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"Play ball!"

A Study of Speech Variations and Characteristics of UK Sports Commentary

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## **Abstract**

This study uncovers how and to what extent UK sports commentaries vary in terms of speech variations and other sociolinguistic factors, such as social class and gender, in relation to the social status with which different sports are associated. It also analyses how the use of jargon, slang, colloquial forms of English, and other linguistic features are incorporated in the commentaries of the sports and how it affects the information expressed by the commentators. In order to do this, theories and scholarly work on variations in speech, phonological and sociolinguistic features will be applied to examples of recorded commentaries made during matches in five popular televised sports, namely football, cricket, rugby union, netball, and tennis. The primary data will consist of two-minute transcriptions made from matches from each sport. The study finds that there are speech variations in the commentators' ways and that they relate, to some extent, to the social class associated with the sport which the commentators are commenting on. The variations also depend on the commentator's role in the broadcast, whether or not they feature as the general commentator or as an expert in the particular sport. It also reveals how commentators rely on the use of jargon, slang and, colloquialisms to make the communication to the spectators/listeners efficient and entertaining.

*Key words:* sports commentary, speech variations, sociolinguistics, accents, dialects, gender, jargon, slang, colloquialisms, sports

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# 1. Introduction

“I do believe she scored an absolute beauty of a goal” is a type of phrase which could easily be assumed to have been spoken by a man, but it could just as easily have been spoken by a woman. Not only may there be assumptions as to who would speak such a phrase, it is probable that it is spoken in a certain context – sport. A language has many variants and ways of being used and spoken. There are several different elements and features that define a language, and how a person uses it varies based on a number of factors. Some of those factors relate to aspects such as social class, gender, ethnicity, profession, and/or fields of interest, to just name a few. A language can also be used in different ways, depending on the context and situation. This is applicable to the field of sports as well as any other situation or context. In the UK, sports commentary is done in a similar way across the country regardless of the sport being played. There may be some distinguishing linguistic features tied to the genre of sports commentary, and this paper will aim to investigate:

1. In what ways, and to what extent, do public commentators in British broadcast display speech variations according to the particular sport involved?
2. How are such variances attributable to the sociolinguistic factors such as the gender, and to the social class/es of the speaker, and that are associated with the sport itself?
3. What colloquial forms and jargon are commonly used across different sports, and which sports unique linguistic features?
4. To what extent do sports commentators rely on hearers being able to recover meaning when they use colloquial forms and jargon?

Five different sports will be analysed and used as data for this study, and those sports are: football, cricket, rugby union, netball and tennis.

## 2. Background

There are several varieties of the English language being used in the UK and across the globe. In the UK, the different varieties are related to their society and the social class system, and

this will be the first point of discussion for this paper. Thereafter, other relevant aspects of sociolinguistics, including dialects, accents, sociolects, language and gender, jargon and colloquialism and slang will be discussed. All of these aspects of language use are reflected in sports and sports commentary.

## 2.1 The English class system

Penney (2003:188) describes social class as “a group of people who share the same socioeconomic status or who have common economic, cultural, and social characteristics”. It divides people into groups such as upper, middle, or lower class. This view of the concept of social class is shared by Trudgill (2000) although he would rather refer to it as *social stratification*, which refers to “hierarchal ordering of groups within a society especially in terms of power, wealth and status” (Trudgill, 2000:25). With a society divided into different groups comes different ways of using language, and the social class system is the cause of the emergence of social dialect, or “sociolects”, which will be further described in Subchapter 2.3 below. A person’s way of speaking and using language can determine which social class he/she belongs to, and it can also help determine that person’s social status, educational level, wealth, and regional background etc. Mooney and Evans (2019:210) state that language is tied to power in society. They exemplify this notion by saying that a person of lower social class or the working-class will be restricted and marginalised by his/her way if using language, while a person of a higher social class will have more power in society thanks to his/her way of using language. However, Trudgill (2000) explains that it is difficult to pinpoint what social classes are and how they should be distinguished as this is controversial and sociologists do not always agree as to how people should be categorised.

Education plays a part in social class systems, and different types of schools are attended by children from different social classes in the UK. Hobbs (2016) states that: “higher social class children are more likely to attend private schools, primarily because of the high fees charged by these schools. Second, the private schools are more effective than state schools, in part at least, because of differences in the compositions and resources of these schools.” (Hobbs, 2016:18). In the UK, public/private and independent schools may accept pupils based on their

social status, test scores, and/or their parents' income. People from the lower social class/working-class are usually unable to send their children to these types of schools as they cannot afford to pay the fees. Kynaston and Green (2019) explain that UK state schools are government-funded, and free of charge, which means that the parents do not have to pay for their children to attend these schools. Public/private schools, however, are not financed by the state; they are established on the basis that parents would pay for their children to attend the schools. The status of knowledge and the curriculum at the different types of schools vary. According to Dimitriadis (2010:194), state schools tend to achieve lower levels of educational attainment compared to public/private schools. With this in mind, the children belonging to lower social classes may be disadvantaged by their low status in society [ibid].

## 2.2 Overview of Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is defined by Hudson (1996) as “*the study of language in relation to society*” (1996:1) where the studies are based on both empirics and theories of how people use the language and what connections it may have on society. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:2) state: “In short, sociolinguistics is not the study of facts [...] but the study of ideas of how societal norms are intertwined with our language use”, which means that sociolinguists aim to analyse and generalise how language is used and is influenced by the society in which the speaker is currently embedded. Most people are not aware of their knowledge about the language they speak, but they are usually aware of what is acceptable forms of it and what is not; Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:3–4) claim that this is what makes people who speak the same language able to understand each other. Furthermore, the individual is a major focus of interest in the study of the aspect of sociolinguistics that will be applied in this essay. Hudson (1996) states that “no two speakers have the same language, because no two speakers have the same experience of language.” (1996:10).

The studies in the field of sociolinguistics can be separated into two levels: macro- and micro-sociolinguistics, according to Bell (2013). Macro-sociolinguistics can be described as being broader in the sense that it focuses on languages as a whole in society. Micro-sociolinguistics is narrower, meaning that it puts focus on how specific languages work in the societies in

which they are being used as well as the language structure (2013:8). A interest of study in the micro-level is the language use within different or specific groups of individuals [ibid]. Bell (2013:9–11) presents four major fields of study within sociolinguistics, which are as follows:

- *The sociology of language* involves studies of language policy and planning and applied linguistics.
- *Critical constructionist sociolinguistics* includes language politics and globalization.
- *Ethnographic sociolinguistics* includes how individuals and groups behave and interact with each other, discourse analysis and conversation analysis.
- *Variationist sociolinguistics* involves how linguistic features change and vary depending on social factors like age and/or gender.

Hudson (1996) states that other common fields of work within sociolinguistics include dialect research and the relation between word-meaning and culture. Furthermore, Trudgill (2000) explains that language has a number of different functions and works in different ways; one way is to establish social relationships and another is to provide information about a speaker. Aspects of language use, such as accent and word choices, can reveal information about a person's geographical and social background. People tend to use language in different ways when speaking or writing based on interest, hometown/place of birth, field of work and education etc.[ibid].

## 2.3 Dialects and accents

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:38) define dialects as “[...] a subordinate variety of a language.” There are at least two ways of referring to a person's way of speaking: one is dialect and the other is accent. Dialects are described, by Trudgill (2000:5), as “kinds of language which are differences of vocabulary and grammar as well as pronunciation” and he elaborates that they can be divided into two sub-categories: geographically in terms of region, district or city; and social dialects. Regional dialects are based on a speaker's origin. Social dialects, on the other hand, are reflected and/or based on a speaker's social status in society and may be indicative of their education, occupation and affluence. Standard English is an example of a variety which transcends regions, as are the standard forms of American English and Canadian English. Examples of regional dialects are Cockney and Brooklynese [ibid]. Accents,

however, relate to a speaker's pronunciation, and Trudgill (2000:5) defines accents as "differences in pronunciation". There is not really a standard accent, but the form known as "Received Pronunciation" (RP) could be viewed as the closest to an officially accepted standard English accent in the UK, and Trudgill states that: "the accent was developed largely in the residential, fee-paying English 'Public Schools' favoured by the aristocracy and the upper-middle-classes, [...]" (Trudgill, 2000:7). Furthermore, it is the accent which is mostly taught to people who learn English as a second or foreign language. Hudson (1996); Hughes and Trudgill (1996), and Trudgill (2000) state that the RP accent does not show any regional influences.

