219'444	198'237
Daily Record	203'725	176'892
The Guardian	185'429	164'163
City A.M.	-	97'259
The Independent	61'338	55'193

Table 12. Average circulations for January of 2015 and 2016 (Audit Bureau of Circulations)[52]

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[52] Consulted on www.wikipedia.com; accessed on 5th March 2016.

2.2.1.2. Broadcasting Institutions and More General Public Debates Data

As in the case of NZE, speech standards and the new contact varieties examined here have been particularly debated within a broadcasting discourse, especially in relation to institutions that are perceived as 'flagships' of the standard language such as the BBC. The general public debate on television, in the press and on the radio has also been particularly prolific and many prominent public figures (i.e. well-known authors and journalists, news presenters etc.) have offered their opinion on the matter. Several of these figures have thus been approached for the semi-structured ethnographic interviews that were conducted mainly in London, and at times through Skype or by e-mail. The structure of the interviews was the same as for those conducted within the NZE case study, with some topics and themes fixed beforehand, but without structural constraints, and in an informal fashion. The main aim of these interviews, once again, was that of letting the interviewees speak as freely as possible on the following topics: a) language standards and pronunciation in England (especially in London) and their relation to societal constructs such as class and education; b) dialects and accents; c) the new contact varieties (i.e. 'Estuary English', 'Multicultural London English', 'Mockney') and Received Pronunciation; d) the public language debate revolving around these varieties; e) editorial policies, speech training and delivery guidelines. Table 13 lists the interviews that have been conducted; once more, the individual interviewees will not be specifically identified, nor named, because anonymity was granted to them all.[53]

Name of interview	Details interviewee	Date	Discourse	Length
Interview_Public_Figure_1	Writer, broadcaster and volunteer mentor. Involved in the English public language debate.	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	1h21'
Interview_Journalist_1	Writer and journalist. Involved in the English public language debate.	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	1h07'

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[53] These interviews were shared, in the shape of mp3 audio files, with Ms. M. Lukač for use in her dissertation: Lukač, Morana (fortchoming). *Grassroots Prescriptivism: An analysis of individual speakers' efforts in maintaining the standard language ideology.* (Doctoral thesis, Leiden University, The Netherlands).

Interview_Author_1	Prominent author and grammarian. Involved in the English public language debate (especially on radio).	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	1h17'
Interview_Author_2	Author, reviewer and critic, specialising in narrative non-fiction, with a particular emphasis on language and cultural history.	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	1h20'
Interview_Journalist_2	Journalist, author and political commentator. Involved in the English public language debate.	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	39'42"
Interview_DR	Artistic director of the Intermission Theatre and actor.	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	34'21"
Interview_BBC_1	Head of pronunciation at OUP and worked for the BBC Pronunciation Unit for 10 years.	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media' and 'educational'	21' (on Skype)

Interview_Journalist_3	Prominent British journalist and theatre critic. Involved in the English public language debate.	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	By e-mail
Interview_ Public_Figure_2	Prominent English journalist and television presenter, currently employed by ITN.	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	57'
Interview_ Public_Figure_3	OBE, British writer, broadcaster and former politician. Leader of the Equalities and Human rights Commission	Spring 2015	'educational' (and public more generally)	1h13'
Interview_ BBC_2	Prominent journalist and documentary producer who has worked across a wide range of BBC radio and television programmes.	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	56'39"
Interview_BBC_3	HR diversity at BBC	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	44'
Interview_BBC_4	Head of the BBC Pronunciation Unit	Spring 2015	'modern (multimodal) mass-media'	By e-mail

Table 13. Semi-structured ethnographic interviews for the south east of England case study

For what concerns further textual data collected for this sub-discourse, these were taken from the BBC *Voices* project, which is freely accessible online.[54] In 2005, the BBC developed and ran this large web-based initiative: a multi-faceted and interactive exploration and celebration of language variation in Britain linked to a series of radio and TV broadcasts. A survey was preliminary to the main *Voices* initiative, and this was designed to provide findings on contemporary British language attitudes. The *Voices* survey, collected evaluative data on 34 different accents from 5010 respondents. The sample was demographically diverse and very widely distributed across geographical regions of the U.K. All respondents were over 15 years of age, and all completed the entire online questionnaire. The online BBC survey was conducted between the 17th and the 26th of November 2004. A market research company – Greenfield Online – was contracted by the BBC to administer the questionnaire. In the *Voices* survey, informants were asked a variety of questions about their own language use and about their general preferences about linguistic diversity. As the main task, they were asked to rate the 34 labelled accents of English (Coupland and Bishop 2007: 76). According to the British Library's website, the BBC *Voices* project "provided a snapshot of the linguistic landscape of the UK at the start of the 21st century by encouraging members of the public to contribute their words and reflect on the language they use and encounter in their daily lives".[55] For the present corpus, only the written comments submitted by people living in the London area were collected.

2.2.1.3. Online Data and Others

As for the first case study, several metalinguistic (and metapragmatic) commentaries on these varieties were collected online. These include videos or documentaries on these varieties – and often the relationship between them – online articles ('Articles in the media Corpus'), blog posts and comments in the 'comment sections' of YouTube videos and online articles. This kind of online commentary was searched for using the same keywords that are displayed in Tables 10 and 11, and by following the references and links on the webpages where the articles or videos appeared. The definitions of the varieties analysed that were found in the *Urban Dictionary* seemed particularly relevant and thus form a category of their own. The *Urban Dictionary* is a "satirical crowdsourced online dictionary of slang words and phrases that was founded in 1999 by Aaron Peckham […] Anyone with either a Facebook or Gmail account can make a submission to the dictionary, and it is claimed that all entries are reviewed by volunteers. Site visitors may agree/disagree with definitions by an up/down vote system".[56]

Finally, two other types of data were collected and these are grouped under the category 'Others'. The first one is composed of the six panels of the 'Evolving English: One Language, Many Voices' exhibition that was showcased at the British Library in 2010. The first panel summarises the central theme of the exhibition:

> **London English:** London has long been home to a staggering number of languages and an extraordinary patchwork of voices. The dialect of the UK's capital and most densely populated city has frequently interested linguists and enjoys a constant presence in popular culture, from

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[54] The link to access the webpage is: http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/
[55] http://sounds.bl.uk/Accents-and-dialects/BBC-Voices (accessed on 5.5.2016).
[56] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urban_Dictionary (accessed on 5.5.2016).

literature and music hall to film and pop. Traditional East End Cockney, with its playful rhyming slang, has an enduring fascination. Linguists have become particularly interested in Multicultural London English as the hybrid dialect emerging in ethnically mixed urban areas.

The other data collected are a thread of e-mails between Dr. David Hornsby – a senior lecturer in Linguistics at the University of Kent – who appeared on a popular television show to discuss 'Multicultural London English' and an 'unhappy viewer'.[57] Dr. Hornsby, whom I met during the fieldwork trip, shared these e-mails with me because they contain some interesting metalinguistic comments on MLE and Cockney.

Before concluding, two important remarks need to be formulated here. First, for this second case study the main source of primary data is the discourse that I have labelled 'modern (multimodal) mass-media'. This has been given the priority over the educational discourse here for three main reasons. One, the educational side of the discourse that I am dealing with (i.e. questions relating to 'standard' and 'non-standard' varieties of English and their public perceptions) has been already extensively researched in the United Kingdom by scholars such as Deborah Cameron and Lynda Mugglestone (cf. Cameron 1995; Mugglestone 2003, 2006). Two, educational bodies such as the English Department of Education are far less accessible than it was the case in New Zealand, and so are educational metadiscursive data.[58] Three, the amount of primary data collected through the aforementioned newspaper databases is already tremendous and the public debate about new English varieties is much more prominent in the media, than it is in the educational domain. Second, as it will become evident from the primary data used in the examples, in these discourses there is not as much of an academic input as it was the case in New Zealand. In fact, academics are less involved in the public metadiscourses taking place especially in main media spaces, or if they do, they might take up a different role. Journalists, authors and television presenter are more frequently assigned the role of language (or dialect\accent) experts in this case.[59]

To conclude, Figure 20 visualises the data that have been collected for the discursive space described in the previous sections. As, in the case of the NZE case study, the label used is 'Modern (multimodal) mass media discourse' and the corpus has been divided into 'textual data' and 'non-textual data'.

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[57] The episode of the show in question can be watched here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fyd3VMoG3WM

[58] I have attempted twice to contact the Department of Education for an interview, but I was denied this opportunity. Public groups such as the 'The Queen's English Society' were also unwilling to cooperate.

[59] This important observation stems from Professor David Britain's years of experience in this research domain, even though it cannot be quantitatively justified. This pattern, however, emerges also in the data collected for the present investigation.

o   Textual data (A)

o   Non-Textual data (A$_2$)

|

Broadcasting institutions and more
general public debate data

|

Textual data (B)   —— Online data ——   **Modern (multimodal)**   ——   National   ——   Textual data

Non-Textual data   **mass media**   Press data   (C)
(B$_2$)

|

Others

|

Panels 'Evolving English' exhibition at BL,
thread of e-mails
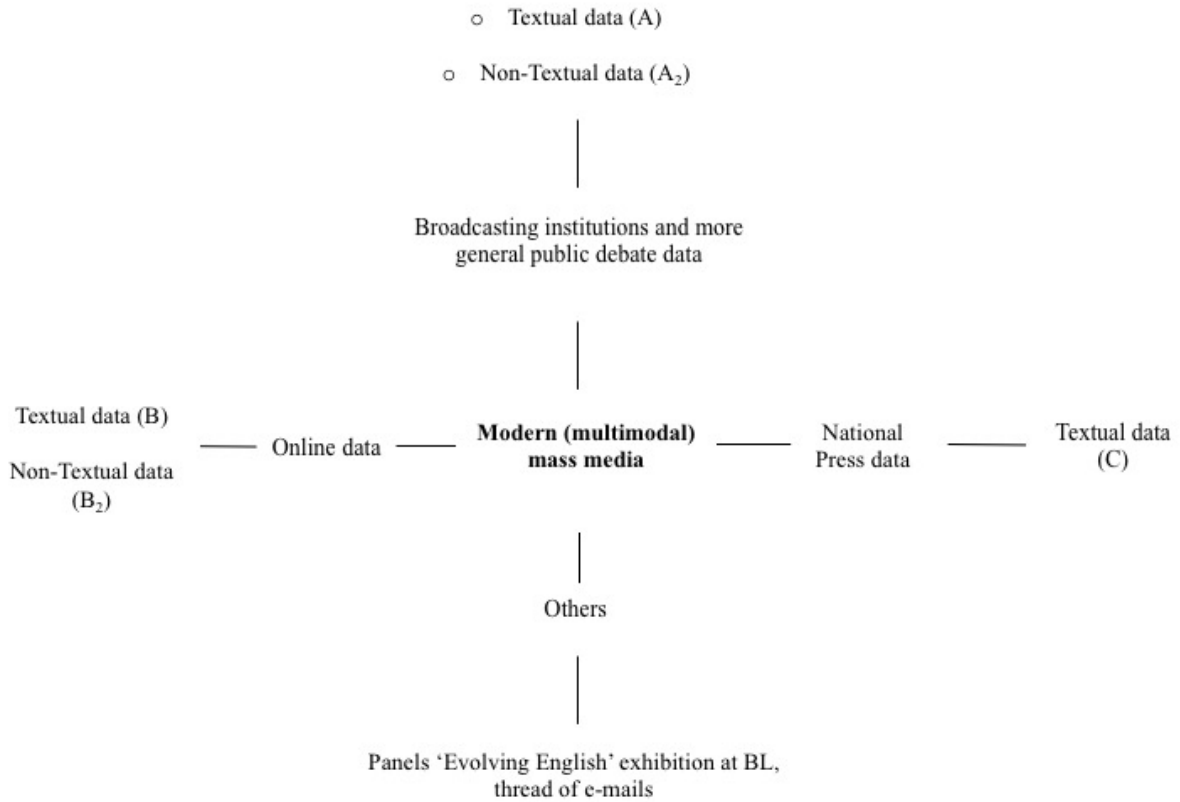
(A) 'BBC Voices Corpus'.

(A$_2$) Semi-structured interviews with broadcasting stakeholders, journalists and personalities involved in the language debate, TV documentaries, radio programmes and discussions.

(B) Online articles, blog posts, debates in the 'comment sections', *Urban Dictionary* definitions.

(B$_2$) Videos (YouTube), documentaries and reportages on these varieties.

(C) Newspapers and magazines articles and columns, letters to the editor. Includes: 'Online Databases', 'UCL Corpus'.

Figure 20. Data collected for the 'modern (multimodal) mass media discourse'

3. Language Ideologies in the South East of England: "The Queen doesn't Speak the Queen's English" Anymore?

'The Standard' VS. new contact varieties → RP and 'inverted snobbery' → EE and social mobility → Authenticity and legitimisation → Cockney VS. MLE

As in chapter II, the analysis in this section will be laid out in the following way. Structurally, I will first specify the ideological schemata that I aim at representing and deconstructing, followed by examples from the main corpus. The schemata will be provided at the beginning of the section in the form of a short paragraph outlining the main points of discussion. Second, I will provide the corresponding examples and comment on them. Analytically, I will proceed in a fairly different way than it was done for the New Zealand English case study, focusing on a broader range of sub-discourses and varieties. The main differences thus are: a) I do not a priori point to specific self-contained metalinguistic debates; b) I do not focus on a binary meta-discursive opposition between two varieties, the scope is here broader (i.e. more varieties are included in the analysis); c) the focus is less diachronic and more recent; d) even though, the main focus here remains phonetic variation, some elements of syntactical, morphological and semantic variation will also be dealt with. This different strategy is better suited to capture the sociolinguistic data that are being analysed here, as the public discourse in the south east of England is different from the one in New Zealand. In fact, as previously mentioned, these new 'non-standard' contact varieties are not as well enregistered as it was the case for New Zealand English in New Zealand; they are much more hybrid and diffuse. Their boundaries in the public meta-discourse can thus be fuzzy and the data messy (cf. Blommaert 2015).[60] There are also different degrees at which these varieties are tied to each other in the metadiscourse, some being more central in the debate than others (at certain points in time) and some being paired (or juxtaposed) more frequently. Furthermore, a slightly different focus was identified as salient in the preliminary analysis for this case study and it will incorporate broader discussions about the relationship between standard and non-standard varieties (I will give a brief overview of this below). This will also shed some light on the previous case study and will be greatly helpful for the tracing of the typology of metalinguistic authenticities that will be attempted in section 4. Finally, it is important to reiterate that, I here provide a small number of examples that are representative of the ideological schemata that I want to illustrate. However, these types of argumentation were found repeatedly in the main corpus. Moreover, because of the large amount of data and very diffuse metadiscourse, some varieties will be dealt with more than others, and I have selected the schemata that were more salient for the aims of the present investigation on authenticity, mobility and legitimacy. These ideological schemata are all closely connected and make up the different thematic strands of the public metadiscourse on the ('non-standard' contact) English varieties spoken in the south east of England. I have attempted here to lay these schemata out as partially

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[60] Blommaert (2015: 84) explains that sociolinguists have been confronted with extraordinary 'messy' data from the mid-1990s onwards. These 'messy data', he clarifies, are "often taken from what we now call globalized or superdiverse contexts […]".

self-contained entities in order to facilitate their deconstruction, even though there are overlaps, and the metadiscourse is certainly layered and more complex than it is presented here.

Through the analysis of the New Zealand English corpus and a preliminary analysis of the corpus for the present case study, I have found that the ideologies that promote legitimisation of new non-standard English contact varieties are intimately connected with those that delegitimise standard varieties of English. With this chapter I would thus like to fully develop and analyse this important theme by looking at comments that legitimise and authenticate other varieties that are not the standard (here intended as 'Received Pronunciation', or 'Standard British English' pronunciation; see section 1 for the use of these labels). This will enable me to more precisely evaluate the ways in which ideologies of the standard have shaped the claims to linguistic authority that underlie newly emergent varieties. As explained in section 1, 'Received Pronunciation', has for many years been considered as an emblem of such linguistic authority. However, recent work such as Agha's (2003; 2007) study on the enregisterment of this variety, has revealed a discursively-constructed threat posed to its authority by the new 'non-standard' varieties of English that have been developing in Britain over the last few decades (e.g. 'Estuary English', 'Multicultural London English'). In other words, the linguistic authority of certain dialectal varieties in Britain seems to be in the process of being ideologically renegotiated and reworked, in response to the major societal changes that have been happening in the country over the last two decades (see section 1; cf. Bennett 2012; Coggle 1993; Crystal and Crystal 2014; Jones 2012). In line with this, an important part of this chapter will examine the discourses about 'Received Pronunciation' that have emerged in the last 15 years, and priority will be given to 'digital discourses' (i.e. online and media material) in order to obtain a more contemporary picture, and to possibly provide insights into the processes of 'democratisation' and 'vernacularisation' that have recently been discussed by Bell (2011) and Cameron (1995). The two preliminary metalinguistic patterns observed about 'Received Pronunciation' that deserve further development here are 1) RP is recently being perceived as being inauthentic, posh and hostile, a deliberate pose – associated with a certain type of authoritative figures such as the Royal Family and the BBC; 2) RP and, RP's prototypical speakers, are changing and other varieties are threatening to displace it as the authoritative standard because they represent new values and views of the world (cf. the notion of 'inverted snobbery'). In order to introduce the public metalinguistic discourse that is the focus here, I provide some examples of these patterns and how they interact with other kind of discourses such as those related to concepts of authority, egalitarianism and social class:

Perhaps we expect RP where we expect authority. The class system has drifted away in the main, but in the accents of those we allow to speak to us (the Tube, the BBC, the Royal family and so on) we maybe appreciate this hangover of colonial-era Britain […].
[#1_2012_TheGuardian_debate-on-elocution_5]

[…] The fashion for "Estuary English", which meant "dropping all the vowels", was "ruinous" to Shakespeare. "If you cannot speak proper received English you end up with working-class parts. A few of the more successful ones will end up with parts in EastEnders and Coronation Street. They will not, however, get anything else." […] "There is an inverted snobbery about posh English which we have to get away from. Drama schools need to have induction in posh English of all periods in exactly the same way that they teach rural and urban dialects.
[#2_2004_TheTelegraph_Articles-in-the-Media]

> […] or symptomatic necessarily of what are taken to be the inverted snobbery and anxiously democratising principles of the age […] But what is so wrong with a democratising principle governing our speech habits? Why do we hold so nervously to our old, class-defining patterns and accents? Of course there are casualties, though I don't say this in a spirit of self-pity. When I was a child, my accent, for example, was Received Pronunciation; now I am given to understand it is posh. I can live with that. […] No one can be naive enough to believe that a standardized spoken language denotes a truly egalitarian age.
>
> *[#3_2000_TheGuardian_Articles-in-the-Media]*

> […] Sometimes people upgrade out of necessity. The big publishing houses, television news and current affairs departments, and the "quality press", are largely staffed by RP-speakers. RP remains the voice of authority. Former citadels of RP such as the City have fallen, but accents remain segregated: the public schoolboys are brokers and the "barrow boys" are traders […].
>
> *[#4_1997_TheTelegraph_Articles-in-the-Media]*

The British Library, in their online section on 'Language & Literature', dedicates a whole 'case study' to RP, and the lay discussion concerning 'RP today' is very helpful in understanding the former quotations, the change in language attitudes that has taken place, and the level of (lay) awareness of these issues within modern British society:[61]

> *Like any other accent, RP has also changed over the course of time. The voices we associate with early BBC broadcasts, for instance, now sound extremely old-fashioned to most. Just as RP is constantly evolving, so our attitudes towards the accent are changing. For much of the twentieth century, RP represented the voice of education, authority, social status and economic power. The period immediately after the Second World War was a time when educational and social advancement suddenly became a possibility for many more people. Those who were able to take advantage of these opportunities – be it in terms of education or career – often felt under considerable pressure to conform linguistically and thus adopt the accent of the establishment or at least modify their speech towards RP norms. In recent years, however, as a result of continued social change, virtually every accent is represented in all walks of life to which people aspire – sport, the arts, the media, business, even former strongholds of RP England, such as the City, Civil Service and academia. As a result, fewer younger speakers with regional accents consider it necessary to adapt their speech to the same extent. Indeed many commentators even suggest that younger RP speakers often go to great lengths to disguise their middle-class accent by incorporating regional features into their speech.*

As it can be observed in quotes #1, #3, #4 and the above extract, there seems to be a good public awareness of – and strong reflexivity on – this important change: a "continued social change" in British society that reflects onto language practices and attitudes. A new 'world view' seems to be implied, involving a more democratic view of language variation. Does this also lead to an increased emphasis being cast on authenticity as a value, both in language and social public discourses as Coupland (2014: 30) – recalling Johnstone – claims? (see Chapter I). This is one of the questions that will be addressed here. As it appears clear from these first fragments of the metadiscourse, these debates have the potential to reveal a great deal about the underlying sociolinguistic struggles present in modern British society. Therefore, capturing their ideological underpinnings is paramount, especially since these can have a significant influence on trajectories of language change and on internal language policies; and – as we have seen in Chapters I and II – more generally on various kinds of social, discursive, and linguistic practices (Blommaert 1999a,

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[61] Accessible at: http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/case-studies/received-pronunciation/.

1999b, 2006; Kroskrity 2004, 2010; Woolard 1998). This will be attempted with the help of four ideological schemata.

First, in section 3.1 – with ideological schemata 1 – I will focus on the notion of 'inverted snobbery' that was found to be central to the public metalinguistic debates analysed here. This will allow me to illustrate how 'Received Pronunciation' is increasingly rejected as the only authoritative standard, even in formal contexts, because of its perceived lack of authenticity and its affectation. This authenticity – and consequent legitimacy – seem to then be discursively 'conferred' to (new) non-standard contact varieties such as 'Multicultural London English' [MLE] and 'Estuary English' [EE], which thus gain authority and ideological value (cf. Bourdieu 2005). The notion of authenticity seems in this case to be based on new values such as democracy and egalitarianism. This will be discussed in more detail in section 3.3.

Second, in section 3.2 – the discussion will focus on the reasons underlying the belief that EE is a more versatile and useful speech variety than RP. This belief is mainly rooted in the idea that EE is classless, and it thus allows its speakers to be more socially mobile. Consequently, the idea of language as a tool for social mobility will here be discussed in the context of the south east of England, as well as how this idea interacts with the traditionally rigid English class system. Once again, the notion of 'inverted snobbery' seems to be pivotal in this segment of the metalinguistic debate.

Finally, in section 3.3, I will discuss the centrality of different notions of linguistic authority and of authenticity for the examined metalinguistic debates, drawing on an example concerning the variety labelled as 'Mockney' (ideological schemata 3). These notions relate to discourses of legitimacy and mobility in the south east (ideological schemata 4). These last ideological schemata will draw on an example juxtaposing MLE to Cockney.

3.1 Ideological Schemata 1

Ideological schemata 1: the ideological schemata in play here includes the idea that 'Received Pronunciation' – or the 'Standard British English' pronunciation – is inauthentic. RP is increasingly perceived as posh, hostile and a deliberate pose. It is associated with authoritative figures such as the Royal Family and the BBC. RP's prototypical speakers are changing, as well as its connotations of "trustworthiness", "decency" and prestige. Because of this, RP has been rejected for quite some time even in formal contexts and has been considered "too posh". Other varieties such as 'Estuary English' are gaining value – and legitimacy – over it because they allow their speakers to be more socially mobile, or because they are deemed to be more authentic, as in the case of 'Multicultural London English'. The concept of 'inverted snobbery' seems to be underlying most of these discourses.

A precise definition of 'inverted snobbery' is often absent from the main dictionaries. The definition that was found to be the most suitable for the phenomenon observed here is the following, provided by the *Oxford Living Dictionaries*:[62]

> *[mass noun, derogatory] The attitude of seeming to despise anything associated with wealth or social status, while at the same time elevating those things associated with lack of wealth and social position.*

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[62] Accessible at: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/. Accessed on 2nd January 2017.

An 'inverted snob' is defined by the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*[63] as:

> *[noun, UK disapproving] a person who makes it known that they do not like things related to high social position but approve of things related to low social position.*

The *Urban Dictionary*[64] also provides an interesting definition of this social persona:

> *Someone who looks down their nose on those more wealthy, simply because they are more wealthy. Inverted snobs staunchly refuse to recognise that their form of snobbery is every bit as superficial and silly as the other kind...the only difference is, the inverted variety helps keep its adherents down on the bread line.*

Even the *Daily Mail* joins this meta-discourse with an article entitled 'Snobbery and inverted snobbery – a distinction without a difference?' (27th June 2012). Rupert Myers, the author of this short article concludes that:

> *I'm not sure that inverted snobbery isn't exactly the same as snobbery: in the world where one woman's dessert wine is another man's pretentious statement, is it any more acceptable to mock the rich than anyone else? Is the competency of the state-educated to lead the nation a question of any more or less relevance than the competency of the publicly schooled?*

This notion becomes explicitly embedded with debates about language standards in the south-east of England, especially in relation to the rejection of RP as the unique authoritative and legitimate standard. This dialectic – in fact – is obviously in opposition with a standard language ideology discourse (see chapter I for a definition of this). This emerges from several sub-discourses connected with language, such as language in education (e.g. quote #5) and language in broadcasting (e.g. quotes #6 and #7).

> Another consideration is that privately educated people are getting these top jobs not because of their privileged backgrounds but despite them. Think of the quota system that universities are now obliged to implement as a way of discriminating against public school pupils. And **there is a great deal of inverted snobbery about public school types in the workplace, which is why so many try to disguise their received pronunciation with Estuary English and glottal stops**. Look at Tony Blair. This embarrassment factor in turn means that far from having a bias towards public schools, most "media opinion formers" go out of their way to praise the state schools they had the privilege of not attending – guiltily drawing a veil over their inadequacies, and thereby perpetuating them.
>
> *[**#5**_June 8th_2006_TheGuardian_LexisNexis_182/200]* (**my emphasis**)

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[63] Accessible at: http://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/. Accessed on 2nd January 2017.
[64] Accessible at: http://www.urbandictionary.com/. Accessed on 2nd January 2017.

BBC won't employ 'posh' voices any more, says Charlotte Green
Charlotte Green, the former Radio 4 announcer, says the BBC have consigned the Queen's English to the past.

Her warm yet slightly formal tones led to her once being voted the "most attractive female voice on national radio". However, Charlotte Green says her diction means that she is now an outcast at the BBC. **"Received pronunciation, or accentless accent, is on the wane,"** she says. "The BBC's days of employing people who sound like me are more or less over." Green, 57, whose melodious voice was once described as "a marvel, something to make one feel safe and secure, like being tucked up in bed with a hot water bottle", accepted voluntary redundancy from the BBC earlier this year. […] She is not bitter about the corporation's changing demands. "If you listen to announcers of 40 years ago, they again sound different to me – everything progresses," she tells *Country Life.*

[#6_2013_TheTelegraph_online-article: title+subtitle+body_Debates-EE-online-searches]
(**my emphasis**)

In a complete volte face, what we laugh at now is the white man who tries to adopt a Jamaican (or Jafaican) accent in an attempt to appear cool or "street". E4's sitcom *Phone Shop* is a particularly good example of this new comedy trend. Working in a mobile phone shop in Sutton are a cast of characters, including Jerwayne (who has a black London accent) and a motley crew who try to copy his pattern. Lance, the shop's manager, is too old and Christopher too posh, but both try with varying degrees of success to master multicultural London English. Only Ashley, who has grown up with Jerwayne, is able to nail it, to devastating comic effect.

[#7_2013_1_TheGuardian_article_Debates-EE-online-searches]

Yet there is still a lot of fascinating stuff here. Plainly, we're all obsessed by how we speak, even if thanks to U.S TV we're increasingly shifting westwards. How many people now say 'skedule' instead of 'schedule'? At the same time, attitudes to Received Pronunciation are changing. Once it was the embodiment of decency and trustworthiness. Now it's more likely to be seen as 'distant' and 'customer unfriendly'. Some things, though, never change: snobbery and a desire to escape one's background being two of them.

[#8_October 23rd-2014_DailyMailOnline_LexisNexis_198/200]

This shift away from RP seems to be due to an increasingly established perception of it as "too posh", "arrogant", "distant", unfriendly, hostile and as carrying with it a sense of entitlement. This is not surprising if we compare it to the discussions presented in the analysis of New Zealand English (Chapter II). Moreover, other themes such as that of dynamicity – which was extensively discussed in the previous chapter – also emerge here (e.g. quote #6). These recent perceptions and beliefs transpire very clearly also from the *Urban Dictionary's* definitions of 'RP' and the 'Queen's English'.

RP:
Received Pronunciation.
It refers to the way English is spoken by the aristocracy and the Royals. **Basicall[y] posh**.
"One is incredibly grateful"
"give the RP a rest"

by Hugh W August 04, 2005

[#9_Urban Dictionary, accessed on 8.5.15] (**my emphasis**)

> Queen's English:
> see ponce and stuck-up and arrogant
> "i speak the queen's english so i am better than you commoners!"
>
> by Anonymous June 27, 2003

*[**#10**_Urban Dictionary, accessed on 8.5.15]*

This shift in perceptions and attitudes, and the linkages between the phenomenon of inverted snobbery and definitions of sociolinguistic authenticity – and the consequent perception of RP lacking in authentic value – is explicitly discussed by two of my interviewees, who can be considered as being central actors in the British public discourse examined.[65] The first interviewee, in fact, explains that:

A: If you have a really piercing RP accent it's difficult to function without…people really take [sic] against it…just *too too posh, too posh* that's why Tony Blair does his glottal stops and David Cameron and Ed Milliband relaxes his T's, his medial T's…and glottal stops. Tony Blair started that, he was public school educated, very upper middle class in his origins and speech origins especially, **as an effort to anxiously try to democratise himself**. A posh person walking into that pub over there [pointing at a nearby pub] could not ask for something without highbrows being raised.

Q: it used to be the opposite, how did it change?

A: It is democracy, I think, general growing distrust of the elite, growing resentment of their entitlement, just general stuff. Maybe related to the internet that encourages informality. […] I think it has been undermined for a while…recordings of 1950s and 1960s […] It changed a lot already, a more relaxed RP.

Q: What do you think of this in relation to notions of authenticity?

A: Of course, all language varieties spoken by native speakers are authentic, that's the definition of it, but that is not what people think here. **The social authenticity is associated with non-standard**.

[…] Estuary is a bit more acceptable now…

Q: is it considered a bit more authentic maybe?

A: yeah...maybe…seen as a development of Cockney […]

*[**#11**_2015_Interview_Journalist_1]* (**my emphasis**)

One of the key notions here seems to be that of 'democratisation'. Cameron (1995: 28) – as previously mentioned – acknowledges a (current) "shift towards evaluating diversity more positively, and seeking to preserve rather than eliminate it […]" and connects it to the notion of 'democratisation' that she defines as the "principle of equal access to and participation in important linguistic practices". She sees this notion and its effects as being underlain by a "variation ideology", which "valorises linguistic (and ethnic) diversity as a social good in itself,

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[65] The conventions for transcribing interviews are the same as in chapter II. As a reminder: 1) '…' symbolizes a pause in the enunciation of the sentence, or a hesitation; 2) words enclosed between two '*' symbols were emphatically enunciated by the interviewees. Capital 'A' and 'Q' represent the questions and answers in the dialogues with the interviewees.

further argument for accommodating diversity is that it enables minority participation in public discourse", and also as being related to "anti-elitism"(ibid). This, is often observable in the "weakening or abandonment of traditional practices such as the rigid policing of accent that used to be routine in broadcasting" (ibid). This seems to correspond fairly well to the focus of this interviewee's meta-comments. Additionally, it is interesting to note that the interviewee is convinced that sociolinguistic authenticity is associated with non-standard varieties of English and that this is the reason why EE is becoming increasingly acceptable and legitimate. He, furthermore, draws an interesting connection between Cockney and EE, and this reveals a fair amount on the current notions and values underlying linguistic authenticity. Breaking this down: a) EE is seen as a development of Cockney; b) this is why it is perceived as being more authentic and legitimate (/acceptable); c) Cockney is authentic; d) Cockney is perceived as authentic because it has historical depth (implied in the discussion following this statement). This fits in with notions of authenticity subsumed under a cultural romantic model of language variation (see Geeraerts 2003; 2008 and Woolard 2008; see Chapter I). On the other hand, the principle for democratisation itself, implies a more rationalist view of language; the two models appear to interact in complex ways within this meta-discourse. This tension can also be seen in the following extract from another interview:

> **Q**: Are there any accents/dialects in London that are considered to be better than others?
>
> **A**: In the traditional sense of the word, I would say that a traditional RP accent…but there is a backlash now about people who speak too posh…depends who you are asking. For me as long as you can be understood…as long as it is grammatically correct...
>
> [**#12**_2015_Interview_Public_Figure_1]

The interviewee here first mentions the "traditional RP accent", implying that because it is 'traditional' it is generally considered to be superior or more authoritative. This statement seems to be underlain by the romantic cultural model of linguistic variation. On the other hand, he then states that it is not important with what accent/dialect of English you are speaking, the most important is that "you can be understood…as long as it is grammatically correct…", implying a more rationalist perception of language and language variation.

Interestingly, in several of these quotes from the main corpus, the adjective 'posh' acquires a very negative connotation, that it does not necessarily have in dictionary definitions (cf. quotes #9, #11, #12). Being 'posh' – or more precisely, 'too posh' – seems to have become unacceptable and 'poshness' is increasingly rejected in British society. This is part of the reason why politicians such as Ed Milliband and Tony Blair are heard disguising "their received pronunciation with Estuary English and glottal stops", in an effort to sound closer to their audiences, and closer to 'the people' and their concerns (cf. quotes #5, #14). However, this – as we have seen – seems to generate adverse reactions from the public, because it is seen as an inauthentic behavior (cf. Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2013; cf. the discussion on 'colonial genteel' in Chapter I). This will be discussed in more detail with the second ideological schemata in section 3.2. Some other examples of the perceived lack of authenticity and inadequacy of RP in recent times are here provided in chronological order:

Language: Estuary English engulfs a nation

THE ENGLISH language is being overwhelmed by a tide of "Estuary English", it was claimed yesterday.
Its rapid spread could most clearly be perceived by comparing the accents of Diana, Princess of Wales, the Prince of Wales and the Queen, Professor John Wells, of University College London, said.

The princess would pronounce words like "Tuesday" and "reduce" more like "chewsday" and "rejuice". Other changes were also spreading from London and the South-east, the centre of the new pronunciation, where the "l" in "milk", "myself" and "middle" was being transformed into a "w", and the glottal stop was spreading like a rash into phrases such as "not only but also", which was becoming "no' only bu' also".

Professor Wells is carrying out a study of the advance of Estuary English, which is overtaking "Received Pronunciation" (RP) as the language of educated Londoners.

"Princess Diana is a very good example of generational change in pronunciation," he said yesterday. "Compare her pronunciation with that of Prince Charles, which is much more conservative; and the Queen's, which is much more conservative than his."

The differences in age - 12 years - between Prince Charles and his former wife indicated how rapidly "Estuary English" was establishing itself. "Diana still had an upper-class accent but it was different from Prince Charles's."

Another exponent of the new accent is Tony Blair, whose accent is noticeably more glottal when he appears on popular television programmes, such as the Des O'Connor Show, than when he is making a political speech. "Tony Blair exhibits flexibility, which is a good thing," Professor Wells said. "Your accent is a badge you wear, which tells people what sort of person you are. If you can be flexible, then you can fit in with many groups."