Standard English (SE) can be considered to be a dialect of its own, according to Hughes and Trudgill (1996). It is not restricted to pronunciations based on a speaker's region or social affiliation and Hughes and Trudgill (1996) state further that "[...] most users of Standard English have regional accents." (1996:10). Vocabulary differences that could signal a speaker's social status are often distinguished by small lexical items such as a speaker using the word "serviette" instead of "napkin", as well as regional differences in vocabulary between northern and southern dialects. An example is what SE calls "clothes horse" northern dialects call "maiden" (Trudgill, 2000:12). An example of regional grammatical difference can be found in the East Anglia area, where some speakers may omit the '-s' in third-person singular present-tense in phrases like "he go" and "he eat", whereas SE would not and the phrases would include the '-s': "he goes" and "he eats" (Hughes and Trudgill, 1996:12). Other English-speaking countries have their own version of SE; Scotland and the United States have their versions which differ slightly in grammar and vocabulary from Standard English English. In Standard Scottish English, a sentence like: "They hadn't a good time" is an acceptable form of formal Standard English, whereas Standard English English would rather construct the same sentence as follows: "They didn't have a good time" (Hughes and Trudgill, 1996:10). As grammar tends to alter slightly in dialects compared to SE, some people view regional grammar as 'bad', according to Trudgill (2016:90). However, Trudgill does not agree with that notion as regional grammar is grammar with its own rules, just as the grammar of SE, and thus does not make regional grammars 'wrong' [ibid]. What is considered to be 'right' is not as easily defined as may be imagined because of the way languages keep changing, and whether or not a speaker uses the 'correct' grammatical form



when speaking may not affect the message or information being conveyed as long as the addressee is able to understand it (Trudgill, 2016:26–27).

Both Trudgill (2000) and Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) emphasise the importance of not confusing dialect with accents as the latter only displays differences in pronunciation. Standard English has a variety of different accents which are tied to regions as well as social status. With regard to accents, what a person says is not of importance; what is important is how a person says something (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015:40). The RP accent is spoken naturally by a mere 3% of the British population, and it was/is strongly associated with the top of the British social class and the BBC, and would sometimes be perceived as “old-fashioned snobbery English” according to Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015:40).

Connected speech is a feature of spoken language and Knight (2012:191) defines this as: “changes that occur to sounds when words are put together in groups – that is, when words are in connected form”. Some words, or part of words, may be pronounced differently in isolation compared to when they are spoken in normal speech and sequences of varying length. Connected speech processes usually occur at the final part/sound of words [ibid.]. Some sounds will be elided, which means that they will not be articulated at all. Knight (2012: 202-203) presents the example of “next day”, where the /t/ sound is usually elided, making it sound like [nɛks deɪ] in normal speech compared to [nɛkst deɪ] which is how the phrase would have been pronounced in isolation. Sounds can also be added to words when they are spoken in normal speech; this is called “liaison” or “linking”. It is common for an intrusive /r/ sound to be added between words that end with a vowel sound and words that begin with a vowel sound [ibid.]. “Saw a plank” may be pronounced with an /r/ and thus making the phrase sound like: [sɔr ə plæŋk] (Knight, 2012:204). The third connected speech process is assimilation, which occurs when the sound/phoneme of a word changes to another, according to Knight (2012:208). An example where phonemes change in this fashion is *have* and *has*, which are pronounced as [hæv] and [hæz] in isolation, but when spoken in connection to other words the /v/ and /z/ may change to their voiceless counterparts /s/ and /f/. So, the words may sound like [hæs tə] and [hæf tə] (Knight, 2012:210).

## 2.4 Sociolects

When a dialect is more associated with a speaker's social status, it is referred to as a "sociolect". According to Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015), a society's social structure could have different effects on linguistic structures and behaviours, depending on how the people in the society make use of the language. A person's language use can reflect his/her social status, region, ethnic background, and help determine to which age group the person belongs. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) further state that "[...] language and society may influence each other." (2015:11). Hudson (1996) explains that the social aspect of society and people's place in the hierarchical structure will reflect their speech more than their regional background. Furthermore, people belonging to a lower social class are more likely to have regional influences in their speech than people that belong at the 'top' of the social hierarchy.

Trudgill (2000) presents a study of how language and social class could correlate and which linguistic features could be assigned to which social class. The participants were divided into five social groups: middle middle-class (MMC), lower middle-class (LMC), upper working-class (UWC), middle working-class (MWC), and lower working-class (LWC). Social dialect differences in grammar showed that double negation in phrases such as "I can't eat nothing" was more common among LWC speakers, while speakers of higher social groups would choose a Standard English phrase such as "I can't eat anything", or "I can eat nothing" (Trudgill, 2000:36). Hughes et al. (2012:26) would rather refer to this phenomenon as multiple negation or negative concord as a phrase is not limited to only two negatives but can contain more than two at times. According to Trudgill (2016:95) this use of the English language is viewed disdainfully by some as a sign of lower education. However, most native speakers in the UK do, in fact, use double or multiple negation even though some of them view it as 'bad language' and as lower-class speech (Trudgill, 2016; Hughes et al, 2012; Hughes and Trudgill, 1996).

Other differences in the speech of the different social classes concerned accents, and focus was on the presence or absence of certain consonant sounds. The first consonant sound that was focused on was the ‘-ing’ sound [ŋ] in words like *working*. In RP the word would be pronounced [wɔ:kɪŋ] and speakers from the higher social classes would usually use this pronunciation of the word, while the LWC speakers would not; they would articulate the word [wɔ:kɪn] or [wɔ:kɪʔ]. It is noted that MMC speakers would also use that pronunciation at times, but would more usually use the standard RP [ɪbɪd]. The second consonant sound in question was the glottal stop<sup>1</sup> [ʔ] in words like *butter*. In RP, the word would be pronounced: [bʌtə], and with a glottal stop it would be pronounced [bʌʔə]. There was not a substantial difference between the social groups regarding the glottal stops; 41% of the MMC speakers and 94% of the LWC speakers used glottal stops in their speech. The third and final consonant sound was what Trudgill (2000) called the ‘dropped *hs*’, which means that the /h/ sound is not pronounced in words like *hammer* [hæmə], and the study showed that it was more common for LWC speaker to drop the [h] when speaking and thus pronouncing the word hammer like [æmə].

When it comes to vowel sounds and how they can signal social class, it is more difficult to assign a special vowel sound to a certain social class. However, Trudgill’s study of the Norwich accent showed that there are three different types of vowel sounds to choose from when pronouncing words like *pass*, *part*, *shaft*, *bath*, and *card*. The first option was the long back vowel sound [ɑ:], which is the pronunciation of RP. The second option is an intermediate vowel which may alter depending on where the speaker is from; and the third option was the front vowel [ɑ:] which would sound similar to the Australian or eastern New England’s pronunciation of *part* (Trudgill, 2000:38–39). These differences in vowel sounds are not to be thought of as set, or as fixed to, their social accents, but they could be indicators which serve as part of an overall assessment or perception of a speaker’s social class. Trudgill (2000) continues his explanation of the difficulty in distinguishing the vowel sounds by stating: “In Leeds, England, for example, middle-class speakers tend to have a vowel of the [ʌ] type in words such as *but*, *up*, *fun*, while working-class speakers have a higher, rounder

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<sup>1</sup> A glottal stop is a form of plosive in which the closure is made with the vocal folds (Hughes and Trudgill, 1996:39).

vowel [ʊ]; in London, *name*, *gate*, *face*, etc. are pronounced [neɪm], [nɛɪm], or [næɪm] depending on social class (highest-class from first) [...]” (Trudgill, 2000:39).

Trudgill (2000) also found that social dialects are more likely to have regional and more localized features in dialects in lower social classes than in the higher ones. The dialects closer to SE would most likely only have one word for *scarecrow* than a more localized regional dialect, which might have several words for referring to the human-shaped object erected in the middle of a field in order to scare birds away from crops; they might call it *moggy*, *bird-scarer*, *flay-crow*, *bogle*, etc. (Trudgill, 2000:31). Hughes and Trudgill (1996:45) further state that RP speakers can be distinguished by different types of articulations of words. One such case is found in the use of the [ɔ:] sound in words such as *court* and *caught*, which traditionally were articulated with the phoneme [ɔə], but is now articulated as [kɔ:t]. So, both *court* and *caught* is more likely to be pronounced in the same way by an RP speaker [ibid]. The same happens to words that used to be pronounced with the diphthong [ʊə]; words like *tour* and *poor* are thus pronounced as; [tɔ:] and [pɔ:] instead of [tʊə] and [pʊə]. There are other factors that also help determine if a word is more likely to be pronounced with [ɔ:] or not (Hughes and Trudgill, 1996:44); if a vowel sound such as [ɒ] is preceded by the consonant sounds /f/, /s/ and /θ/, an RP speaker might choose either to pronounce words like *pot* as [pɒt] or [pɔ:t] and *fault* as [fɔ:lt] or [fɒlt].

## 2.5 Language and gender

There are different expectations as to how men and women supposedly behave and appear to others in society; women are supposed to show ‘good’ behaviour while men do not have that same expectation (Trudgill, 2000:72–73). Part of appearance involves language use, and women are expected to use a variety of language that is closer to the standard variety which is assumed to be ‘better’ and more correct (Trudgill, 2000:70). Men are judged more on what they do for a living than how they use their language or how they look (Trudgill, 2000; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015). In the UK, women are expected to use a variety of the English language that is closer to SE as well as articulating more in the line with the RP accent, according to Trudgill (2000). Men are more inclined to use a variety of language that is

associated with the working-class, while women use forms that are associated with higher social classes even though they might belong to the working-class themselves (Trudgill, 2000; Bell, 2013). The Norwich study conducted by Trudgill showed that not only does the pronunciation differ among social classes; it also showed differences in articulation between men and women, and these differences are related to social conventions and expectations on women to have a superior, i.e. more standard, language than men. Male speakers favoured the [ɪn] form/articulation in words like *walking*, which is a feature more associated with the working-class, while female speakers preferred to use the more ‘correct’ form of [ɪŋ]; men also favoured glottal stops in words like *butter* (Trudgill, 2000:71).

The study also showed that women tend to overreport<sup>2</sup> their articulation toward RP (Trudgill, 2000; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015; Mooney and Evans, 2019). By over-doing/over-articulating, women show that they are more conscious about how language can reflect social status. Bell (2013) claims that women’s accents are less likely to have regional influences as women are more aware of how prestige can be gained through language. Men speaking in an accent which is associated with the working-class could be doing so because they wish to be associated with roughness and masculinity of the working-class. By choosing not to alter their speech style and articulation toward a variety that is closer to standard language, men show their belonging to a group of rough and proud working men. They view working-class speech as prestigious, and can be referred to as “covert prestige” (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015; Mooney and Evans, 2019).

## 2.6 Register, jargon and colloquial speech

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) claim that people who are able to use a register tied to an activity, profession, interest etc., will find it easier to communicate with others who share that register than with people that do not. However, that does not mean that a person who is able to use a certain register in a certain context will be unable to converse with people outside that context. Hudson (1996) defines registers as “[...] varieties according to use.” (Hudson,

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<sup>2</sup> To overreport means that a speaker claims to use a variety of pronunciation/articulation than he/she actually does (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015:208).

1996:45). People may use different words and/or phrases at different occasions to express the same meaning. Trudgill (2000) explains that registers are characterised by which particular words are used as well as how they are used. “Registers are an example of a particular kind of language being produced by a particular kind of context.” (Trudgill, 2000:82). Different factors are connected to the register and context in which it is being used, and, most importantly, is the linguistic effect the register brings with it. Formality is one such factor, and it could arguably be the most important one when it comes to registers. It is not easy to define precisely what formality is as it is influenced by other factors such as kinship-relationship, politeness, and social familiarity etc. (Trudgill, 2000: 82). Hudson offers an example of the function of register and formality: “*We obtained some sodium chloride.*” (Hudson, 1996:47). The word “obtained” brings a sense of formality with it, and the “sodium chloride” is the scientific term for common salt, the use of which also adds to the formality of the sentence. By changing one or two words, a sentence could become less formal but still convey the same information and meaning, so a more informal way of expressing the same meaning could be: “We have got some salt”. A person’s ability to express him-/herself in more formal or informal ways is referred to as “style-shifting”. It is more likely that a speaker will use a more formal style of speech and a more technical vocabulary when he/she is at work talking to a colleague than when speaking to a friend over a cup of coffee (Trudgill, 2000:83).

Many scientific fields have a certain vocabulary associated with them. This vocabulary is called jargon and Howard and Zé Amvela (2007) define it as: “specialist vocabularies associated with ‘occupations’ that people engage in, either as a mode of employment or as a leisure pursuit or for some other purpose.” (Howard and Zé Amvela, 2007:149). The terms and words that are part of the jargon may be more or less technical, and people that are not familiar with the jargon might not be able to understand what the terms refer to (Howard and Zé Amvela, 2007; Murray, 2012). Jargon is part of both everyday communication as well as in occupational and leisure contexts. It is normal for people to learn how to use the jargon associated with whatever situation or context in which the person is in and how it is supposed to be used as it can be a useful tool for communication. People may also use jargon as a means to show their belonging to a specific group or profession by using the vocabulary in an almost inappropriate manner so that the outsider will be unable to follow or participate in the conversation according to Howard and Zé Amvela (2007).

Howard and Zé Amvela (2007) mention jargon tied to the medical field of work and computing as difficult to understand if one is not part of these occupational cliques. This is also true about different fields of interest. For people who are not a part of the particular clique, the jargon used may be obscure. With news and media using words from different jargons in their news reports, people become more familiar with words from jargons they normally would not understand (Howard and Zé Amvela, 2007:151). Trudgill (2016:120) explains that as many of the English words come from other languages such as Greek and Latin. The words are usually not easily translated and are thus simply transferred into the English language in their original form, which in turn presents difficulties in understanding the meaning of them when seeing them for the first time and the meaning of the words have to be taught [ibid]. Jargons are not only tied to professions and occupations; they can also be connected to leisure activities and/or other areas of interests, like pipe-smoking<sup>3</sup>, and people may shift between different jargons, depending on the activity and/or the milieu. In sports, the jargon consists heavily of compounds<sup>4</sup> and other lexical items that both players of the sport as well as commentators and spectators will be familiar with (Howard and Zé Amvela, 2007:151). Words such as: *wicket*, *wicket keeper*, *stumps*, *gully*, *square leg*, *sweep*, *dot ball* etc., are presented by Howard and Zé Amvela (2007:151–152) as words belonging to the jargon associated with cricket and which people among the Commonwealth<sup>5</sup> may be more or less familiar with. It is also common for words of one sports jargon to be found and used in other sports vocabularies [ibid.]. More expressions and words that can be considered jargon will be discussed further below.

Colloquial forms of English are informal and somewhat difficult to distinguish from non-standard dialects according to Hughes and Trudgill (1996). These words and expressions can, at times, be closely related to slang, and may differ from region to region. If such colloquial words and phrases are considered to be slang, they will not be recognised as Standard English. Denham and Lobeck (2013) explain that such words often have acquired a new meaning in certain groups or contexts. Normally, slang words do not stay in use for a long

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<sup>3</sup> Pipe-smoking has its own vocabulary attached to it, and the Pipeshop.co.uk (2020) website provides a glossary of such terms.

<sup>4</sup> Compounds are words that are put together to make a new words. *Greenhouse*, *blackboard* and *greyhound* are examples of compounds (Howard and Zé Amvela, 2007:10–11).

<sup>5</sup> The Commonwealth is a voluntary association that was formed by the British Empire. At the time of writing, 54 countries have joined the Commonwealth (the commonwealth.org, 2020)

time but, when they do, they lose their ‘slang’ label. Denham and Lobeck (2013:192) note that the use of slang is commonplace among all age groups. Most languages are influenced by slang and it is one of the factors of language adapting and changing.

Slang and jargon are similar and easily confused as they are words and phrases that are used in certain contexts and by people of specific groups. The difference between them is that slang is the most informal form of language while jargon is considered to be neither formal nor informal (Denham and Lobeck, 2013:192) Jargon is simply the term used to denote language which is associated with specialized interests and familiarity which is largely confined to its exponents. Some of the terms may be overlapping expressions, which can be somewhat difficult to categorise as either jargon or slang. One such example can be found in football, where the phrase *the wall* works as a metaphor that describes the players lining up 9,15 metres from the ball to defend the goal from a free kick. It is also important to separate between slang and register as degrees of formality vary from speaker to speaker, and across speech groups. Sports and sporting activities are likely to be included in such specialized interests.

Colloquial English and slang are part of everyday speech, but they are still associated (by some people) with speakers of the lower social classes. Mooney and Evans (2019) state that schools in the UK encourage the children to learn SE as it is regarded as having higher status and more power in the British society; if the children learn to use the ‘correct’ variety of the English language, they will be more likely to experience success later in life and will not be subjected to the disadvantages the lower social classes suffer due to their use of language. “[...] being able to speak Standard English may give a person opportunities they might not otherwise have.” (Mooney and Evans, 2019:226). UK schools do not, therefore, want the pupils to use what they consider to be inappropriate forms of language, which refers to colloquial English, slang and taboo terms, when they are at school. Most pupils usually know how to use both colloquial expressions and slang as well as the more ‘correct’ forms of the English language (Mooney and Evans, 2019). Colloquialisms often make use of other linguistic tools such as metaphors, metonymy and synecdoche. Deignan defines synecdoche as: “a term referring to part of an entity is used to stand for the whole entity” (Deignan,



2005:56). Some examples of words that can function as synecdoche are: *hand*, *head* and *door*, as in the phrase “Mary Sue lives four *doors* down the street” [ibid]. It can also be described as a figure of speech.