[*#13*_9th-September-1998_TheIndependent_Articles-in-the-Media]

'Mockney' George Osborne backs the Briddish who wanna work

He has been accused by his enemies of being 'out of touch' with the working man. But listeners to the Chancellor's speech on welfare today were struck by his new Estuary English accent that saw him drop his Ts.

Speaking to workers at a Morrisons' supermarket distribution centre in Sittingborne, Kent on benefits reforms, he seemed to have lost his characteristic cut-glass Received Pronunciation and replaced it with a noticeably Estuarine accent.

As shadow Chancellor Mr Osborne was mocked in some quarters for possessing a slightly high-pitched accent in which he pronounced each word crisply.
Today, he could be heard pronouncing 'British' as 'Briddish', 'want to' as 'wanna' and had "we have had a" as "we've'ad'a".

His demotic affectations led to suggestions he may have undergone vocal coaching, and drew parallels with Tony Blair who, despite attending Fettes public school and working as a barrister, started adopting glottal stops in speech.

In his speech, the Chancellor appeared to say of the benefits system: "Briddish people badly wannit fixed."

He added: "We created a system that encouraged people to stay outta work rather than find a job. We're buildin' a benefits system that means ya always bedda off in work."
He then told the supermarket staff from Kent that corporation tax had been cut to "twenny three per cent."

Caroline Goyder, who has trained MPs, news presenters and barristers in public speaking, said she thought the Chancellor was unconsciously **adopting an Estuarine accent to adapt to his audience.** She said: "Listening to the speech it sounds like he's playing a character. **It's incredibly mockney, and you don't have to be an expert to hear that.**
[…]
"It is completely different to any speech I've heard him make before, I think even he would admit that watching it back," she said. "There are tensions even within the speech - when he's speaking the speech-writer's words he gets uncomfortable and falls into this Estuarine accent because he's not comfortable with the message and the policy".

"When he briefly talks about his own children he relaxes and talks in his normal RP. It was fascinating to watch."

The change was also noticed by viewers of the speech.

Chris Joslin, 26, a graduate jobseeker from Surrey, posted on Twitter: "Am I imagining the toning down of George Osborne's RP accent? **If he's seeking to project a 'man of the people' persona, he's failed."**

Another wrote: "George Osborne seems to be affecting a working class accent when speaking to Kent warehouse workers."

Mr. Osborne, the son of a Baronet, was educated at St Paul's in London, one of Britain's most expensive private schools. He studied at Oxford and was a member of the exclusive Bullingdon club. His voice has lowered considerably over the course of his career. It is believed deep voices carry more authority. […]

*[**#14**_2ⁿᵈ-April-2013_TheTelegraph_Articles-in-the-Media]* (**my emphasis**)

This article generated a heated debate on Mockney and RP with 71 comments posted online. Two quotes from the comments on this online newspaper article are here reproduced (#16 and #15):

He wasn't very good at it was he? He should have gone on the training course run by a well known image consultant that the previous Labour cabinet went on in about 2007. They all came away with the ability to drop their T's and therefore "connect" with the voters. Top of the class were the Miliband brothers as I recall but they all did quite well. If you're gonna do i' do i'- righ, George.

*[**#15**_2013_TheTelegraph_comment]*

odd - The whole country is losing its way. Journalists writing trite articles, readers writing comments when they can't spell and politicians pretending to talk like voters for the inverse-snobbery effect. Hopeless mess. We used to do better than this fifty years ago.

*[**#16**_2013_TheTelegraph_comment]*

> **How to de-posh your accent**
>
> **As George Osborne attempts to change his accent to downplay his privileged public school background, how you sound can have a profound affect [sic] on how people view you, says Caroline Goyder**
>
> If you want to make a certain impression then it's not just about what you say, but how you say it. Accent and tone are a major source of insight into our background, personality and mood; **we judge and trust people by how authentic they sound. And as politicians know, the way we speak is very difficult to fake.**
>
> Oxford-educated George Osborne has gone to drastic vocal lengths to try and shake his haughty image, even talking in a **mockney accent** during one speech to Morrison's supermarket staff in 2013. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who began his career with a high-pitched voice and distinctly plummy tones, began dropping his 'h's and adopting glottal stops, telling his audience: "We created a system that encouraged people to stay outta work rather than find a job. We're buildin' a benefits system that means ya always bedda off in work."
>
> Osborne is one of several Tory politicians to have formal voice coaching from Valerie Savage, a £100 an hour Harley Street vocal specialist. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is believed to have had training to increase his vocal gravitas, though some have suggested that his pronunciation was also professionally scrutinised.
>
> In the run up to the election, commentators have noticed that Osborne's cut-glass Received Pronunciation is back. His voice coach, Valerie Savage, told *The Times* that Obsorne may have relapsed to his natural accent under pressure. "Modifying your voice is difficult to maintain," she says. "If you're tired or ill you tend to revert back to your old accent." […]
>
> Our politicians' image is largely shaped by their voices – Boris Johnson communicates a sense of ease, says Goyder, while Ed Miliband has a nasality that gets worse when he's nervous. Tony Blair, meanwhile, shifted his accent over his career and went from sounding rather posh to speaking with a more glottal sound, like a Londoner. […] So lose that hoity toity sound and embrace your **mockney.** It may not win George Osborne any votes but it's worth a try. After all, the other famous politician who underwent rigorous voice coaching was Margaret Thatcher – and her speeches still leave an impression 25 years later.
>
> *[**#17**_13ᵗʰ-February-2015_TheTelegraph_Articles-in-the-Media]* (**my emphasis**)

It is important to remember that both delegitimizing and legitimizing voices always coexist in this kind of metalinguistic debates (see Chapter I and Kroskrity 2010).[66] Thus, for many of the participants in the debate, RP is still the preferred variety for a series of reasons. A good example of this side of the debate is provided by the declarations of two of my interviewees involved in the public language debate: a well-known writer, broadcaster and volunteer mentor (Interview_Public_Figure_1) and a prominent author and grammarian (Interview_Author_1). It is important to notice, though, that the linguistic and social beliefs behind their claims diverge greatly. The second interviewee, praising 'Standard British English' and RP – in a similar vein to one of the interviewees for the New Zealand English case study (see quote #120, Chapter II) – states that:

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[66] For more on this segment of the debate see Mugglestone (2003), Cameron (1995), and Milroy (2000).

> civilisation depends ultimately on grammar…As I say in my English book, civilisation depends ultimately on grammar…I maintain that the collapse world-wide of grammar teaching is leading towards, inevitably, the collapse of civilisation. Your decisions of any complexity depend on thinking and thinking depends on words.
>
> [*#18_2015_Interview_Author_1*]

In the course of the interview, the interviewee – who has recently published a very popular series of books on English grammar – repeats several times that the 'old way of doing things' was and will always be the best way, including old-fashioned language standards. His claims seem to be underlain by a standard language ideology and by a rationalist perspective on language variation: RP is better because it allows for better communication, every other variety is sloppy and inefficient. This is also the line of reasoning that Lord Reith – the BBC founder – had in mind when he initially selected RP as the standard accent: to be understandable and accessible to the broadest possible audience. Lord Reith was in fact concerned that using dialect would make programmes accessible only to certain speech communities. On the other hand, the first interviewee supports RP and 'Standard British English' with a sort of detached opportunistic dialectic: this variety is better for communication because it has prestige, it is neutral and will allow you to have a better job, even though it might not be authentic to speak in this way. You should be able to code-switch for the sake of your career and future. In fact, when discussing his mentoring work with children in a deprived area of London he states that:

> We encourage them to listen to Radio 4, not just the local choice FM or the pirate radio station…why? because they will be hearing RP, they will be hearing *proper English* and so they can try and imitate that…there are no excuses, if you really want to speak well and be taken seriously. Ed Milliband and David Cameron have made this argument in a talk, they don't speak street slang, they speak a language or a variance [sic] of English which is grammatically correct and which gives clarity and articulation to their thoughts, which for me is the whole point of language.
>
> If my kids want access to the power, I want to teach them the language of those who have that power so that they can compete…Different societies have different linguistic codes…and norms, in this particular culture, as in England in 2015 the people who have a lot of power in the way I understand it, don't speak Ebonics or that kind of Peckham Patois, therefore, that's why I am a stickler for linguistic rectitude because I want to help the kids.
>
> *Language is power.* And in this country, **I want my kids to be raised neutrally, sound neutral to access the best. Words are the best weapon you can have in your mental arsenal.**
>
> [*#19_2015_Interview_Public_Figure_1*] (**my emphasis**)

As it can be seen from these last two quotes, there is an inextricable link between speech origins and social origins in Britain. This has been discussed by several scholars (cf. Kerswill, Fox, Cheshire, Cameron, Mugglestone, Rampton, Agha, Upton, Trudgill, Milroy and Britain) and the saliency of this link today is once more confirmed by the public metalinguistic debates analysed here. It can also be said that it seems to be more salient in British society, and especially in the south east of England, than in other societies. This can also be observed by the harsh criticism by the public and the journalists or the politicians that are 'caught' faking their accent. They are perceived as inauthentic and their efforts to democratise their speech are rejected in a very consistent and precise way (see quotes #14-17).

In fact, every detail of their speech is segmented, analysed and then reported and metalinguistically criticised, which – according to Kroskrity (2017, personal communication) – does not happen for instance in the United States, where these concerns seem to be less salient or present in different forms.

Furthermore, one can argue that there are two main arguments running through these metalinguistic debates. One of the arguments works against the perceived 'poshness' of RP, thus undermining its authority by deauthenticating this variety. The other central argument here seems to be the emergence of a notion of authenticity that has more to do with the average person and what the average person does on a daily basis. This recalls notions of democratisation and the discussion about 'naturalness' in the previous case study. The average person, in this case, comes from different parts of the world, and thus mobility seems to be attached to the notion of authenticity here. An authenticity that is in some ways tempered by globalisation, where the sort of mobility that is brought along by globalization is becoming increasingly acceptable, together with its impact onto speech standards. This is probably why RP is being increasingly perceived as being too posh, class obsessed and maybe even parochial. Authenticity can sometimes take a very local stand (see Woolard 2008 in chapter I), but here it seems to be of a more globalised and democratised kind (this will be further discussed in section 3.3).

The delegitimising discourses about the new non-standard contact varieties analysed here, seem to gravitate around a standard language ideology as it was the case for the previous case study. The semiotic process of iconisation seems to be very productive in these discourses, and it is at its most explicit in the connections that are repeatedly made between speech, social stand and origins, with direct indexical linkages such as RP speaker – posh; RP speaker – high social status; RP speaker – affected. The varieties under scrutiny are also essentialised to a great extent in these discourses, and RP's internal variation is often erased.

These patterns have been observed also by Agha (2007: 225) who points out that there has been a change in the perception of the exemplary speakers of RP:

> There is plenty of evidence that the twentieth-century history of RP has involved several changes in the way the exemplary speaker is characterized or depicted. In the early 1900s Daniel Jones regarded graduates of [e]lite public schools as reference standard for RP; in the 1930s H.C. Wyld accorded the same status to British Army Officers; in the 1970s A.C. Gimson cited BBC announcers as exemplary speakers […].[67] BBC broadcasts have themselves played a substantial role in replicating images of exemplary speakers, though different ones at different times. The accent performed in BBC radio broadcasts in the 1920s and 30s were closer to conservative accents ('U-RP') than later forms. Many BBC announcers of the 1970s and 80s displayed the accent of educated professional, the variety sometimes called 'Mainstream RP'; its mainstreaming was doubtless a result of this process as well. In this case, larger social changes – such as the rise and expansion of the professional middle classes – played a role in shaping the choices of BBC producers. […] Changes in exemplary speaker are the subject of extended commentary in public sphere discourses in Britain today and elsewhere […].

He then points to an interesting debate that appeared on the 21st of December 2000 in the British paper *The Independent*; the article was entitled 'Even the Queen no longer speaks the Queen's English'. Here are some excerpts:

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[67] Agha (2007) explains that "[o]nce formulated, characterological figures often acquire a social life of their own, trickling down into popular stereotypes through further patterns of recirculation".

Cor blimey! Even the Queen no longer speaks the Queen's English

> Givin' it large Ma'am! Her Majesty may not be so amused to find that a team of linguists has found her guilty of no longer speaking the Queen's English. A group of Australian researchers analysed every Christmas message made by the Queen since 1952 and discovered that she now speaks with an intonation more Chelmsford than Windsor…[T]he scientists found that Elizabeth II has dumbed down – albeit unwillingly – to fit in with the classless zeitgeist of New Labour's Britain…{They} reported yesterday in the journal Nature that even the queen is not immune to the rise of the estuarine English spoken by southerners. The researchers said: 'the pronunciation of all languages changes subtly over time: 'Our analysis reveals that the Queen's pronunciation of some vowels has been influenced by the standard southern British accent of 1980s which is more typically associated with speakers who are younger and lower in the social hierarchy'/ David Abercrombie, the distinguished phonetician, remarked in 1963 about the importance of accent as a mark of class. 'One either speaks the received pronunciation or one does not, and if the opportunity to learn it in youth has not arisen, it is almost impossible to learn it later in life;', he said. Although the queen has resisted the more vulgar aspects of cockney English, such as aitch-dropping, she has been influenced by it. For example, there is now a tendency to pronounce the 'l' in 'milk' as a vowel…A palace spokesman said: 'We have been made aware of the research and we leave it for others to assess it'.

The news was then recirculated in intense media activity over the next few weeks both in Britain and overseas. Agha (ibid) then concludes by claiming that this pattern is readily described as an adjustment "of a self-image by members of these groups and by observers. In some cases they are specifically construed as economic or political strategies". The example that he provides for the last statement stems from a paraphrase of Stanley Kalms' (founder and chairman of the Dixons Group) words and aims at showing that "[r]eformulating one's persona as more 'consumer friendly' or 'Prolier' (i.e., more prole[tarian]) are interactional tropes that align the performed image of speaker with that of target audiences and addressees" (ibid: 224-5):[68]

> *R.P. speakers in business accommodate towards Estuary English 'to become more consumer friendly'. An example of this was the leadership contest which followed Mrs. Thatcher's resignation. One journalist attributed Mr. Major's success to the 'Prolier than thou' image he created for himself.*

3.2 Ideological Schemata 2

Ideological schemata 2: EE is ideologised as being a language variety that allows its speakers to increase their social mobility because it allows for less 'pigeon-holing' (i.e. categorisation and/or essentialisation) than RP does, it is a "classless dialect". For this reason, many believe that it is a more convenient variety, and they aspire to it because it is more informal and less posh. Several politicians have used forms of the language that are associated with EE in an attempt to 'get closer' to the people. These attempts have often been very disputed by the press, as Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 6) claim: "[t]he use of supposedly 'Estuary' forms by people from privileged or affluent backgrounds, however, is not without its pitfalls, if we can judge by the adverse reactions in the British press to the use of such forms by politicians such as Ed Miliband and the former Prime Minister Tony Blair, or certain members of the royal family".[69] Thus, in the class-ridden British society language is perceived as a tool for social mobility and is linked to social categorisation.

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[68] For more on this topic see Agha (2007).
[69] This is a particularly salient and widely discussed topic in modern British press.

Before moving on to the aforementioned ideological schemata, it is important to draw attention to the fact that even though the metalinguistic discourse about these varieties points to ideas such as that 'Estuary English' will become the new RP, these ideas are not necessarily true (or likely to become true) from a linguistic standpoint, and they often stem from essentialising practices. In line with this, Peter Trudgill (2001)[70] warns us to be skeptical about two kinds of reports often found in the British media: "[t]he first is that RP is disappearing. The second is that RP is being replaced by a new, potentially non-regional accent". He argues that these scenarios are basically myths and it is helpful to here reproduce some extracts of his reasoning for the second kind of reports (as it closely relates to the main focus of the present schemata):

A competitor for RP?
As far as the second myth is concerned, this has to do with the development of so-called "Estuary English".[71] It is easy to obtain an impression from reading some of the commentators that "Estuary English" is advancing on all fronts. […] What I would strenuously dispute, however, is that this means that "Estuary English" is going to be the "new RP". It is unlikely that it will ever become anything more than a regional accent, albeit the accent of a rather large region covering, together with its lower-class counterparts, the Home Counties plus, probably, Sussex, Hampshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and parts of Northamptonshire. The sociolinguistic conditions are not such that it could turn into the new RP. There is no parallel here to the nationwide network of residential Public Schools which gave rise to RP. What we know about the geographical diffusion of linguistic innovations, moreover, indicates that there is no way in which the influence of London is going to be able to counteract the influence of large centres such as Liverpool and Newcastle which are at some distance from London. […] Reports that a few individual features such as TH-fronting are spreading across Britain northwards and westwards from London, though undoubtedly true, do not invalidate this point. This spreading of individual features is something which has always happened, and in any case TH-fronting is not to be considered an "Estuary English" feature. The fact that young people in Cardiff are now using /t/- glottaling does not mean that they are speaking London English, or RP. And the fact that young people in Sheffield are now using TH-fronting does not mean that they are speaking Cockney. As anyone who has been to Sheffield recently can attest, people there do not sound remotely like Cockneys – or even like "Estuary English" speakers.

Moreover, before providing the quotes that exemplify these ideological schemata, I would like to draw attention to the development of the overall mentions of the label used for this variety over the years in the British media. This is especially significant here because this label and its development are entirely media driven. Notably, from the year of its coinage (in 1984 by David Rosewarne in the *Times Educational Supplement*, see section 1.1), the label 'Estuary English' started to be picked up by mainstream newspapers only in 1993. The peek years seem to be from 1998 to

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[70] Accessed at http://www.universalteacher.org.uk/lang/estuary.htm on 1.13.2015.
[71] Trudgill (2001: chapter 16) disputes the label 'Estuary English' by claiming that it is an "inaccurate term which […] has become widely accepted. It is inaccurate because it suggests that we are talking about a new variety, which we are not; and because it suggests that it is a variety of English confined to the banks of the Thames Estuary, which it is not. The label actually refers to the lower middle-class accents of the Home Counties which surround London: Essex and Kent, which do border on the Thames Estuary, but also parts or all of Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire, which do not. Early "descriptions" using this label were by non-linguists. However, as described by John Wells, and by Altendorf (1999), "Estuary English" has obvious southeast of England features such as diphthong-shift, /l/- vocalisation and merger of vowels before /l/, but it does not have features typical of working-class accents only, such as TH-fronting".

2002, and later 2007 (with the highest number of mentions in *The Times*), 2010, 2011 and 2015.[72] The rise of 'Estuary English' and its manifestation in the British media has been discussed extensively in academia – even though it had been essentially ignored at the very beginning – and some of the extracts that might help understanding its diachronic development in the public media metadiscourse are here provided.
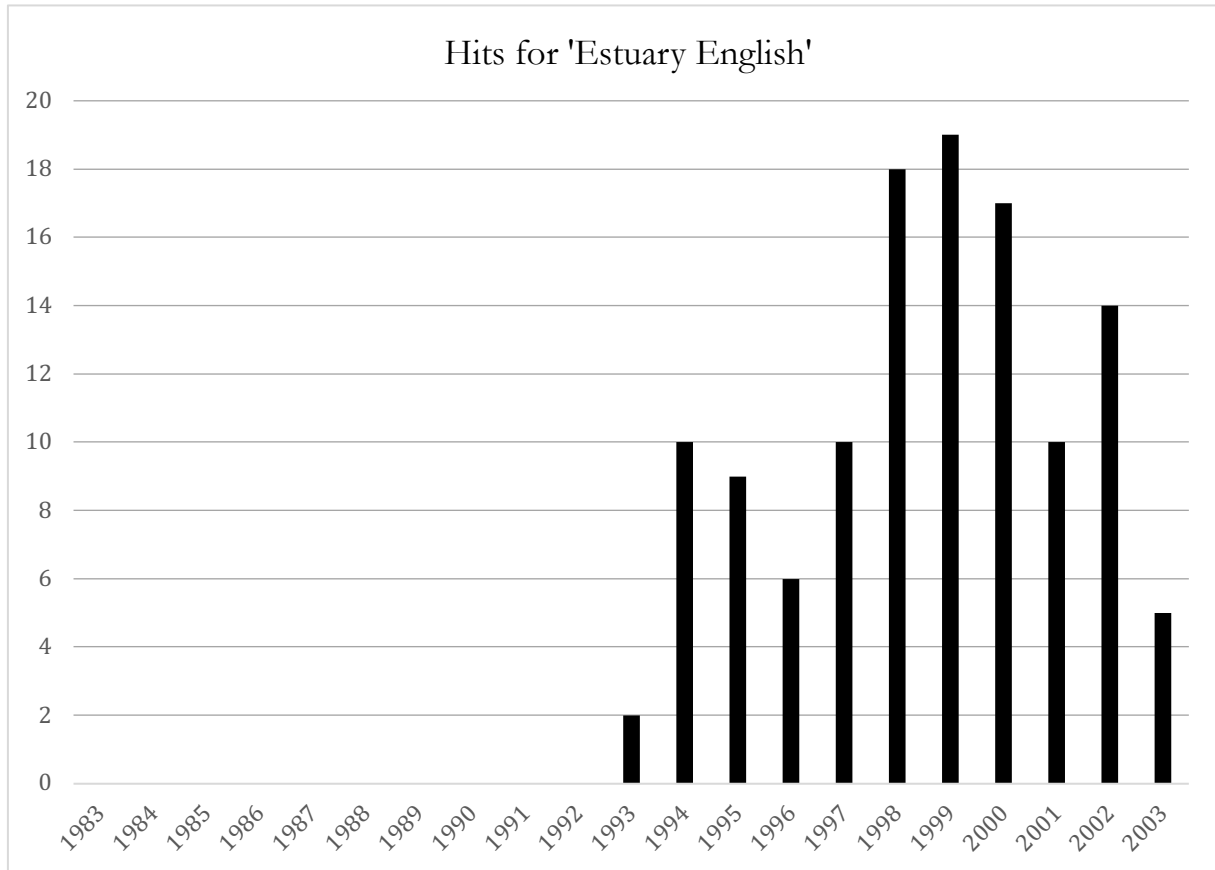
Figure 21. ProQuest database (*The Guardian* and *The Observer*) hits for the term 'Estuary English'

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[72] The graphs here reproduced – and on which these observations are based – stem from the data collected at the British Library, and specifically from the ProQuest and Newsbank databases (see section 1 for a description of these databases).
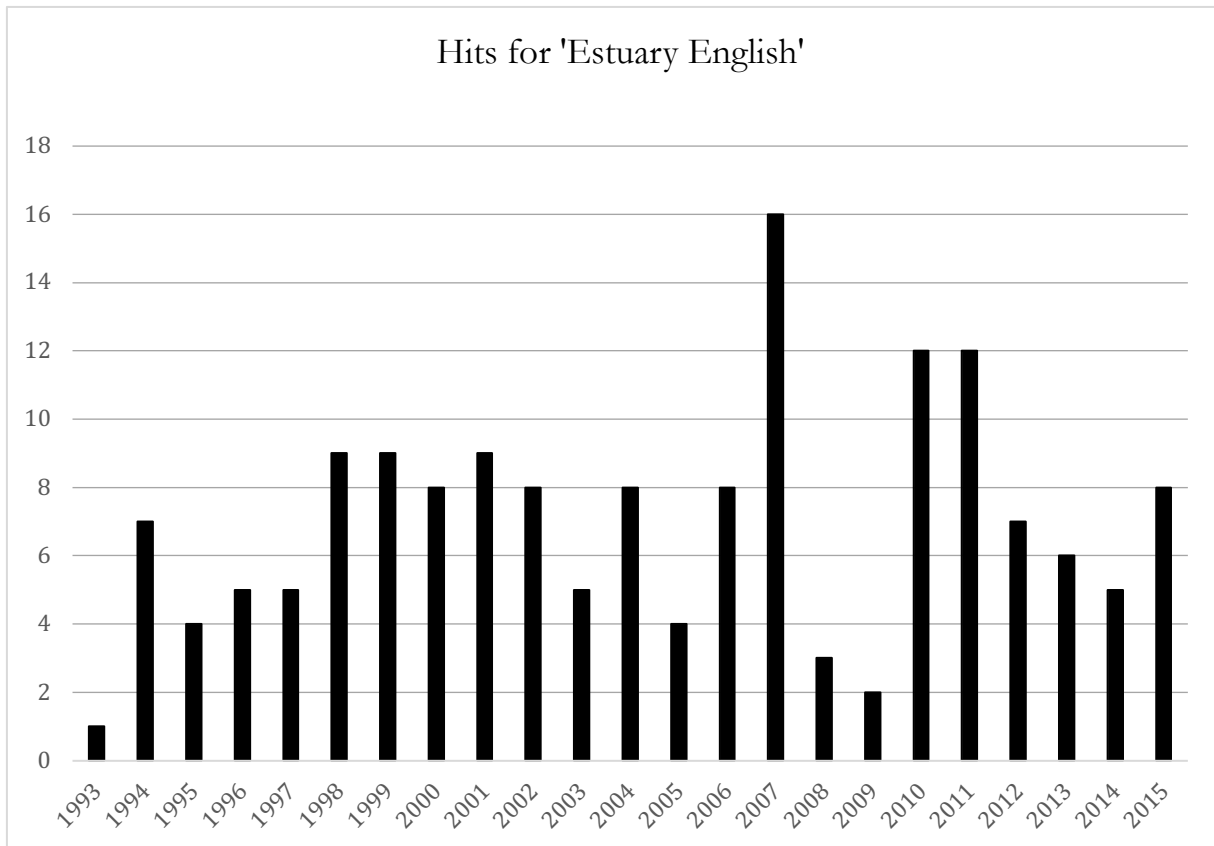
Figure 22. Newsbank database (*The Times*) hits for the term 'Estuary English'

Wells (1997)[73] in an article published in *English Teaching Professional* entitled 'What is Estuary English' explains that:

> There's a new buzzword going the rounds in England - Estuary English (EE). It's supposed to be a new kind of English that's due to take over as the new standard English. We're told it's going to replace fuddy-duddy old Received Pronunciation as the standard accent. Not only are all sorts of politicians, sportsmen, and media personalities claimed as typical speakers of it, but even people as eminent as Queen Elizabeth's youngest son, Prince Edward. But at the 1995 Conservative party conference the Minister of Education, Gillian Shephard, launched into a denunciation of EE, condemning it as slovenly, mumbling, bastardized Cockney. She claimed that teachers have a duty to do their utmost to eradicate it. As often happens in language matters, the English have got into a muddle. The term 'Estuary English' was coined as long ago as 1984 by David Rosewarne, an EFL teacher. He characterized it as 'a variety of modified regional speech [...] a mixture of non-regional and local south-eastern English pronunciation and intonation. If one imagines a continuum with RP and London speech at either end, "Estuary English" speakers are to be found grouped in the middle ground.' Rosewarne claims that Estuary English, named after the 'banks of the Thames and its estuary', is to be heard in the House of Commons, the City, the Civil Service, local government, the media, advertising, and the medical and teaching professions in the south-east. In 1993 the London Sunday Times reported that Estuary English was 'sweeping southern Britain'. A few months later Paul Coggle[74] published his popular paperback *Do You Speak Estuary?,* triggering another bout of media publicity

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[73] Accessed at http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/whatis.htm, on 14th July 2016.

[74] Coggle is a university senior lecturer in Germany, and he claims that the upper-class young now speak Estuary English, 'the faintly Cocknefied accent of the South-east'.

It seems thus that 'Estuary English' became a "buzzword" around 1993 after the *London Sunday Times* article followed by Paul Coggle's publication. Maidment (1994), in fact, seems to point at the same period of time in his conference paper entitled *'Estuary English: Hybrid or Hype?'*:

> If any of you have read any British newspaper regularly or listened to British radio over the past two or three years, there is a good chance that you have come across the term Estuary English. There have been articles on this topic in *The Times Educational Supplement, The Sunday Times, The Guardian* to my knowledge. And there has even been a piece on it in *The New York Times.* There have been items on Estuary English on BBC Radio 4, the BBC World Service and the London Broadcasting Corporation. The term Estuary English was coined in 1983 by David Rosewarne, who at the time was a postgraduate student of Applied Linguistics at Birkbeck College in the University of London, and first appeared in print in an article by Rosewarne which appeared in the *Times Educational Supplement* in 1984. This article, together with a very similar, but slightly expanded article which appeared in the magazine English Today in January 1994, forms the total (as far as I know) of what Rosewarne has made public in print about his ideas. The other source of information about EE in print is a book by Paul Coggle, called *Do you speak Estuary?*, published by Bloomsbury in 1993. […] The newspapers in Britain, of course, encourage debate of this sort, if it can be graced with the name debate. It sells newspapers and feeds the prejudices of their readers […].

As previously mentioned, the media are known to have played a major role in the 'conception' and development of this non-standard variety. Altendorf[75] points this out with two interesting examples, one from Rosewarne's (1994) article and one from an article published in *The Guardian* in July 1998. These are reproduced below.

> John Major is slightly too old to do it. Despite his age, Lord Tebbit still does it, but he says radio and television presenters do it much more than he ever did. Ken Livingstone M.P. and Tony Banks M.P. are proud they both do it. It's so common nowadays that even Dr. Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, does it, both in public as well as in private. Mrs. Thatcher certainly has never done it and nor has the Queen, though one of her son's wives flirts with it. As Princess Diana was once heard saying: 'There's a lo(ʔ) of i(ʔ) abou(ʔ)'.

> It's the way he tells 'em. Prime Minister wades into estuary English for O'Connor chat show.

Finally, it is important to briefly recall what has been discussed in Chapter I in relation to labelling practices in public arenas (such as the media). The development of the label 'Estuary English' is completely media driven and it is often controversial in the academic literature on the topic. This is an important part of the process of reification of this language variety (i.e. it becomes a 'real' entity) and of its categorisation (e.g. as legitimate/authentic/not legitimate etc.) as an entity to which others can be compared (Kerswill 2014) (cf. also literature on enregisterment). Often the metalinguistic debates analysed here revolve around one or more of these labels, and these labelling practices might affect speakers' perceptions of themselves and of their social position, as well as language change (cf. Kerswill 2014). The importance of the labelling of language varieties in processes of enregisterment is also emphasised by Agha (2007: 193), who claims that boundaries between different varieties are identified using "metadiscursive labels to name discursive varieties. Such labels personify speech by linking sound to patterns to attributes of speakers". For instance, as we have seen in section 1, different labels have been proposed by Wells for internal varieties of RP (i.e. 'Mainstream RP', 'U-RP', 'Adoptive RP' and

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[75] Altendorf, U. *Estuary English: is English going Cockney?* Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf, Germany. Retrieved from http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/altendf.pdf, on 18th July 2016.

'Near-RP'). In relation to this, Agha importantly (2007) points out that "Wells observes that the boundaries between these types 'may well correspond to our perceptions of social reality rather than to exclusively linguistic and phonetic considerations' (Wells 1982, v.2: 280)". In line with what has been discussed in this section, he thus concludes that

> the metadiscursive labels themselves impose social classifications onto phonetic repertoires. For example, the names for the varieties spoken in England link phonetic repertoires to stereotypic categories of speakers, viz., to persons who are in the 'mainstream', or are '[u]pper class]', or have 'adopt[ed]' accents to which they were not born. Observe that phonetic varieties have now become objects – or, object discourses _ in relation to a metadiscourses linking speech to social classifications (193).

Very importantly, Agha (2007: 201-202) thus concludes that

> the folk-term 'accent' does not name a sound pattern as such but a system of contrastive social personae stereotypically linked to contrasts of sound. In particular the accent called RP is enregistered in cultural awareness as part of a system of stratified speech levels linked to an ideology of speaker rank. These value ascriptions are evident both in public sphere discourses and in responses elicited from individuals.

In order to exemplify ideological schemata 2, I now focus on the comparison between RP and 'Estuary English' and on the side of the debate that concentrates on the reasons why in modern metadiscourses, EE is ideologised as being a more versatile and useful variety in respect to (old fashioned) RP. I will start with some extract from an interview with a very well-known author, especially for his publication on language wars where he deals with the contested history of 'proper English' and its future. During our interview in 2015, he sustained that:

> Accents and regional dialects are big ones in this country. […] RP is a sort of deliberately elevated sort of usage, while Estuary English is an accidentally debased version. Probably RP was the norm fifty years ago, and for people who didn't speak RP that is what they aspired to. I don't think that people aspire to RP now […]. I was brought up thinking that RP was desirable, I don't think that many people think it is desirable now. I think a wider social group are sort of taking the view that 'Estuary English' is kind of what you ought to aspire to, what you ought to do. […] One of the interesting phenomena in my life time is that some of the people who are RP speakers [modify] their RP downwards, towards something 'estuarine'. A lot of people who are associated with popular culture do it, you also see politicians doing it in order to be more accessible, less aloof and snobbish…and fifty years ago you *had* to speak RP to be on radio… Now…when I interned at the BBC, 20 years ago, I was told that my voice was too posh…which is extraordinary. […] **There is now a sort of inverted snobbery about accent**, but at the same time I don't think people think 'estuary' is aesthetically desirable…**I think it is socially convenient, or socially flexible because it allows you to be lots of different things…if you speak that way…you don't get pigeon-holed as readily because people recognise that within the speakers of 'estuary' there are quite a lot of different backgrounds**…now if you speak RP people assume that you went to a private school, almost certainly went to University, quite a traditional one, you probably come from a well-off background…if you don't, someone in your family was certainly aspiring into that direction. So, you know, you get pigeon-holed in a sort of a 5% group in society, or 10% group. While if you are sort of 'estuary' speaker, people are unwilling to think that you are posh…I think of 'estuary' as a sort of lower middle class…I think that you could be anything from poor working class to middle-middle class if you are an 'estuary' speaker.

> **So, it is quite hard to pigeon-hole people and some people quite like that because it allows you to be quite sort of socially mobile**, I suppose. There are actually different strata of 'estuary'…different social strata…it is a very broad term […].
>
> [*#20_2015_Interview_Author*] (**my emphasis**)

The following article published in the *Sunday Times* in 1993, and carrying the title 'Yer wot? 'Estuary English' sweeps Britain' by Charles Hymas further exemplifies these ideological schemata.