## 2.7 Sports and social class in the UK

It will be demonstrated in this subchapter that sports in Britain are connected to or associated with social class, and that social status can influence the sports which an individual would choose to play. A brief description of the five sports focused on in this study and how they are played is provided in Appendix 1.

There are a number of different types of schools in the English educational system that have associations to social class. According to Wheeler et al. (2017), social status is reflected in UK primary schools, which are schools attended by children of 7–11 years old. Schools for older children and youths are also connected to social class, as well as universities and colleges. Depending on the child’s social background and the financial resources of his/her parents, he/she may attend either a state school or an independent/private school. State schools are usually attended by children from the working-class or lower-middle-class, while private/public or independent schools are attended by children from the mid-middle-class and the upper-middle-class. The question of education and sports can also relate to social class, and to which sport are being played at which types of schools. The sports that are typically regarded as upper-class sports are usually played in public and private schools. For example, Wheeler’s et al. (2017) study showed that it is unusual for UK state schools to provide cricket, rugby, and tennis as extra-curricular activities as they do not have the facilities or the money to pay for the required equipment. The study also showed that the only sport (out of the 5 sports that are focused on in this study) that was played exclusively at school was netball, and it was played by girls from both the lower- and upper-classes (Wheeler et al., 2017:101). The most popular sport out of all the sports that were included in Wheeler’s et al. (2017) study was football, which was provided by the schools as well as by clubs as an after-school activity for children of all social classes.

At the prestige public schools of Eton College (Windsor, Berkshire), Harrow School (Harrow, London), and Winchester College (Winchester, Hampshire)<sup>6</sup> however, cricket is one of the most popular sports to play and they also provide rugby, tennis and football as extra-curricular activities. According to the Harrow School website, the cricket matches against Eton, which are played at Lord's<sup>7</sup>, are popular and well attended by spectators. As these three public schools are exclusively boys' schools, they do not offer netball as an extra-curricular activity. One public all-girl school in the UK is Benenden School (Benenden, Kent). Students there play netball, tennis, cricket and rugby (and also lacrosse) competitively against other schools (Benenden School: pers., 2020). Private schools across the UK usually have an extensive variety of sporting activities for the children and pupils to participate in. Most of the schools have pupils of both sexes, but there are some all-boy and some all-girl schools. The girls' schools may not offer all five sports as extra-curricular activities. The independent Maynard School (Exeter, Devon) does not offer football for the girls to play, but it does offer netball and tennis (The Maynard School, 2019). Most exclusively boys' schools usually offer all the sports focused on for this study except netball. In some mixed-sex private schools, all five sports are provided but not for all ages. King's Rochester (Rochester, Kent) have rugby union, netball, cricket and tennis for the senior pupils (in the ages 14–18), while the pupils that are in the ages between 7–13 can play netball, rugby and football (King's Rochester, 2020).

With the help of government funding, state schools can also provide their pupils with some sporting activities, though not as many as some private and public schools. Different state schools offer a different set and number of activities for the pupils to choose from. Kirkdale St. Lawrence School is a state school (located in Liverpool, Merseyside) that provides some sports as extra-curricular activities; football and cricket are the only two sport from this study that are part of their sports programme (kirkdalestlawrence.com, 2020). There are some state schools that do offer a wider selection of sports to their pupils as well; one of those is Norton Hill School in Bath, Somerset. Their list of sporting activities includes football, cricket rugby union and netball (nortonhillschool.com, 2020). As stated above, the sport that is most

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<sup>6</sup> Information acquired from Eton College website: <https://www.etoncollege.com/Games2.aspx> (February 6, 2020); Harrow School website: <https://www.harrowschool.org.uk/Sport> (February 6, 2020) and Winchester College website: <http://www.winchestercollege.co.uk/learning/sport> (February 6, 2020)

<sup>7</sup> Lord's Cricket Ground is a cricket stadium where England's National Cricket team plays some of their matches (espncricinfo.com, 2020).

common to play in state schools is football. It is a simple game to play in terms of rules and the basics of how it is played can be regarded as common knowledge, and the sport does not need the players to acquire expensive strip or equipment. One state school that only provides football in their extra-curriculum is West Lancashire Community High School in Skelmersdale, Lancashire ([westlancs.lansch.sch.uk](http://westlancs.lansch.sch.uk), 2020).

Wheeler's et al. (2017:104) study also showed that families of children belonging to the lower social classes seemed to rely more on the schools to provide the children with sporting activities, and that the under-class and lower-middle-class children did participate in sports that were less costly. For the children belonging to the middle- and upper-classes, the schools were able to provide the children with more sporting activities like cricket, rugby, swimming, etc. than the schools attended by the lower-class children. "In the case of the upper-middle-class children, the range of sporting activities is likely to reflect the fact that independent schools are especially able to provide a wide range of specialist sports facilities and coaching and, therefore, relatively esoteric after-school clubs." (Wheeler et al., 2017:100). Parents from different social classes have shown to be more or less invested in their children's sporting activities; parents from the higher social classes tend to be more involved in their children's sporting activities than their counterparts from the lower social classes (Wheeler and Green, 2019). It has also been found that the parents from the higher social classes are the ones who encourage the children to participate in more than one sport [ibid].

Regarding the equipment required to play sports, the costs of facilities, equipment, clothing and footwear will vary quite considerably from sport to sport and depending on the sport in question. Additionally, depending on the sport, equipment and clothing may be easier or more difficult to find in regular sport shops. On *sportsdirect.com*'s<sup>8</sup> website most sports are represented and products/equipment are available for purchase. The prices of the equipment vary, making some of the required gear for some sports too expensive for the lower classes (which means that they are excluded from participating). The clothing required in order to play netball can, for instance, be considered to be somewhat expensive for a sport which does

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<sup>8</sup> Sportsdirect.com is a sporting goods website. They also have shops around the UK, quite popular and can be found almost anywhere.

not require much special gear. Players wear indoor sports shoes and a uniform comprising a skirt and a top or a dress. According to Barrington Sport's<sup>9</sup> website, an adult netball kit cost approximately £58, and the children's kit about £34. The prices for indoor netball shoes vary from £45–£135 for adult shoes, and from £37–£45 for children's shoes (sportsdirect.com, 2020). In addition to this, the players have to have them embroidered with the club or school logo, which can be somewhat expensive. Kitlocker.com<sup>10</sup> (2020) charge £27.50 for embroidering sports kits. Due to the total cost for all the equipment, some state schools will not provide netball as an extra-curricular activity as parents from the lower social classes may not afford to buy the kit and have it embroidered. Other sports where the players are not required to wear much special equipment is football and rugby union. For both football and rugby players, the most important item is boots.

Regarding the availability of fields, courts and pitches etc., some can be more difficult to find and gain access to. Tennis courts are usually located at country clubs or other establishments which require membership without which one might not be allowed to hire a court. It might be assumed that tennis is a more prestigious sport partly because players have to pay high charges for memberships, court and coaching fees. However, there are some tennis clubs, at the time of writing, that allow non-members to hire the courts, one of these being the West Middlesex Tennis Club, where any players are welcome as long as the court has not been booked for a match or the courts are already in use (westmiddlesexltc.co.uk, 2020). There are, of course, tennis clubs where a club membership is required in order to play, and where the prices may be regarded as relatively high, especially for users with limited finances. The Boston Tennis Club has prices ranging from £25 for children under 8 years old, to £88 for an adult for a twelve-month membership (clubspark.lta.org.uk, 2020). Another club where club membership is required to use the courts is the Windsor Lawn Tennis Club, where the prices range from £10/month for children under 10 years of age, to £36.40 per month for adults (wltc.co.uk, 2020). In addition to the monthly cost, adults must pay an additional £100 in what they call a “joining fee”.

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<sup>9</sup> Barringtonsports.com is an online sporting goods store. It used to be a retail shop but are now only doing business online (Barringtonsports.com, 2020).

<sup>10</sup> Kitlocker.com is an online store that provides the customers with sports equipment and clothing (kitlocker.com, 2020).