> **IT IS the classless dialect sweeping southern Britain**. Estuary English, the "high cockney" diction typified by Ken Livingstone, Nigel Kennedy and Lord Tebbit, has taken such a hold on the way millions speak that it could become the standard spoken English of the future.
>
> Even the Princess of Wales, John Major and Kenneth Clarke, the home secretary, have been identified by linguists as using traits of the new dialect, which is characterised by swallowing t's in words such as "Ga'wick", or "foo'ball" and l's in expressions such as "St Pauw's Cathedral" and "baw" (ball).
>
> Researchers have discovered that Estuary English has spread way beyond its traditional heartlands on the banks of the Thames in Essex and north Kent, partly through the influence of television and radio where it has gained a national profile through media personalities such as Ben Elton, Jonathan Ross and Paul Merton.
>
> Its street credibility, particularly among the young, has pushed it as far east as Norwich and Cambridge, where it is spoken alongside regional dialects. It has also reached north into Hertfordshire and west along the M4 corridor into Berkshire and even Devon and Cornwall.
>
> […] **Estuary English exemplifies the debate about standards. To linguistic experts, it is a product of shrinking class differences and an example of natural evolution in the English language. To traditionalists, it signifies a decline into sloppiness symptomatic of poor literacy standards.**
>
> **Middle class speakers using Received Pronunciation (the spoken form of standard English) have moved down market rather than be "handicapped" by talking "posh", while the upwardly mobile have discarded aspects of their cockney dialect and moved closer towards "proper" English. They now share the middle ground of Estuary English.**
>
> **Tom McArthur, editor of The Oxford Companion to the English language, who prefers to describe the accent as the New London Voice, said: "It's enormously significant. It will change the language map of southern England. It could conceivably replace traditional Received Pronunciation as a majority form of speech of the middle classes in and around London."**
>
> The dialect, whose genesis predates the creation of the mythical "Essex man" as an epitome of Mrs Thatcher's 1980s vision of success, has been identified and researched by David Rosewarne, a linguist. He believes that its growth owes much to the economic and social mobility of the 1980s.
>
> "Essex and Kent is where it got going with upwardly mobile Londoners moving out to professional jobs, not wanting to be too identified with cockney. Their influence has spread in all directions, west, north and east. You find it not only in the City, but in the civil service, the media, the medical and teaching professions," Rosewarne said.
>
> It includes a form of the glottal stop, a feature of cockney where ts, ps and k sounds are

swallowed in expressions such as "qui'right", "sta'ement" and "sea'belt", and "tetnical" for technical.

Estuary speakers are less likely to use more populist cockneyisms such as "bu'er" and "wa'er" for butter and water. Nor are they likely to use f or v for th to pronounce words such as three as "free", brother as "bruvver" and mother as "muvver". However, l is replaced by w so that an example of a sentence could sound like "a reaw sawesman wiww aways feew a foow if he faiws to seww."

The speech also has a distinctive vocabulary. "Thank you" becomes "Cheers", but not "Cheers, mate". "Basically" is a popular term with Estuary speakers, as are Americanisms such as "busy" for engaged and "guesstimate". However, the tendency of cockney speakers to end statements with questions such as "innit?" or "dinn'I?" is less prevalent in Estuary English.

Individual versions vary. Tebbit, who called his autobiography *Upwardly Mobile*, is more of an Estuary English speaker than Major, who is closer to Received Pronunciation. Kennedy, the classical violinist, **is one celebrity who has eschewed middle class Received Pronunciation to use the new dialect.**

It is most accurately embodied in Livingstone, the Labour MP for Brent East, who saw political overtones in its development. "It sounds like the people who have dominated the Tory party for the last 15 years. I hope it will be the accent of the people who dominate the Labour party for the next 15 years," he said.

Estuary English is just as much a feature of the City, once the preserve of a public school educated elite. Stanley Kalms, a north Londoner who is founder and chairman of the Dixons Group, said **a public school accent could now put a businessman at a disadvantage. "If you were unlucky enough to have such an accent, you would lower it. You would try to become more consumer friendly,"** he said.

Even the BBC, the unofficial guardian of spoken standard English, is changing with the times. The glottal stop is now probably evident in the speech of some younger presenters, according to Graham Pointon, the corporation's pronunciation adviser. "This is something that is happening and is going to continue. I am not going to issue instructions to stop people doing it. I don't think you can because it's so much a part of their accent," he said. […]

[…] outrage among traditionalists. "God forbid that it becomes standard English," said Anne Shelley, chairman of the Queen's English Society. "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 a debate that will intensify this month when Patten publishes plans for an overhaul of the way English is taught to ensure that children learn the basics of reading, writing, grammar, spelling and punctuation.

*[**#21**_March14th-1993_The Sunday Times_LexisNexis]* (**my emphasis**)

As it emerges very clearly from this previous quote, there seems to be several parallels between the present case study and the previous one on New Zealand English. This is especially true for what concerns the depiction of RP or 'Standard English' in more modern metalinguistic debates. The idea that EE is more desirable and should be aspired to is here tightly connected with the belief that it is more informal, more natural and less posh than RP, and thus possibly better suited to the values of modern society such as authenticity. This was the case also for NZE (along with the

simultaneous presence of the opposite kind of discourse that was referred to as 'complaint tradition'). An example from this case study is the following comment:

> THANK you so much for highlighting what seems to be the inexorable rise of Estuary English (front page, last week). I find it simply craven of the BBC's Graham Pointon to suggest that this sloppy way of speaking, now prevalent among young television presenters, cannot be stopped "because it is so much part of their accent". It is not an accent, Mr Pointon, just lazy speaking that grates on the ear and is an extremely bad example to our children.
>
> [*#22_1993_The Sunday Times_ Letter-to-Editor_LexisNexis*]

The following snippets from the main corpus further exemplify this first line of reasoning in chronological order.

> IN A Brompton Road bar sit three expensively dressed girls, surrounded by shopping bags. They are decked out from head to toe in well-cut finery, but this year's most fashionable accessory is worn on the tongue. "E's go' a tewwibuw 'abit", they say, in deepest Estuary, as they discuss a friend with a cocaine habit.
>
> Ten years ago they would have been sharing dorms and speaking like royalty. Today they are footloose and consonant-free.
>
> Tamara Beckwith despairs of them. "I would certainly never pretend that I was brought up in Hackney," she has said, and complains that some of her friends from "equally grand families" are prone to such outbursts as - she mimics - "Aawight, Tam, know worra mean, innit?"
>
> Relax, Tamara - when the girls go home normal service will be resumed. They are simply following the new rule: Never say "brown" in town, it's always "bran". These days you don't just change your clothes to suit the occasion, you change your accent too. Sir Roy Strong may have complained long ago about Princess Diana's "common" accent, but now it is the Knightsbridge norm for modish young Sloanes. OK yah-ing is so Eighties. […]
>
> There is, of course, a long tradition of rich girls slumming it. However, even at the height of proletarian chic, there were limits. Posh punks kept up standards in the Seventies: their artfully ripped bin-liners were worn with a cut-glass accent. The difference today is that Tamara's pals are not making a statement **- they're just going with the flow. Speech codes, like dress codes, have been relaxed. And if London's the place to be, London's the accent to speak.**
>
> **Times have changed since John Wyndham famously observed that the English were "branded on the tongue". But accent does still matter. It's just that today it is more to do with etiquette than origins.**
>
> Serious "downgrading" began in the Eighties, among the students who colonised the inner cities, squatting in council flats and opening galleries and vegetarian cafés. And if you walked the walk (in black jeans and Dr Martens), you had to talk the talk too. A new lingo evolved: let's call it Hackney Down. Since then it has become the lingua franca of the low-paid, low-prestige liberal professions, such as teaching and social work. And its influence can be detected in all those now swimming in the modern mainstream, from young actresses to New Labour's new women.
>
> Some trade down (**"I want to do whatever common people do"** says the sculptress from St Martin's art school in Pulp's song). For others, it's horses for courses - an accent for the office, one for formal occasions and something for the weekend. Tony Blair's accent reportedly changes with the audience. There's the Oxford drawl, the London slanginess, and even the

northern idioms - "aye" - which he occasionally adopts when on visits to his Sedgefield constituency. Blair "just wants to be loved", says one of his aides. […]

Once, upgraders aspired to Received Pronunciation, the traditional "BBC accent". Nowadays being "well spoken" is usually good enough, a more formal or precise variation on a regional accent. Policeman's English is the archetype: the slightly stilted "jobsworth" version of local dialect. Like Ronseal, whose ad features a classic South-East version ("Ronseew. It does igsactly what it says on the tin"), this accent is aspirational, but within limits. It's the voice of the self-made Middle England; doggedly lower-middle class in outlook. The female equivalent has a mildly officious, lisping "telephone voice", with heavily tapped "t's" and whistling "s's". […]

Generally speaking, flexibility is the name of the game, as shown in *This Life*, the BBC series about a group of trainee solicitors sharing a house in South London. Miles, the eligible bachelor played by Jack Davenport, is an archetypal product of the upper-middle class: public-school-educated, with a wealthy father who is an eminent lawyer. Around the house, Miles speaks a lazy urban drawl which we might call Clapham Common: informal yet distinctly middle class. **As a would-be Jack-the-lad, Miles senses the effete connotations that can attach to a public school accent. This is most noticeable when he discusses "shagging" with his Cockney assistant Joe, and his accent becomes full-blown "Mockney". In conversation with his superiors he reverts to type and becomes nicely-spoken.**

This flexibility may be effective, but it signals a big change in the outlook of the upper-middle classes. In the past they wouldn't have had to worry about fitting in with their social inferiors. Now middle class men embrace "working class" male culture because they want to fit in and not draw attention to themselves.

*[**#23**_1997_TheTelegraph_Articles_in_the_Media]* (**my emphasis**)

[…] Amid the trend for regional inflections and the seemingly unstoppable spread of **the classless so-called Estuary English**, even the Queen – once the gatekeeper of RP – is said to have changed her pronunciation.

*[**#24**_BBC News_2005_Articles-in-the-Media]* (**my emphasis**)

I knew immediately what he meant: my teenage sons, both Guardian readers, try to talk like this. You might say – as Kerswill would – that they are subscribing to the dynamic accent of their generation, but, being hung up about class, I say they are practising **inverted snobbery**. If you ask me, this is the keynote of our times […]

*[**#25**_2012_TheGuardian_Elocution-Debate_5]* (**my emphasis**)

Another interesting point that I touched upon earlier on (and that is also mentioned by Agha 2007) is the fact that several media debates were generated by the Queen's supposed change of pronunciation. This was initiated by the publication of a group of German researchers' study of the Queen's Christmas messages over the course of her long reign: examining how her 'Royal vowels' have shifted, and some of the British Royal Family members had started to acquire a more estuarine accent. The following article published in the *Daily Mail* (online) in 2016 is an example of this popular topic.

How the Queen's cut-glass accent is slipping: Videos reveal the monarch has shifted her speech in recent years to sound more like one of us

Analysis of Christmas messages reveals how 'Royal vowels' have shifted

The Queen's accent has become more middle class over her 64-year reign

Experts said her speech shifted as the people around her have changed

How she pronounces family has changed from 'femileh' to 'famelee'

Her cut-glass accent is considered the very definition of Received Pronunciation in the English language. But it seems even the Queen herself is no longer sticking to the so-called Queen's English when talking in public.

Researchers have found her accent has subtly shifted to become more 'middle class' over the decades as her vowels have shortened.

Analysis of Queen Elizabeth II's Christmas messages have found that her pronunciation has changed between 1957 (left) to 2015 (right) to become more middle class as her vowels have shortened. For example the way she pronounced family changed from 'femileh' to sounding more like 'fameli' in recent years.

Scientists studied Queen Elizabeth II's Christmas broadcasts throughout the years to examine how her pronunciation has changed. They said there has been a slow shift during her 64-year reign that has seen the Queen's words become more clipped and **less aristocratic.**

While she still maintains the correct grammar and vocabulary from earlier in her reign, the Queen, who turns 90 this year, appears to have subtly changed her pronunciation of certain words. For example, the way she says family was phonetically more like 'femileh' in 1957, but in 2015 it had changed to sound more like 'famelee'. Similarly the way she pronounced the word lost has changed from 'lawst' to something similar to 'lowst'.

Professor Jonathan Harrington, a phonetics expert at the Ludwig Maximilians University in Munich, and who led the research on the Queen's accent, said the change likely occurred subconsciously. He said it is likely the monarch's accent has shifted as the people around her have changed through the years. Her grandsons, Prince William and Harry, for example, have accents far closer to Estuary English than their father, for example.

Estuary English was originally considered to be the regional speech used by people living in London and the south East of England. **In recent years it has been adopted by many upper and middle class people to give them a faint Cockney accent, while still using standard grammar.** It is likely the accents of her staff have also changed while the accents she will be exposed to when watching television have shifted considerably over the decades. […]

Professor Harrington said cultural influences can have a major impact on a person's accent. For example, when the Queen made her first televised Christmas broadcast in 1957, at the age of 31, her fellow broadcasters on the BBC used similar accents.

More recently, however, regional accents have become more popular on television channels and programmes from the US are incredibly popular on terrestrial British channels. […]

Speaking to BBC Future, the professor said it was common for people to alter their accents very slightly to match those they are talking to.

> The Queen's accent may have been subtly influenced by those around her including her grandsons' Prince William and Prince Harry […] who talk with an accent more approaching Estuary English […].
>
> 'From the 1960s onwards, it is quite possible that the Queen came into contact with many more middle class and/or non-aristocratic speakers.' […]
>
> According to Professor Harrington's analysis, there have three main changes in the Queen's accent since the 1950s. First, the 'a' in words like 'hat' or 'happy' have changed from sounding more like an 'e' to more like a present day 'a' sound. For example in the 1957 broadcast she says 'thet men' but by the 1980s it has become 'that'. Second, the 'u' in words like soon sounded more like the French 'u' in 'tout' where it is produced towards the back of the mouth but is now produced further forward in the mouth. Finally the vowel in words ending in a 'y' like very, happy, really and family, were shorter and sounded like a short 'e' sound. In more recent broadcasts it has become longer more like the vowels said in 'feed'. […]
>
> *[#26_2016_DailyMail_Articles-in-the-Media]* (**my emphasis**)

Interestingly, in these extracts the term 'estuarine' seems to have acquired a different meaning from its original one. This adjective is in fact often used in the corpus as a synonym for a classless, or for a lower social class identity or 'accent' and is more generally associated to social 'downgrading'.

An important thematic strand that can be identified through these first two ideological schemata, and the examples provided, is that of a value shift concerning notions of geographical belonging (i.e. 'regionalness') and class belonging (i.e. 'classness'). In more recent times, in fact, the metalinguistic legitimacy of the varieties examined here seems to depend more on their perception as 'classless' than as 'regionless': "[b]ut accent does still matter. It's just that today it is more to do with etiquette than origins" (quote #23). Class in the sociolinguistic context analysed is one of the main areas in which people are using language as a way to inform their social judgment; on the other hand, belonging to a particular geographical area seems to have lost some of its importance. Regional accents are in fact increasingly accepted and unquestioned in the public arena, and geographical mobility has certainly played a role in this value shift (see section 1). Even more importantly, new socially and linguistically salient associations are being made in these discourses, and the following schemata – which has already been observed in relation to the previous case study – seem to emerge here: RP is a pose, it is inauthentic and markedly denotes social class identity by thus discursively reproducing social inequality. Affluent people who try to speak with a more 'estuarine' accent are accommodating to "what common people do" (#23) and want to "sound more like one of us" (#26). However, this is hardly an acceptable behaviour as it is perceived as inauthentic, especially for public figures such as politicians. On the other hand, EE is a natural development (see quotes #21, #23) that reflects changes that have happened in society and which have allowed people to be more mobile and less subject to class discrimination. How does this relate to notions of linguistic legitimacy? and how does this complex picture tie in together with the other varieties taken into consideration (MLE, Cockney and 'Mockney'), with authenticity and naturalness? I will try to shed some more light on these important questions with the discussion presented in the following section focusing on ideological schemata 3 and 4.

To conclude, iconisation is obviously a very productive semiotic process in these discourses where there is a strong link between language and identity: indexicality is thus critical here. Interestingly, EE seems to be associated with a need to erase class or downgrade, but some people use it at their peril. In fact, using it does not ensure legitimacy unless it is believed to

reflect an authentic identity. It might even be observed that it may not be to do with class avoidance, but some more general anti-hegemonic movement: an alternative indexical order. In fact, there seem to be other sources of authenticity that come into play and class is not being oriented to as a primary criterion of differentiation in several examples. This might have to do with an act of identification with an alternative system of value; but what is that alternative indexical order? There is certainly a celebration of local diversity, spontaneity and Everyman's speech in relation to EE. While RP is associated to anonymity, universality and artificiality. Thus, as it will be discussed in more detail in the following sections, there is a contrast between linguistic legitimacy based on anonymity and on authenticity (cf. Woolard 2008).

3.3 Ideological Schemata 3 and 4

Authenticity is central to most of these metalinguistic debates as it was the case for the NZE case study. Most of the thematic strands that intertwine in the metadiscourses about modern language varieties in the south east of England – and the debates that manifest them – seem to be underlain by a need to define the linguistic legitimacy of these varieties through a notion of authenticity. Ideologies of 'authenticity' and 'anonymity' (or a rationalist and a romantic model of language variation, to use Geeraerts' terminology) will be central in determining how authority and legitimacy are here ascribed to certain varieties, while it is being denied to others. These ideologies – as it was touched upon in the previous schemata – also interact with social constructs such as class, and notions such as egalitarianism and snobbery, which are particularly salient within modern British society. They thus also play a central role in the ways these metalinguistic discourses are promulgated, especially as it regards the professional linguistic practices and policies of public institutions such as broadcasting and the educational system (e.g. the BBC and English public schools).

Therefore, for these last two ideological schemata, I have decided to focus on the two thematic strands – out of a multitude of complexly interrelated strands – emerging in these narratives that bring the most attention to these concerns. The first one – ideological schemata 3 – draws on discourses about the English variety that has been labelled as 'Mockney'. The second one – ideological schemata 4 – discursively juxtaposes MLE and Cockney. This focus will enable me to show how two very different notions of linguistic authenticity underlie these metadiscourses: a very traditional and romantic notion based on historical depth (or historicity) and locality (in discussions about Cockney), and a more modern and anonymity-based notion that pivots around ideas of naturalness, democracy, change and freedom (in discussions about MLE). In other words, there is an ideological conflict between those voices who want a legitimacy based on anonymity – but also class and formality – as opposed to a legitimacy based on authenticity values – class diversity, localism, and spontaneity or naturalness. We will here see how these two interact in complex ways. Moreover, with the discussion on 'Mockney', the centrality of discourses of authenticity as a claim to linguistic legitimacy will be brought to the fore.

Finally, with these two last schemata I hope to shed some additional light on the complex metadiscourses revolving around new non-standard contact varieties of the south east of England. It is, however, important to note that the strands that were selected represent only a fragment of a much more complex and rich picture, and that antagonistic perspectives are always co-existing within these metalinguistic debates.

Ideological schemata 3: A Cockney accent is perceived as being authentic because of its deep-rooted historical tradition and geographical anchorage. Cockney is ideologised as representing the "common person" and old London working-class values. On the other hand, upper class people who try to speak Cockney – in order to benefit from these associations and to connect with 'common people' or the 'simple people' (i.e. lower class London people) – are scorned and termed 'Mockney' (or their way they speak is), which has strong connotations of inauthenticity (i.e. 'mock' + 'Cockney' = 'Mockney'). This recalls the metalinguistic debates revolving around the EE and RP that have been discussed in the two previous schemata.

In the analysed meta-discourses, Cockney is perceived as being the authentic (even though non-standard) English variety spoken in London, especially by the lower (working) classes. Its authenticity is often brought up when it is juxtaposed to new emergent (non-standard) London-based varieties such as MLE. This will be discussed in ideological schemata 4, while 'Mockney' is the focus of the present schemata. As Cockney, 'Mockney' is a very popular topic in British printed and non-printed media (see section 1) and it is often mentioned in relation to popular culture, popular TV shows such as *East Enders*, and public figures (e.g. actors and actresses) participating in this kind of shows. The *Urban Dictionary* – the crowdsourced online dictionary – for instance provides eight distinct definitions for the term 'Mockney', which emphasise the thematic strands that have emerged in the previous discussion. Six of the eight definitions are here reported:[76] [77]

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someone who, bizarrely, wishes they were a Cockney when they aren't one. Even more annoying than a cockney wanker since the latter can't help it, **but a mockney is so by choice**.

"That Jamie Oliver is a right mockney wanker"

by Mike Read July 27, 2003

[**#27_** *Urban Dictionary*, accessed on 8.5.15] (**my emphasis**)

An upper class celebrity who attempts to solicit the admiration of the common person by pretending to have a cockney accent.

"Jesus that Jamie Oliver is such a cunt and a mockney cunt at that!".

by Dacarlo March 13, 2003

[**#28_***Urban Dictionary*, accessed on 8.5.15]

Someone who whishes [sic.] they were Cockney so they can be cool, famous Mockney's include Guy Richie, Jamie Oliver, Lilly Allen, and Obviously Kate Nash.

Mockney Singer - Someone who puts on a fake cockney accent while singing to try and seem cool most commonly done in indie music, under the illusion it makes them seem troubled and world weary, but in reality just makes people seem like utter poser wankers

---

[76] These can be accessed at: http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=mockney

[77] In the quotes stemming from digital discourses there are several, grammatical and spelling mistakes. These were not corrected unless they were considered to be undermining the intelligibility of the extract. The corrected portions will appear between [square brackets].

James "Oh! Hello famous singer slash song writer Kate Nash, how are you?"

Kate Nash "'Allo me old china plate - wot say we pop round the Jack tar. I'll stand you a pig's ear and you can rabbit on about your teapots. We can 'ave some loop and tommy and be off before the dickory [sic.] hits twelve"

James "fuck you, Mockney wanker"

#kate nash#mockney#cockey#fake#guy richie

by Semaj_notnar April 26, 2008

[**#29**_*Urban Dictionary*, accessed on 8.5.15]

A cockey [sic.] is supposedly [sic.] someone born within the sound of the Bow Bells in London. A mockey [sic.] is someone with wishful asperations [sic.] (or exceptionally good hearing).

"That Beamish lad thinks he's so [east-end]; what a mockney!"

by Bob March 27, 2003

[**#30**_Urban Dictionary, accessed on 8.5.15]

A dj or producer of the kind who lives in a satellite town outside the M25. Usually Kingston or Reading - occasionally he or she lives within the ring (Watford), but pretends to the throne of East End Cockneydom, for reasons of respect amongst fellow peers.

Don't give me none of that mockney Surreyboy bizniz you phoney fu**.

by Sandra Anderson May 24, 2003

[**#31**_*Urban Dictionary,* accessed on 8.5.15]

Speaking in a fake cockney slang. This is accomplished through speaking at a high rate of speed, saying a combination of things American tourists would take pictures of while on vacation in England, as well as places they might travel on a train, punctuated both by either starting or ending every phrase with a question. Examples of Mockney:

Pip pip, cheerio! Me thinks Gillingham trolley-car newspaper phone booth! Jolly good mickey, ehar?

Westminster double-decker? Right old rain coat!

by Abraham Genesis IV August 26, 2009

[**#32**_*Urban Dictionary*, accessed on 8.5.15]

The same thematic strands emerge from this digital debate on the forum of DigitalSpy.com, a website that focuses on films, TV shows, reality TV and the show business more generally. The debate entitled 'Mockney Celebs' was initiated in 2006 by a user (PinkDiamonds87), with the following post.[78]

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[78] Accessed at: https://forums.digitalspy.com/discussion/455307/mockney-celebs, on 3rd January 2017.

Something that always puts me off singers, actors and zelebs is when I find out that they had a very privileged upbringing yet speak with a flipping COCKNEY accent! So who are the biggest mockneys around?

Lily Allen is your typical mockney, she went to one of the top private schools in the country yet talks with a **fake cockney accent to try and fit in with the more commoner of folk** I found out that The Kooks are also users, the lead singer went to the same private school as Lily Allen and was never short of a few, i guess its not hard to tell from the way he sings that hes [sic.] trying to best to imitate the cockney accent

*[**#33**_2006_DigitalSpy.com_mainpost]* (**my emphasis**)

This post generated several comments from other users, with a total of 58 comments in the space of four days, from the 28th of August to the 3rd of September 2006. I here reproduce seven of them as they were considered the most salient for the topic under examination.

I find Mockney repulsive but I could listen to a true Cockney accent all day - I love Danny Baker's voice for example.

*[**#34**_2006_DigitalSpy.com_comment1]*

Guy Richie is the worst offender, isnt he a descendant of edward the 1st?? :eek: tho [though] i disagree about [L]ily [A]llen, imo [in my opinion] she looks like a typical rough bird so id [sic.] expect her to talk like that.

[J]ohnny [V]aughn, [J]onathan [R]oss and [J]amie [O]liver are pretty bad as well. the cockney accent is great but it sounds so crap when people try and sound cockney to look 'cool' :rolleyes:

the most **authentic** accents are probably [R]ay [W]instone and [D]anny [D]yer

*[**#35**_2006_DigitalSpy.com_comment2]* (**my emphasis**)

What I hate most is 'Blackney' as spoken by white people from London (well, the whole of the south-east really) who think they are black. It's like some kind of mix of Cockney with Jamaican and black Americanisms!

*[**#36**_2006_DigitalSpy.com_comment3]*

June Sarpong's mockney 'accent' is one of the worst I've ever heard. **Talk about fake.**

*[**#37**_2006_DigitalSpy.com_comment4]* (**my emphasis**)

bloody bob hoskins...no one has mentioned him!

you have to be careful though, what people think of as a 'cockney' accent is really only a London accent, i grew up in north london and my accent is definitely London, which includes elements of cockney and 'blackney' as one other poster mentioned (in other words i do say 'gor blimey' and 'y' k'naa meen man'.

i dont apologise for it and **its defintely just a natural part of me and not put on in anyway.**

*[**#38**_2006_DigitalSpy.com_comment5]* (**my emphasis**)

first of all, cockneys come from a specific part of london. there are different 'london' accents within london itself, **but a lot of celebs pretend they are cockney to make it seem like theyre [they are] 'down-to-earth' and just like 'everybody else' :rolleyes:**

> the 'blackney' accent is spoken mainly my kids in my experience, and it does not sound very nice either especially when spoken by the plastic gangsters from south london. :rolleyes: :cool:
>
> and guy ritchie is from oxfordshire, went to 2 of the top public schools in the country and is a descendant of Edward the 1st. so his cockney accent **came out of nowhere**! 😆
>
> *[**#39**_2006_DigitalSpy.com_comment6]* (**my emphasis**)

Modern digital discourses are the most productive for metalinguistic debates about 'Mockney'. This might due to its ironical origin or 'funny' connotations, and to its linkages with the show business. Therefore, hundreds of YouTube videos that focus on this topic can be found on the Internet; two examples are provided here.[79]

The first example is a YouTube video entitled 'George 'Mockney' Osborne: Chancellor in Estuary accent shocker', which emphasises the public sanctioning of upper class speakers for attempting a Cockney accent, and a linkage between 'Mockney' and EE.[80] The section that on the webpage appears right under the title, at the bottom of the video, describes its content as follows: "Chancellor George Osborne has delivered a speech in Kent where he appears to have taken on a 'Mockney' accent". This video published in 2013 has a very high number of views (18'235) and 13 comments. An interesting comment is reported here. The author makes the connection between Cockney and being "down with the people", and finds Mr. Osborne "pathetic", a "useless buffoon" in his "conceited" attempts at mastering this variety. Mr. Osborne is thus criticised by the public because a Cockney accent does not seem to be appropriate for his identity and his status in society: it is perceived as illegitimate and "patronising". Inauthenticity is highly sanctioned in these metalinguistic debates.

> Pathetic, utterly pathetic. Do these workers HAVE to attend a speech by this **conceited, useless buffoon? His attempt to be "down with the people" is patronising and inept**. Some fool like Lynton Crosby probably persuaded him to have **de-elocution lessons**. It won't work. This man was booed for many good reasons. People don't warm to him because, well, there's no warmth in him.
>
> *[**#40**_2013_YouTube.com _comment]* (**my emphasis**)

As a final example, a 2007 YouTube video entitled 'DANNY DYER: MOCKNEY? FANBANTA' parodizes the famous English actor for his Cockney accent and, as part of the irony, suggests that: "Danny Dyer says he's a cockney through and through. But what happens when he thinks no one is watching him? Could he actually be a mockney?".[81] This video has an even higher number of views than the previous one (102'504), and generated 88 comments on the topic giving rise to a fairly heated debate. Some of the most relevant comments are reported below.

> He makes the mistake of imitating a south london accent, mistaking that for a cockney accent, and that's what gives him away. That's not a cockney accent. It's Essex Estuary where he grew up.
>
> *[**#41**_2007_YouTube.com _comment1]*

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[79] On the relevance of digital discourses linked to this case study see section 1; more generally see Chapter I.
[80] Accessed at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y1mbxFsp2x0, on 3rd January 2017.
[81] Accessed at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3YYNiMdUFGM, on 15th December 2016.

Bollocks. He's a mockney. Essex boy. **Full of shit.**

[#42_2007_YouTube.com _comment2] (**my emphasis**)

What a cunt!! and you talk to any proper cockney and every one of em will tell ya that he's all bollocks **just a fuckin actor, pretending to be a proper geezer** fuckin muppet it's all show

[#43_2007_YouTube.com _comment3] (**my emphasis**)

danny dyer may be a cockney, but he isnt [sic.] **a hardman** [sic.] as he likes to think he is

[#44_2007_YouTube.com _comment4] (**my emphasis**)

If he's a true working class cockney guy then why has he always dated middle class girls like Billie and supposedly Lilly Allen? He's annoying anyway.

[#45_2007_YouTube.com _comment5] (**my emphasis**)

he is a **real cockney** but he does milk it a lot and tries to play up to this clichéd 'cockney geezer' image.

[#46_2007_YouTube.com_comment6] (**my emphasis**)

Cockney is here associated to the tough life, to "hard men", "down-to-earth", "common" people (see quotes #35, #39 and #44), while Mockney is a failed attempt to put on this kind of social persona (cf. Agha 2007). Mockney is for 'wannabes' who wish to appear cool and tough and thus their accent is categorised as inauthentic, it is not natural (cf. quote #38). Iconisation is clearly a very productive process in these debates, as is essentialisation. Irony is also a major characteristic of these debates, as 'Mockney' is often seen as a ridiculous or "pathetic" ambition to be part of a sociolinguistic group to which one does not belong (see for example quote #40). Accent is therefore a clear emblem of social identity in these metalinguistic debates (cf. Agha 2007).

Being authentic, a 'real Cockney' is what seems to matter the most in these digital debates (see quotes #35, #37, #40, #45, #46). Social actors who are suspected to be 'faking' another accent – in this case Cockney, are highly criticised. In previous examples the same treatment seemed to be reserved to people attempting to speak with an EE accent: they also received a great deal of criticism and the legitimacy of their public identity was strongly undermined. In other words, showing authenticity in the way one's speak seems to be discursively central here, especially in terms of class belonging. People who are labelled as 'Mockney', are perceived as not having the right to use these (lower social class, east-London based) features.

To conclude, authenticity is here once more linked to notions of naturalness (see Chapter II), class diversity and hegemony. The kind of linguistic authenticity that is here referred to aligns with more romantic values of language variation, and the legitimacy of Cockney – and the illegitimacy of Mockney – is therefore based on authenticity values such as historical depth, spontaneity, and localism. In the following schemata I will highlight how this view of linguistic authenticity coexists with a more 'anonymity'-based notion of it in interlocking metalinguistic debates.

Ideological schemata 4: MLE is ideologised as linguistically illegitimate because it does not 'possess' linguistic authenticity. This perception is due to the fact that MLE emerges from a context of mobility and diversification. In these discourses MLE is often juxtaposed to Cockney, which is ideologised as the authentic, British and 'white' variety that has a long-standing tradition in British culture (especially in London). Historicity and discourses pertaining to race and ethnicity are thus central here in the ascription of linguistic legitimacy and authenticity to these varieties. These often emerge in a narrative of Cockney being swept out of London by MLE.[82]

Three themes are mainly touched upon in this complex narrative, which contribute to the affirming of the aforementioned ideologies. One, MLE is wiping out 'authentic' Cockney from its original area of emergency and development in the East of London. Two, MLE is not authentic, it is just a pose and it is spoken by 'Jafaicans' or by middle class teenagers who wish to sound cool and street-wise (cf. Kerswill 2014). Three, MLE is the authentic English variety of London and it should be embraced as it symbolises ideals of freedom, naturalness and the peaceful cohabiting of different cultures.[83] These themes clearly emphasise two sides of the metadiscourse, one in favour of MLE and the other against it. As it has been previously discussed, it is in these points of disjuncture that it is possible to see with more clarity the contrasting ideologies that underlie these debates (cf. Kroskrity 2004; see chapter I).[84] Therefore, I will here attempt to untangle this complex narrative by discussing each of these three main themes in turn.

MLE is wiping out Cockney. Cockney is authentic while MLE is not. This theme present in the meta-discourse is explicitly commented upon by two of my interviewees. The first one – a writer and journalist involved in the English public language debate – observes that MLE is taking over London and that Cockney gains respectability and authenticity as it is juxtaposed to MLE in recent debates. In so doing he also provides some interesting comments on EE and on the role of mobility and immigration in the attitudes towards these varieties:

> […] **Estuary is a bit more acceptable now…**
>
> Q: it is considered a bit more authentic maybe?
>
> A: yeah...maybe seen as a development of Cockney…Cockney is traditionally the most reviled British accent, since the 18th century. Because it was the closest to RP or standard, it was the one that the standard defined itself against in some ways, Cockney has been…'ain't' typical Cockney form…it's an upper-class form, it was for a while and then it became demonised. Traditionally I think the accents of London have been demonised disproportionately. London is the place where the most influential accents are being generated, this **MLE is really the one that is taking over**.
>
> Q: Do you think Cockney is perceived more positively than MLE right now?
>
> A: **yes, by comparison, because then it acquires authenticity in comparison to MLE.**
>
> Q: Is that related to mobility and immigration in some way?

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[82] In my opinion what academics refer to as MLE, corresponds to the term 'Jafaican' (or Jafaikan') as it is used in modern media in Britain (see section 1; cf. Kerswill 2014).

[83] MLE (or 'Jafaican') is also very frequently associated with crime, poor neighbourhoods, and hybridity more generally. For further details on this see Kerswill (2014).

[84] Contestations and disjunctures disclose some essential differences in ideological perspectives that can "more fully reveal their distinctive properties as well as their scope and force" (Kroskrity 2004: 504).

> A: **yeah, Cockney is more respectable than a bunch of street kids talking slang to each other. Would be the idea of it.** MLE is a generational accent, isn't it? It is defined initially by geography, then by class and social factor, but especially generational […].
>
> *[**#47_2015_ Interview_Journalist_1]* (**my emphasis**)

The second interviewee – a very well-known author, reviewer and critic specialised in non-fiction with a particular emphasis on language and cultural history – reinforces these themes by claiming that no dialects is more authentic than another, but that Cockney has more cultural baggage and it is thus perceived as more authentic, while MLE is a "work in progress". In the interview he also brings up some other important themes that will be discussed later on in this section, such as MLE being perceived as a pose by a certain portion of society, while it is perceived as a sort of "badge of authenticity" by others. Additionally, he mentions relevant code-switching behaviours (and switching between registers) that have been addressed in earlier literature on the topic, for instance by Rampton (1995; 2010) and Agha (2003; 2007).

> [referring to MLE] The thing many people find interesting is young, white male speaking as if they are not white. And it is not just a working-class thing anymore either, and if you, you are older, and haven't had much exposure to it is probably easy to assume that it is a **deliberate pose**, but actually, I don't think it is. I think a lot of people do it, they have absorbed it by osmosis rather than putting it in as a sort of role. But it is something quite new and it is quite interesting, but it is much more…very age specific…probably people under the age of thirty […]. You often hear people before you see them, and increasingly what you see may not be what you are expecting to see. People who are unfamiliar…**people to whom MLE is new don't entirely believe that some other people are being serious when they are using it, but actually to those people it is completely natural**. And it manifests itself in an accent but also in a vocabulary, with some of those Jamaican patois terms…I am very aware of people's code-switching behavior, and I think there are quite a lot of possibly middle-class kids who speak in a sort of multicultural London English way, but they are capable of speaking in a way…it's not RP…but in a way…speaking *up* socially, when they are with people they want to impress…not in their peer group, because it won't impress their peer group. Equally, with some authoritative figures they might retrieve into the MLE thing because it is a defense mechanism, but in the job interview they might well present themselves differently […] A lot of commentary about MLE does not take into account this. Uninformed commentary say it is a sign that multiculturalism is bad or something like that […].
>
> […] **From the outside MLE is inauthentic, but to most of the people that speak like that it is a badge of authenticity, of a kind of street wisdom.** There is a big tension between the way that the users of that dialect perceive what they are doing and the way it is perceived by other people. It also depends on your ethnicity, if you are not Afro-Caribbean people think it is a posture.
>
> […] **I think that a lot of people now think of RP as inauthentic. The more kind of street forms are seen as kind of truthful**…as not being kind of owned institutionally or politically, but as being grassroots. So, you can say that they have developed form the ground up rather than from the top down...that they are kind of organic in that sense.
>
> **In London…Cockney, especially for people who are inside the group and use it…is seen as a badge of authenticity**. To some degrees having a London accent is a prestige thing, but there are also negative associations…people having a misplaced sense of superiority…that kind of thing.
>
> Q: why is Cockney considered authentic? In what kind of context, or discourse?

A: I think in the context of…there is a sort of suspicion that it is dying out, an assumption. […]

Q: do you think that some dialects are more authentic than others?

A: No, I don't think I do […] Things that have deeper roots seem bigger […] **Because of the deeper roots of Cockney it may feel like something with more authenticity, with more cultural baggage really. MLE is a sort of work in progress** […]. Is not obvious to me what is going to happen at all.

[#48_2015_ Interview_Author_2] (**my emphasis**)

Therefore, Cockney's perceived authenticity in respect to MLE is often associated to its deeper roots and longer history. This highlights the fact that the kind of linguistic authenticity mentioned here seems to rest on more romantic values and views of language and language variation. On the other hand, we can see some contrasting values for MLE. MLE is a badge of authenticity too, but the kind of authenticity that is ascribed to it is very different as we will see in the rest of this section. Moreover, Kerswill (2014: 441-2) points out that Jafaican is perceived as an agent, as the cuckoo in the nest that pushes out the natives. In fact, he explains that "[b]y the time of the earliest print media attestations, 'Jafaican' is already a labelled language variety, set alongside others, particularly 'Cockney'. Probably the most frequently occurring theme is the notion that Jafaican is 'pushing' Cockney out of its East End heartland". Kerswill (ibid) cites an article published in *The Evening Standard* in 2006 to exemplify this; this illustrate some of the features that will recur in our discussion:

THE Cockney accent is being pushed out of its heartland by a new kind of speech. Playgrounds and housing estates of London are alive with the sound of an accent that sounds Jamaican with flavours from West Africa and India. The Standard can reveal that this new English variety is replacing Cockney in inner London, as more white children adopt the speech patterns and vocabulary of their black neighbours and classmates.

Teachers have dubbed the phenomenon Jafaican and TV's Ali G would understand it perfectly. Linguistics experts from London University's Queen Mary College and Lancaster University are conducting field studies to assess the new variety of English and how widely it is spoken. Queen Mary researcher Sue Fox said: "The adolescents who use this accent are those of second- or third-generation immigrant background, followed by whites of London origin." Based on their preliminary findings, the academics are calling it "Multicultural London English". An oldies' guide to today's yoof speak

creps: trainers
yard: home
yoot: child/children
blud/bredren/bruv: mate
ends: area/estate/neighbourhood (as in "what ends you from?")
low batties: trousers that hang low on the waist

[#49_2006_TheEveningStandard_as quoted in Kerswill 2014: 441-2]

Additionally, Kerswill (ibid) makes a relevant observation on the reification and labelling of this variety (see section I and Introduction) by also pointing out some of the recurrent metaphors that are used in the media in relation to it. The perceived authenticity of Cockney as opposed to MLE is also noted here.

the naming of a style or mode of speech reifies it, and allows it to be set up against other speech varieties. Descriptive linguists may well argue for this view, too, but journalists are able to deploy metaphors which presuppose the existence of entities – language varieties – which, through anthropomorphism, can be seen as having both agency and an identity. The first metaphor in the extract above is of invasion. The second is the notion that a language variety, like a people or an ethnicity, have a 'homeland'. Here, the invader is ousting Cockney from the place in which it matured and thrived and where its authenticity is guaranteed.

Another interesting commentary on this theme is provided by a debate formed by a thread of private e-mails debate generated by Dr. David Hornsby's appearance on a popular television show about MLE, or in this case 'Multicultural English', in February 2014. The viewer who corresponds with Dr. Hornsby is upset because of his 'promotion' of MLE at the expenses of Cockney – "a much loved dialect that has stood for years" (cf. section 1). The show in question discussed how MLE is wiping Cockney out of London (with MLE here conceived as a self-contained dialect).[85]

From: xxx[86]
Sent: 15 February 2014 20:49
To: David Hornsby Subject: MCEA

Mr Hornsby,
I'm offended by your recent comments on MCE [Multicultural English]. Along with the majority of population I know little about diphthongs. What I do know is that MCE is that most English people find it appalling. You say "it's exciting" as oppose[d] to alarming. **Apart from the fact it is replacing a much loved dialect that has stood for years**, it lacks diction and clarity, is lazy and often comes across as aggressive and crude – a distinct lowering of standards in communication. You get excited if you wish, but the rest of us can't stand it!

*[**#50**_2014_ Hornsby's thread of e-mails_1]* (**my emphasis**)

From: David Hornsby
Sent: 17 February 2014 09:46
To: xxx
Subject: RE: MCEA

Sorry you feel that way, Andrew. **Cockney may well die out in London in the next couple of generations, but there's every indication that most of its forms will survive outside of London for a good while yet**. Language change, though, is I'm afraid something neither of us can do much about. The kind of complaints you make about MLE are similar to the ones people have made since time immemorial about changes which are ongoing in the language. It's not that long ago, for example, that all of us in the South East pronounced the r in carpet or hear, or pronounced words like month and come in the northern way (moonth, coom: parts of Kent were still doing that even in the 1960s). Now almost no-one from the South East uses those pronunciations, and people from elsewhere who do are often looked down on. On the other hand, growing up in East London in the 60's I got regularly told off for 'dropping my h's': that's something that appears to be dying out, and MLE speakers these days hardly do it at all.

People also get upset about MLE *innit*? as in *We saw him on Saturday, innit?* (= didn't we?), but this change too has quite a 'respectable' pedigree. *N'est-ce pas*? in French stopped meaning 'Is it

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not?' and started being a multipurpose tag question, i.e. exactly like *innit?* is now doing in London. It's now recognized as prestigious and elegant, so something like 'Le Président est d'accord avec vous, n'est-ce pas?' (= *The President agrees with you, innit?)* is perceived as high-status, 'correct' French. My point is that times change, and so does language, and with it our attitudes to language. Which is not to deny that many people don't like the changes as they happen. Indeed, it's a racing certainty that our children will object to some the things that their children will be doing in a few years' time. As a sociolinguist I'd just love to be a fly on the wall and find out what they are!

All good wishes,

David

[#51_2014_ Hornsby's thread of e-mails_2] (**my emphasis**)

From: xxx
Sent: 17 February 2014 19:55
To: David Hornsby
Subject: RE: MCEA

You reply as an academic which I am not. However it's clear to me we are talking about the sudden emergence and death, in unprecedented time - of two dialects. **You'll forgive me if I don't watch my p's and q's at this point, but this is probably due largely to uncontrolled mass immigration which while having positive benefits elsewhere, certainly hasn't had on the local London dialect.** I think this hasty emergence which has been heavily influenced by groups who speak poor English in the first place. This is far from the gradual evolution of languages and dialects you talk about but rather a half-baked, dumbed down and almost desperate way of communication, which has suddenly taken force and alarmingly (yes alarmingly Dr Hornsby) has become mainstream in certain areas. As for prestige, I can hardly see any of the future saying 'am of t'd shitter, innit'.

MCE is effectively a bad patois taking mainstream. I find it worrying that you see this as nothing to worry about and that you are not promoting the development and continuation of clear articulate and grammatically correct English. Shame on you.

[#52_2014_ Hornsby's thread of e-mails_3] (**my emphasis**)

From: David Hornsby
Sent: 18 February 2014 08:56
To: xxx
Subject: RE: MCEA

I'd take issue with the idea that I'm 'promoting' anything: I study language change, I find it interesting, and since it's always happened and always will I think it's important not to get issues of language mixed up with other things. Low-status varieties have always been disliked by some people, and they always will be, but we need to dissociate our own view of the speakers from the supposed 'qualities' of the language itself. There are, and always have been, people who are unable to express themselves eloquently in Standard English, French, German or whatever. That some of them now express themselves in a dialect you happen not to like is nothing new. That very often such people find their life chances restricted is certainly a problem, and says something about social divisions in our society, which I positively do worry about. It would certainly be good for people to have access to standard English as well as their own dialect: the war time broadcaster Wilfed Pickles, for example, was equally at home in RP and his native Yorkshire dialect. But that's another issue, and one for educationalists and politicians to address, not a problem of the language itself. Some people express themselves

well, after all, even in standard English, while others don't (remember English is the language of Shakespeare, but it's also the language of John Prescoc).

I sense that you can't even contemplate a situation in which what we now call MLE could ever be anything other than the language of the ignorant, and indeed that sort of attitude isn't uncommon as I've pointed out. The problem with it is that we allow our prejudices about a variety's speakers to colour our view of the language itself. If the languages themselves really were at fault then speakers wouldn't use them, and our attitudes to them would never change. We know, however, that historically our attitudes to languages and language varieties very often do change with time. Finnish was once a despised, dying language: it's now a respected national one, and recognized only lowly peasants spoke Russian, and the aristocracy preferred French, until poets like Pushkin and Lermontov came along and invited Russians to view their own language in a different light. If you'd told someone then that there were would be a department of Russian studies in many UK universities a century or so later, and that people like me would do degrees in the subject, you'd have been laughed to scorn. There's even a case, in our very own islands, of a language once despised by all but the lowest of the low in society and shunned by an elite which used either a variety of French, or Latin. That language we now call 'English'.

All the best,

David

PS Let me recommend a book to you – it's a good read and highly accessible, and will challenge some popular assumptions about language. You might not agree with all its conclusions, but I think you'll find it thought-provoking and enjoyable.

hcp://www.amazon.co.uk/Language-Myths-Laurie-Bauer/dp/0140260234

*[**#53**_2014_ Hornsby's thread of e-mails_4]*

Another relevant debate – which touches upon most of the themes that have been discussed in this section – is the one generated by a *Daily Mail* article entitled 'Is this the end of Cockney? Hybrid dialect dubbed 'Multicultural London English' sweeps across the country' in 2013.[87] The subtitle introduces the online article as follows: 'Linguistics professor identified the 'new cockney' hybrid dialect; It has West Indian and South Asian, Cockney and Estuary roots; The dialect is most prevalent in East London, among people with few opportunities'. Here reported is an extract from the main body of the article.

Can you Adam and Eve it? Cockney rhyming slang is being driven out by a new language sweeping across the country.

The hybrid dialect, which, like cockney, combines slang with a different pronunciation, has been dubbed Multicultural London English by linguistic researchers.

It was originally nicknamed Jafaican - fake Jamaican - but scientists have now said it is a dialect that been influences by West Indian, South Asian, Cockney and Estuary English.

*[**#54**_2013_ DailyMail_main article]*

539 comments were then generated in reaction to this article, I report part of the debate here

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[87] Accessed at http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2498152/Is-end-Cockney-Hybrid-dialect-dubbed-Multicultural-London-English-sweeps-country.html#reader-comments, on 5.7.16.

This is just like the inner cities in the United States, you go there and the language has been so degraded you can't understand what they are saying, which I'm sure your British cities will start to look like. Isn't it a wonderful feeling? **Living in your country but it doesn't even feel like Britain?** We know the feeling, thank labour.

[#55_2013_ DailyMail_comment1] (**my emphasis**)

Hahahaha I love laughing at these Ali G wannabes in London. Surely they'll cringe when they look back and cringe at their attempts at **sounding "gangsta"** hahahahahahahah!

[#56_2013_ DailyMail_comment2] (**my emphasis**)

Whenever I hear that accent, I think of weak army faction gang members in the worst crime ridden place in England - London.
Have you been to London recently DM? **There have been no Cockneys in London for years,** if you did visit most of the area's of the capital of our nation you would hear every language other than English.

[#57_2013_ DailyMail_comment3] (**my emphasis**)

Hearing English youth speaking with a Jamaican gangsta accent is **idiotic and laughable**. As Del Boy would say.... You dipstiicks.

[#58_2013_ DailyMail_comment4] (**my emphasis**)

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its great when you see kids [who] never left [L]ondon talking "gangsta jamaican" it just shows them how thick they really are, we have a version up in newcastle its hard charva speak its so funny just makes them out as idiots as well

[#59_2013_ DailyMail_comment5]

London has been spoiled by the influx of certain groups of incomers. The ghettto-London broken English is the worst I've ever heard. I feel sorry for **genuine** Londoners.

[#60_2013_ DailyMail_comment6] (**my emphasis**)

Cockney replaced by pidgeon [pidgin] English

[#61_2013_ DailyMail_comment7] (**my emphasis**)

Oh can't wait till lefty BBC imposes yet more trashy regional [accents] on us instead o[f] upholding proper English.

[#62_2013_ DailyMail_comment8]

How long before Cockney, Brummie, Scouse and Geordie are made illegal and everyone has to speak this way. We will be left with nothing but a non language to converse with. Me and the old trouble and strife will left in a right two and eight.

[#63_2013_ DailyMail_comment9]

There are hardly any cockneys left in London. The rest of Britain will be over run soon by [non-] British.

[#64_2013_ DailyMail_comment10] (**my emphasis**)

I hate hearing this rubbish accent **it's just so fake**, as bad as putting on your posh telephone voice, it annoys me that people can't spell either and that's because of the way they pronounce words they sound as thick as two short planks

[#65_2013_ DailyMail_comment11] (**my emphasis**)

> I'm proud to be **a true Cockney** (born within the sound of Bow Bells). However, I do not refer to my gregory or the apples'n'pears and I do not drop my aiches, hence being a Cockney is defined by location of birth rather than by the manner of speech. Jamaican/West Indian slang is a language of its own but it has has nothing whatsoever to do with being a Cockney. In the fifties and sixties many British youngsters adopted use of American slang but that was never considered to have any connection with Cockney English.
>
> *[**#66**_2013_ DailyMail_comment12]* (**my emphasis**)

> London has been ruined by incomers. Ruined.
>
> *[**#67**_2013_ DailyMail_comment13]*

> **This is not language changing, this is about street cred and being cool**. As we've seen with text speak, once somebody gets into that habit, it becomes the norm, then that person becomes unemployable. Ruining our language is just one further way in which we have ruined the country.
>
> *[**#68**_2013_ DailyMail_comment14]* (**my emphasis**)

> **But it's fake. Youngsters don't actually speak like this but are putting it on. Cockney is a real accent!**
>
> *[**#69**_2013_ DailyMail_comment15]* (**my emphasis**)

> A very clear indication in which the simple minded English are being dispossessed of their own nation.
>
> *[**#70**_2013_DailyMail_comment16]*

MLE is derided and considered "fake", "trashy", a laughing stock, especially when spoken by "English youth" or "kids [who] never left London". Its legitimacy is undermined to the core, it is not a "genuine" variety, as Cockney is, and it is mostly perceived as a pose in an attempt to sound "gangsta" or "cool": "Jafaican may be cool, but it sounds ridiculous" *[#71_2011_LexisNexis_blogpost]*. MLE is hybrid and imperfect in these discourses. Ali G[88] and other British comedians or actors are often associated with it in their parodies of London suburban accents. Some of the comments here even imply that MLE is not a real accent, or that it is a pidgin form of English. Moreover, it is interesting to observe how these metadiscourses about language practices are here entangled with discourses on political beliefs and other social and identity-related concerns of modern Britain, such as crime, multiculturalism and large-scale immigration. As Kerswill (2014: 428) points out, MLE's "non-standardness, […] [and its] representation as a threat to national cohesion, and […] (purported) foreignness" appear central in these metalinguistic debates. On the other hand, it is important to note that some of the

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[88] Ali G is a fictional character and he is a stereotype of a White British suburban male who imitates rap culture as well as urban Black British and British Jamaican culture, particularly through hip-hop, reggae, drum and bass and jungle music, as well as speaking in rude boy-style English with borrowed expressions from Jamaican Patois. Ali G was part of a group called "Berkshire Massif", and grew up in an area of Slough called Langley, Berkshire. He also lived part of his life in Staines (now Staines-upon-Thames), north Surrey, 16 miles south-west of London. Baron Cohen [the actor who plays Ali G] has stated that BBC Radio 1 DJ Tim Westwood was an influence on the development of his character – Westwood used to host Radio 1's Rap Show and speaks in a faux Multicultural London English and hip hop dialect. Ali G's middle-class credentials mirror Westwood's: the latter was brought up in Lowestoft, Suffolk as a bishop's son.
(Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_G#cite_note-rollingstone-4, accessed on 17th January 2017)

comments allude to a potential link between Cockney and MLE, and that often people who used to complain about Cockney in earlier times, are now complaining about MLE.

MLE is not authentic, it is just a pose, and it is often referred to as 'Jafaican' or 'Jafaikan'. Even though several of the extracts mentioned in the previous paragraph already exemplify this theme, I here provide some further extracts in chronological order. The label 'Jafaican' itself constructs and emphasises the image of 'fakeness' that is associated to MLE. Its definitions in the *Urban Dictionary* are once more revealing of popular thinking on this topic. Interestingly, the term is also used to describe personality types and behaviours.[89]

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people who were born in Britain but talk like they want to be Jamaican or whatever - jafaikan is the language of jafaikans.

person A: "Blad listen up bwoi, this is da bizzle tho innit, I aint seen you for over 5 years brov"

person B: "Still talking Jafaikan eh, I stopped being one of the jafaikans a long time ago, and now I work for a big recording company as a producer - all that jafaikan is soooo like 2007 yeah - looks like youve still got wogmania"!.

#jafaikan#jafaikans#jafakean#wogtastic#wogmania

by oldbogface May 07, 2008

[**#72_***Urban Dictionary*, accessed on 5.7.16]

Jafaikans = White boy/girl pretending to be Jamaicans copying hair stiles [sic.] etc...
All these damn Jafaikans giving Jamaicans a bad rep round here...

#jafaikans#chav#townie#emo#scene kid#gangster

by Pat Hutchins April 23, 2008

[**#73_***Urban Dictionary*, accessed on 5.7.16]

Jafaikan is the language of British people who talk in a **fake** jamaican accent and use words like 'bizzle' 'blad' 'shizzle' 'innit' etc etc etc

They arent [sic.] always white either, theres [sic.] a lot of asian and black Jafaikan speakers out there.

"chill out blad, look at them beanies cutchin over there innit tho"

"You what mate? oh right youre a fuckin Jafaikan yeah"?

#jafaikan#grime#rap#black#fake#jafaikans

by oldbogface May 07, 2008

[**#74_***Urban Dictionary*, accessed on 5.7.16] (**my emphasis**)

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[89] Accessed at http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=jafaikans; and
http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=jafaican&page=2, on 5.7.16.

Jafaican is a dialect of English becoming more common in London's West End, within the tradition boundaries of the Cockney dialect: within the sound of the Bowbells and **is slowly replacing Cockney**. Jafaican is a mixture of English, Jamaican, West Indian and Indian language elements. Some Jafaican, for you reading pleasure:

Safe, man. You lookin buff in dem low batties. Dey's sick, man. Me? I'm just jammin wid me bruds. Dis my yard, innit? Is nang, you get me? No? What ends you from then?

Jafaican is the British ebonics.

#language#jafraican#tikanny#slang#cockney

by SLCpunk April 20, 2006

[**#75_**_Urban Dictionary_, accessed on 5.7.16] (**my emphasis**)

A person that acts like they [are] Jamaican ie;try talk like they [are] jamaican, try act like they [are] jamaican but they're not!

by Anonymous June 13, 2003

[**#76_**_Urban Dictionary_, accessed on 5.7.16]

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a person who **pretends** to be jamaican.
a middle class suburban white kid using patoi [s].

"me nah know botty ridah fa rotty bidah!"
'wow.that kids a jafaican."

#jamaican#slang#wigger#patoi#toronto

by alchemichael October 20, 2009

[**#77_**_Urban Dictionary_, accessed on 5.7.16] (**my emphasis**)

When some one [sic] is trying act getto [ghetto] or gangsta but with a jamaican bent.

"Tom has had his hair in dreads for months now". "Yea, he is Jafaican".

#ghetto#gangsta#rasta#poser#fake

by Richie Pimental March 11, 2009

[**#78_**_Urban Dictionary_, accessed on 5.7.16]

Singer or actor who claims to be from Jamaica, **trying to sound cool with fake accent.**
Those two Sean guys, one a Jamaican, the other's a jafaican.

uh uh uh uh oh ooh....

#jamaican#fake#reggae#singer#beautiful#girls

by alt green November 23, 2007

[**#79_**_Urban Dictionary_, accessed on 5.7.16] (**my emphasis**)

Kerswill (2014: 437) – who also draws on some of the definitions provided by the _Urban Dictionary_ in his paper on the discoursal embedding of Multicultural London English in the British

media – observes that these draw attention to MLE's "fakeness [and are] concerned with a violation of authenticity". Interestingly however – through a concordance analysis – Kerswill (ibid: 439-40) reveals that writers in his newspaper corpus "are aware of the equivalence of this and Jafaican. Likewise, Jamaican tends to go with patois […] Jafaican is seen as a dialect or an accent, not a style or youth language. However, dubbed, four of whose seven occurrences are to the immediate left of Jafaican, suggests that the term 'Jafaican' is not quite academically acceptable – the frequently mentioned Multicultural London English fills". Kerswill (2014) provides some additional interesting quotes from language debates in relation to this theme that are replicated here.

> There is a new language on the streets of London and other British cities, according to academic research: "Jafaican", supposedly derived from Jamaican and African slang, is now **way more prevalent than Cockney**. Despite the name, there is in reality no racial demarcation and a good deal more Ali G posturing here than **genuine** Jamaican roots, and the chief uniting feature of Jafaican speakers is age (very young).
> *[#80_2006_Independent; as quoted in Kerswill 2014: 445]* (**my emphasis**)

> Paul Kerswill, professor of sociolinguistics at Lancaster University, said: 'In much of the East End of London, the Cockney dialect that we hear now spoken by older people will have disappeared within another generation. 'People in their 40s will be the last generation to speak it and it will be gone within 30 years.' He said East Enders had for decades been moving into Essex an Hertfordshire and their traditional accent was being 'transplanted' with them. 'Cockney in the East End is transforming itself into multi-cultural London English, a new, melting-pot mixture of all those people living here who learnt English as a second language,' he added. Now the dwindling ranks of Cockney speakers are being asked to record their voices for posterity. The Kings Place art centre in central London also plans to post a downloadable recording of Bow Bells on its website so that Cockneys who have moved away can still let their children be born within the sound of it chimes.
> *[#81_2010_Mail; as quoted in Kerswill 2014: 447]*

MLE – or 'Jafaican' – has been also linked to discourses on nationalism, multiculturalism, crime, race and "ethnic cleansing". Kerswill (2014) discusses this in depth and draws on three relevant extracts that I report in full here as they point to debates that are often perceived (co-textually) as central in the wider metadiscourse on these varieties. First, Jafaican is explicitly linked to bad behaviours, and this emerges – together with connotations of falseness – very clearly in David Starkey's declarations during his BBC TV Newsnight appearance after the riots of summer 2011, even though he did not use MLE or Jafaican as a label:

> The whites have become black. A particular sort of violent, destructive, nihilistic, gangster culture has become the fashion, and black and white, boy and girl, **operate in this language together, this language which is wholly false, which is this Jamaican patois that has been intruded in England, and that is why so many of us have this sense of, literally, a foreign country.**
> *[#82_2011_David Starkey, Newsnight; as reported in Kerswill (2014: 448)]* (**my emphasis**)

These affirmations generated a very heated debate in the media on this topic and well-known blogger Katharine Birbalsingh responded to the incident in the conservative broadsheet newspaper *The Daily Telegraph*:

> Lastly, Starkey's claim that he feels like a foreigner in his own country because Jamaican patois rules the streets is laughable. Has David Starkey ever been to Jamaica? My mother is Jamaican, and I can assure you that she sounds nothing like our out-of-control kids! For one, the accent Starkey is talking about is specific to London … Two, that accent … is uniquely ENGLISH. It is a kind of fusion of many cultures, including Cockney East End speech. One can also hear some Jamaican influence, general working-class London influence and so on. Does Starkey really believe that Jamaicans go around saying "innit"? "Innit" has a Cockney glottal stop in it! … [T]his accent not only is not Jamaican, but neither is it in American gangster culture. What MTV rapper sounds like our kids?
>
> [**#83**_2011_*Daily Telegraph blog; as reported in Kerswill (2014: 448-9)*]

Interestingly, in this extract the author emphasises that this is a "home-grown variety of English" (Kerswill 2014: 448-9); instead of associating it to foreignness as it is most often done. This will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs. Finally, always as part of the same debate, the spread of MLE has been compared to an ethnic cleansing – ethnically cleansing away Cockneys – on the British National Party's website:[90]

> **Cockneys Have Become First British Group to be Ethnically Cleansed**
>
> The Cockney culture and language has been ethnically cleansed from London's East End as mass Third World immigration has pushed white people into minority status and destroyed **the world-famous accent**. According to an analysis of demographic figures – which are already several years out of date – white British people make up as less than 40 percent of the population in the areas of London traditionally associated with Cockneys. Furthermore, **the world famous Cockney accent and rhyming slang has already been completely replaced amongst the younger age groups in the region as they form the overwhelming majority of that population**. **True Cockney, a dialect more than 500 years old, is now spoken only by the elderly in London and will, a study recently showed, be completely extinct within 30** years. Cockney is being replaced by what is politely called "Multicultural London English" or LME for short. LME is also known as "Jafaican" which is a combination of Jamacian [sic], African and Asian. Traditionally, people born within earshot of the bells of the church of St. Mary-le-Bow in Cheapside, London, were classified **as true Cockneys.**
>
> [**#84**_2011_*British National Party webpage; as reported in Kerswill (2014: 488-9)*]
> (**my emphasis**)

Here once again, Cockney's historicity – its 500-year heritage – is emphasised as the dialect is seen as symbolising the "world famous", "true" Cockney culture. Issues of foreignness and "nationalism are [thus] to the fore here" (ibid), even though in the remainder of the article the author "nowhere links 'Jafaican' with bad behaviour" (ibid).

MLE is authentic and natural and it should be embraced as an emblem of freedom and naturalness. This nuance of the metadiscourses is first commented upon by Kerswill (2014: 443) who observes the development of a theme where Jafaican is perceived as a "natural linguistic development". He then goes on to cite an extract from *The Independent* where a representative of the Queen's English Society claims that language is a "living and adaptable thing" and that the "different language varieties are in some sense equal" (Kerswill 2014: 443). This comes as quite a surprise as the Queen's English Society is normally fairly prescriptivist in its promotion of perceived language 'correctness'.

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[90] Available at: http://www.bnp.org.uk/news/cockneys-have-become-firstbritish-group-be-ethnically-cleansed

> David Roberts of the Queen's English Society said the move was part of the general development of language and should not be regarded as inferior to other codes so long as it was readily understandable to others. "The only purpose of language is to convey thoughts from inside one person's head to another as accurately and comprehensively as possible. Language must be able to adapt. If it hadn't we would all be addressing each other as thou and thee. You cannot put constraints on the development of language."
>
> [**#85_**_The Independent; as reported in Kerswill (2014: 443)_]

The same attitude is then expressed by another member of this society in response to an additional article on the topic two days later in the *Associated Press*.

> And while Jafaican and other dialects may be "rather ugly on the ear," they deserve recognition as legitimate forms of proper speech, said Michael Plumbe, chairman of the Queen's English Society, a London-based institute pledged to preserve proper British English grammar, usage and pronunciation. "It's a natural progression to change language in any society," Plumbe said. "As long as it's clearly enunciated, it's fine."
>
> [**#86_**_Associated Press; as reported in Kerswill (2014: 43)_]

In my own corpus, this thematic strand was also observed especially in the most recent digital data, as well as in one of my interviews with the Artistic Director of a renowned London theatre that was established in May 2006. The interview focused on how the theatre is helping young people from socially deprived backgrounds by using drama to build self-esteem, confidence and self-awareness. This encompassed the staging of Shakespeare plays in what has been described by the press as MLE or 'ghetto English'. As my interviewee explains, when Shakespeare plays were first staged at the theatre in 2008, a heated metalinguistic debate emerged opposing "flat", emotionless RP to "emotional" MLE and "people's native tongues".

> **Q**: What is the reaction of the audience, since so many people believe that Shakespeare should only be staged with an RP 'accent'?
>
> **A**: It used to be something that was quite…yeah what would you expect when you would see Shakespeare, but now actually I think there is an audience that wants to hear Shakespeare in people's native tongues; more and more. Because you know, we are bored of RP, it is boring. Shakespeare wasn't boring, he was emotional! So just have it in this kind of…I mean I will probably get shot for that…in this flat RP…I mean when you hear Shakespeare in people's native tongues like Scottish or you hear it in an African dialect, or West Indian dialect or Irish...it's just…those languages have more of a rhythm, while RP is quite rhythmless. I mean you do have those people, you do have people that say it should be done a certain way, it should be spoken in RP…I mean we had that...I mean the first year I did a production we got quite a lot of publicity about it and there was a whole thing in the *Evening Standard* about, saying it was dumbing down Shakespeare, great kind of debate going on. In 2008, I say to those people…well you know…maybe they need to ask themselves…
>
> [**#87_**_2015_Interview_DR_]

Later in the interview, the interviewee specifies that he does not know what MLE is since it is his and his children's reality, a natural development that should not be discriminated against with labels such as 'multicultural'. The themes of freedom and naturalness emerge in these last few extracts, as well as issues such as race, multiculturalism and language change.

> **Q**: What do you think of these new dialectal varieties such as MLE?
>
> **A**: What is MLE? And I thought, hold on a minute, **it's just London you know** [he could not understand what I was looking for when I first contacted him]. And for someone to categorise like that I was at first…ehm hold on a minute, because for my children…multicultural English is **their reality…and it's London to them**…and I think that now trying to categorise all these different sounds…I am not sure…I am not sure I like the labelling…but I do agree that there are different kind of…but maybe it doesn't need to identify…but I don't know…I am undecided. To me I don't know what that means…I mean 'multicultural'… It's quite discriminative…it's a blanket, you can't…**and the word MLE…you know…what does that mean? The reality is that this is London now, I mean this is London.** […] And if they are gonna make a difference I don't think multicultural is the right word…what does that mean?
>
> **Q**: What about those people who think that MLE is wiping out Cockney?
>
> **A**: I don't think that multicultural English is wiping out Cockney…Cockney has been around for years and years…Cockney is established…I don't think so. Maybe it is you know…because you have more now interracial kind of relationship, and Cockney was predominantly white speaking, kind of east London dialect. So yeah…maybe it is, maybe it is becoming diluted…it is not as strong as it used to be, because of these multicultural relationships that happen now in London.
>
> **We can't be afraid of change…that is the thing with London...and that's life. It doesn't mean it's lost forever, it doesn't mean it disappears…in this country we are so afraid of change and we must hold on to this English heritage that came around through wrong doings anyway**.
>
> *[**#88**_2015_Interview_DR]* (**my emphasis**)

Some other examples of the themes of 'naturalness', authenticity and of the inevitability of linguistic change are provided below.

> So is it any surprise that we now hear smatterings of Bengali and black Caribbean in the voice of east Londoners? Isn't it just **a natural** and fascinating development in the evolving story of the capital, rather than a wholesale pastiche from a group of white wannabes?
>
> *[**#89**_2013_The Guardian_online article_debates in EE online searches]*
> (**my emphasis**)

> **And the replacement of Cockney with Jafaican may reflect something more profound.** Accents and fashions display underlying insecurities and cultural aspirations; the rise of Received Pronunciation reflected a desire by the lower-middle class and provincials to embrace the values, lifestyles and habits of the British upper-middle class. In London the adoption of Jafaican, even among the privately-educated, reflects both a lack of confidence in British cultural values and an aspiration towards some form of **ghetto authenticity**.
>
> *[**#90**_2015_The Telegraph blog_blog post]* (**my emphasis**)

In this section, two different notions of linguistic legitimacy/authority have emerged. The first one, based on authenticity values such as historicity, tradition and romantic ideals of representing a population (cf. Geeraerts 2003, 2008; Woolard 2008; Chapter I & II). Historically, Cockney has been a stigmatised variety of the East of London, while in more recent years several social actors in these debates are starting to defend it against the threat posed to it by MLE. In these debates, Cockney is perceived as the traditional, authentic variety of English that is being swept away by the inauthentic MLE that is associated with 'too much' mobility, 'too much' social inclusiveness

and 'too much' multiculturalism. It is thus highly undesirable. On the other hand, a second notion of linguistic legitimacy/authority, based on anonymity values has emerged here. This view, values freedom, realness, naturalness and accepts the dynamicity of language (cf. Geeraerts 2003, 2008; Woolard 2008; Chapter I & II). This second notion was observed especially in discussions about RP and the last few paragraphs that focused on MLE. Finally, it appears that the indexical order that is being tapped into in these metalinguistic debates is not limited to class concerns; it might have something to do with a reaction against class categorisation itself, against the 'classic' or 'traditional' way of thinking about indexical orders, and thus displays a movement towards finding a new, alternative one. In this 'new' view, one would seek legitimacy in opposite values, upper-class values being no longer the superordinate. This could be both a reaction to globalisation and a movement towards democratisation, and against unquestioned authority (cf. Bell 2011). This can be seen most clearly in the depiction and attitudes towards RP in the two case studies analysed here. As we have seen, the metadiscourses revolving around RP are in fact very similar in an anti-hegemonic and 'inverted snobbery' direction for both case studies (cf. Chapter II).

Kerswill (2014: 452) schematically summarises the progression of the media discourses on Jafaican in the following way, and this seems to correspond fairly well to what has been discussed in this section and helpfully deconstructs the very dense and contrasting discourses revolving around this variety.