The annual Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Tournament is considered to be a prestigious event and this adds to the impression of tennis being a prestige sport more likely to be of interest to members of higher social classes. The prices for attending the tournament vary from the cheapest tickets ranging from £8–£27, which are the “ground pass”, and then prices increase for tickets to the courts, and the most expensive tickets are the ones for the centre court where the prices range from £70–£240, according to the Wimbledon website (2020). The costliest tickets are the ones for the Wimbledon finals, which are played at the centre court and is usually attended by celebrities and members of the British Royal family. Compared to Premier League<sup>11</sup> tickets, which had an average cost of £31 according to premierleague.com (2020), the tickets for admission to the Wimbledon tournament are somewhat more expensive, especially to watch the finals.

### **3. Methodology**

To conduct this research, sports matches from BBC, Wimbledon’s YouTube channel and Sky Network’s broadcasts have been watched and analysed with focus on the commentators’ ways of articulating and using language using sociolinguistic and phonological approaches as described in the previous chapter. Short passages of about two minutes from the broadcasts were recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions have been made as a way to pin-point the sociolinguistic aspects of language which is the focus of this study.

The video clips and recordings used for the purpose of this paper feature matches from the EFL Championship and Women’s Super League (football), the County Championship, Vitality Blast T20 (cricket), the Gallagher Premiership (rugby union), the Women’s Superleague (netball) and the 2019 Wimbledon (tennis). Most of the football matches, both men and women, were played in 2019 and 2020, with the exception of one match which was played in 2018. The netball matches were all played in 2019, as were the rugby and tennis

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<sup>11</sup> The Premier League is the name of the men’s football league in England (premierleague.com, 2020).

matches. Most of the cricket matches were played in 2019 except for a couple of matches from 2008 and 2015. All of the sports included in this study, apart from men's football, have at least two commentators operating during the broadcasts. The EFL Championship usually only has one.

## **4. Analysis and Result**

This chapter will analyse the variations in accents, sociolects, dialects and the differences between male and female speech that occurs in sports broadcasts. It will also analyse the use of register, jargon, slang and colloquial forms of English that characterises the genre of sports commentary in British sports, with focus on football, cricket, rugby union, netball and tennis. The analysis will feature examples from actual matches in the form of short transcriptions.

### **4.1 Accents, dialects, sociolects and gender**

#### *4.1.1 Accents and sociolects*

For most of the sports in focus in this essay, there are at least two commentators present during the broadcasts of the games and matches; that brings with it the possibility of the commentators having different varieties of accents. Depending on the sport in question and the commentator's role in the broadcast – if he/she is the 'general' commentator or the expert/co-commentator, their accents may vary. The general commentator usually does most of the talking while the expert, usually a person who has played the sport on a professional level, comments on the more technical and tactical aspects of the match and the players/athlete's abilities. Overall, at the time of writing, the commentaries for men's sports in the UK are spoken by men while those on women's sports are normally undertaken by female commentators. The female commentators' accents tend to vary in the way Trudgill (2000); Bell (2013); Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015), and Mooney and Evans (2019) explained; that women are more likely to have accents that are closer to the RP variety even though they may self-identify as working-class. The general sports commentators appear to conform to this

expectation as do most of the expert guests who contribute to the commentary. This applies to both male commentators as well as female commentators of football and netball; the general commentators do not show regional influences in their way of speaking and articulating, while most of the experts do. This may also be indicative of Bell's (2013) claim of how women are more conscious about the power and prestige tied to the use of language. There are, however, some experts who do have more regional accents.

In the women's football match between Brighton and Arsenal in the WSL from 2020, the two female commentators have different accents. The expert, Gemma Fay<sup>12</sup>, speaks with a Scottish accent which differs from the "standard" RP accent. According to Hughes et al. (2012:128–130), Scottish accents frequently use glottal stops instead of articulating the /t/ sound in words like *butter* and *that*. They are also rhotic<sup>13</sup>, and they often pronounce the [ɪŋ] sound as [ɪn]. The following excerpt from the two-minute transcription made from the Brighton-Arsenal match shows some of the differences between a Scottish accent and the English RP accent. Full two-minute transcription can be found in Appendix 2.

C	1	williamson is there to try and have= how	
	2	good <u>shielding</u> and strength from victoria	
	3	williams (.)plays it into nobbs under	
	4	pressure (.) gibbons trying to block the	[tryɪŋ]
	5	cross walsh has to watch it and walsh	
	6	claims it well=	
E	7	=she does indeed eh: nidema just in an	
	8	around sniffing for anything that could	[ə'ɾʌnd]
	9	possibly go wrong an even knowing tha- that	[ɛniθɪn]
	10	type of striker is in there can cause a bit	[kʌd]
	11	of nerve as a goalkeeper but she did well	[nɔwɪn]
	12	to hold onto that=	[bʌʔ] [ðæʔ]

<sup>12</sup> Gemma Fay is a former Scottish National Team goalkeeper in football from Perth, Scotland, according to Wikipedia (2020), which was the only source that was able to provide information about her background ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gemma\\_Fay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gemma_Fay) (Acquired August 16<sup>th</sup>, 2020)).

<sup>13</sup> Rhoticity means that the post-vocalic /r/ is preserved in the Scottish accents but many English accents have lost it. There are four different /r/ sound in the Scottish accents; the tap /ɾ/, the trill /r/, the retroflex approximant /ɻ/ and an alveolar approximant /ɹ/. Because of the /r/ sounds, two of the RP vowel sounds; /iə/ and /ɜ:/, do not occur in Scottish accents (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012:128).

One distinct feature for Scottish accents is the varying ways the /r/ sound can be pronounced. It can be pronounced with the tapped [ɾ], which is how Fay pronounces her 'r's and which can be heard when she says the word *around*. In SE and RP it is pronounced: [ə'raʊnd], but Fay pronounces it like: [ə'ɾʌʊnd]. It should be noted that it is not only the /r/ sound that is different there, but also the vowel sound [aʊ] which she pronounces as [ʌʊ]. The [ʌ] sound is a vowel sound that occurs in Scottish accents, according to Hughes et al. (2012). The general commentator, however, has a weaker accent which makes it more difficult to distinguish where she is from in terms of region. Her accent is closer to the RP accent and BBC English. In words such as *pass* and *chance* (which are words that are not included in the actual example, but can be found in the full transcript in Appendix 2), she articulates the vowel sound [ɑ:] as it is done in RP.

The example also shows that language and social class are connected. Fay's way of speaking displays linguistic features, which could be markers of her social status. She consistently pronounces the final [ɪŋ] sound in words like *anything* and *knowing* as [ɪn], and she frequently uses glottal stops. Both these linguistic traits suggest that Fay is a working-class woman. The glottal stops are most noticeable in words where the final sound of the word is a [t] sound. Such words include *that* and *but*. Those words would be pronounced as [ðæt] and [bʌt] in SE and the RP accent, but Fay pronounces them as [ðæʔ] and [bʌʔ]. The general commentator however, articulates the [t] sounds in those words. Only on some occasions does she replace the [t] sound with a glottal stop. These two traits are also applicable to some of the commentators of netball. The two-minute transcript from the 2019 Superleague match between London Pulse and Manchester Thunder feature Tracey Neville<sup>14</sup> as the expert commentator, who favours the same linguistic traits as Gemma in the previous example. The transcript is provided in Appendix 2.

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<sup>14</sup> Tracey Neville is a former netball player from Manchester, and is, at the time of writing, the head coach for England's National Team (netball). According to a local newspaper, Neville attended Elton High School (Bury Times, 2016). Elton High School is a state-funded school located in Bury, Greater Manchester (Elton High School website, 2020).



The commentators (both general and expert) of cricket and tennis usually have accents that are not easily distinguished with regard to region. They are closer to RP and favour most of the linguistic traits of RP. However, there are times when the expert commentators exhibit regional influences in their accents, but it is uncommon in sports like tennis. Commentators at the Wimbledon tournament do not show any regional British accents and can thus serve as examples of how the RP accent and upper-class speech can be distinguished by some phonological and sociolinguistic traits. In the 2019 Wimbledon Ladies' Final between Simona Halep and Serena Williams, there are three women present during the broadcast, and two of them are from the UK. Gigi Salmon features as the general commentator, and Annabel Croft as one of the expert commentators for the BBC Radio broadcast, from which the following transcript shown below was produced. The third commentator is not from the UK and will therefore not be included in this study (one male presenter/commentator is also present during this broadcast but his use of the English language will not be discussed in this example). The transcript illustrates some of the mentioned characteristics of RP and upper-class speech. A full two-minute transcript is provided in Appendix 2. The example consists of two parts from the transcription.