> *'Jafaican' as: as a language variety: exotic, new, interesting → but a threat to a variety which exists in the same geographical space, Cockney → a natural development arising out of social and demographic conditions → an educational problem → a well-known variety whose existence is a matter of common sense (i. e. enregistered) → a normal variety → a foreign variety → a threat to liberal values → a foreign variety threatening social cohesion → a threat to nationhood → a variety associated with bad behaviour à cool*

The arrows in this case imply a transition across a number of metadiscursive thematical strands. In relation to this scheme, Kerswill (2014: 452) explains that:

> [t]he most pervasive discourse utilizes the metaphor of 'threat', and within this we can discern two strands. The first is the threat of displacement (of Cockney, of 'true' British people, of 'British' cultural values) and involves discourses originating in the political right. The second strand is the threat to liberal values (gender equality, but also (in hip-hop lyrics) homosexual equality). Many of the discussions of 'Jafaican' insist on its foreignness, and many of these in turn see this not only as a threat […], but also as inextricably linked to bad behaviour and social unrest. But at the same time some commentators, such as those from the Queen's English Society, take a non-committed, neutral stance, seeing it as a natural development. The discourse of 'Jafaican' as fashionable or 'cool' is dependent on a number of others: exoticism, oppositionality through its association with subcultures, and youthfulness. It is seen by the media as being freely adopted by people of all classes. [91]

To conclude, the deconstruction that has been attempted in this chapter has helped shedding some light on the complex metadiscourse revolving around these varieties, even though – in this case – the varieties were numerically superior and less enregistered (excluding RP and Cockney)

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[91] Kerswill (2014: 452) specifies that "[t]his construction of 'Jafaican' differs sharply from the analysis which (socio)linguists place on it. The latter see, on the one hand, young, middle-class people as buying into limited aspects of it by borrowing slang and professing a preference for certain musical styles. On the other hand, for the speakers themselves, who are young, working class and multicultural, it is their everyday way of speaking incorporating distinctive phonological, grammatical, lexical and discourse patterns".

than in the New Zealand English case study. Therefore, some of the main points that I would like to emphasise as it concerns this second case study are:

o The metadiscourse about 'non-standard' contact varieties in the south east of England is complex, multifaceted and deeply entangled with other dominant social discourses such as those about class, hegemony, multiculturalism, crime, race, immigration and nationalism. Moreover, the discourse is not univocal and the different voices that have been analysed certainly demonstrate the multiplicity of contrasting ideologies that can coexist in a society at a given time, and how these play out in metalinguistic debates (cf. Kroskrity: 2004; chapter I).

o Important semiotic processes such as essentialisation (i.e. the idea that all ethnic minority groups speak MLE), iconisation (i.e. Cockney symbolising Englishness) and enregisterment (see the discussion about the enregisterment of RP in section 1), have been identified as very productive in these metalinguistic debates, as it was the case for the previous case study.

o A standard language ideology is strongly present in these metalinguistic debates too; especially for what concerns the juxtaposition of RP to the other 'non-standard' varieties. This also reveals a tendency that has been noted in the previous case study: the juxtaposition of two varieties, i.e. a binary analysis and binary perceptions of these varieties (e.g. RP-EE; MLE-Cockney), together with an 'us' vs. 'them' dichotomy.[92]

o The essentialisation and reification through labelling of language varieties in the media can be observed very clearly in these metadiscourses (cf. Kerswill: 2014; cf. Introduction and section 1 of this chapter). This plays a fundamental role in the negotiation of the status of these varieties. Consequently, I believe that this would be a relevant topic on which some further research could be conducted in the future (cf. the practices of that area of sociolinguistics that focuses on Perceptual Dialectology; thus cf. Preston: 2002, 2003, 2006 and Agha 2003, 2007).

o In digital discourses, irony seemed to be a highly productive discursive strategy which has also allowed for new voices to be heard on this topic. Digital debates have shed some light on the complex relationship, development and perception of the 'standard' and 'non-standard' (contact) varieties in the south east of England more recently. This has also highlighted the different stages of the process of enregisterment of these varieties (cf. Agha 2003, 2007). As anticipated in the main hypothesis preceding this discussion, several of the reasons why recently 'Received Pronunciation' is being rejected as an authoritative standard in New Zealand, correlate with what is happening on a metalinguistic level in Britain in recent times: its linguistic authenticity – and thus legitimacy and authority – are strongly undermined.

o Due to the density and complexity of the metadiscourses analysed here, not all the relevant thematic facets that emerged could be analysed in depth. Most of them, however, were mentioned and will be the focus of further research in future work.

o Authenticity – and linguistic authenticity – are here once again a central concern, especially in the more modern digital metalinguistic debates analysed. Notions of authenticity and legitimacy in language seem here to correspond as it was observed for the NZE case study: the more a variety is considered to be authentic, the more legitimate and authoritative it will be. In sum, RP is more recently being perceived as inauthentic and it is thus rejected as a standard in several social settings (see section 3.1). MLE is rejected from an outsider

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[92] This however could also be due to the way in which the discourse was deconstructed for the sake of simplification.

perspective because it lacks in authenticity, it is a pose, it is fake (see the label 'Jafaican'). On the other hand, from an insider perspective, it is considered legitimate because it is the authentic and natural way of talking of certain social groups (see section 3.3). Cockney is the authentic variety of London and thus its potential 'displacing' by MLE is perceived as negative and undesirable. Mockney is, already etymologically, inauthentic.

o The arguments that go to form larger thematic strands in these debates for the legitimacy-authenticity construct recur across case studies, here I point especially to those of naturalness and historicity.

o Romantic and rationalist views of language variation once more coexist and are productive in these debates. These – as seen in section 3.3 – underlie two different notions of linguistic legitimacy/authority. Therefore, ideologies of 'authenticity' and 'anonymity' are here central in determining how authority is ascribed to certain varieties, while being denied to others (cf. Woolard 2008). These also interact with social constructs such as class, and notions such as egalitarianism and snobbery that are particularly salient within modern British society.

4. A Typology of Metalinguistic Authenticities?

As we have seen in the previous section, definitions of linguistic authenticity have emerged as central in the metalinguistic debates analysed for this second case study. Authenticity once again appears to be a central concern for the people who participate in these metalinguistic debates and in its definition notions of naturalness and historicity play an important role once more. Therefore, a set of common interrelated (and sometimes conflicting) conceptualisations and aspects of what constitutes an authentic language variety emerges. The competitive voices within the metalinguistic debates analysed engage with the following discursive constructions of authenticity:

1. An authentic language is natural (e.g. EE, MLE)

2. An authentic language is owned by a group of people (e.g. Cockney)

3. An authentic language reflects people's mentality and honesty, represents an 'authentic' identity (e.g. Cockney)

4. An authentic language is perceived as 'local', tied to a geographical space (e.g. Cockney)

5. An authentic language has a history (the history of the language being connected with the history of its speakers); language with a "recognizable origin" (Kramsch 2012: 115) (e.g. Cockney VS. MLE)

6. An authentic language is stable (e.g. RP)

7. An authentic language is pure and homogenous (e.g. RP)

Can we thus claim that people evaluate authenticity in these terms when making sociolinguistic judgments? 1) How do speakers characterise authenticity of a language variety?; 2) What are the main discursive categories, or thematic areas, on which this sociolinguistic judgment is often made? 3) What does this reveal about more modern conceptions of language and authenticity?

The sociolinguistics literature does not provide much evidence in this respect as we have seen in Chapter I and, as Coupland (2010a) implies. In fact, in sociolinguistics, 'authenticity' has mainly been considered in relation to linguists' notion of 'authentic language' and 'authentic speaker'. This has often been in the form of a critique, and rarely in consideration of language users' own definitions – and implementation of these definitions in metalinguistic debates – of linguistic authenticity.[93] This would shed some important light on language users' level of awareness of these metalinguistic themes/notions and ideologies and on the ways in which the

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[93] However, cf. some of the papers in Lacoste, Leimgruber and Breyer 2014; see later on.

members of a speech community evaluate authenticity when making sociolinguistic judgments.

As a consequence, I try to address this research gap in the present investigation and I believe that the metalinguistic discourses that make up my corpora can provide relevant insights into language users' perceptions and constructions of authenticity in language. I will thus draw on some of the available sociolinguistic theories on authenticity and authentication that were discussed in Chapter I, by adding some additional details that I deem relevant for the current aim. At the same time, I will also take into account the observations gathered through the analysis of my own corpora, since I believe that the data collected for each case study – as well as a comparison highlighting the commonalities in the characterisation of linguistic authenticity – can provide relevant insights into speakers' perceptions and constructions of authenticity in language.

Before we start, it is important here to once more emphasise that I am dealing with **metalinguistic** authenticit(ies), as opposed to authenticity more generally; i.e. the focus is on authenticating discourses and practices, on **authentication,** thus on the metalinguistic level. This is obviously in contrast with a general approach to authenticity, even though some of the insights needed to create my typology of metalinguistic authenticit(ies) might derive from such discourses (see Chapter I).

4.1. Authenticity Models in Sociolinguistics

In the first part of this section, I will provide a short overview of some of the models and discussions in modern sociolinguistics on the topic that have not been discussed in Chapter I and that provide important insights for the current aims. First, I will focus on the insights offered by Bucholtz's (2003) discussion on the nostalgia of sociolinguistics. Second, I will focus on Irvine's (1989) notion of 'chains of authentication', and Jaffe (1993) will also be briefly revisited here. Third, the discussion provided by Woolard (2016) appears to be very relevant in this context.

In section 4.2, I discuss the conceptualisations of linguistic authenticity emerging from the analysis of my own corpora. Taking into account the insights gained on the topic – both from the case studies and the available literature – I will delineate a tentative typology of metalinguistic authenticities. This might not be generalizable to all case studies with a similar focus, but it could be helpful in promoting more academic research in this direction.[94]

Bucholtz (2003) identifies some of the main language ideologies that "together have produced the construct of the authentic speaker" (404), providing some relevant insights on speakers' perspective on the topic. In fact, according to Bucholtz the ideologies of sociolinguists often are shared with those of the language users that they study, and

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[94] I believe it would be beneficial for the kind of data that are analysed here, to draw on adjacent literatures (i.e. not exclusively sociolinguistic), such as those found in anthropology and sociology. This would in fact allow us to have a project that seems to be compatible with recognizing the fact that investigations about people's behaviours and practices – i.e. here about their language practices – are inherently about the social science. This would thus call for a different kind of epistemology, that includes more hybrid approaches since the field of linguistic anthropology can itself be considered to be a middle ground (Kroskrity, personal consultation). Additionally, as it has been previously discussed, the field of sociolinguistics has just started to deal with the topic of authentication and authenticity (cf. Coupland 2003 and Bucholtz 2003; see Chapter I), and thus expanding the horizons to adjacent field could be very beneficial. This however goes beyond the scope of the present investigation, but it will be the topic of a future paper, for now available as a draft on my personal Academia.edu webpage (cf. Taylor (1991)'s celebrated monograph *The Ethics of Authenticity*).

this then leads her to argue for devoting more time to "figuring out how such individuals and groups have come to be viewed as authentic in the first place, and by whom" (ibid: 407) (i.e. the process of authentication).

○ The ideology of *linguistic isolationism:*
[…] the most authentic language is removed from and unaffected by other influences, and thus the most authentic speaker belongs to a well-defined, static, and relatively homogeneous social grouping that is closed to the outside. In the logic of this ideology, the effects of social and linguistic contact are problematic - hence, the normal state of linguistic affairs is often understood as a difficulty for sociolinguistic analysis. This ideology has been most powerful in dialectology, which in early studies exhibited an explicit concern with the purity of a speaker's dialect. […] The idea that the most authentic form of a language - or of language itself - is a mythical 'purest' form untouched by outside influences, overlooks the central role of contact in shaping almost all languages and varieties.

○ The ideology of *linguistic mundaneness:*
The most authentic language is a language that, from its user's point of view, is unremarkable, commonplace, everyday. The ideologies of isolationism and mundaneness may be mutually reinforcing, in that this kind of ordinary language is considered to be particularly inaccessible and difficult to document because of the contact conditions in which most sociolinguistic research occurs. […] This collocation takes for granted the existence of a principled and hierarchical distinction between 'natural' and 'unnatural' language use; here, authenticity is inscribed in the very terms under which sociolinguistics operates.

○ The *linguist as arbiter of authenticity:*
It is we who ultimately decide who is and is not an authentic speaker, what is and is not authentic speech. Although the perceptions of speakers and hearers may inform our decisions, such perceptions are usually called language attitudes or language ideologies, while our own perceptions are labeled analysis.

Bucholtz, in place of the "unexamined notion of authenticity" offers the alternative concept of "authentication" that has been also mentioned by Coupland (see Chapter I). For Bucholtz (ibid: 408), authentication views authenticity as the "outcome of constantly negotiated social practices".[95] This thus highlights the fact that authenticity is always achieved rather than given in social life and that this achievement is often rendered invisible. Importantly for my case studies, Bucholtz concludes her discussion by claiming that speakers and hearers also "rely on the notion of authenticity, not in the construction of their theories but in the construction of their identities" (ibid: 410). Bucholtz (2003: 408) therefore develops the model of "tactics of intersubjectivity" which implies the fact that identity formation is "closely tailored to its context: identities emerge from temporary and mutable interactional conditions, in negotiation and often contestation with other social actors and in relation to larger and often unyielding structures of power". This model encompasses three pairs of tactics that are based on three "conceptually separable but interrelated sets of identity relations" (ibid: 408), which resonate

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[95] The approach to authentication as an object of research has already been taken up by a number of researchers from a variety of sociolinguistic perspectives (e.g. Henze and Davis 1999; Ochs and Capps 1997; Thornborrow and van Leeuwen 2001) (Bucholtz 2003: 410).

through my two case studies as it concerns the ways in which people de/authenticate language varieties in metalinguistic debates:

> - *Adequation*, a term that incorporates the concepts of both equation and adequacy, calls attention to the fact that social actors, in creating some shared commonality across the lines of difference that separate all individuals, do not seek to erase those differences entirely. It may therefore be glossed as the construction of contextually sufficient similarity between individuals or groups. *Distinction*, conversely, involves a differentiating process that downplays intersubjective likeness (ibid: 408).

> - The second set of relations, authorization and illegitimation, foregrounds the role of institutions in conferring or withholding structural power. *Authorization* concerns the claiming or imparting of a culturally recognized powerful status, while *illegitimation* is the denial or rejection of such a claim (ibid: 408).

> - *Authentication* is instantiated through the assertion of one's own or another's identity as genuine or credible. By contrast, *denaturalization* is the phenomenon whereby an identity is held up as inauthentic or unreal - as literally incredible (ibid: 408).

The model of "tactics of intersubjectivity" proposed by Bucholtz (2003) appears to tie in nicely with Irvine's (1989: 258) concept of "chain of authentication". Irvine explains that "[m]ost often, we [as members of a (speech) community] are probably relying not just on a single testimonial statement [of authenticity], but on a *chain of authentication*, a historical sequence by which the expert's attestation – and the label (expression) that conventionally goes along with it – is relayed to other people" (ibid). The concrete example that she uses to help the reader understand this concept is that of the purchase of a golden necklace, but it is not difficult to envision the dynamics of this process in the development of a speech standard such as RP:

> I claim that the necklace I wear is made of gold because I acquired it from a trustworthy person who said it was, and who in turn acquired it from a "reliable" dealer, who in turn acquired it from a reliable source, and so on back to a point at which some expert actually did make the tests that enables him or her to declare this metal to be gold. Thus my valued commodity (the necklace) is accompanied, not just by one special kind of statement (the authoritative testimonial), but by two: the authoritative and derivatively authoritative (reportive – all the statements after the expert's, in the chain of authentication).

> (ibid)

Finally, Jaffe (1993) in her article about the cultural tension revealed in popular reaction to Corsican language education and in Corsican language pedagogy, relevantly observes the existence of a "conflict between a dominant Western European model of perfect congruence between language and identity and a plural cultural and linguistic reality" (99). In the context of the present discussion it becomes relevant in relation to the dynamics revolving around the use of the Corsican language, and the claims to cultural authenticity that she observed in Corsican language classrooms. In fact, as she explains, consistency between "belief, action, and identity" (ibid: 111) is a primary criterion for authentic linguistic and cultural identity:

[…] the burden of proof of authenticity fell to members of the minority, […] and the rules of evidence were defined by the majority. Students who still were not comfortable carrying on an extended conversation in Corsican were confronted with the part that they would play in the collective fashioning of Corsican linguistic destiny. The academic lesson was that Corsican was only one possible way of representing Corsicanness. The practical lesson was that it was usually the primary symbol of cultural identity […]

Underlying the problems posed by heterogeneity in the Corsican language and its practice were assumptions about consistency between belief, action, and identity as a criterion for authentic linguistic or cultural identity. As a result of both the material and symbolic results of French domination, Corsicans were engaged in asserting that Corsican was everything that French was not, and proving that it was everything that French was held to represent; that it was an internally coherent linguistic system whose structure and practice were perfect embodiments of cultural identity. […]

The cultural problematic of Corsican language education shows how very difficult it is for a minority group to resist these structures, in which the only true and authentic linguistic and cultural identity is a completely independent one.[96]

4.1.1 The Notion of Authenticity in more Recent Literature: Sociolinguistic Naturalism

Woolard (2016: 7), in her most recent monograph on the topic, observes that there is a common "taproot" shared by the ideology of anonymity and the ideology of authenticity for what concerns the language ideologies that typically underpin linguistic authority in the modern western world (for a detailed discussion of these see Chapter I). This common taproot is found in an ideology of "sociolinguistic naturalism", which entails the assumption that "a linguistic form exists independent of willful human intervention and that it naturally and directly corresponds to a social state of affairs" (ibid). Woolard (2016) in this important work on ideologies of linguistic authority in 21st century Catalonia, explains that "[t]his sociolinguistic naturalism pits the ease of a seemingly artless natural language that is a speaker's first medium, and thus not understood as a medium at all but rather as a direct and unmediated reality, against the labored artifice of a secondarily learned language" (32). She then goes on to quote John Joseph: "The 'artificial' – the product of human will, the historical element of language – is marginalized in favour of a 'natural' language that is reckoned to be above the human will and therefore more 'real' than we, its speakers, are" (Joseph 2000, 144; as quoted in Woolard 2016: 32). This resonate very clearly with the notion that I have labelled 'Naturalness' and that has been discussed in detail in relation to NZE in Chapter II, and to Cockney and MLE in Chapter III. Additionally, Woolard (2016: 34) observes that in the western Romantic ideology, authentic language is identified with the "original, the first, the natural, the spontaneous, the interior, and the voice". On the other hand – as it also emerged from my two case studies – [i]nauthentic language is in contrast identified with the secondarily acquired, the artificial, the schoolteachers, and the written, all of which oblige people to "suppress their 'natural' inclinations to speak spontaneously". Moreover – and I believe this resonates especially with the second case study and discussions about MLE – the quality of authenticity has a "tendency to become not just characteristic of but even the special preserve of

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[96] Blommaert and Verscheuren (1991) show, in their analysis of contemporary European popular discourse about language and nationalism, that in the majority of the world, the logic of "one nation, one language" is still extremely powerful (Jaffe 1993: 100).

minority speakers themselves. African American, Quebecois, Corsican, Breton, London Creole speakers and their varieties have all been described as sharing the aura of authenticity and its familiar traits: rough, gritty, physical, sexual, earthy; in short, "real". Their mainstream counterparts – White, Anglo, standard French, or Received Pronunciation English speaker are cast in contrast as effete, stilted, artificial, strained, desexualized; in sum, inauthentic"(ibid: 24). [97]

Finally, Woolard (2016), through her case study on Catalonia highlights a general tendency that can also be observed in my own work, "toward universalism, cosmopolitanism, and a constructivist understanding of linguistic identity" (40). On-going ideological shifts as it concerns discourses of language authority are remarked upon and are said to be turning away from "traditional linguistic authenticity" moving at times toward the "assumptions of anonymity", while at others toward a more "post-naturalist construction of authenticity and identity" (71) as we have seen in the NZE case study. She, additionally, introduces two important concepts (or ideas) that I will briefly discuss here. The first one is "project authenticity"(38) and the second one is an alternative form of authenticity based on irony. Concerning "project authenticity", Woolard (2016: 37-8) argues that "[a]t various times and places, speaking subjects and communities of speakers themselves have also recognized [the] principle [of] construing linguistic authenticity [...]" (cf. the notion of authentication discussed in previous sections). "Artifice, in the sense of making something through deliberate human action and intervention, may be recognized and valorized in community practice as allowing the truest, most authentic realization of a social self" (ibid). Therefore, [w]hen conceived on other foundations than nature and origins – desire, potential, becoming, art, cultivation, will and pluck – an ideology of authenticity will have different consequences for language, its users, and its analysts" (ibid). As for the "alternative form of authenticity" (ibid: 36) that Woolard (2016: 36) mentions, I believe it is very salient for what concern the previous discussion on Mockney and MLE in south east of England metadiscourses (see for instance the example about the comedian Ali G in Chapter III). I here report her full quotation:

> An alternative form of authenticity that eschews sociolinguistic naturalism has also been described as a more recent development in late modern societies. Irony, the hallmark trope of postmodernity, distances speakers from claims to naturalness and brings to language an embrace of self-conscious artifice and agency. Much recent sociolinguistic research shows such a break with naturalism in playful language practices, especially among young people. As one example, Coupland [2003] has described the deliberate linguistic stylizations of a radio personality who plays with exaggerated stereotypes of his "own" heritage language. Another example of ironizing linguistic ownership is the well-known sociolinguistic phenomenon of language mixing identified by Ben Rampton as "crossing".

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[97] Woolard (ibid: 30-1) further elaborates on the notion of 'sociolinguistic naturalism' and reminds the reader that "[o]n the surface, the two ideological complexes of authenticity and anonymity offer contrasting images of the relationship between language and social life. However, they do not always oppose each other as bases for authority, but may intertwine in a complex relationship [...] even in the formation of national languages, these have sometimes been seen to be mutually reinforcing rhetorics". This, I believe, is what is happening in the metalinguistic debates regarding MLE and NZE especially: a linguistic form in this framework is "rightfully authoritative because it is the natural, unmediated expression of a state of social life in the world, rather than the outcome of human will, effort, intervention, and artifice. Such naturalism is opposed to recognition of the agency of speaking subjects, and to a historicized image of language as constructed by human action" (ibid).

To conclude, in Lacoste, V., J. Leimgruber and T. Breyer's (2014) edited volume some salient notions that are called upon in definitions of authenticity are: 'sincerity' and 'truth' (14), 'established' and 'reliable'. Monika Heller's contribution to the volume deals with the important theme of the commodification of authenticity and its central role in the ideas of a nation (136):

> Romantic versions of nationalism locate authenticity in naturalized ideas of nation, and place it in the role of primary principle of social organization. It is thus central to serve our ideas about citizenship, and indeed, personhood (Hobsbawn 1990; Bauman & Briggs 2003). Put differently, we accord rights of participation in social activities to those we count as authentic members of the nation, and judge moral worth on the same basis.

4.2 Conceptualisations of Linguistic Authenticity from my Corpora

A number of themes have emerged from this overview and from my own corpus' analysis. I will here draw attention to some of these themes. The first theme is that of 'Dynamism', that I have discussed in detail in Chapter II. Interestingly, some people become symbolically important for their communities in these metadiscourses, they become links in the chains of authentication (e.g. the BBC, the educational system etc.). This is very clear in the case study concerning the south east of England (see for example discussions about RP and EE), and this process emphasises the underlying dynamism that is required for this process to happen (Kroskrity, personal communication). This also ties in with Blommaert's (1999) definition and discussion of 'ideological brokers' (see Chapter I). Therefore, it was here possible to shed some light on the ways in which small attitudinal changes start to impact these wider discourses where dynamism – both as a process and as a theme – has been identified as salient. In fact – as we have seen – dynamism underlies the recent ideological changes that have been discussed especially in the south east of England: it is an on-going process, 'everything' seems to be in constant motion (i.e. attitudes, indexicalities, metadiscourses). The language system is in fact not independent from social happenings of a more general nature such as globalisation and the consequent increase in social, demographical and geographical mobility. The language ideologies themselves seem to be caught up in this dynamism; some can be described as circular: they are so persistent that they recur years later in different discourses and contexts (see for instance the Standard Language Ideology discussed mainly in chapters I and II). These observations lead me to believe that the mechanisms of **'ideological assemblage'** – that have been pointed out here – deserve more attention in future research (see Kroskrity, forthcoming).

The second theme is tightly connected to the first one, and it emphasises the relevance of the notion of 'chains of authentication' (see Irvine 1989; see previous section) which gives us a sense of how indexicality itself works in communities as an authenticating process. Once again, people seem to rely on certain key figures in the community and the ideologies generated by these figures are subsequently filtered down in a top-bottom movement – or up, in a bottom-up movement (see for instance the origins of NZE's authenticating metadiscourses and arguments) – and thus the indexicality of these varieties changes in a chain-like shift (Kroskrity, personal discussion).

As a third theme, I would like to address the fact that – as Giddens (1991) discusses in his monograph on modernity and self-identity – identity seems nowadays to be more carefully crafted by individuals than it used to be in the past (or that we have knowledge of for previous

decades). People seem to have become more aware of the possibilities of style, and stylization as it relates to personal identity (e.g. through social media or on the radio) and other connected phenomena (cf. Coupland's and Rampton works on this; see Woolard 2016 in the previous section). People seem to be actively 'calibrating': trying to identify the (in this case linguistic) parameters that will allow them to fulfil their socially-oriented aims (e.g. getting a better job, projecting a certain class identity etc.).[98] In other words – as Schilling (2013: 160) explains –

> […] more recent approaches [to variation analysis] have pointed to the importance of individual performativity – and indeed highly performative, noticeable individuals – in processes of language change: when shaping their ways of speaking, people orient toward noticeable people and their speech patterns rather than simply unconsciously adopting forms to which they pay little attention.

Therefore, a fundamental question emerges: **what is authenticity,** when everything seems to be so carefully and deliberately crafted in social interactions and practices that value individualism above all? (cf. Woolard 2016).[99]

Because of these questions relating to the circumstances of our modern (globalised and hybrid) life, it is likely that debates about authenticity will be relocated in the community, within the language debates that take place in those communities (Kroskrity, personal communication). In fact, as noted previously – in Chapter I – (in)authenticity becomes meaningful and authenticity disputes emerge more and more often in the today's increasingly reflexive and digital societies (Coupland 2014). This is obviously in line with the aims of the present investigation, and upholds the essential reasons that have directed the foci of the present dissertation (e.g. modern digital discourses).

Finally, some continuity can be observed between contemporary writings in sociolinguistics and (linguistic) anthropology on this topic (cf. Fenigsen and Wilce 2012; Field 2009). There is in fact, an important sense of confirmation that these **are** fundamental themes worthy of further investigation in several sociolinguistic contexts.

The following section will therefore provide a short reminder of the language users' conceptualisations of 'the authentic language variety' that have emerged from my corpora; before moving on to the sketching of a tentative typology of metalinguistic authenticities. From the meta-commentaries analysed for the two case studies, the following set of interrelated conceptualisations\features and aspects of an authentic language have emerged.

1. An authentic language is natural

2. An authentic language is dynamic

3. An authentic language is owned by a group of people

4. An authentic language reflects people's mentality and honesty, [it] represents an 'authentic' identity

5. An authentic language is perceived as 'local', tied to a geographical space

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[98] As one of the numerous demonstrations of this, several recent articles in the British media have pointed to a 'revival' of elocution lessons and accent reduction seminars. Thus, the elocution teachers could in this case be considered as one of the authenticating links in the chain of authentication of these varieties.

[99] This is beyond the scope of the present investigation but could be a productive question for future research.

6. An authentic language has a history (the history of the language being connected with the history of its speakers); language with a "recognizable origin" (Kramsch 2012: 115)

7. An authentic language is stable

8. An authentic language is pure and homogenous

As we have seen, metalinguistic discourses about authenticity are not diametrically opposed to the academic ones. People's (i.e. the social actors participating in these metalinguistic debates) perceptions and representations of 'the authentic language' match fairly well with the academic analyses of it, as the same themes seem to recur. People's awareness of the features that define an authentic language is surprisingly good and seems to uphold theories and discussions about calibration, 'project authenticity' and, more generally, a constructivist approach to authenticity (i.e. authentication) in these metalinguistic practices (cf. Woolard 2016). This also fits in with Coupland's (2010: 6) claim that authentication is a set of "intersubjective 'tactics', through which people can make claims about their own or others; statuses as authentic or inauthentic members of social groups", as discussed in section 1.1. Since language users are aware of these features, they can draw on them in their authenticating or deauthenticating arguments in the metalinguistic debates in which they participate. It is fair to assume, however, that the awareness of the ideologies underlying these conceptualisations is far 'less good', and that the level of awareness from individual to individual (or of groups of 'voices') is very variable (cf. Chapter I).[100]

The final scheme that tries to deconstruct the metalinguistic conceptualisation of an 'authentic language' (by trying to be coherent and informed by the previous deliberations) is represented in Figure 23. Note the conflicting conceptualisations of an authentic language as 'stable' as opposed to 'dynamic' (represented by the lightning shape). This conflict stems from the different source discourses and narratives. The former often being associated with an underlying Standard Language Ideology, an ideology of purism and often characterised by prescriptivist arguments. Note that this is only a first tentative approach to address this important question, and it will purposefully be left open to further discussions and improvements. On the other hand, I believe that this discussion has managed to emphasise the need for more research in this direction in both the language ideological field and the variationist one. I also believe that a call for discussion is a worthy way to terminate this important project.

In this scheme, the square shape represents a purist ideology; the circle shape, the Standard Language ideology; the triangle shape, the idea that language is a living organism (see Chapter I and II). The dotted lines represent the workings of 'ideological brokers' (see chapter I).[101]

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[100] For instance, several of my interviewees are professionally involved with language and language variation (e.g. the BBC Pronunciation unit employees, RNZ employees and editors) and thus might be more aware of these conceptualisations and their underlying mechanism than the correspondents to the Letters to the Editor sections of some of the newspapers or magazines taken into account.

[101] As Bucholtz (2003) also points out, shifting our focus to the concept of the 'inauthentic speaker/language' could shed some additional light on the meta-conceptualisations of the all-important modern notion of authenticity and on de\authenticating practices (cf. Bucholtz 2003).

**Ethnographic
authenticity**:
represents bounded
cultural group,
named culture,
standard

Stable, pure, homogenous	Owned by a group of people	Local, tied to a geographical space
		Historicity: having a 'recognizable origin'
Dynamic	**AUTHENTIC LANGUAGE**	**Natural**
		Represents uniqueness, virtuosity, archetypal
'Real': transparency, 'common placeness'	Reflects people's mentality and honesty	Represents an 'authentic' identity
	National identity	National identity and iconography, labelling practices in metadiscourses
		Project authenticity: dependanbility 'Chains of authentication', adherence to standards

Figure 23. A typology of metalinguistic authenticities

Following this schematisation, an authentic language (or language variety) is one that is considered natural and dynamic on the one hand, while stable, pure and homogenous on the other. It is 'real', it is associated to transparency and common placeness. It reflects people's mentality and honesty, it is local and tied to a geographical space and thus has a recognisable origin. Because of this, it is also often seen as a badge of national identity. An authentic language variety ultimately represents an authentic social identity, which then comes to represent bounded cultural groups, named cultures and, in some cases, a standard (and adherence to this standard).

5. Conclusions

In this chapter, after having provided a short socio-historical, cultural and (socio)linguistic background that has contextualised the varieties under scrutiny within the academic and public literature on the topic, and after having pointed to the main labels that have shaped the data collection – i.e. 'Received Pronunciation', 'Estuary English', 'Cockney' (and 'Mockney'), 'Multicultural London English' (and 'Jafaican') – I have laid out the main analysis of the collected data. In this analysis, I have identified and partly deconstructed the language ideologies that underpin the metalinguistic debate revolving around the 'non-standard' contact varieties spoken in the south east of England especially in the last decade. I have also pinpointed some of the contrasting ideologies that have supported the authentication and legitimisation, and the de-authentication and de-legitimisation of these varieties. First, – with ideological schemata 1 – I have focused on the notion of 'inverted snobbery' that was found to be central to the public metalinguistic debates analysed here. This has allowed me to illustrate how 'Received Pronunciation' [RP] is increasingly rejected as the only authoritative standard, even in formal contexts, because of its perceived lack of authenticity and its affectation. Second, the discussion has focused on the reasons underlying the belief that EE is a more versatile and useful speech variety than RP. This belief is mainly rooted in the idea that EE is classless and it thus allows its speakers to be more socially mobile. Consequently, the idea of language as a tool for social mobility has here been discussed, as well as how this interacts with the traditionally rigid English class system. Third, the centrality of different notions of linguistic legitimacy/authority and of authenticity for the examined metalinguistic debates was remarked upon, drawing on an example concerning the variety labelled as 'Mockney' (ideological schemata 3). These notions were then related to discourses of legitimacy and mobility, with the last ideological schemata drawing on an example juxtaposing MLE to Cockney. In section 4, I have postulated a tentative typology of metalinguistic authenticities based on my two case studies and on the available sociolinguistic literature.

Several of the metalinguistic debates analysed here were underpinned by a standard language ideology, especially in discussions revolving around RP. The semiotic processes of iconisation and essentialisation were also identified as salient in the debates revolving around most of the varieties under scrutiny. Finally, both romantic and rationalist views of language – or authenticity and anonymity ideologies to use Woolard's (2008) terminology – play a role in these discourses, as it has been observed for the previous case study. Moreover, the recurrence of thematic strands relating to naturalness have been here illustrated. All this, has provided relevant insights into the ways in which the metalinguistic discourses revolving around these 'non-standard' new contact varieties of the south east of England have important linkages with notions of authenticity, nationalism, hegemony, multiculturalism, race, class and authority. The ideological redefinition – or better the emergence of alternative definitions – of linguistic authenticity has helped the legitimisation of some of these new varieties. As it was discussed in the previous case study, these two processes (of legitimisation and authentication) often correlate.

Finally, this case study has confirmed the previous hypothesis that the ideologies that promote the legitimisation of 'new' contact varieties are intimately connected with those that delegitimise standard varieties of English: ideologies of the standard have shaped the claims to

linguistic authority and legitimacy that underlie more newly emergent varieties. And the need to draw on adjacent literatures such as those found in socio-cultural anthropology and sociology. As previously explained, this would entail a different kind of epistemology, that includes more hybrid approaches since the field of linguistic anthropology can itself be considered to be a middle ground (Kroskrity, personal consultation).

To conclude, the general relevance of metalinguistic debates on linguistic authenticity in the shaping of primary social issues and concerns was here demonstrated; as well as the primacy of questions of authenticity in our modern and globalised world. I believe that the data collected for my two case studies have simultaneously informed theoretical choices, and the theories that have been selected have managed to shed extra light on the data themselves.

Conclusions

The first chapter – following the introduction – explored the origins of the field of language ideologies as this gradually emerged from that of linguistic anthropology. Following this, the main frameworks and tools employed for the analysis of the collected data from the two case studies have been introduced. These included Geeraerts' (2003; 2008) cultural model of linguistic variation and Woolard's (2008) theorisation of the ideologies underlying the construct of linguistic authority. Three important concepts were also addressed in this first chapter: the notions of indexicality and authentication – the latter based mainly on Coupland's (2001b) theorisation – and the concept of the reallocation of indexicalities advanced by Blommaert (2003). The final section of this foundational chapter dealt with the concept and historical development of the 'Standard Language ideology' and the notion of 'enregisterment' elaborated by Agha (2003, 2004, 2007). Finally, a short clarification of the labelling practices used throughout the dissertation was provided.

The second chapter focused on my first case study dealing with New Zealand English. The aim being that of identifying the salient socio-cultural (and political) debates about language that have shaped and have been shaped by metalinguistic discourses. The main discussion revolved around the ways in which New Zealand English is represented and evaluated in public discourse, thus allowing for a deconstruction of the language ideologies that underpin these metalinguistic debates. Attention was given especially to the changing language ideologies that may lead to the authentication and legitimisation of 'non-standard' contact (new) language varieties such as New Zealand English.

At the beginning of Chapter I provided a brief socio-historical, cultural and (socio)linguistic background in order to contextualise New Zealand English and the analysed metalinguistic debates within the academic literature on the topic. This has offered some insights into the historical and attitudinal development of this variety especially in the public arena (e.g. in broadcasting and the educational system). Following that, the process of data collection was described in detail, including: the preparation for the three-month fieldwork trip to New Zealand, the type of data collected, the reasons underlying the choice of data and time periods. The main debates that have been the basis for the analysis were then described in detail, as well as some peculiarities about the role of academics in the public metalinguistic discourses analysed in New Zealand. Finally, the main analysis and interpretation were laid out; I here report a summary of the most important results.

The investigation presented in this chapter has allowed me to identify and partly deconstruct the language ideologies that underpin the metalinguistic debates revolving around New Zealand English over the last four decades, i.e. from the 1970s to the present day. Some of the shifting language ideologies that have supported the authentication and legitimisation of this variety were pinpointed as well as the development of these authenticating discourses themselves. At first, I have focused on the delegitimising voices about New Zealand English which I have found to be mainly underpinned by a standard language ideology, a colonial language ideology and an ideology of eternal (linguistic) incompetence. The semiotic processes of iconisation, fractal recursivity and erasure were also found to play a pivotal role in this dimension of the

metadiscourse, together with both romantic and rationalist views of language variation (see Chapter I). After this, the focus has shifted to the legitimising voices of the metadiscourses, which were seen as being primarily underpinned by an anti-colonial ideology and a monovarietal linguistic ideology. The three aforementioned semiotic processes have been found to play an important role also on this side of the debate, but a romantic view of language, and of the relationship between language and national identity, predominated in this case. In line with this Coupland's (2001b) notion of authenticity-from-below – discussed in Chapter I – appeared to be particularly helpful in the attempted deconstruction.

Furthermore, a diachronic ideological change in the definition of linguistic authenticity in these debates was identified and investigated, and was found to be mainly underlain by the two related themes of dynamism and naturalness. Five tightly interwoven ideological schemata, representing the five major ideological threads around which the discussion in these metalinguistic debates is centred were discussed and examined. Additionally, when significant, some of the workings of the semiotic processes (i.e. iconisation, fractal recursivity and erasure), language myths and cognitive models (i.e. Geeraerts' and Woolard's frameworks) that underlie these metadiscourses were illustrated. This has shed light on the ways in which the metalinguistic discourses about New Zealand English – especially the debate concerning the legitimacy of New Zealand English vis à vis British models of language – has important linkages with notions of authenticity, national identity and authority. New Zealand English enregisterment has been positive, the variety has become a symbol of local identity and it has acquired credibility and authority. Additionally, the ideological redefinition of linguistic authenticity has been demonstrated to have substantially helped the legitimisation of New Zealand English in the public arena. The meta-conceptualisation of the authentic language according to the data analysed for this first case study seemed to reject more traditional values such as immobility, historical depth and geographical stasis in favour of new values such as naturalness and dynamism. Moreover, the value of homogeneity in language was also found to be increasingly questioned, with an ever-growing acceptance of different varieties of English within New Zealand (e.g. Pasifika English, Māori English), together with that of different cultures. One of the main conclusions that was drawn from this case study was that more positive attitudes seem to be expressed at present towards linguistic diversity and language contact in these debates, and arguably in New Zealand's society at large. The other – that was further confirmed by the investigation undertaken in Chapter III – illustrated that the ideologies that promote the legitimisation of 'new' contact varieties appear to be intimately connected with those that delegitimise (external) standard varieties of English; i.e. ideologies of the standard have shaped the claims to linguistic authority and legitimacy that underlie more newly emergent varieties. This was found to reflect the interest and main findings of other on-going research on new urban dialects in other parts of Europe such as Germany and France (cf. Wiese 2014 and Cheshire et al. 2008; 2011).

The third chapter was centred around the second case study on the 'enregistered' non-standard contact varieties spoken in the south east of England. The varieties' labels that were the focus of this chapter are: 'Estuary English', 'Received Pronunciation', 'Cockney' (and 'Mockney'), and 'Multicultural London English' (or 'Jafaican' in less academic metadiscourses). At the beginning of the chapter it was noted that the 'non-standard' contact varieties that were examined are not as well enregistered as it was the case for the New Zealand English case study; these were thus

considered more hybrid and diffuse. As a consequence, it was observed that the boundaries between these varieties in the metalinguistic debates analysed were more 'messy' in both academic and non-academic discourses. The aim and data collection process of this second case study were similar to the first one, in order to allow for comparability of results. Therefore, the focus once again was on identifying the salient socio-cultural (and political debates) that have shaped and have been shaped by the metalinguistic discourses and debates on these varieties. However, an additional theme that had emerged as salient in the preliminary analysis of the data collection was taken up. What had been preliminary observed was a shift in language ideologies that seemed to have affected conceptualisations of 'Standard English' – especially in reference to 'Received Pronunciation' – particularly in the last fifteen years.

As for the previous case study, a short socio-historical, cultural and (socio)linguistic contextualisation was provided. First, with an overview of regional and social variation in the British Isles, with a focus on the south east of England, and especially London. Second, the role of mobility and dialect levelling (or supralocalisation) in the formation of the current sociolinguistic situation in the south east were clarified. Third, some time was spent to provide a clearer picture of some of the phenomena related to migration and multilingualism that have led to the development of 'Multicultural London English', and how this connects to language developments – as well as research developments – in urban centres in the rest of Europe. After that, the data collection process for this case study was described together with the preparation for the three-month fieldwork trip to London, and the salient time-periods selected for the creation of the corpus. This was followed by a detailed description of the type of data that were collected mainly through publicly accessible digital databases at the British Library, situated in London.

The main analysis and interpretation of the data collected were subsequently laid out with the identification of four main ideological schemata. The first ideological schemata focused on the notion of 'inverted snobbery' which emerged as central to the public metalinguistic debates analysed here. This, in fact, allowed me to illustrate how 'Received Pronunciation' is increasingly rejected as the only authoritative standard – in this geographical area and even in formal contexts – because of its perceived lack of authenticity and its affectation. The second ideological schemata revolved around the reasons underpinning the widespread public belief that 'Estuary English' is a more versatile and useful speech variety than 'Received Pronunciation'. This belief is mainly rooted in the idea that 'Estuary English' is classless and thus allows speakers to be more socially mobile. Consequently, the more general idea of language as a tool for social mobility and identity definition was touched upon here as it concerns the context of the south east of England and the traditionally rigid English class system. The third ideological schemata focused on the centrality of different notions of linguistic legitimacy/authority and authenticity in the analysed debates. In order to do so, the discussion drew on an example concerning 'Mockney'. The last ideological schemata, on the other hand, draws on an example juxtaposing 'Multicultural London English' to 'Cockney' in order to bring to the fore discourses of legitimacy and mobility in the south east.

The discussion presented in this chapter has thus allowed for the identification and deconstruction of some of the language ideologies that underpin the metalinguistic debates revolving around the 'non-standard' contact varieties heatedly discussed in the south east of England, especially in the last decade. Light was shed on some of the contrasting ideologies that have upheld the authentication and legitimisation – as well as the de-authentication and de-

legitimisation – of these varieties, through the four ideological schemata described in the previous paragraph. It was observed that several of the metalinguistic debates analysed in this chapter were underpinned by a standard language ideology, especially in discussions revolving around 'Received Pronunciation'. The semiotic processes of iconisation and essentialisation were once more identified as salient in the debates revolving around most of the varieties under scrutiny. Finally, both romantic and rationalist views of language were found to play a role in these discourses. Moreover, the recurrence of thematic strands relating to the concept of naturalness has been here noted. All this, has provided relevant insights into the ways in which the metalinguistic discourses revolving around these 'non-standard' new contact varieties have important linkages with notions of authenticity, nationalism, hegemony, multiculturalism, race, class and authority. The ideological redefinition, or better the emergence of alternative definitions, of linguistic legitimacy – as it relates to notions of authenticity – has helped the legitimisation of some of these new varieties. Furthermore, this case study has confirmed the previous hypothesis that the ideologies that promote the legitimisation of 'new' contact varieties appear to be intimately connected with those that delegitimise standard varieties of English. This was done through an examination of the changes in some of the ideologies of 'Standard English', and it uncovered the ways in which the emergence of alternative definitions of linguistic authenticity has hindered the legitimisation of varieties associated with 'the standard' such as Received Pronunciation. Finally, linguistic authenticity has been confirmed to be a salient modern topic also in the metalinguistic debates analysed for this second case study. In fact, authenticity, once again, has appeared to be a central concern for the people who participate in these metalinguistic debates and in its (discursively negotiated) definition. This discussion has led to questions of how the 'authentic language' is more generally conceptualised. This was thus addressed in the last section with a tentative typology of metalinguistic authenticities. In this last section, the main question concerned the terms in which language users evaluate authenticity when making sociolinguistic judgments. In order to answer this question, I have drawn on some of the available sociolinguistic theories on authenticity and authentication, and on the findings of my two case studies. The discussion was purposefully left open and the typology of metalinguistic authenticities that resulted from it represent only a first attempt at tackling these important concerns.

To conclude, I would like to address some of the limitations of the present dissertation and some directions for further research. Many questions obviously remain open here, but I believe that one of the main aims of a doctoral dissertation is that of stimulating discussion in the field. On the epistemological side of the limitations, it is important to draw attention to the fact that by focusing on the metalinguistic level, it was attempted to give changes from below more space to be heard. In other words, agency in language change seems to become undeniable and all-important. However, we need to be aware of the fact that there are several processes that people are not in control of and that strongly influence language practices, attitudes and ideologies (e.g. political-economic factors) which are almost always beyond the control of the individual. Therefore, it is important to remember that what has been discussed in this dissertation is only one part of the picture, the other – bigger – part being how this relates to actual practices in society. Another limitation concerns the context of production and the access to voices. This in fact could undermine representativeness (which is in any case not claimed) as more elite discourses are here represented, even though thanks to the data collected in the digital media these are not overrepresented. Moreover, unfortunately, the kind of research that was

conducted in the context of this dissertation – which allowed me to shed light on some of these communities' views of themselves and their language practices – did not allow me to assess the numbers of those who hold their different sympathies (cf. Woolard 2016). On the bright side, metalinguistic discourses and practices (as discussed in Chapter I) have been ignored – and their importance downplayed – for decades in this field, until very recently (Lippi-Green 1997; Johnson and Milani 2010; Kroskrity 2010; Kelly-Holmes 2015 and Coupland's most recent works). This dissertation, therefore, goes against this tendency and argues for the centrality of this kind of discourses and practices.

Finally, concerning the two case studies, many questions remain to be addressed and several points of discussion provide leads for future research. In the New Zealand English case study – as already mentioned in Chapter II – it would be interesting to test the main findings with a larger corpus encompassing metalinguistic debates about the other English varieties spoken (or that are perceived as being spoken) in New Zealand (e.g. Pasifika English, Māori English), especially in relation to the notions of 'restandardisation' and 'destandardisation' discussed by Bell (2011: 179). Moreover, the metalinguistic debates revolving around the relationship between the Māori language and the English language would also offer an incredibly rich set of data for this kind of ideological research. As for the second case study, so many different (meta) discourses were sampled and the amount of data was so large that the possibilities of re-analysis from different perspectives are endless. More generally, I believe that the correlation (or non-correlation) of the two processes of authentication and legitimisation in such contexts deserves more attention, as well as the surfacing themes of naturalness and dynamism as de/authenticating strategies.

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Appendix

ON AIR PRACTICE

THE SUMMARY

July 2013

RADIO NEW ZEALAND
TE REO IRIRANGI O AOTEAROA
News from the
Presentation Standards Panel

THIS IS NOT A FULL DICTIONARY, BUT A SUMMARY OF WORDS, NAMES, PHRASES AND LANGUAGE ISSUES, IDENTIFIED AS CAUSING, OR LIKELY TO CAUSE DIFFICULTY FOR ON-AIR BROADCASTERS. THERE ARE OFTEN MANY DIFFERENT AND "CORRECT" WAYS OF PRONOUNCING AND SAYING THINGS. THIS GUIDE IS PRESCRIPTIVE, RATHER THAN REFLECTIVE. RADIO NEW ZEALAND HAS ESTABLISHED POLICIES ON THE WORDS AND PHRASES LISTED BELOW WHICH YOU ARE EXPECTED TO OBSERVE. YOU ARE ENCOURAGED ALSO TO USE DICTIONARIES SUCH AS THE "OXFORD ENGLISH" WHICH IS AVAILABLE ONLINE ON RADIO NEW ZEALAND COMPUTERS AT oed.com @

IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER – MORE OR LESS

A

The indefinite article 'a' (as in "a disease", "a good book") etc. should be pronounced 'uh', rather than 'ay'. The occasions when you might say 'ay' are rare. If it helps, firmly attach the indefinite article 'a' as an extra syllable to the noun, or adjective that follows.

Abbas, Mahmoud (first Palestinian PM)   MUKH-mood or MUK-mood uh-BAHSS
Also known as Abu Mazen   ah-BOO MAH-zuhn

abiraterone (prostate cancer treatment)   uh-BIRRUH-tuh-rohn

a historic event: If you sound the **h**, there is no reason to say **an** historic

Accra (capital of Ghana)   uh-KRAH

'action by.' is the better phrase, rather than 'action from.

Acyclover (drug)   now generally spelt as aciclovir   ay-SIGH-kluh-vee-uh

Accenture (US Management Consulting Firm)   ak-SEN-chuh

achilles   not AH-KIL-eez   uh-KIL-eez

ACT (New Zealand political party   AKT

ACT (Australian Capital Territory)   AY-SEE-TEE

advocate (noun)   AD-vuh-kuht

advocate (verb)   AD-vuh-kayt

advertisement   not AD-vuh-TIGHZ-muhnt   und-VERT-iss-muhnt

ae Unless ae is followed by í (as in aero etc) or in a weak syllable (as in gynaecology, caesarian) you cannot go wrong if you pronounce it as EE.

And so **algae** is pronounced **AL-jee**

Appendix

Aegean is ee-JEE-uhn
aegis is EE-jiss
Aesop is EE-sop (see archaeology)
Aegean Islands (Greece)
Aesthete: EES-theet
Aesthetic: ees-THET-ik or ess-THET-ik

Aetna (company name) — ET-nuh

Afghan (with an i at the end) is the unit of currency in Afghanistan. It should be used only for that.

Afghanistan — our preference — af-GAN-is-stanhn

Afghanistan: When referring to the people of the country we call them **Afghans.** Similarly Afghan pronounced **AF-gan** - is the adjective used to describe anything relating to Afghanistan.

affluent: When writing news copy, be careful about using subjective terminology. For example, do not refer to a place as an *affluent suburb* - there are bound to be parts of it that are not.

Aghowie (Ireland) — ag-OWL
Ajax (football team) — usually — AY-jaks / IGH-yahks
Akaroa (Canterbury) — AK-ree
Alabama — AL-uh-BAM-uh
Albany — in Auckland — AL-buh-nee
Albany — in Dunedin - often — AWL-buh-nee
Alimony — not AL-uh-moh-nee — AL-uh-muh-nee
Almunia, Joaquin (European politician) — hwah-KEEN
Alford (forest in South Canterbury) — AL-fuhd
alga pronounced **AL-guh** is the singular form of
algae pronounced **AL-jee** (hard g)
Alinghi (yachting team) — not uh-LING-ee — uh-LING-gee
Al Qaeda — not al-KAY-duh — al-KIGH-duh
Allah — al-AH

alternate means happening or following in turns as in 'alternate days'.
alternative means available in place of something else. Don't confuse the two.
RNZ's pronunciation is **awl-TERN-uht and awl-TERN-tiv — AWL** for the first syllable, not OL

On radio, the terms **am** and **pm** to denote time of day are best avoided
aluminium — al-yoo-MIN-yuhm
say **in the morning, afternoon, evening, or at night**

Amanpour, Christianne — [CNN reporter] — kris-TYAHN AM-uhn-paw
amateur — not AM-uh-chuh — AM-uh-tuh
ambulance — not AM-buh-luhnss — AMB-yuh-luhnss

American place-names sometimes cause difficulties. Please note the following:

Houston — HEW-stuhn
Birmingham — BIR-ming-ham
Alabama — al-uh-BAM-uh
Maryland — MAIR-uh-luhnd
Michigan — MISH-uh-guhn
Boise (Idaho) — BOY-see

Boise City (Oklahoma) — BOYSS
Connecticut — kuh-NET-uh-kunt
Iowa — IGH-oh-uh
Tucson — TOOS-on
Versailles — ver-SAYLZ
Des Moines — duh-MOYN
El Paso — el-PAS-oh
Terre Haute (US city - Indiana) — TERRUH-HOHT
Illinois — IL-uh-noy — PAS rhymes with ASS
Montana — mon-TAN-uh
St Louis — sint LOO-iss or saynt-LOO-iss
La Guardia — luh-GWARD-ee-uh
Arkansas (the state) — AHK-uhn-saw
Arkansas (the river only) — ah-KAN-zuhss
Arkansas City (Kansas) — often called "Ark City" — ah-KAN-zuhss — our preference
Las Vegas — lass-VAY-guhss
Los Angeles — loss-AN-juh-luhss
San Jose — san-hoh-ZAY

While many Americanisms are useful and acceptable, some offend our listeners and prove unnecessary irritants. For example, why say burglarise when burgle will do?

Amirantes (group of islands in the Indian Ocean) — AM-i-rants
amongst — say among
"angered by." is the better phrase, rather than "angered with."
Annan, Kofi — [former UN Secretary-General] — KOH-fee AN-uhn (rhymes with 'Sophie Cannon')
Annat (Canterbury) — AN-uht
Antarctic/Antarctica — an-TARK-tik, an-TARK-tik-uh
Antigua — an-TEEG-uh
anticipate and expect: Unless you mean **anticipate** in the sense of taking action, it is **best avoided** in our broadcasts - say **expect.** It is also shorter and easier to say.
Antony can be pronounced **ANT-uhn-ee**, or especially in NZ, **ANTH-uhn-ee. Always check**
Anthony Hopkins and Anthony Trollope are **ANT-uhn-ee**
Antony is always **AN-tuhn-ee**

Aotea — not ay-oh-tee-uh — ah-aw-TAIR-ah
Aotearoa — not ay-oh-tee-uh-roh-uh — ah-aw-TAIR-ah-raw-ah
apartheid — not uh-PAH-tight — uh-PAH-tayt
appealing: An appeal should always be written and said as an appeal **against** something or **to** someone. It is acceptable to say Mr Jones will appeal. But **do not say** Mr Jones is appealing his sentence. While it may be used sometimes in legal jargon, correct English demands that we say Mr Jones is appealing **against** his sentence.
applicable — not uh-PLIK-uh-buhl — AP-plik-uh-buhl
appraise and apprise: When you estimate the value of something, you **appraise it**. When you inform people of a situation, you **apprise them** of it. Don't confuse the two
appreciate — not uh-PREE-see-ayt — uh-PREESH-ee-ayt
archaeology — not ark-ay-ology — ark-ee-OLL-uh-gee

Appendix

There are two members of parliament in New Zealand with the family name Ardern. Shane Ardern, who is the National Party electorate member for Taranaki–King Country and Jacinda Ardern, who is a Labour Party list member from Waikato and Bay of Plenty. They pronounce their names differently – please note their preferred pronunciations:

Shane Ardern MP — AH-duhn
Jacinda Ardern MP — uh-DERN
Ardingly [Kent UK] — AH-ding-LIGH
Ardiussa [Southland] — ahd-LUSS-uh
Argentinians Our preference for people from Argentina or The Argentine
Arkansas [the state] always — AHK-uhn-saw
Arkansas [the river] it is acceptable to call the river — ah-KAN-zuhs
Arkansas City [Kansas] — ah-KAN-zuhss or "ARK" City
around: Do not say *around* if you mean *about*
arthritis — ah-THRIGH-tuhss
asbestos not ah-thuh-RIGH-tuhss — ass-BEST-uhss
Asperger's disorder or syndrome hard g — ASS-per-guhz
asphalt rather than ASH-fuhlt — ASS-fuhlt
assignee not ASS-ig-NEE — ASS-igh-NEE or ASS-uh-NEE
assume not uh-SOOM — uh-S-YOOM
at present, currently: Ask yourself whether the use of either of these words is necessary. If you must include them, try using **now**, but **avoid presently**, which for many people means **soon**.
ate — ayt or et
at the weekend not on the weekend
Ateq [Yemen] — AT-uhk
atropine not AT-ruh-pyne — AT-ruh-PEEN
auction not AWK-shuhn — OK-shuhn
Aung San Suu Kyi (Myanmar political figure) — OWNG SAHN SOO CHEE
autobahn established anglicisation — AW-toh-bahn
awards: you are "given" an award or are "honoured" with an award
See New Zealand order of Merit
avoid and prevent: Avoid means to keep away from something or someone. Prevent means to stop something from happening or someone from doing something. **Do not use avoid if you mean prevent.**
Ayrault, Jean-Marc — AY-raw
Avon
the river in Christchurch rhymes with "haven" — AY-vuhn
the English county of Avon — AY-vuhn
In the English county of Devon rhymes with "Gavin" — AVV-uhn
In the Grampian region of Scotland — AY-von
The cosmetics trademark is — AVV-von
Avondale in Auckland — AVV-uhn-dayl
Avondale in Christchurch — AVV-vuhn-dayl
Awatere Huata, Donna not hoo-ART-uh — HOO-"uter"

B

Baby is a word often used unnecessarily as in "four-month-old baby boy" and "has given birth to a baby girl". **Leave out the word baby**
Bachelet, Michele [Chilean President] her preference — BAH-shuh-LAY
Bacteria is the plural form of the singular bacterium. Thus, "This bacterium causes..." or "The bacteria cause..."
Baja [California] — BAH-hah
Bainimarama, Frank [Fiji military government] do **not** try to put an m before the b
Our pronunciation is **BIGH-nee-mah-RAH-mah** — BIGH-nee-mah-RAH-mah
Bainesse [settlement between Palmerston North and Himitangi] — buh-NESS-ee
Bailbo [movie] established Anglicisation — BAL-ib-oh
Ban Ki Moon [UN Secretary-General] (hard g.) — BAHN-gee-MOON
Baragwanath — barruh-GWAH-nuhth
Barcelona our preference — bah-suh-LOH-nuh
Barnett, Michael [AK Chamber of Commerce] — bah-NET
Barnett, Tim [former MP] — BAH-nutt
Baroque — buh-ROK
Barrichello, Rubens [formula 1 racing driver] — barruh-KEL-oh
Baseball bats: think carefully before using this clichéd term to describe weapons used in attacks. In New Zealand, such weapons are, in fact, almost always softball bats.
basic not "bassick" — BAY-sik
beat The past tense is **beat**- not bet
Beijing not beije-ing.- j said as in jam — bay-JING
Beating retreat not beating the retreat
Berdymukhammedov, Gurbanguly [Turkmenistan President] — goo-uh-BAHN-goo-LEE bair-di-moo-khuh-MYED-uhf
Berkshire — BARK-shuh
Bernard [as a given name in New Zealand] usually — BER-nuhd
Bernard [in France] — bair-NAHD
Bernstein, Leonard, American composer) — BERN-stighn
Berwen [North Otago] — BER-wuhn
Berwick [Otago] same pronunciation applies in Scotland — "BERRICK"
bestiality not BEST-ee-al-uh-tee — BEST-ee-al-uh-tee
biannual is twice a year, biennial is once every two years, avoid these words and just say how often
Bideford [Wairarapa, also England] — BID-uh-fuhd
Birmingham [UK] — BIR-ming-uhm
Birmingham [US] — BIR-ming-ham
blazes: not all fires are blazes
Bloemfontein [South Africa] — BLOOHM-fon-tayn
The term "blue chip" goes back over 100 years and has, as its origin, a blue counter used in card games and usually of a high value. In stock exchange terminology, blue chip means a share considered to be a reliable investment. If we refer to the failed property company in New Zealand that adopted the term "Blue Chip" as part of its name, we should always be clear that we are referring to "The failed property company Blue Chip" to differentiate it from the universally accepted use of the term "blue chip".
Boesak, Dr. Alan South African church leader OO in 'put' — BOO-sak

Appendix

Bogota [Colombia] BOG-uh-tah
Bon Accord [Kawau Island] BON-uh-KAWD
Bonpland, [Fiordland] BON-pland
Borrows, Chester, MP not 'burrows', it is said as it is spelt "borrows"
bought is the past tense of buy.
brought is the past tense of bring - don't confuse the two
boutique boo-TEEK
bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE or so-called "mad cow disease" BOH-vighn-SPUN-ji-fawm en-sef-uh LOP-uh-thee
Bowie, David [singer] BOH-ee
Braigh [Northland] BRAY
Brancepeth [Wairarapa] BRAHNS-puhth
Branxholme, [Southland] BRANKS-hohm
Brassels, [Timaru] BRAZ-uhlz
Bresagen [Bio-technology company] BREE-zuh-juhn
broadness: as a word, it does exist, but it's better to say breadth
Brynderwyn, [Auckland] brin-DER-win
Bryndwr [Christchurch] BRIND-wuh
Buccleugh, South Canterbury buh-KLOO
Budapest our pronunciation is the anglicized one B-YOOD-uh-pest
Buenos Aires [Capital city and its province] BWEN-uhss-igh[uh]-reez
Burglarise an Americanism to avoid. Say burgle
Burma and Myanmar It is Radio New Zealand policy to refer to the country as "Myanmar" saying that it is also known as "Burma".
bus: People are best taken by bus, rather than bussed
Butare [Rwanda] booh-TAH-ruh
Butanediol [chemical] B-YEW-tayn-DIGH-uhl
BZP BEE-ZED-PEE

C

Cacophony kuh-KOF-uh-nee
Caberfeidh [Otago] KAB-uh-fayd
cache KASH
Calorimetry kal-uh-RIM-uh-tree
Callaghan's, [West Coast] KAL-uh-guhnz
Cancun [Mexico] kan-KOON
candidate not KAN-did-uht KAN-did-AYT
Canterbury not KAN-tuh-bair-ree KAN-tuh-b[uh]ree
Carriages on the railways carry people. If it's freight being carried, they are wagons. Don't refer to freight wagons as carriages
Caribbean our preference KARRUH-BEE-uhn
Caucasus KAW-kuh-suhss
Caxito [Angola] kuh-SHEE-toh
Cefaclor [drug] KEF-uh-klaw

Celebici [Bosnia] CHEL-uh-bit-see
Celtic for the culture or ethnic group KEL-tik
for the football and basketball teams SEL-tik
cemetery not SEM-uh-tair-ee SEM-uh-tree
centenary not sen-TEN-uhry sen-TEEN-uh-ree
cerebral not suh-REE-bruhl SERRUH-bruhl
ceremoniously and ceremonially The former relates to doing things in an excessively polite way or with undue formality. The latter is doing things with ceremony as in a formal ritual or religious service. You will rarely need to use ceremoniously.
ceremony not SERRUH-MOH-nee SERRUH-muh-nee
cervical not SER-vick-uhl suh-VIGH-kuhl
Chavez, Hugo [Venezuelan President] OO-goh CHAH-vez
chasm KAZ-uhm
chemotherapy see radiotherapy
Cheney, Dick [Former US Vice President] CHAY-nee
Chetwode Island [Pelorus Sound, Marlborough] CHET-wund
Cheviot [Canterbury] not SHEV-ee-uht [ch as in check] CHEV-ee-uht
Cheyne [Walk and Row – London streets] CHAY-nee
Chile not the Spanish CHEEL-ay. Use the anglicisation "chilly".
Chilean never chil-AY-uhn CHIL-ee-uhn
Chinext [Chinese stock market] CHIGH-nekst
CHOGM [Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting] CHOG-uhm
Chretien, Jean [Canadian PM] zho[ng] kret-YA[NG]
Cian Irish name KEE-uhn
CITES [Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species] SIGH-tees
Clandeboye [Canterbury] KLAN-duh-boy
clandestine not KLAN-duh-STIGHN our preference klan-DEST-in
Clareinch [Hawkes Bay] KLAH-rinch
Cleddau [Wales] KLETH-igh
Cleland, Murray [Real Estate Institute] KLEE-luhnd
clerk KLAHK
Cliches: Please re-write your trailer templates regularly to give them a fresh sound.
The phrase "coming up" has become an irritating cliché., so has "he/she joins us now"
Avoid these clichés: up for grabs, under the hammer, grind to a halt, reign of terror, chequered career, in the pipeline, level playing field, blow [for] setback, clash [in sports games], gory details, axed [jobs], much needed supplies, foregone conclusion, gunned down, hammered out, crisis meeting, whirlwind tour, last ditch effort, bated breath, strife-torn, blazing inferno, on the bench [for team reserves] Not all fires are blazes. Mayoral candidates don't have to throw their hat into the ring. Do not over use the phrase death toll - just say how many people have been killed. The phrase "packing winds' is a cliché which has no place in spoken New Zealand English.
Avoid "he/she joins us now" which has become a cliché. Just say who the person is and go straight into your first question
If you mean climax, say climax or peak, rather than crescendo which technically means a rise in volume or intensity
Cliveden [UK] usually KLIV-duhn
Cochrane [family name] KOK-ruhn

Coeliac(disease) SEE-lee-ak

There are a number of words beginning with "coe" that are treated similarly:

Coelacanth (a type of fish) SEE-luh-kanth

Coelenterate (an aquatic invertebrate) see-LENT-uh-rayt

Coelum (part of an animal's anatomy: SEE-luhm

Coelostat (astronomy tool): SEE-uh-stat

Coenobite (monastic person): SEE-nuh-bight

If two things collide, they both had to be moving. Cars cannot collide with power poles, they hit power poles

Colloquialisms: In news copy, avoid colloquialisms such as "a crashed car has taken out a power pole". Say the "car crashed into" or "knocked over a power pole."

Other colloquialisms to avoid are:

slammed or copping flak	say	criticise
ripped-off	say	defraud
beef-up	say	increase
slapped on	say	impose
dumped	say	dropped
bashed	say	attacked
brassed off	say	disappointed

Colombia — not kuh-*LUM*-bee-uh — kuh-LOM-bee-uh

Colombo (Sri Lanka) — kuh-LUM-boh

Collaborate means work together. Say work together, or collaborate, never collaborate together

Comoro Islands — KOM-uh-roh

comparable — not kuhm-PAIR-uhble — KOM-pruh-buhl

comparability — not kuhm-PAR-uh-bil-i-tee — KOM-pruh-bil-i-tee

compared to — for likenesses: "compare thee to a summer's day"

compared with — for differences, changes, figures

Comprises means consists of, or is composed of. It's not good English to say a team is "comprised of 15 players" It is correct to say the team comprises 15 players. If you feel the need to include "of" say COMPOSED OF, CONSISTS OF, or CONSISTED OF

Conan (given name) can be KON-uhn or KOH-nuhn – always check

Connecticut (US state) — kuhn-ET-uh-kuht

Confidant and confidante — kon-FI-DANT

congratulations — not kuhn-GRAD — kuhm-GRATEE

Conservator [official guardian] not kuhn-SERV-uh-TAW — kuhm-SER-vuh-tuh

Consul: an official representative in a city, who is not a full ambassador or High Commissioner, is a consul – pronounced KON-suhl. Do not confuse with console, meaning a control panel of switches - pronounced KON-sohl

Constable (police officer) — our preference — KUN-stuh-buhl.

Constable, John (English landscape painter) — KUN-stuh-buhl

consortium — not kuhn-SAW-shuhm — kuhm-SAW-tee-uhm

consume — not kuhn-SOOM — kuhm-SYOOM

consumer — not kuhm-SOO-muh — kuhm-SYOO-muh

contractor — rather than KON-trak-tuh — kuhm-TRAK-tuh

---

contribute — not KON-trib-YEWT — kuhn-TRIB-yoot

controversy — not kuhn-TROV-uhs-see — KON-truh-vers-see

Copenhagen — not harguhn — ends with HAY-guhn

coroners have findings. Do not refer to their findings as 'Coroner's reports'

cortege — our preference — kaw-TAYZH

Corvar (Canterbury) — KAW-wuh

Costorphine, (near Dunedin) — kuh-STAW-fin

Cottesmore [UK RAF base]: KOT-uhz-maw. The village nearby is KOTS-maw

Courts: Unlike a District Court, the High Court of New Zealand - references to the High Court in a particular city should be to "the High Court in Wellington", etc, not the Wellington High Court

Coulthard, David (Scottish racing driver) — KOL-thahd

Covent Garden — not KUV-uhnt — KOV-uhnt

Coventry — not KUV-uhn-tree — KOV-uhn-tree

"Should've" and "could've" are elisions (shorter versions) of "should have" and "could have." Never say "should of" or "could of".

Cracroft (Canterbury) — KRAY-kroft

crescendo - pronounced kri-SHEN-doh - is not a climax, it is the rise in volume or fever - you do not reach a crescendo.

Croiselles (near Nelson) — kroy-SELZ

Cronadun (West Coast) — KRON-uh-duhn

Crown Law Office: don't say krown-LAW-roff-iss

The Court of Appeal: not the Appeal Court

currently: is this word really necessary in your script?

Curriculum vitae: — our preference — kuh-RIK-goo-luhm VEE-tigh

Note that VEE-tee is also correct, but not VEE-tay

cutbacks — the backs is unnecessary — cuts will do

cumin, (plant and flavouring) — KUM-in

curate (member of the clergy) — KYOO-(uh)-ruht

Cvitanovich, Jerome (New Zealand freelance reporter/director) pronounces his name JERRUHM svit-AHN-uh-vich – not juh-ROHM

Czechoslovakia ceased to exist in 1992. It was split into (the) Czech Republic and Slovakia. Unless, we are making historical references, we should not be talking about Czechoslovakia

D

Dabic, Dragan (alias of Radovan Karadzic) — DRAH-gahn DAH-bich

Daimler (the former German-American car manufacturing company Daimler-Chrysler)

For the British car model made by Jaguar — DIGH-m-luh

dais — not DIGH-uhss — DAY-uhss

Dalziel

For the New Zealand MP, Lianne, — dal-ZEL

For the literary and TV character [Dalziel and Pascoe]: — dee-ELL

In Scotland it is usually — dee-AL or dee-ELL

Appendix

Otherwise, especially in New Zealand, usually **dal-ZEEL**

damp down is the correct phrase - not dampen down

danning report. A cliche. If you do use the phrase, be clear as to the source of the description.

Do not over-use the phrase **death toll** - just say how many people have been killed.

Dannevirke not 'Dannie'virk **DAN-uh-virk**

data **DAY-tuh or DAH-tuh**
While, strictly speaking, data is the plural of datum, data is universally also accepted as a singular form of the word.

Davies can be pronounced **DAY-veez or DAY-viss**

Davos (Switzerland) note emphasis **dah-VAWSS**

debut our preference **DAY-byoo**

defendants often appear in **the dock**. Witnesses go into the dock - often they are simply **before the court**. However, not always do they go into the **witness-box**. They give evidence, not testimony.