C	1	=simona halep(.) who before this	
	2	<u>tournament</u> didn't like <u>grass</u> now she's	
	3	starting to like it a little bit <u>more</u> =	
E1	4	[commentators laughing]	
E1	5	=if she ends up winning this title she	
	6	will forever be in love with it=	
E2		[expert with foreign accent speaking]	
C	7	=but she's <u>drawing</u> more errors from	
	8	willow= she was fifteen thirty down= she	
	9	<u>passed</u> kim= you said that <u>u</u> was gonna be a	
	10	good game and simona halep passed the	
	11	test=	

E1	29	=the whole energy that simona is bringing	
	30	to the <u>court</u> is someone who now believe	
	31	she can win this= she about <u>u</u> you know=	
	33		

	34	just the way she is <u>walking</u> and holding herself=	
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In words such as *grass* and *passed*, the commentators favour the long [ɑ:] sound, and in words like *court*, *walking* and *drawing* they favour the [ɔ:] sound. The pronunciation of these monophthongs are two of the characteristics of the RP accent, according to Hughes et al. (2012). The same source [ibid] states that some speakers of the RP accent tend to articulate the [ɔ:] sound in some words that include the diphthong [ʊə], such as in the word *tournament*. The traditional RP pronunciation of the word is /'tʊə.nə.mənt/, but Salmon changes the diphthong to the [ɔ:] sound which makes the word sound like ['tɔ:.nə.mənt].

There are times when both commentators use glottal stops as the final sound of a word, and there are instances when they articulate the final [t] sound. *That*, *bit* and *about* are pronounced as: [ðæʔ], [bɪʔ] and [ə'baʊʔ]. They are not, however, doing this consistently. More often than not, they pronounce the final [t] sound. They pronounce *it*, *test*, and *court* as: [ɪt], [tɛst], and [kɔ:t], which is how the words are usually pronounced in the RP accent. What is noticeable concerning the glottal stops is that none of the commentators favour it when the [t] sound occurs in the middle of a word, as in *starting*, which the commentators pronounce as [sta:tɪŋ].

The commentators in the example do not signal lower social class belonging based on their way of speaking. Though they may be using glottal stops occasionally, they do not display any other sociolinguistic traits that would assign them to a lower social class. Furthermore, the commentators use of correct and proper grammatical forms suggest that they have had a higher standard of education, which could also suggest that they belong to the middle classes. The expert commentator, Annabel Croft, attended an independent the exclusively girls' school called West Heath School in Sevenoaks, Kent (IET, 2018)<sup>15</sup>, which suggests that she is not part of the lower social classes. Also, the general commentator, Gigi Salmon, attended an independent school, St. George's School (Ascot, Berkshire), which is considered higher in terms of social status. She also received higher levels of education at Oxford Brookes University in Oxford, Oxfordshire, according to her own Linked-in page (2020). Lastly, since

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<sup>15</sup> Attempts to contact Croft directly were made, but with no success.

tennis is a sport that is to some degree associated with the higher social classes (Wheeler et al., 2017), it is more likely that the commentators are part of that same social rank.

Just like the other sports, the general commentators of cricket and rugby union have sociolects that signal higher social rank. However, the experts commenting in rugby union manifest varying sociolects, which can indicate higher or lower social status depending on how they speak. The following excerpt of the transcription from the match between Sale Sharks and Saracens in the 2019 Gallagher Premiership, show some of the sociolinguistic features that are associated with sociolects as well as accents. Full two-minute transcription is provided in Appendix 2.

E	12	=i think it was- i think it was for	
	13	dummying at the throw which (.) he isn't	
	14	actually doing he just doesn't quite know	
	15	what the <u>call</u> is the communication is	
	16	broken down so he <i>started</i> to throw it	
	17	realised <u>that</u> he had got it wrong (.) tried	
	18	to check <u>out</u> of it <u>but</u> it counts as a dummy	
	19	throw=	
C	20	=schalk burger enjoying his time with	
	21	sarries eleven wins from twelve starts so	
	22	far for the former spring bock (..) settles	
	23	so quickly didn't he (.) as if he's been	
	24	part of this set up for years=	

The example shows that the commentators' social status cannot be easily determined based only on their use of spoken English and how they articulate. The expert commentator, however, does display one sociolinguistic trait that can be associated with the lower social classes – the glottal stop. In words such as *but*, *out* and *that*, he does not articulate the [t] sounds, The [t] sound in the word “started” is also replaced with a glottal stop, making the word sound like [sta:ʔɪd] instead of [sta:tɪd] (which is more like it would be pronounced with an RP accent). Both commentators speak in accents that are closer to the RP accent, which can indicate their being part of the higher social classes which is also in accordance with Trudgill's (2000) theory about language and social class. The commentators' way of speaking

indicates that they have received higher levels of education and that they belong to the higher social classes.

#### 4.1.2 Dialects

Overall, the commentators do not show clear dialectal differences based on Trudgill's (2000) and Wardhaugh and Fuller's (2015) definitions of what constitutes dialects, namely differences in vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation. They all use the English language in much the same way with regards to the grammatical structures and vocabulary associated with Standard English English. None of the general commentators show clear dialectal differences when it comes to grammar. Some experts however, might show slight variations, but overall, the commentators use the English language in much the same way. In rugby union, for example, the commentators use seemingly correct grammatical forms and the same words to describe object/incidents tied to the match/event. This shows that there are no clear dialectal differences regarding grammar and vocabulary. Out of the five sports under consideration in this study, the only sport that shows some dialectal variations from the Standard English English dialect is women's football.

The match between Brighton and Arsenal in the WSL (football) offers an example of how the commentators may differ in dialects. As with the previous example in this Analysis, the commentators come from two different countries and thus can be expected to have different accents and dialects. In the match, however, there are no clear differences in the commentators' use of grammar or word choices. They both adopt the conventionally 'correct' grammatical structure, as much as they can depending on what is happening in the match. The following passage from the transcript from the match between Brighton and Arsenal in the WSL (football) displays one example where the grammar slightly varies. Full transcript in Appendix 2.

C	1	=so let's have that sam kerr viviane nidema	
	2	chat then gemma fay who is the most	
	3	difficult to face= you've faced both of	
	4	them	

E	5	=well sam kerr <u>bust</u> my knee so (.)so i	busted
	6	wasn't too happy about that but she didn't	or broke
	7	score against me viv has scored against me	
	8	ehm they're they're both excellent players	

It could be argued that Fay's response to the question might be somewhat ungrammatical and that she is using the wrong form of the verb *bust*. However, this verb is irregular and has more than one form in the past tense. Fay is using the slightly more informal form, while *busted* would have been more formal. This could be seen as a sign of her using her normal, every-day way of speaking and that she might have, accidentally, forgotten that she was on the air and thus did not speak in a more formal fashion.

The grammar variations in the broadcasts are not due to dialectal differences, but more on the context of sports commentary. There are some occasions where the commentators may, intentionally or unintentionally, skip the use of some grammatical features, namely, the determiners and personal pronouns. In some sports, the commentary requires rapid delivery which may cause the commentators to alter their speech, and thus not use fully grammatical phrases and sentences. This is common in football, and the following example is taken from the 2020 EFL Championship match between Hull City and Leeds United (full, two-minute transcript is provided in Appendix 2).

C	13	=hull supporters just felt that ehm mallik	
	14	wilks was obstructed there but hull still	
	15	struggling to find a rhythm in this match=	
		[long pause]	
C	16	=wilks(...) ball in by elder but only	
	17	magennis in the penalty area=that's got to	
	18	change from hull city's point of view= have	
	19	to get more than one body inside the leeds	
	20	penalty area there=	
		[long pause]	

C	21	=real lack of confidence in the hull city	
	22	ranks and the dreadful run that they're in=	
	23	the worst in ten years=	

The example shows instances where determiners and pronouns are ellipped. On line 18–19, the phrase: “have to get more than one body inside the Leeds penalty area there”, is missing the personal pronoun *they*, which would have made the phrase/sentence grammatically correct. By omitting the pronoun, the commentator leaves it up to the spectator or listener to figure out for themselves what he is referring to. The inclusion of the pronoun would have clarified that. Another example where there are grammatical features missing is found on line 21 where the indefinite article *a* is left out. Had the determiner been included, the sentence would have been grammatically correct. Even though the commentator’s grammar may not be conventionally accurate, the coherence of the utterance is not diminished, assuming the spectators are able to recover the speaker’s meaning, which seems likely, and which accords with Trudgill’s (2016) theory on language change and grammar.

There are variations as to how some words are pronounced when they are spoken in connected speech compared to when they are spoken in isolation. The 2019 Superleague match between London Pulse and Manchester Thunder will present some examples of such sets of connected speech. The transcript features Katharine Merry<sup>16</sup> as the general commentator and Tracey Neville as the expert. The example consists of two parts from the transcript. Full two-minute transcript is provided in Appendix 2.

C	15	=well thunder average just over sixty-two	
	16	goals a game this superleague season	goals
	17	having netted eight hundred an seventy	netted

E	30	court before she actually picked the ball	court
	31	up but(.) yeah I think thunder won't let	
	32	her do that again=	

<sup>16</sup> Katharine Merry is a former track and field athlete who now works for the BBC and Sky Sports as a commentator and presenter (katharinemerry.com, 2020).

The general commentator, Merry, speaks the phrase “eight hundred and seventy” on line 17, in which she elides the /d/ from the word *and*. When she does that, the phrase sounds like: [eɪt haʊdrəd ən sevəntɪ]. Another case of elision is displayed on line 31–32, where Neville says “let her”. She is deleting the /h/ sound of the word *her*, making the phrase look like [lɛʔ ə:]. There are cases of assimilations in the broadcasts as well. One such example is the phrase “with your” on line spoken by the expert commentator in the netball match between Wasps and Loughborough Lightning (transcript where the phrase can be found is provided in Appendix 2). The /θ/ sound in the final part of the word is changed to a /d/ instead, making it sound more like [wɪd jə] than [wɪθ jɔ:]. Lastly, one example of liaison can be found on line 5 in the transcript from the 2019 Wimbledon Ladies’ Final between Simona Halep and Serena Williams. The phrase “Serena is going” is produced with an intrusive /r/. As *Serena* ends with a vowel sound and *is* starts with one, it is common for speakers to link the words together with an /r/ sound, which would make this phrase look like [sɪˈrɪ:nər ɪz gəʊnə] and which accords to Knight’s (2012) description of this phenomenon.

#### 4.1.3 Gender

Trudgill (2000) and Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) agree that women are more inclined to use language in a way that is considered to be more ‘correct’ and ‘proper’ in terms of articulation, grammar and other sociolinguistic factors. Most of the female commentators of the five sports in this study seem to be aware of the relation between status, power and language, in terms of what is appropriate or not in oral delivery. Even if the male commentators do not have the same expectations as female commentators to speak in an accent closer to RP, this study showed that most of the male commentators tend to speak with that accent nonetheless. Consequently, there is no distinction between what is considered to be male or female speech. This is evident in the tennis match between Simona Halep and Serena Williams in the Ladies’ Final of the 2019 Wimbledon tournament, where there are male and female commentators performing the commentary. The commentators speak in a similar way when it comes to articulation and pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. The following passage from the transcript made from the match will demonstrate these similarities between the commentators’ language use regardless of their sex. Full transcript is provided in Appendix 2.

E	7	=and eh serena williams <u>applauding</u> that	
	8	<u>beautiful</u> crosscourt <u>pass</u> (.) i mean that's	
	9	one of her greatest assets as we keep	
	10	saying her movement and <u>ability</u> to kind of	
	11	defend and track= even if she is on the	
	12	full stretch= i mean she just was so off	
	13	balance when she tried to play that but	
	14	just managed to control the wrists and get	
	15	the <u>ball</u> to dip=	
C	16	=four one fifteen all= backhand from halep	
	17	but <u>the</u> call as you heard from eh line	
	18	judge signalling that the first serve was	
	19	out (..)this serve from halep onto the	
	20	forehand of williams= slapback very hard in	
	21	reply= the backhand from williams onto the	
	22	backhand of halep= forehand hit very <u>hard</u>	
	23	crosscourt by williams and her <u>turn</u> to find	
	24	a mark just inside the sideline= breath	
	25	taking strokeplay=	

Both commentators articulate the words *beautiful* and *applauding* as they are supposed to be with an RP accent: /'bju:tɪfʊl/ and /ə'plɔ:d ɪŋ/. They do not use the [ɪn] sound when speaking, and they do not use glottal stops. This goes to show that the male commentator does not conform to Trudgill's (2000) theories on male speech traits. Most of the commentators of the five sports included in this study (both male and female) speak in a similar way compared to the example above; namely they use seemingly correct grammar and display clear articulations and pronunciations that are closer to the RP accent. A few exceptions are found in the commentary of women's football and netball however, where some of the experts show some regional accents and some sociolinguistic traits that may lead people to suggest that they do not conform to Trudgill's (2000) models of male/female speech.

The male commentators of cricket and tennis, especially, do not conform to the typical male speech traits that Trudgill (2000); Bell (2013); Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015), and Mooney



and Evans (2019) claimed, namely that men are unaware of the way language is a medium through which power is attained and reproduced in society. With the social status these two sports enjoy, it is unsurprising that the commentary is delivered in standard forms of English, and that the male commentators appear less inclined to speak with some of the assumed male speech traits that are more associated with the working classes. The following example, taken from the transcript from the 2019 Men's Wimbledon final between Novak Djokovic and Roger Federer, aims to show these points. Full two-minute transcript is provided in Appendix 2.

E	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39	=such small margins eh boris pointed out(.) couple of small forehand errors but it's it's got to be live by the sword die by the sword= it's federer's= one of his greatest shots= he's got to keep pulling the trigger when he's got that opportunity but it will be interesting to see you know really the importance of that first set for djokovic early part of the second set(.) you feel federer is gonna have to dig in and(.) turn the tide(.) you look at the numbers first serve percentage from djokovic really improved as the set went on= it was down at the low forties but when it went in= winning eighty eight percent of first serve points won= federer's got to take some comfort from the fact that he didn't give up any breakpoint opportunities but(.) very small margins= djokovic will be delighted to get that first set under his belt=	
C	40 41 42 43	=boris in terms of the actual standard of the tennis played by novak djokovic in the last few years would you say that i- it's been a higher standard than anybody	

44	else= we've talked about the greatest of	
45	all time and all that=	

In this example, both the general commentator and the expert display a variety of the English language that suggests that they are aware of how it is connected to power and how it should be used in an appropriate fashion. The most common linguistic features of male speech cannot be assigned to the commentators of men's tennis; they do not use glottal stops, and they articulate the [ɪŋ] sound, which according to Trudgill (2000), men commonly favour when speaking. Additionally, both the commentators have clear articulations and speak in accents that are closer to RP, and they use grammatical forms that seem to be correct and proper. These traits and the way the commentators use the English language are applicable to most of the male commentators of this study, which suggests that they are not less accurate to the female commentators in terms of language use.

## 4.2 Register, jargon, slang, and colloquial forms of English

### 4.2.1 Register

In accordance with Howard and Zé Amvela's (2007) and Wardhaugh and Fuller's (2015) arguments that there are certain vocabularies and registers tied to different contexts, sports have their own discourse with special jargons and registers. The commentators of sports broadcasts display a speech style that is neither formal nor informal. The registers used in sports commenting are closely related to the jargon, which makes it more difficult to distinguish between the two. The phrases used to describe the events and action of the match/event usually have a specific meaning that cannot be made more or less formal. The commentary does not, however, solely consist of comments about the actual match and what is happening in it. In some sports, the commentators have more time to comment on other aspects surrounding the match, such as the spectators attending the match, the players' abilities or backgrounds, or comments about previous matches played. It is more likely for commentators of cricket and tennis to deviate from the action than commentators of rugby union or netball, where the action taking place on the pitch and court is much faster. When that occurs, the commentator's style of speaking with regard to the degree of formality may be argued to alter slightly. In the tennis match between Roger Federer and Rafael Nadal in the

2019 Wimbledon semi-final, one of the commentators uses the word *fatigue* in the phrase: “no particular fatigue for any of these players so far”, which can be argued to have a certain degree of formality (contrast with “tired”). Had the commentator chosen a different word to refer to the players’ tiredness, it might have been made less formal while not altering the meaning which corresponds with Hudson’s (1996); Trudgill’s (2000) and Wardhaugh and Fuller’s (2015) theories of register and formality.

Another example of a word that could be argued to have a more formal tone is *contest* instead of *match*, which was said in the tennis match between Rafael Nadal and Nick Kyrgios in the 2019 Wimbledon (transcript from the match where the word is spoken is provided in Appendix 2). It was also notable in tennis that the female players are referred to as *ladies* and their respective matches as *ladies’ matches*, while other sports such as football would refer to them as *women’s matches*. This may be due to the associations to the social classes the sports are connected to, and the expected degree of formality tied to the language used in them. Tennis, which is considered to be a middle-class sport, may be expected to show higher degrees of formality and thus use *ladies’ matches*. Football, however, does not have that same expectation regarding formality and can choose to refer to them as *women’s matches*. When addressing the players during the matches, the commentators usually use the player’s names in football. When talking about the whole team, some commentators would refer to the women’s teams as *girls*, and for the men’s teams, they usually refer to them as *guys* or *lads*. However, it is uncommon for the commentators to address the whole team as such; it is usually during interviews the players and the coaches refer to the whole team in that way. In netball, the commentators also refer to the players by their names, and when addressing the whole team, they usually say *the girls*.