Deirdre is usually pronounced DEE-uh-dree, but be aware that the Irish pronunciation is usually DEE-uh-druh

Different: our preference is for **"different from" rather than "different to".**
Also, avoid the American **"different than"**

Diwali accepted English pronunciation **dee-WAH-lee**

defuse and diffuse: You defuse - **DEEF-YOOZ** - a dangerous situation by treating it like a bomb and removing its fuse

diffuse [adjective] something in a spread-out or less concentrated state **dif-YOOSS**

diffuse [verb] the act of making something diffuse or less concentrated **dif-YOOZ**

Dementieva, Elena [tennis player] **YEL-en-uh duh-MENT-yeh-vuh**

Denpasar [Bali, Indonesia] **den-PAH-suh**

Derby and Derbyshire [in the UK] **DAH-bee and DAH-bish-uh**

derby the horse race in England and New Zealand is the **DAH-bee** The horse race in the US is the **Kentucky DUR-bee**

deteriorate sound all syllables, ensuring the word ends with **rate**

deterrent not di-TUR-ruhnt **dit-AIR-ruhnt**

devotee **dev-uh-TEE**

diaspora not digh-uhss-PAW-ruh **digh-ASS-puh-ruh**

different from rather than different **to or than**

diocese [singular] **DIGH-uh-suhss**

dioceses [plural] **DIGH-uh-SEEZ**

diphtheria not dip-THEE-uh-re-uh **dif-THEE-uh-ree-uh**

diphthong not DIP-thong **DIF-thong**

disinterested means neutral or impartial - **it's not the same as uninterested** which means simply not being interested

disorientated: Avoid this word and use disoriented instead

dispute noun and verb are the same **disp-YOOT**

distribute not DIS-struh-byoot **dis-STRIB-yoot**

divisive not di-VIZZ-iv **di-VIGH-siv**

Djukanovic, Milo [President of Montenegro] **MEEL-oh djooh-KAN-uh-vich**

Doha [Qatar] **DOH-huh**

Domett [Canterbury also in Otago] **duh-MET**

Dominica [Windward Islands] not to be confused with Dominican Republic **dom-uh-NEE-kuh**

Dominican Republic **duh-MIN-uh-kuhn**

dour RNZ's pronunciation **DOO-uh**

Doucet, Lyse [BBC Correspondent] note Z sound **LEEZ doo-SET**

drink/drank/drunk: "they drink, they drank, they had drunk a lot, they were drunk" drink-driving is the correct phrase - not drunk-driving

Dromore [Canterbury] **druh-MAW**

Duvauchelle [Canterbury] **duh-VOH-shuhl**

drop-off: (reduction) **leave out the off and just say drop**

Dubai **doo-BIGH**

du Fresne [New Zealand family name] **doo-FRAYN**

Duluth [US City] **duh-LOOTH**

Dulwich [London] **DUL-uhj, or DUL-uhch**

Dumas, Roland [French politician] **ROH-lahnd dooh-MAH**

Dumgre [Awatere Valley, Marlborough] **dum-GREE**

Dunedin **dun-EE-din** rather than din-EED-in

Duvauchelle [Canterbury] **duh-VOH-shuhl**

E

Economic **EE-kuh-nom-ik**

Ecevit, Bulent [former Prime Minister of Turkey] **booh-LENT ECH-uh-vit**

echelon **ESH-uh-lon**

Edgbaston [Birmingham UK] not ej-BAS-tuhn **EJ-buh-stuhn**

Eide, Kai [head of the UN Mission in Afghanistan] **KIGH IGH-duh**

Eircom [Irish telecommunications company] **AIR-kom**

El Nino [weather pattern] **el-NEEN-goh**

electrocuted: If someone is electrocuted, they do **not** live to talk about the experience in the way they might if they had suffered an electric shock.

Eli Bay [Marlborough] **EE-ligh**

Elias, Sian **SHAHN**

Eltham [Taranaki NZ] **EL-thuhm**

Eltham (UK) **ELT-uhm**

emeritus **im-MERRUH-tuhss**

enclave rather than ON-klave **EN-klave**

Enoka there is a macron over the 'e' **AIR-naw-kah**

enormity should not be used if you mean enormous. Enormity means a terrible crime, a wickedness. Don't use it if you mean big!

entomology is the study of **insects**, but **etymology** is the study of the **history of words** Don't confuse the two.

entrepreneur not ON-truh-pruh NEW-uh **ON-truh-pruh-NER**

envelope [noun] not ON-vuh-loh-p **EN-vuh-lohp**

envelope [verb] **in-VEL-uhp**

environment don't leave out the second 'n' **in-VIGH-ruhn-muhnt**

Appendix

envoy — not ON-voy — EN-voy
episode — not efisode — EP-uh-sohd
era — EE-uh-ruh
Erfurt (Germany) — not the same as error — AIR-foo-uht
eschew — iss-CHOO
estimate (noun) — EST-uh-muht
estimate (verb) — EST-uh-mayt
etcetera — not egg-SET-(uh)-ruh — it SET-(uh)-ruh

exaggerate means to make something appear greater in some respect than it is, or to enlarge something out of proportion. **exacerbate** is quite different and means to make worse, something already rather bad.

exuberant — our preference — eks-YOO-buh-ruhnt

evacuating: take care with this word. It is better to talk of buildings or streets being evacuated, rather than people being evacuated. Never use the phrase self-evacuating.

Eyjafjallajoekull (Icelandic glacial volcano) — IGH-fyat-uh-YER-kuht-luh

eye-witness just say witness.

F

Fairbairn (family name) — not Fair-bern — usually FAIR-bear-n
falafel — fuh-LAH-fuhl
falcon — for the big bird — FAWL-kuhn
falcon — for the Ford car — FAL-kuhn
Falconer as a family name can be pronounced FAWL-k(uh)-nuh or FAL-kuh-nuh. It is usually FAWL-k(uh)-nuh, but always check.
February — FEB-broo-uh-ree
femur (human bone) — FEE-muh
Fenwick: This name can be pronounced fen-ik or fen-wik. Always check.
The immediate past president of the Export Institute, Bob Fenwick, and Rob Fenwick of Landcare Research, also former Deputy Chairperson of TVNZ, are both fen-ik

fewer applies to numbers and **less** applies to amounts or volume. "There are fewer police on duty." "There is less water in the lake." You say, **less** when you are dealing with things that can be quantified, but not counted.
If what you are referring to can be lined up and counted then say fewer.
The most common exception is when referring to time. It is correct to say less than six days, weeks or years because you are referring to quantity of time. Another exception is when referring to numbers giving the size of a quantity, for example, "less than $100"

fiefdom — not FIGHF-duhm — FEEF-duhm
Fiennes, Ralph (actor): — RAYF-FIGHNZ
Fiennes, Ranulph (explorer) — the L is silent — RAN-uhf-FIGHNZ
FIFA (Federation Internationale de Football Association — FEE-fah
The word Fijian applies only to people of the ethnic group indigenous to the islands, or to the Austronesian language spoken there. If you are referring to institutions and other things in

Fiji, use Fiji as the adjective, as in Fiji court etc, rather than Fijian. A person of Indian descent is an Indo-Fijian
Finlayson, Chris (MP) — FIN-luh-suhn
Finlay and Finlayson can be FIN-lay and FIN-lay-suhn -- always check
fires: not all fires are blazes Many words and phrases associated with fires and putting them out have become tired cliches. While it's fair to say that there aren't many words available to be used on the topic, try to look at different ways of saying things. "Battling the blaze", "fighting the fire", "damping down hotspots" are some examples of overused phrases. Try to be a little more inventive, find new descriptions - mix and match some of the words to provide a fresh sound.

flaccid — our preference — FLAK-sid
Flores (Spain) — FLAW-res
floundering and foundering have different meanings
to flounder is to struggle or have difficulty
to founder is to sink or fail

flotilla — not floh-tii-uh — fluh-TIL-uh
flown — not flowen — FLOHN
Foley, Myna (musician) — not MEEN-uh — MIGH-nuh
Football/Soccer Use football when talking about games in Europe and South America. When discussing New Zealand games use football unless it could be confused with rugby and soccer would be more appropriate.
In New Zealand, we have a Foreign Affairs Minister, not a Foreign Minister
formidable — our preference — FAW-mid-uh-buhl
Fresnes (French town) — FREN
free: if something is free, it's free, or for nothing - but NOT for free
frequent (verb) — to fruh-KWENT
fugitive means someone on the run. Don't say "a fugitive on the run"
fulsome does not mean full or large. It can mean exaggerated and insincere. Don't use it
fungi — our preference — FUNG-gigh

G

Guadalajara (Spanish city) — gwah-duh-luh-HAH-ruh
Geely (Chinese make of car and company buying Volvo) — JEE-lee
Geithner, Timothy (US Secretary of the Treasury) — GIGHT-nuh
Geldof: Bob Geldoff has an **honorary** knighthood which does **not** have a title. He is Mr Geldof. Although many media may refer to him as Sir Bob, **we should not**
Georg is usually GAY-org, or sometimes GAY-ork
Georgi is usually gay-ORG-ee, but can be ZHAW-zhee or ZHAW-zhuh, or, in English JAW-jee
Always check when using any of these names
genealogy — "genie"-uh-"LODGE"-uh-kuhl
genealogical — "genie"-"AL-uh-jee
Genoa (Italian city) — not "genie" OL-uh-jy — JEN-uh-wuh
In news scripts, the first mention should be of "genetically modified rice", not "GM rice" which can be used in subsequent references.

Appendix

genome [genetics terminology] JEE-nohm, not juh-NOHM

Geoghegan [family name] GAY-guhn usually

gerbil JER-bil, not GER-bil

Ghanaian gah-NAY-uhn

Gibraltar [our pronunciation] jib-BROL-tuh

Gillingham as a family name it can be GIL-ing-uhm or JIL-ing-uhm, in Dorset and Norfolk it is JIL-ing-uhm, in Kent it is GIL-ing-uhm

Gippsland (Australia) not JIPS-land. GIPS-land. Note also, it ends with land, not luhnd.

Gisborne not GIZ-buhn GIZ-*born*

glacier not GLAY-see-uh GLAS-see-uh

glacial GLAY-shuhl or GLAY-see-uhl

Glamis [Scottish family, placename and castle] GLAHMZ

Gliwice [Polish city]: glee-VEET-suh

Gloucester and Gloucestershire GLOSS-tuh and GLOSS-tuh-shuh

Goh Chok Tong [Singapore Minister] GOH CHOK TONG

Goosen, Retief [South African golfer] ruh-TEEF HOOS-uhn

golf the vowel is said the same as in 'got'

Gothenburg [Swedish city] anglicised GOTH-uhn-berg

gotten: In English, the old word *gotten* has dropped out of use except in such phrases as *ill-gotten* and *gotten up*. In American English, *gotten* is frequently used as the past participle of *get*, meaning *obtain*. Regardless of the merits or otherwise of the word, **do not use *gotten* on-air**

Govett [New Plymouth art gallery and law firm] pronounce both "n"s GUV-VET

Government GUV-uhn-muhnt

Granada (city in Spain and Nicaragua) grin-AH-duh

Grenada (Caribbean Island and Wgtn Suburb) not grin-AH-duh grin-AYD-uh. Not to be confused with the Caribbean island of Grenada which is pronounced grin-AYD-uh

Gregan, Philip [wine institute] GREG-uhn

Greig, Justice [NZ high Court judge] not GREEG GREG as a given or family name it is usually GREG

Grieg [Norwegian composer] GREEG

grievous not GREEV-ee-uhss GREEV-uhss

gridlock in traffic is when a grid pattern of streets is jammed. Avoid using gridlock if you are talking about motorways or highways only.

Groser [late actor Antony, MP Tim] GROH-suh

Grosvenor [family and placename] GROH-v(uh)-nuh

grown, known, shown, sown, flown are one syllable only. Do not say growen, knowen, showen, sowen, flowen.

Gyanendra [ousted King of Nepal] gee-uh-NEN-druh - [hard G]

H

H is pronounced aych, not haytch

Hainaur [Belgium] en-NOH

Hainault [Britain] HAY-nawt or HAY-nolt

Haiti HAY-tee

haka: the vowels in this word are short [not haak-ah] huk-ah,

Halcombe [Manawatu] HAL-kuhm

Haldane [Southland] HAL-dayn

half is a noun, adverb or adjective – do not use half as a verb – the verb is [to] halve

half-penny (coin) (see also threepence, sixpence) HAYP-nee

Halfpenny [family name] HAHF-PEN-ee

Hampshire, Wiltshire, Cheshire etc all end in **sheer** or **shuh**
When saying the counties of England, the suffix 'shire' is pronounced SHEER or SHUH. The only time 'shire' is said as SHIGH-uh is when the word, meaning *county* stands alone, or as a prefix, as in **shire-horses**.

hanged - people are hanged - clothes are hung

Hanmer Springs not HAM-nuh HAN-muh

Hargreaves can be pronounced HAH-greevz or HAH-grayz

harass our preference "harris"

harassment our preference "harris"-muhnt

Harawira, Hone [Maori Party MP] equal stress, note penultimate sound
hon-air hah-rah-wee-rah

Hartlepool [English port] syllables of equal length HAHT-luh-pool

Hataitai HAH-TIGH-TIGH

Hatepe [Lake Taupo] HAH-tep-pair

Harvard not HAH-VAHD HAH-vid

Havana huh-VAN-uh

Havel, Vaclav [Czech President, 1993] VAHT-slahv HAH-vel

Hawarden, (Canterbury) HAH-duhn
The bay out to sea is **Hawke Bay**, the province is **Hawke's Bay**
It is **not the Hawke's Bay.**
he is not, they are not are best elided on radio as *he's not, they're not* rather than *he isn't and they aren't*

Heathcote [Christchurch] HETH-kuht

hearth (fire-place) HAHTH

height Although it is our policy to use metric measurements, when you are referring to a person's height, **use feet and inches as well as centimetres.**

heinous rather than HEE-nuhss HAY-nuhss

Henare is pronounced HEN-ah-re, rather than hen-AH-re [re as in rent]

Helena can be pronounced HEL-uh-nuh, huh-LEE-nuh, or huh-LAY-nuh. Always check

Helene can be pronounced huh-LAYN or HEL-uhn

helicoptered avoid this word say "taken by helicopter"

Hermes [French company name] AIR-mess

Hervey Bay [Queensland] HAR-vee

Hezbollah hez-baw-LAH

Heays, Kevin [Kaikoura District Mayor] our preference HAYZ

hikoi not HIK-oy HEE-koy

H

Term	Pronunciation / Note
Hilles [near Kurow, Otago]	HIL-uhss
Himatangi [Manawatu]	HEE-mah-tah-ngee

a historic event: if you sound the h, there is no reason to say *an* historic

historic, in simple terms, refers to something momentous, where as "historical" refers just to something in the past.

HMNZS Manawanui: as with all ships with HMS, HMNZS HMAS etc preceding their names we do not put "the" in front, e.g. "HMNZ Hawea", not "the HMNZS Hawea

Term	Pronunciation / Note
Hodder and Stoughton [publishing firm]	STOH-tuhn
Hodgson, [Pete MP] [the g is silent]	HOD-suhn
Holborow, Les [Emeritus Professor]	HOL-boh-roh
Hollande, Francois	fruns-wah ol_LAHN-d(uh)
Home [Alec Douglas-Home - British politician in the 1960s]	HYOOM
homosexual	HOH-muh-sek-shuhl

Honda Accord: don't say HON-duh-yuh-KAWD

Honours: Royal Honours are awarded at different levels. In New Zealand, people do not receive the New Zealand Order of Merit, they become, are made or appointed either a Grand Knight Companion (GNZM), Knight Companion (KNZM), Companion (CNZM), Officer (ONZM) or Member (MNZM) of the New Zealand Order of Merit.

Term	Pronunciation / Note
Hopkins, Anthony	ANT-uhn-ee
Horowhenua	haw-raw-FEN-noo-uh
Houghton as a family name or British place-name can be HOW-tuhn, HAW-tuhn or HOH-tuhn	
Houghton Bay [Wellington] how as "how do you do"	HOW-tuhn
Houston [Texas]	HEW-stuhn
Houstoun [Michael, pianist]	HOO-stuhn
Huebner, David [US Ambassador to NZ and Samoa]	HEEB-nuh
Hun Sen [Cambodian Prime Minister, 1990]	HOON SEN

Hung: Clothes are hung, people are hanged

hurricane	not HURRI-kain	HURRI-kuhn

Hywel [Welsh name]: usually HOW-uhl, but can also be how-ELL, or HEW-ell. Always check.

Hyundai [car] rhymes with Sunday	H-YUN-day

I

Iguazu River, [Brazil]	ee-gwah-SOOH

impact as a verb should have the word "on" after it

imply and infer: You imply or insinuate something, you infer or understand from what you have been told.

Impresario	not im-pruh-SAIR-ree-oh	im-pruh-SAH-ree-oh

in Dunedin, in Auckland — not at Dunedin, at Auckland etc.

Incholme [Otago]	
Incident: the plural is not incidences but incidents	INCH-hohm
indictment	in-DIGHT-muhnt
ingenuous — not in JEAN-ee-uhss	in-JEN-yoo-uhss
Ingushetia, [Russia]	in-goo-SHET-ee-uh

integral	rather than in-TEG-ruh	INT-uh-gruhl
interment [burial]	not in-TERN-muhnt	in-TER-muhnt

The Internet is a valuable tool for finding the correct pronunciation of a word or name. It does however need to be used carefully. Go to the Google web-page, type in *pronunciation* and the word or name you are seeking, and press enter. You will be directed to an array of web-pages and possibly some online dictionaries. Remember, though, that many sites are American and so need to be interpreted in a New Zealand-English context

internecine		in-tuh-NEE-sighn
inventory	not in-VENT-uhree	IN-vuhn-tree

invite is a verb. You invite someone -- they do not get an invite, they get an invitation. Do not use invite as a noun

Iodine	our preference	igh-UH-dighd
Iodide		IGH-uh-deen

i-Pods: Unless you are discussing only the Apple product, refer to them all as MP3 Players, not i-Pods.

Iran	not eye-ran	i [as in /i/] RAHN
Iraq	not eye-rack	i [as in /i/] RAHK
Irbil, Iraq		eer-BEEL
Ireland: Unless you have an Irish accent, not igh-uh-r-land		igh-uh-luhnd
Irkutsk [Russia]		ur-KOOTSK
irony		IGH-uh-ruh-nee
irreparable	not iruh-PAIR-uble	i-REP-ruh-buhl
irrevocable	not iruh-VOKE-uhble	I-REV-uh-kuhble

issue	not ISS-yoo or ISS-oo	ISH-oo

It is our news writing policy to use "it" for ships, boats and ferries, not "she" or "her"

Iti,Tame	not tum-ah	tum-mair ee-tee

J

January	JAN-yooh-uh-ree
Jatropha [plant group]	JAT-truh-fuh
Jemaah Islamiah [Indonesian terrorist group]	juh-MAH iz-luh-MEE-uh
Jenin [West Bank town]	juh-NEEN
Jerome [given name]	usually juh-ROHM, but can be JERRUHM
jewellery — not JOOL-uh-ree	JOO-uhl-ree

The university in Baltimore, Maryland is called Johns Hopkins. Note the first s.

Jimenez, Miguel Angel [Spanish golfer]	mi-GEL AHN-gel hi-MEN-ez

Joaquin is usually hwah-KEEN, but can sometimes in English be JOH-uh-kin

Some Israeli political leaders:

Tzipi Livni	TSEE-pee LEEV-nee
Benjamin Netanyahu	ben-jah-MEEN net-ahn-YAH-hoo
Ehud Olmert	air-HOO-D OHL-mairt
Ariel Sharon	ah-ree-EL shah-RON
Shimon Peres	shee-MON-PAIR-ress

The Spanish politician who is the European Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs, Joaquin Almunia, is **hwah-KEEN**

The American actor Joaquin Phoenix is **wah-KEEN**

Joachim is usually pronounced **YAW-ah-keem**, but in French it can **ZHAW-ah-keem** and in English it can be **JOH-uh-kim**

Johne's disease (cattle/sheep disease)

Jorge   usually   (approximate description)   **YOH-nuhz or YOH-neez**
but in Brazil and Portugal it will be   **HAWG-huh, ZHAW-zhuh**

José   in Spanish, it is **hawss-SAY**
in Portuguese it is **zhoo-ZAY**
in Brazilian Portuguese it is **zhaw-ZAY**

judges impose sentences, rather than hand down sentences

juries: When they **retire**, they do so to consider their verdict. When they stop for the night, they **adjourn**. When they **go out**, they leave the courtroom, usually when they retire. When they come back into the courtroom, they **return**.

justices: We give High Court Judges the title Justice as an honorific before their names. Do not refer to them simply as justices - they are judges.

Justices of the Peace and Marriage Celebrants The role of Justice of the Peace does not include solemnising marriages. Only marriage celebrants, appointed by the Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages can do that. It is true that some JPs are also marriage celebrants, but the two roles are unconnected

Juventus (Italian football team)   **gyooh-VEN-tuhss**

junta   established anglicisation   **JUN-tuh**
do not say JOON-tuh or HOON-tuh

justify: Do not use this word if you mean **defend**

K

Kaeo	there is a macron over the 'o'		**KIGH-AW**
Kabul	not kuh-BULL		**KAH-buhl**
Kach	(Israeli political group)		**KAHK**
Kaikohe	HE as in HEN		**KIGH-KAW-HE**
Kaikōura	not kai-*COW*-rah		**kigh-KAW-oo-rah**
Kaipara	not KIGH-pruh		**KIGH-pah-rah**
Kano	(Nigeria)		**KAH-noh**
Kano Street	(Karori) commonly KAY-noh, but reflecting its Maori origin correctly		**kun-aw**
Karadzich, Radovan	it ends with jich, not dich	R	**AH-duh-vahn KAH-ruh-jich**
Kawarau	(river) in Otago		**kah-wah-ROH**
Kawerau	in the Bay of Plenty region		**kah-wair-ROH**
Kemakeza, Allan	[Sir] (Prime Minister of Solomon Islands)		**kem-uh-KEZ-uh**
Walter Keonig	(US Actor)		**KAY-nig**
Keswick	(UK)		**KEZ-ik**
Kiama	(NSW)		**kigh-AM-uh**
Kirkuk	(Iraq, also Kerkuk)		**kur-KOOK**

Kilometre   rather than kil-OM-uh-tuh, our preference is **KIL-uh-meet-uh**

Kilgour, David   (NZ musician) rhymes with hour   **KIL-gower**

Kiribati   not KIRI-bah-tee   **KIRI-buhss**

kiwi is a bird. The New Zealand dollar can be referred to as the kiwi. It is our policy to call people New Zealanders — not kiwis

knots   When referring to speed on water - *Knots* is all you need
Don't say *knots per hour*

known   one syllable   not knowen   **NOHN**

Korea When referring to Korea or Koreans be specific. Refer only to North Korea and South Korea and to North Koreans and South Koreans. Do not refer to someone as a Korean

Kruger, Taamati (Tuhoe spokesperson)   **KROO-guh**

Kruger (African safari park)   **KROO-guh**

Kuito (Angola)   **kooh-EE-toh**

Kumeu   no "you" in the pronunciation.   **KOO-MAIR-oo**

Kumble, Anil (Indian cricketer)   **KOOM-blay**

Kinivuwai, Peceli (Fiji SDL Party)   **peth-EL-ee kee-nee-voo-WIGH**

Kudos   **KYOO-doss**

Kunzel, Erich (American conductor)   not KOON-zuhl   **KUN-zuhl**

Kyoto (Japan)   not kigh-OH-toh, two syllables, not three   **KYOH-toh**

L

Laboratory   **luh-BORRUH-tree**

La Canada (California)   **lah kan-YAH-duh**

La Guardia (Airport, New York)   **lah GWAH-dee-uh**

La Nina (weather pattern)   **la NEEN-yah**

L'Aquila (Italy)   **LAH-kwee-lah**

Ladbrokes (UK betting company)   not LAD-brokes   **LAD-brooks**

lahar   not luh-HAH   **LAH-hah**

Lao (Language of Laos, also adjective: the Lao people)   ow as in "now"   **L-OW**

Laos   ow as in "now"   **LOW-SS**

Las Vegas   not *loss*VAYG-iss   **lass-VAYG-iss**

Last: if you are talking about the few months just gone, it is better to say the **past few months**, not the last few months.

Launceston (Cornwall, England)   **LAWN-stuhn, LAHN-stuhn or LAHN-suhn**
our preference **LAWN-stuhn**

Launceston (Tasmania)   **LAWN-ses-stuhn**

Law and order - don't say LAW-ruhnd-AW-duh

Leask (family name) can be LESK, LISK, or LEESK - always check.
In Southland, is it usually **LESK**

Lee Myung-bak (new South Korean president)   **lee m-yung-bak**
yung as in "young"

Leicester and Leicester shire   **LESS-tuh-and LESS-tuh-shuh**

less applies to amounts or volume and **fewer** applies to numbers. There is less water in the dam; there are fewer police on duty.

Appendix

leucocyte (blood part) — LOO-kuh-sight

leverage [our preference] — LEE-vuh-rij

Levin, as a Horowhenua town, is luh-VIN. As a family name, Levin can be LEV-uhn, luh-VEEN, or luh-VIN. Always check. The Toyota Levin car is LEV-uhn

lieutenant — our pronunciation is always — lef-TEN-uhnt

lingerie — LAN-zhuh-ree

ll The Welsh consonant, spelt as a double L - as in Llanelly or Llangollen - is pronounced as an aspirate L. In other words it is the same an a English L, but made with your breath and without the voice. It is not pronounced CL, THL or FL. If it helps, think of it as HL, e.g. hlan-E-hlee (E as in set)

liquefaction is a process that happens. It is not a substance. The substance, produced by soil liquefaction is silt, sand, or sludge

The phrase is "by a long chalk", not "by a long shot". "By a long chalk" means "by far" and "a long shot" means wild guess or venture. Don't mix up the two phrases.

longevity — not long-GEV-uh-tee — lon-JEV-uh-tee

longitude — not LONG-guh-tewd — LON-juh-tyood

longitudinal — lon-juh-TYOO-din-uhl

Losecoat (Field and Battle in Britain) — LOSS-koht

Louisville (Kentucky, USA) — LOOH-ee-vil

Lowy Institute (policy think tank based in Sydney) — LOH-ee

Luggate (Otago) — LUG-uht

Lytham (UK) [th as in then] — LITH-uhm

M

McCoskrie, Bob (Family First campaigner) not Bob McCroskie — Bob McCoskrie

MacDaimid, Alan (Nobel Prize) not mik-DARE-mid — mik-DIGH-uh-mid

McDonnell/McDonell can be muhk-DON-uhl or MAK-duh-NEL - check

McDonnell, John (British Labour MP) — muhk-DON-uhl

McKay — usually — muh-KIGH

McKay (Queensland) — muh-KIGH

McKie can be muh-KEE or muh-KIGH - check

McLean — usually — muh-KLAYN

McLeans — muh-KLEENS

Mahoney can be pronounced MAH-nee or muh-HOH-nee - always check

Macabia Games (held in Israel) — mak-uh-BEE-uh

Mahoney — check whether it's — MAH-nee or muh-HOH-nee

Mahuika, Apirana or Api (Maori leader) — up-pee mah-hoo-ee-kah

Mahuta, Nanaia (Tainui MP) — not mah-HOO-tuh — MAH-hoo-tah

Maister, Barry (sports administration) — MAY-stuh

Makutu (Maori word for sorcery or curse) not muk-uh-too (long AH) MAH-koo-too

Mailelegaoi, Tuilaepa Sailele (Samoan Prime Minister) too-ee lah-EPP-ah / sah-ee-LEH-leh / mah-lee-air-LENG-ah-aw-ee

Maldives — our preference — MAWL-deevz

mall (shopping) — MAWL

The Mall (London) — MAL

Malling (East and West, UK) — MAW-ling

Malvern (UK) — MAWL-vuhn or MAW-vuhn

Malvern (US) — MAL-vuhn

Mana — MUN-ah

Manapouri — not mun-up-ow-ree — mun-up-AW-oo-ree

RNZ style is to refer to Manawatu, not "the Manawatu" when referring to the region. The same policy applies to Waikato. "The Manawatu" or "the Waikato" applies only when talking about the rivers.

Mandatory — not MAN-duh-taw-ree — MAN-duh-tree

Maori — our preference is — MAAH-aw-ree

Marriage Celebrants and JPs. The role of Justice of the Peace does not include solemnising marriages. Only marriage celebrants, appointed by the Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages can do that. It is true that some JPs are also marriage celebrants, but the two roles are unconnected

Marque (a make of car rather than a particular model, usually a luxury brand) MAHK

Marie as a name can be pronounced muh-REE, or MAH-ree. In Maori it's mah-ree-air

Maryland — MAIR-uh-luhnd

Marylebone (London district, road); the generally preferred pronunciation is MARRUH-luh-buhn. However some pronounce it differently. If you are referring to the Marylebone Cricket Club, call it the MCC and you will offend no one

Matai Bay (Auckland)

Matai Bay (South Island West Coast) — mut-TIGH / MAH-TIGH

Matata — not mah-TAH-tah — mut-tut-TAH

Mateparae, Sir Jerry (Governor-General) — mut-air-PAH-RIGH

Maungakiekie — needs to be said reasonably slowly — moh-ngah-KEE-air-KEE-air

Mangawhai — mung-ah-FHIGH

Mangonui — no hard g — mung-aw-NOO-ee

Manukau in Auckland and Manakau in Horowhenua are spelt and pronounced differently - don't confuse the two.

manufacturer — not man-uh-FAKT-yuh-ruh — man-yoo-FAKT-yuh-ruh

Manurewa — not man-YOO-air-uh — mun-oo-rair-wah

Mauger — MAY-juh

Meanwhile — ask yourself is this word really necessary to your script? "Meanwhile" is easily over-used

Medical professional charges sometimes get muddled. The correct phrases are: Disgraceful Conduct and Professional Misconduct

Medina (Saudi Arabia) — muh-DEEN-uh

Meeanee, (near Napier) — mee-AH-nee

Unless you are talking about mediums who can contact the dead, the plural of medium is media: As a plural it should be treated as such, e.g. "the media are"

Megan can be MEG-uhn, MEE-guhn or sometimes in Wales even MEG-ahn - check

melamine — MEL-uh-MEEN

memo — MEM-oh/Sir

meningococcal (disease) — not MEE-moh, — muh-NIN-joh-KOK-uhl

Menzies as with a former Australian PM, it is usually — our preference — MEN-zeez

Appendix

But it can be **MING-eez**, especially in Scotland

Mercedes	[car]	mer-SAY-deez
Mercedes	[woman's name]	often MER-sid-eez
Meredith	usually in NZ	MERRUH-dith
Meredith	in Wales usually	muh-RED-dith
Merkel, Angela	[German leader]	un-GEL-uh MAIR-kuhl
merlot		MER-loh
MICEX	[Russian stock exchange]	MIGH-seks
Michigan	not MITCH-uh-guhn	MISH-uh-guhn

Microphone Use: Do not work too close to the microphone in the recording booths and studios. This leads to "proximity effect" and "bass tip-up". In simple terms, we hear too much breath and articulation noise, and too much bass. Unless directed otherwise by an operator, the general rule is that your mouth should be at least a stretched hand-span from the microphone — little finger stretched towards the mike and your thumb stretched towards your mouth.

Milan is an anglicised name, the English equivalent of Milano.	not mil-AHN	mil-LANN	
Mindanao	[Philippines]		min-duh-NOW
Minzion	[Otago]		MIN-zuhn
Mir	[space station]		ME-uh
Misanthrope			MIS-suhn-throhp
mischievous		not mis-CHEEV-ee-uhss	MIS-chuh-vuhss
Modena	[Italy]		MOD-in-uh
Mokau		not MOK, begins with MAWK	MOH-kuh
Muller, Chris	[former NZ Rugby Union official]		
Monaco		not mon-AR-koh	MON-uh-koh
monarch		not MON-ahk	MON-uhk
Montana	[the US state]		mon-TANN-uh
Montana	[the wine]		mon-TAHN-uh
monetary		not MON-uh-tree	MUN-uh-tree
Montenegro			mon-tuh-NEE-groh
Montgomery	[Field Marshall]		muhnt-GUM-uh-ree
otherwise it is usually			mont-GOM-uh-ree
Moscow			MOSS-koh
Mosely-Braun	not MOSS-"cow"	not BROWN	BROWN
Motlanthe, Kgalema	[former South African president]		KHAH-lem-ah mot-HLAHN-tee
Motueka	not mot-chew-ajkuh		maw-too-ek-ah
Mousehole	[village in Cornwall]	[MOW rhymes with cow]	MOW-zuhl

MP3 players: Unless you are discussing only the Apple product, refer to them all as MP3 Players, rather than i-Pods.

Mt Maunganui		no hard g in the middle
Mueller, Bob	[FBI Director]	MYOOH-luh
Mubarak, Hosni		HOZ-nee moo-BAH-ruhk
multiple:	Do not use this word if you mean several, many, or lots of times	
Munich is an anglicised name, do not give it a German pronunciation		MYOO-nik
Musharraf, Pervez	[General, President, Pakistan] oo in 'put'	puh-VAYZ moo-SHAH-ruhf
Myanmar	not MIGH-uhn-mah	m-YAN-mah

N

Names: It is RNZ's news style policy to never refer to adults by their first name only.
The pronunciation of a name may appear straightforward from the spelling, but English is host to many inconsistencies. For example, *Fenwick* is often pronounced FEN-ik, but English is sometimes REN-ik, *Warwick* is usually 'worrick'. It is in New Zealand and Australia that it is often pronounced as DAY-veez. *Renwick* is sometimes also be muh-RED-ith. *Anthony* is often said as Antony. In England and Wales, *Davies* is almost always said as DAY-viss. There are also many names where there is room for confusion, for example. Davison and Davidson, Jamieson and Jamison. Also, Andrews and Andrew and other names spelt with or without s on the end. McKay can be pronounced two ways, muh-KIGH and muh-KAY. See McLean.
Always check carefully how names are spelt and said.

Naughtie, James	[BBC broadcaster] not "naughty"	NOK-tee - "nochtie".

A neo-nazi is a white **supremacist**, not a supremist.

Nepal	not nuh-PAL	nuh-PAWL
Nepalese		nep-uh-LEEZ
Nepali		nuh-PAW-lee

While the pronunciation of **New Orleans** varies depending on where you live, RNZ's preferred pronunciation is the long-established anglicisation n-gyo-AW-lee-uhnz

News conference	not press conference	
Newark	[US city]	NYOO-uhk
New Zealand Order of Merit	— see Honours	
Ngongotaha	[near Rotorua]	ngaw-ngaw-tah-HAH
Niamh	[Irish name]	NEEV or NEE-uhv
Nicosia		nik-uh-SEE-uh
Niue	e as in wet. If you like, think of "NEW-air"	NYOO-weh
Niger	[the country]	NEE-zhair
Niger	[the river]	NIGH-juh
Nis	[Serbian city]	NEESH
Nordsjaelland	[Danish football club]	nor-SHEL-uhn
norovirus	not NAW-roh	"NORROW"-vigh-uh-ruhss

The first part rhymes with "borrow"

While maps might refer to North Island and South Island, we refer to them as "the North Island" and "the South Island". However the same does not apply to Cook Strait which should NOT be called "the Cook Strait".

nuclear	not NOOK-yuh-luh	N-YOO-klee-uh
nude and nudist	not NOOD and NOO-dist	n-good and N-YOO-dist
Nuku'alofa	not noo-koo-uh-LOH-tuh	noo-koo-ah-LOF-fah

Numbers: When saying the numbers that follow a decimal point, please observe the following conventions of the English language.
4.95 is four-point-nine-five, not four-point-ninety-five
6.11 is six point-one-one, not six-point-eleven

Appendix

6.10 should be written as 6.1 and said as six-point-one. In the context we are likely to use it, the zero at the end is unnecessary.

O

Obama, Barack (US President)		buh-RAHK oh-BAH-muh
occurrence		uh-'currants'
Oceania	not oh-shee-AHN-yuh	oh-shee-AYN-yuh

off: Avoid the increasing tendency of combining off and of. Say something is "taken off" someone, rather than "taken off of" someone.

off	not AWF	OF
often	not OFT-uhn	our preference	OF-uhn
Ohingaiti (Rangitikei district)		AW-hing-nga-ee-tee
Olmert, Ehud		air-HOO-d oil-MAIRT
Omagh (Northern Ireland)		OH-mah
Omaha (City in US State of Nebraska)		OH muh-hah
Omaha (Auckland)		AW-mah-hah

The phrase is "one fell swoop" - **not** "one foul swoop"

Ontario	not on-TAR-ee-oh	on-TAIR-ree-oh
ophthalmology	our preference	off-thal-MOL-uh-jee
Opotiki	not uh-POH-tik-ee	AW-PAW-tee-Kee
Ordinary	not AW-din-air-ree	AW-din-ree
Orewa		AW-RAIR-wah

orientate: Avoid this word and use orient instead

Ossetia	our preference	oss-SET-ee-uh
Otahuhu		AW-TAH-hoo-hoo

over-inflated and over-abundance: In the context you use these words, ask yourself **is the OVER really necessary?**

Overuse: Some words are being overused - it's time to give these a rest - **icon, iconic, segue.**

Our: We do not talk about *our* soldiers, *our* government, *our* police etc. We refer to New Zealand soldiers, the New Zealand government, the New Zealand Police etc.

Ouse (river in UK)		OOZ

Outside: it is not good English to say "outside of". The 'of' is redundant

Owhiro Bay	rather than Ohiro our preference is	awf-HEE-raw

Own: this word often gets used unnecessarily and with emotive overtones. Here are some examples of the unnecessary use of "own" "Killed by his own mother". Leave out "own". "Drove off in his own car". "Forced from their own home". Leave out "own".

P

Pakistan	not PACK-i-STAN	pah-kis-STAHN
Paltrow, Gwyneth (actress)	PAL as in friend	GWIN-uhth PAL-troh
Pago Pago (American Samoa)		PAHNG-aw-pahng-aw

Papatoetoe		pup-ah-taw-air-taw-air
parenting		PAIR-ruhn-ting
particularly		puh-TIK-yuh-luh-lee
Pataki, George (Governor, New York)	not puh-tik-yuh-lee	puh-TAH-kee
Pattaya (Thailand)		PAH-tah-YAH
Patea:	not pah-TAY-uh or pah TEE-uh)	PAAH-tair-uh
	(paa-tear - tear as in rip),	
Pall Mall (London)	not PAWL-MAWL	pal-MAL
palaeontology		PAL-ee-uhn-TOL-uh-jee

Paraparaumu: not Para-pa-row-mu. *Parapara* means scraps and *umu* means oven, hence **purruh-purrah-oo-moo** Elide the syllables together

Paremoremo		PAH-rem-aw-rem-aw

Note, the Corrections facility located at Paremoremo is called **Auckland prison**

pedophile or paedophile	not PED-uh-file	PEE-duh-file
Pembroke and Pembrokeshire (UK)		PEM-brook and PEM-brook-shuh
penalise	not PEN-uh-lighz	PEEN-uh-lighz

The noun is **peninsula**, the adjective is **peninsular** not puh-nins-uh-luh

penultimate means next to last. It does not mean last, nor does it mean quintessential or archetypal. puh-nins-yuh-luh,

persimmon		per-SIM-uhn
Peshawar (Pakistan)		puh-SHAH-wuh
Peugeot		PER-zhoh
Philharmonia		fil-uh-MOH-n-yuh
Phoebe (girl/woman's name)		FEE-bee
Phoenix		FEE-niks
Phoenix, Joaquin (American actor)		wah-KEEN FEE-niks
pianist	not p-YAN-ist	PEE-uh-nist
Pomare (Lower Hutt)		PAW-mah-rair
Porirua		paw-ree-ROO-ah
Potomac River (US)		puh-TOH-mak
Pounamu		PAW-oo-nah-moo
Powell, Colin (former US official)		KOH-luhn
Powles Michael (former NZ diplomat)		POHLZ
Powles, Sir Guy (late, former Ombudsman)		POHLZ
primary	not PRIGH-"MARY"	PRIGH-m(uh)ree
Pukekohe		poo-ke-kaw-he

The phrase is **"the proof of the pudding is in the eating."** It is not "the proof is in the pudding"

Pukekohe	'oo' as in book and 'e' as in pet,	poo-ke-kaw-he
Pulitzer (literary prize)	our preference	POOL-it-suh
Putin, Vladimir (Russian President)		vluh-DEE-mee-uh POO-tin
Puysegur (Southland)		P-YOO-suh-guh

plead in New Zealand, the past tense is pleaded - not pled

Pleiades (cluster of stars)	our preference	PLIGH-uh-deez
plethora	not pluh-THAW-ruh	PLETH-uh-ruh

pokies is a colloquial term for poker machines, so called because many were based on the card game — poker. We call them pokies in the same way as we call motorcycle riders, bikies. To speak

of *pokie machines* is rather like saying *bikie riders*. Call them gaming machines, poker machines, or pokies if you must be colloquial, but **never poke machines**. Few of them today are based on the poker game anyway!

precedent — not PREE-suh-duhnt — PRESS-uh-duhnt

preferable — not pruh-FUR-uh-buhl — PREF-ruh-buhl

Prelude — not PREE-lood — PREL-yood

premiere is an opening night and is pronounced **premi-AIR**

premier meaning first or leader is pronounced **PREM-yuh**

prerogative — not puh-ROG-uh-tiv — pruh-ROG-uh-tiv

process (noun) — not PROSS-sess — PROH-sess

process (verb) — not pross-SESS — proh-SESS

pronunciation — not pruh-NOW-n-see-ay-shun — pruh-NUN-see-ay-shun

presently to many means *soon* If you mean *now* say **at present. In any event, ask yourself whether "now" or "at present" is needed**

press conference — say **news** conference

primarily — (in the church – our preference) — PRIGHM-ruh-lee

primate — (apes etc) — PRIGH-muht

primate — rather than prison escapees — PRIGH-mayt

prison escapers — rather than prison escapees — PREE-uhss

Prius (hybrid powered Toyota car)

prizes: it is better to say **"the student won the top prize" rather than "the student claimed the top prize"**

progress — not PROOG-ress — PROH-gress

project — rather than PROH-jekt, our preference — PROD-jekt

proof The strength of alcoholic beverages can be expressed by percentage and by proof. They are not the same. Proof is not the *percentage* of alcohol in the drink. In simple terms, liquor described as being two proof contains one percent alcohol. **Do not confuse the issue by talking about percent proof.** The correct description is either degrees proof or just proof - or percent alcohol. For example, gin which contains 37% alcohol, is 74 proof, or 74 degrees proof. **Best to stick to percentage and avoid proof altogether**

prostrate is the position, prostate is the gland

Strictly speaking, the verb protest, on its own, means assert, proclaim, avow or declare. It needs to be followed by against, about or over if you are talking about someone protesting against something

protest (noun) — not PROH-test — PROH-test

protest (verb) — not PROH-test-uh — pruh-TEST

protestor — pruh-TEST-uh

To summarise: pruh-TEST-uhz on a PROH-test are pruh-TEST-ing

proven — (our pronunciation) — PROO-vuhn

puma — not poo-muh — P-goo-muh

puna — P-goo-muh

pyre — PIGH-uh

Q

Qarase, Laisenia (deposed Fiji PM) do **not** try to put an **n** before the **g** sound

Our pronunciation is — ligh-SEN-ee-uh GAH-RAH-say

Qatar — not "catarh" — CUT-uh

quantam leaps mark an abrupt change from one state to a distinctly different one, with no in-between transitional states being possible. Avoid using the phrase if you simply mean a large leap. A quantum leap is not about size but change.

Queensland (Australia) — ends with land, not luhnd — KWEENZ-land

Quilliam (family name) — rhymes with William — KWIL-yuhm

R

Radiotherapy If you say radiotherapy or chemotherapy, remember that therapy means treatment, so don't say radiotherapy treatment etc.

Raetihi — not rah-tuh-hee — RYE-tee-hee

ragwort — not RAG-"wart" — RAG-wert

Raising or lowering objects - eg the container was lowered onto the dock. You reduce that - you reduce or increase a quantity. Do not talk about lowering the sugar content in a drink.

Ralph: mostly RALF, especially in New Zealand but can be RAYF. (see Fiennes, Vaughan Williams)

The phrase "ramped up" is slang and should not be used in writing news copy

Rangitoto — no hard g — rung-ee-taw-taw

Rasmussen, Anders Fogh (NATO Secretary-General) — AN-uhs FOH-RAS-moos-uhn

Rastafarian — our preference — ras-tuh-FAIR-ree-uhn

Real Madrid Spanish football theam — ray-AHL muh-DRID

Redan (Southland) — ruh-DAN

Redress. Unless you are talking about dressing someone or putting on your clothes again, the pronunciation of redress, meaning to rectify, is rid-DRESS

Regional Councils: In news bulletins, we refer to regional councils always by location, rather than say Environment Canterbury, Environment Waikato, Horizons Regional Council etc. We use the terms "the Canterbury Regional Council", "the Waikato Regional Council". Also, we drop the "Greater" from the Greater Wellington Regional Council and just refer to it as "the Wellington Regional Council".

regularly — not REG-gu-lee — hard g — REG-yoo-luh-lee

remittance means money sent, or the act of sending money. It is unnecessary to add "sent" and say "remittance sent"

Renwick Road and Renwicktown (Blenheim) — REN-wick

restorative — ris-STORRUH-tiv

Rochfort, (near Ohakune) — ROTCH-fuhd

ribald — RIB-uhld

Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) — our preference — ree-YAHD

Routeburn Vally (near Queenstown) — ROOT-burn

Route (road) — ROOT

Router (computer term) — ROW-tuh

row as in argument

Rowsell's (Auckland province) — ROW-zuhlz

Appendix

row as in argument

Ramallah — ruh-MAH-luh

Ramos Horta, José not hawss-AY — zhoo-ZAY RUM-osh - HAW-tuh

Rangitikei not ranga-tiki — rung-ee-TEE-kay

rebut and refute/reject These words are frequently misused. To **rebut** a statement is to provide clear evidence or argument against it. To **refute** a statement is to prove it is wrong. Neither of these words means deny, contradict or reject. **Do not use rebut or refute, if you mean reject or disagree with.**

reconciliation not reek-uhn — REK-uhn-sil-ee-ay-shun

redress (to remedy or rectify) — rid-DRESS

redress (changing someone's clothes) — REE-dress or re-DRESS

Reinga (Cape) not ri-ENG-uh, re (as in rent) and no hard G — RE-ING-uh

Remuera not rem-YOO-air-uh — rem-oo-e-rah

remuneration (income) not rim-yune — rim-yuneE..

Renault — REN-oh

repress and oppress: Repress means keep under control. **Oppression** always has negative connotations and implies cruelty or terror. Repression is not necessarily a bad thing e.g. repress one's urges. **Oppression** always has negative connotations and implies cruelty or terror.

research not REE-serch — ri-SERCH

Like research, repeat, regain, refer, retire, return, replace all start with "ri" (as in "rip") or "ruh", with the stress on the second syllable i.e. rip-PEET, ri-g-GAYN, rif-FER, rit-TIGH-uh, rit-ERN, rip-PLAYSS etc. Although there are exceptions, generally "re" should only be pronounced REE and stressed when the part that follows is a complete word, and "re" means "again" e.g. as in redesign reboot, re-house and where a hyphen might also be appropriate.

Residence Some listeners dislike the word **residency** in talking about someone gaining the right to live in New Zealand. To many people residency means an official residence. While the distinction has become a little blurred these days, our preference is for you to **use the word residence** for both meanings. There is no real reason to use the word residency when talking about the right to live in a country, or an official residence. And residence is shorter!

resource not REE-sawss — ri-ZAWSS

respiratory our preference — ris SPIRRA-tree

restaurateur not rest-uh-ron-TER — rest-uh-ruh-TER

resume (to continue) not ri-ZOOM — riz-YOOM

resumé, (a summary) — REZ-yoo-MAY

reticent and reluctant: reticent means unwilling to **speak,** being silent. Reserve the word for that and **do not use it when you mean reluctant,** which is disinclined to do something

Reverend: there are some points to note over the use of the term Reverend. Its use varies among countries and religions. It's a title, similar to "the Honourable" It precedes a name as in "the Reverend John Smith" **It must have "the" in front of it** Never refer to the "The Reverend Smith" **Second reference should be to** "Mr Smith" or "John Smith", or "the Reverend Mr Smith" Never refer to "a reverend" **Its pronounced REV-uh-ruhnd, not REV-uh-ruhnt** Bishops, Deans and Archbishops are **"the Right Reverend", "the Very Reverend" and "the Most Reverend"**

Archdeacons are usually "the Venerable" Titles vary slightly between Anglican and Catholic churches in New Zealand. In news especially, the use of Reverend and its variations are best avoided. But if you have to use them, check carefully

rhetoric (noun) not TORRICK — RET-uh-rick

Roofs rather than ROOFS — ROOFS While the use of "rooves" as the plural of roof is quite common, unlike hooves, the legitimacy of its use rests on shaky ground

Rotorua not roh-toh-ROO-uh — raw-taw-ROO-uh

rottweiler — ROT-wigh-luh

rout (to defeat or force out),ow as in now — rowt

route not rowt — root

Rowley can be pronounced — ROH-lee or ROW-lee (ROW rhymes with now)

Ruapehu not roo-oh-PAY-hoo — ROO-uh-"pair"-hoo

Ruatahuna not roo-ah-tuh-HOON-uh — roo-uh-TAH-hoo-nuh

Ruatoki there is a macron on the 'a' — roo-AH-taw-kee

rubbish we do not use the word rubbish to mean either refute or reject

S

St or Saint. Unless the word saint is used on it s own, Saint or St as a prefix, as in St. James, St Peter, St Matthew, etc, is pronounced — sint So it's sint-JON ambulance, sint-JAYMZ, theatre, sint-LOOHKS shopping centre, sint-AN-drooz on the Terrace, sint-JAWJ and the dragon, sint-PATS Old Boys, sint-VINT-sint-duh-PAWL etc.

St Arnaud (Marlborough) — sint-AH-nuhd

St John Ambulance not St. Johns. There is no s at the end — sint-AH-nuhd

St Lucia — sint-LOO-shuh

St Louis (Missouri) — sint LOO-uhss

San Tropez — saf ng.J-troh-PAY

Sana'a or Sanaa or Sana (capital of Yemen) — suh-NAH

saxophonist — saks-OFF-uh-nist

Stoughton (Hodder and Stoughton publishing firm) — STOH-tuhn

Sabina Park (Kingston, Jamaica) — suh-BIGH-nuh

Samaras, Antonis — sn-ton-NEES sah-mah-RAHSS

Samoa: it is no longer Western Samoa - it is Samoa — SAH-MAW-uh

San Vicente (El Salvador) — SAN-vee-SEN-tay

Sanaa (Yemen capital, also spelled San'a — suh-NAH

San Diego — SAN-dee-AY-goh

Sandys (family name) — SANDZ

Sanitory not SAN-it-taw-ree usually — SAN-it-tree

Santiago (Chile) — san-tee-AH-goh

Sao Paulo: SOW[ng,] POW-loh - OW as in "how. The 'ng' is a slight nasal sound between the two parts of the word that features in the pronunciation of those who live there — suh-RAH-wuhk

Sarawak

Satyanand, Sir Anand (former Governor-General) — AH-NAHND SAH t-gah-NAHND

Appendix

Word	Note	Pronunciation
Saudi Arabia		Saudi rhymes with "howdy"
Saxophonist		saks-OFF-uh-nist
says	never SAYZ	always SEZ
schedule	not SKED-yule	SHED-yule.
Scintilla		sin-TIL-uh
scion		SIGH-uhn
scourge	not SKAWJ I	SKURJ
secondary	not SEK-uhn-dair-ree	SEK-uhn-dree
secretary	not SEK-it-tree or SEKit-tair-ree	SEK-ruh-tree
segue	(see overuse)	SEG-way
Seles, Monica (tenis player)		SEL-ess
Sepulchre		SEP-uhl-kuh

sewerage is the system designed and built to deal with sewage, the waste material sewage is what goes into the sewerage

| Shalet, Victoria (British actor) | | SHAL-uht |

She sings, she sang, she has sung; he swims, he swam; he has swum; it rings, it rang, it has rung; the boat sinks, the boat sank, the boat has sunk shrank/shrunk: Numbers "shrank" during the quarter. If you say shrunk, it must be they HAD shrunk

Ships: When referring to vessels such as HMNZS Canterbury be aware that HMNZS means Her Majesty's New Zealand Ship and it is wrong to preface it with "the".

Word	Note	Pronunciation
Shire River (Malawi)		SHEER-ray or SHEER-ree
Shroff, Marie (Privacy Commissioner)	note first name	muh-REE SHROF
Sidiba, Gabourey (US Oscar nominee)		GAB-uh-ray SID-uh-bay
Sierra Leone	not Lee-OH-nee	see-E-ruh lee-OHn

Silicon is found in microchips. Silicones are plastics and other materials containing silicon. Do not talk about silicon breast implants, they are silicone implants (rhyming with telephone)

| similarly | not sim-uh-lee | SIM-uh-luh-lee |

simplicity: simple words help listeners understand more easily what you are saying

The following are some words which have simpler, better alternatives.

terminate	end
attempt	try
approximately	about
manufacture	make
travel	go
possess	have
assist or assistance	help
remuneration	pay
purchased	bought
numerous	many
magnitude (unless referring to the strength of an earthquake)	size
disembark	get off
boarding and alighting	getting on and off

simultaneous and simultaneously: sim-uhl-TAY-nee-uhs and sim-uhl-TAY-nee-uhs-lee, not sigh-muhl-TAY-nee-uhs and sigh-muhl-TAY-nee-uhs-lee

| Sinai (Egypt) | | SIGH-nigh |

Word	Note	Pronunciation
Siobhan	Irish name	shuh-VAWN
Sixth	not sikth	siksth
Soccer see football		

Sojourn does not mean *journey*. A sojourn - pronounced "SODGE"-uhn - is a temporary stay in one place.

Solana, Javier (EU)		hav-YAIR-saw LAH-nuh
Soyuz (space capsule)		saw-YOOZ
Sowman, Alistair (Mayor of Marlborough District) pronounces his name SOH-muhn		SOH-muhn

Spree   When writing or talking about events of vandalism or multiple murders, use the word rampage. Save the word spree for pleasurable activities like shopping or drinking.

Srebrenica (Bosnia)		SREB-ruh-nit-sah
Srinagar (Kashmir, India)		SHRIN-uh-guh
Statutory	not STAT-yoo-taw-ree	STAT-yoo-t(uh)ree
Strachans (Otago)		STRAWNZ
Strachan (family name)		STRACK-uhn
Stradivarius (accepted Anglicisation)	usually STRAWN, but can be	STRAD-uh-VAIR-ree-uhss
Strowan (Canterbury)		STROH-uhn
Studholme Junction (Canterbury)		STUD-uhm

The boat sinks, the boat sank, the boat has sunk

Our preference is to call the Wellington sports and entertainment venue the **Westpac Stadium** in the first reference, and thereafter the **Stadium**. Colloquial references by interviewees and non RNZ voices to the "**cake tin**" cannot be avoided and we should not be too upset by it.

status	not STAT-uhss	STAY-tuhss
strength	not STREN-TH	STRENG-th
stretchered	don't use this word.	Say "taken on a stretcher"
Subaru	not soo-BAH-roo	SOO-bah-ROO
subpoena		suh-PEEN-uh
subsequently		SUB-suh-kwint-lee
succinct	not suhb-seek-wint-lee	suk-SINKT
Sunni (one of the two main divisions of Islam)		SOON-ee
Symonds can be SIGH-muhndz or SIM-uhndz - always check		
Symonds Yat (village and tourist attraction in England)		SIM-uhndz YAT
synod	not sigh-NOD	SIN-uhd
Syrah (alternative name for Shiraz)		see-RAH or suh-RAH
Syracuse (Sicily)		SIGH-uh-run-kyooz
Syracuse (US city)		SIRRUH-kyooss

T

TAB (New Zealand Racing Board)		TEE-AY-BEE
TAB (Australia)		TAB
Taddei, Mark (conductor)		tuh-DAY
Taipa (Far North)		TIGH-PAH
Tannhauser (opera)	equal stress	THAN-hoi-zuh
Taumarunui:	(note spelling)	TOH-murroo-NOO-ee

Appendix

Taupo there is a macron over the last vowel, the 'o'. - equal stress
TAH-oo-PAW or 'toe'-paw

Tbilisi [capital of Georgia]   our preference   t-buh-LEES-see

te [The Maori word for *the*]   not TAY   TE [as in ten]

Te Heuheu: Te [as in 'ten'] he [as in 'hen'] and u [as in 'too']. Think of the word 'hairdo', minus
the d. Not h-yoo - h-yoo.

Te Horo   tair-haw-raw

Te Pohue [Hawke's Bay]   tair-PAW-HOO-air

Te Tai Hauauru   tet TIGH-hau AH-oo-roo

temporal   tem-puh-ruhl

Tenets are principles - often in law - or doctrines, and should not be confused with tenants
who rent or occupy a property. Our pronunciation of tenets is TEN-uhts

tenterhooks   not tenderhooks   TENT-uh-hooks

Terre Haute [US city - Indiana]   TERRUH-HOHT

Some Thai names:

Somchai Wongsawat [Thai Mininster]   suhm-CH-EYE wohng-sah-WAHT
Anupong Paojinda [Head of Thailand's army]   ah-NOO-pawng pow-JIN-dah
Suvannabhumi or **Suvarnabhumi** [Bangkok airport]   soo-WAH-nuh-poom
Don Muang [old Bangkok airport]   dawn mer-YANG
King Bhumibol Adulyadej   POOM-ee-PON uh-DOON-yah-dayt
Queen Sirikit   SIRI-kit

terrorist   three syllables, not tair-ist - ends with "wrist"   TER-ruh-gist

testimony   not TES-tim-oh-nee   TEST-uh-muh-nee
In New Zealand the better word for testimony is evidence

the - say *thuh* before a word starting with a consonant; say *theee* before a vowel where you would
use *an*. We do this to get a smoother flow of speech. So it is "thee aircraft", "thee Auckland
Harbour Bridge", "thee elephant", "thee NZX index", "thee elderly woman", "thee energy
company" "thee official cash rate", "thee electorate office","thee ombudsman".
While maps might refer to **North Island** and **South Island**, we refer to them as **the North Island**
and **the South Island.** However the same does not apply to **Cook Strait** which **should NOT be**
called the Cook Strait

It is wrong to refer to the Hawke's Bay.
It is our policy to say **Wairarapa, Manawatu** and **Waikato** without "the" in front
"**The Manawatu**" and "**the Waikato**" refer to the rivers.

The inter-island ferry Awatere   not the Awatere inter-island ferry
The written word is **translated**, the spoken word is **interpreted**

If you say "there's", be certain that you should not be saying "there're."
"There's a full moon tonight" - correct. It's a singular moon
"There's many stars out tonight" - wrong. "stars" is plural
"There's three reasons for that" — wrong. "reasons" is plural
"There's a good reason for that" — correct. "reason" is singular
If it's plural you must say "there're", which is an elision of "there are"
If it's singular, you say "there's", which is an elision of "there is"

Thessaloniki [Greece]   our preference   thes-suh-LON-ik-uh

Time: on radio, the terms **am** and **pm** to denote time of day are best avoided
say in the morning, afternoon, evening or at night.

Tintagel [in Cornwall]   tin-TADG-uhl

Tizard, Judith; Dame Kath; Bob   not TIZ-ard   TIZ-uhd

Temporal   tem-puh-ruhl

Thailand   [not TIGH-luhnd]   TIGH-land

Some Thai names:
King Bhumibol Adulyadej   POOM-ee-PON uh-DOON-yah-dayt
Queen Sirikit   SIRI-kit
Somchai Wongsawat [Thai Prime Mininster]: suhm-CH-EYE wohng-sah-WAHT
Anupong Paojinda [Head of Thailand's army]: ah-NOO-pawng pow-JIN-dah
Suvannabhumi or **Suvarnabhumi** [Bangkok airport] soo-WAH-nuh-poom
Don Muang [old Bangkok airport] dawn mer-YANG

Threepence [old coin]   in New Zealand usually   THRIP-uhnss or THRUP-uhnss r
Threepenny [old currency and opera]   in New Zealand usually   THRIP-nee

Thule [culture]   THOOL
Thule [settlement ion the coast of Greenland]   th as in thin   TOOL-ee
Thule Bay [Stewart Island]   THOOL-ee
Thule Bay [Stewart Island] and **Thule Street, Aro Valley, Wellington**   THOOL-ee
Thule [settlement on the coast of Greenland] TOOL-ee

Tikrit [Iraq]   tik-REET

Tinwald [Canterbury]   TIN-wuhld

Toyota Prius [hybrid powered car]   PREE-uhss

tonnes and tons: We have now adopted the universal pronunciation and both should now be
pronounced as TUNZ

Traquair, [Otago]   truh-KWAIR

trauma and **traumatic**   T   TRAW-muh TRAW-mat-tik

Trentham   [Hutt Valley NZ]   TREN-thuhm
Trentham   [UK]   TRENT-uhm

Tretheway [family name]   usually   truh-THY00-ee-

Trooping the colour rather than trooping of the colour

Although "try and" is common in colloquial speech, please remember to write and say
Try to" instead of "try and."

tsunami   soo-NAH-mee

Tsvangirai, Morgan [Zimbabwean PM]   pronounce the **t**   chung-guh-RIGH

Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi [Samoan Prime Minister]   note emphasis   too-ee lah-EPP-ah- / sah-ee-

Turel, Metira [MP] prefers her name pronounced   LEH-ieh / mah-lee-air-LENG-ah-aw-ee   TOO-ray

turmeric [plant and spice]   TERM-uh-rik

Twopence [old coin]   TUP-uhnss

Twopenny [old currency]   TUP-nee

Tyzik, Jeff [US conductor and trumpet player]   TIGH-zik

U

Uarg   We need to take greater care with words ending with **uary**, ensuring that the ua
combination is not shortened with January and February being said as **Janury** and **February.**

Appendix

Make sure you are saying **JAN-you-uh-ree** and **FEB broo-uh-ree**. We should also take care not to miss out part of the final syllable in **particularly, regularly, singularly** and **similarly**. It is **not particuly reguly, singuly**, etc.

uninterested means not interested. It's not the same as **disinterested** which means neutral or impartial.

Uluru (formerly Ayers Rock, Australia)   [oo as in too]   ool-uh-ROOH

ups and downs: When referring to other parts of the country, do not say, **down** in Wellington, or **down** in Dunedin, or **up** in Whangarei etc. Stick to in Auckland, in Dunedin etc.

Ulan Bator (capital of Mongolia)   oo-LAHN - BAH-taw

urinal   not YOO-righ-nul   YOO-uh-rin-uhl

urine   not YOO-righ-n   YOO-uh-rin

V

Vaccine   VAK-seen

vaginal   not 'VADGE"-in-uhl.   Our preference is   vuh-JIGH-nuhl

Valencia   Our preference is   vuh-LEN-see-uh

van der Heyden, Sir Henry (Chairperson of Fonterra)

Vaughan Williams, Ralph (composer)   RAYF

Veda Advantage (formerly Baycorp Advantage)   VEE-duh

vehicles do not lose control. Drivers lose control of vehicles.

Vela (family name)   VEL-uh, VEL as in v

Versailles (France)   vair-SIGH

Vietnam   ver-SAYLZ

Vijoen (South African family name)   not v-YET-NAHM   v-yet-NAM

   (OO in 'put')   fuhl-YOON

viola (flower and woman's name)   our preference   vee-OH-luh;

viola (stringed musical instrument)   VIGH-uh-luh

or sometimes vigh-OH-luh

vitamin   our preference   VIGH-tuh-muhn

Vladimir (Russian personal name) usually   v-lah-DEE-mee-uh

Volkswagen   FOL-ks-vah-guhn – but better to say VW

vulnerable   not VUN-ruh-buhl   VUL-nuh-ruh-bul

W

Wahine means woman or female – The pronunciation of the ill-fated ferry is wah-hee-ne - equal stress on each syllable with the "e" at the end pronounced as in "net". Note that the plural - women or females in Maori are WAAH-hee-ne. The plural form has a macron over the 'a'

waiata   not wigh-ART-uh   WIGH-h-tuh

Waihopai: WIGH-HAW-PIGH – a macron on the 'o' – equal value to each syllable

Waikato   WIGH-kut-aw

RNZ style is to refer to Waikato not "the Waikato"when referring to the region. The same policy applies to Manawatu. "The Waikato" or "the Manawatu" applies only when talking about the rivers. We also do not refer to Wairarapa as The Wairarapa.

Waiouru   not WIGH-OW-roo   WIGH-AW-oo-roo

Wairakei   all syllables are of equal length   WIGH-RAH-KAY.

Waitangi   WIGH-tah-ngee

Waiwhetu (Hutt City) There is a macron over the "u"   WIGH-fhet-TOO

Waipahi (Otago)   WIGH-pah-HEE

Waipehi (Taupo area)   WIGH-PAIR-hee

Wanbrow (Otago)   W-ON-broh

WH in Maori is spelt that way because the early missionaries transcribing what they heard as spoken Maori, likened the sound to the old-fashioned aspirate "w" in English – as in " why"," where" , "which" etc. The way it is said today varies among Maori around the country, but it is our policy to pronounce it as close to the original wh sound as possible. For the purposes of this document, it is notated as "fh". A good description of the sound is that is a slightly stressed "breathed" w halfway between "f" and "wh."

Wanganui/Whanganui It is our policy to spell the city, river and district with an "h".
Our pronunciation is hwah-ngah-NOO-ee

Warwick (UK town) and **Warwickshire**   WORIK and WORIK-shuh

Warwick, Dionne   DEE-on WAW-wik

Weber (Southern Hawke's Bay)   WEE-buh

weekend   not on the weekend   at the weekend

welcome back Not only is this nonsensical phrase an insult to whatever has preceded you, it assumes listeners have gone away and come back precisely at that moment. Never be tempted to follow other media in using it.

Welwyn (Garden) (UK)   WEL-in

Wemyss (family name)   usually   WEEMZ

Weymouth (Auckland)   WAY-mouth

Weymouth (UK)   WAY-muhth

Whangaparaoa   not pa-RAW-a ends with   pa-RAA-aw-ah

Whanui means extended or wider, and whanau means family. The term Taranaki Whanui is used to describe the collective of several Taranaki iwi that migrated to Wellington and the Hutt Valley in the 1820's. **Note that whanui and whanau have a macron over the 'a' and our pronunciations are**   FHAH-noo-ee and FHAH-noh

Whenuapai   not fin-NOO-uh-pigh   FEN-oo-uh-PIGH

whilst   say while

Whiterig (Southland)   WIGHT-rig

The words who and whom are reserved for people. Do not use them in connection with organisations or business. Do not say "several businesses who were invited". Instead say "that were invited." And do not use "who" for animals

whooping cough   HOO-ping

Williams, Ali (All Black)   not AH-lee   "alley"

witnesses do not take the stand, or go into the dock – they go into the witness box. They do not give testimony – they **give evidence**.

Wodehouse, P G (writer)   "WOODhouse"

Wolff, Alejandro (deputy US Representative to the UN)   al-uh-HAN-droh

Appendix

Wolfowitz, Paul, (US Official)

Woomera [Australia]   (00 as in 'put')   **WOOL-fuh-wits**

women   not **wooman**   **WOO-muh-ruh**

Worcester and Worcestershire   **WIM-uhn**

worry rhymes with **curry** – not **sorry**   **WOOS-tuh** and **WOOS-tuh-shuh**

wreak havoc   not **reck**

Wyness (family name)   usually   **REEK**

Do not say "dub-dub-dub" when referring to the Radio New Zealand website. As with most   **WIGH-nuhss**

modern websites, it's not necessary to preface it with "www".

Y

Years: in the years gone by 2008 - say two-thousand-and-eight, two-thousand-and-nine etc.

Do not leave out the 'and'.

2010 and beyond say twenty-ten, twenty-eleven, twenty-fifteen, twenty-twenty etc.

Yncyca Bay [Pelorous Sound, Marlborough]   **in-SIGH-kuh**

Youth is best avoided in news stories. It is better to say young person/man/woman

The plural of youth is youths - pronounced **YOOTH-Z.**

If you are using the possessive youth's it is pronounced YOUTH-S

Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang [Indonesian President]   **SOO-see-loh BAM-bang-yoo-**

doo-YOH-noh

Ypres [Belgium]   **EEP-ruh**

Yves [French given name]   **EEV**

Z

Zadar [Croatia]   **ZAH-dah**

Zimbabwe   **ziim-BAH-bwee**

zoology   our preference, short ee at the end   **ZOH-ol-uh-jee** or **ZOO-ol-uh-jee**

IPA Phonetic Symbols

Vowels

symbol	example	how it looks	"pidgin"phonetics
æ	hat	hæt	a
e	pet	pet	e
ɪ	hit	hɪt	i
ɒ or ɔ	hot	hɒt hɔt	o
ʌ	hut	hʌt	u
ʊ	good	gʊd	oo
ə	about	əˈbaʊt	uh
iː	he	hiː	ee
ɔː	saw	sɔː	aw
ɜː or əː	turn	tɜːn	ur
ɑː or aː	past	pɑːst	ah
uː	soon	suːn	oo
aɪ	high	haɪ	igh
ɔɪ	toy	tɔɪ	oy
aʊ	how	haʊ	ow
eɪ	say	seɪ	ay
aʊ	go	gəʊ	oh
ɪə	here	hɪə	eer
eə	hare	heə	air
ʊə	sure	ʃʊə	oor
aɪə	fire	faɪə	ire
ɔɪə	coir	kɔɪə	oir
aʊə	hour	aʊə	ower
jʊə	pure	pjʊə	ure

		Other languages	
o	la côte	kot	
a	le chat	ʃat	

Appendix

xxx

Consonants

b d f g h l m n p r t v w

ʃ	ship	ʃɪp	sh
tʃ	chin	tʃ	ch
ʒ	measure	ˈmeʒə	zh
dʒ	jam	dʒæm	j
θ	thin	θɪn	th
ð	then	ðen	th
ŋ	sing	sɪŋ	ing
j	yes	jes	y
ʎ	cat kind	kæt kaɪnd	k
kw	quick	kwɪk	Kw
ks	six	sɪks	x

Other languages

x	Bach loch	bax lɒx	x
ɬ	Llangollen	ɬæŋgɒɬlən	hlaengohlan

Stress marks

ˈprimary stress ˌsecondary stress

To access symbols on a PC, open MSWord, change the font to Lucida Sans Unicode, click on Insert and you will see a dialogue box displaying the phonetic symbols.

There is an iphone app on IPA phonetics - see link below

http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/sounds-pronunciation-app-free/id428243918?mt=8