#### 4.2.2 Jargon

In football, the commentators actively use technical terms when commenting a match. It is common for the audience to hear words and phrases such as: *offside*, *knocks it out of her/his feet*, *cross* etc. which are part of the football vocabulary. Some words could be argued to be both part of the jargon as well as being a form of slang; one example is the word *shot stopper*

for *goalkeeper*. It is also common for some of the words of the football vocabulary to be included in the jargon of other sports, but the meaning might alter slightly. One such word is *offside*, which is featured in four of the sports included in this study; football, cricket, rugby union and netball (the term is explained more adequately in the Glossaries in Appendix 3). As football is one of the most popular sports in the world, the vocabulary associated with the sport is more likely to be familiar, and understood by players, coaches, spectators, fans etc. across the globe. This corresponds with Howard and Zé Amvela's (2007) findings on cricket terminology which states that the vocabulary can be understood by people of widely differing linguistic backgrounds, but who share an interest in the sport. However, as football has gained global popularity, familiarity with its vocabulary makes it easy to follow the commentators and the action they are narrating. The terminology of football is arguably not as technical as other sports vocabularies, and the game is fairly simple to play and understand, which also might help with the understanding of the terms being used in the commentary.

*Dummy* is another example of a term that feature in more than one sport, and which has slightly different meanings in each sport. In football, the term has been defined by a popular Internet sports site as: "a tactic used by a player to trick an opponent, by pretending to pass the ball but actually keeping possession – sometimes dodging in one direction but taking the ball in another" (sportsdefinitions.com, 2020). According to the same source [ibid.], the term has acquired a slightly different meaning in netball, where it refers to "when a player moves in to space as if to receive a pass to fool the opposing team, but is really creating space for another player to receive the ball". In rugby union, the term is used to describe two different attacking moves. The first *dummy*-move refers to the situation that occurs when the ball carrier moves as if to pass the ball to a teammate, making the opponent move towards that player and thus creating space for the ball carrier to continue running with the ball. The second *dummy* refers to when a player on the attacking team runs towards the opposing team as if to receive a pass only for the ball to be passed to another player, or carried on by the ball carrier, or kicked forwards. These two *dummies* can be distinguished from each other by compounding them with another noun, which, in turn, adds to their meaning. The first *dummy* can be called *dummy pass*, and the second *dummy runner* [ibid.]. However, it is not uncommon for the commentators of rugby union to delete the second word and refer to the moves as *dummy* (the word is said in the 2019 Gallagher Premiership match between Sale

Sharks and Saracens and can be found in the transcription on line 12 in Appendix 3) as the intended meaning is adequately conveyed. When this happens in the broadcasts, it is up to the spectator to calculate which *dummy*-move the commentators are referring to. In Appendix 3, more descriptions of terms and phrases are provided.

Cricket is a sport where relatively opaque jargon is frequently and actively used during the broadcasts of matches. Commentators rely heavily on the spectators knowing and understanding the words and phrases they use when commenting on the match. The phrase: “He bowls googlies and flippers” (said in the T20 match between Somerset and Sussex Sharks, full 2-minute transcript is provided in Appendix 2), is an example of jargon; this phrase refers to the bowler’s choice of throws/deliveries (more detailed descriptions of the terms are provided in Appendix 3). By using words and phrases like this, the commentators are effective in their communication to the spectators who are well-acquainted with the sport, which falls in line with Howard and Zé Amvela’s (2007) exposition on jargon. However, the frequent use of jargon risks excluding people from understanding the commentary if they are not familiar with the special technical terms and, consequently, they may lose interest. The following example is also from the T20 match between the county teams of Somerset and Sussex Sharks (full transcription can be found in Appendix 2).

C	1	Here's jerome taylor in an <i>bowls</i> and	bowls
	2	that's driven and max wallows onto it	driven
	3	very very quickly at(.) <i>midoff</i> (.) <i>full</i>	midoff
	4	<i>length delivery</i> from jerome taylor and	full
	5	he's not offering the <i>batsman</i> m- much in	length
	6	the way of room to eh free their arms at	delivery
	7	the moment jerome taylor(.) which is the	
	8	way you have to <i>bowl</i> on this sort of	
	9	torms and pitch it's not an absolute road	
	10	if it's like the one on on friday i- i-it	
	11	takes a bit of time for the <i>batsman</i> to	batsman
	12	pick up the pace of it it's just a little	
	13	bit slower than it looks (.) its	
	14	tethering <i>bowls</i> is it is a a <i>yorker</i>	yorker

	15	attempted <i>yorker</i> it's a low <i>fulltoss</i> in	full toss
	16	the end and tom able will do the <i>fielding</i>	fielding
	17	an at third man <i>twenty-one for one</i> =	21 for 1

The jargon of tennis features numerous technical terms referring to how the players serve the ball, how they move on the court, and to the scoring system, etc. For people who are not avid fans or spectators of tennis, the technical terms used in the commentary may have some difficulties in understanding what the words refer to. Words such as: *love*, *tie-break*, *service*, *hawk-eye*, *challenge* etc. are some examples of terms used in tennis. Many of the technical terms' meanings have to be learned; *love*, for example, does not refer to affectionate feelings: it refers to a score of zero. An example of the use of jargon in tennis can be seen below in a transcription of commentary made from the match between Roger Federer and Rafael Nadal in the 2019 Wimbledon semi-final (full transcription can be found in Appendix 2). The words in the right-hand column show the words that are part of the jargon of tennis.

E	26	=well because he will hit it harder with	
	27	the <i>top spin</i> he can get it through the	top spin
	28	<i>court</i> get to: (.) potentially nadal's	court
	29	<i>backhand</i> more easily (.) I think the way	backhand
	30	the set's unfolding it would be	
	31	(.)fitting if it did go to the <i>tiebreak</i>	tiebreak
	32		

Although this passage is only a couple of seconds long, it is evident that there is substantial use of technical terms in the commentary. More tennis terms with descriptions are provided in Appendix 3.

#### 4.2.3 Colloquial/slang

Cricket commentary is found to be replete with a substantial vocabulary, consisting of jargon, much of which derives from popular colloquialisms. The words *cracking* and *brilliant* are often used in sports to describe a match/event. In the 2015 T20 cricket match between Kent and Lancashire the word *chuffed* was uttered by one of the commentators (transcript where

the word was heard is provided in Appendix 2). This is a general slang term mostly used to refer to when a person is feeling happy, content, or pleased. However, depending on the context, it could mean anger as well, according to the Oxford English Dictionary (2020). The following passage from the transcript from the 2019 T20 cricket match between Derbyshire and Gloucestershire will provide some examples of slang and colloquial English.

C	1	=what do you think we've seen a bit of	
	2	paceoff work at trent bridge we saw	
	3	nottingham bowl and notts bowl(.) spin in	
	4	the powerplay that seemed to work middlesex	
	5	bowls pretty much seam up all the way	
	6	through didn't work quite as well= what do	
	7	you think this surface is <u>gonna</u> require=	
E	8	=i think it looks a pretty good surface	
	9	with <u>a little bit of kiss and a bit of</u>	
	10	<u>carry on it</u> at the moment (.) just	
	11	challenge the derbyshire bowlers to get the	
	12	top of the or stump board straight as they	
	13	can maybe middle stump (..)it's <u>banged</u> away	

On line 9–10, the phrase “it looks a pretty good surface with a little bit of kiss and a bit of carry on it” is spoken by the expert commentator. The word *kiss* in this usage may refer to circumstances in which the nature of the surface causes the ball to bounce<sup>17</sup>. The word *kiss* does exist in sports jargon, but not in cricket. It can be found in snooker, where it refers to “contact between two balls” (snookergames.co.uk, 2020). The use of this term in relation to cricket is unexpected and should not be distinguished as part of the established jargon of the sport, but rather as an imaginative metaphor. “Kiss” literally denotes a non-aggressive and gentle act of touching, however, in the context of cricket, it could thus refer to the ball making contact with the ground.

<sup>17</sup> Attempts to recover what the commentator wanted to express with the word has been made by emails to the BBC, but owing to the situation, at the time of writing (Covid-19), the relevant person who might have had an explanation has not been able to answer. Covid-19 is an infectious disease that cause varying degrees of respiratory illness according to the World Health Organisation (2020). The virus spread globally in 2020 and created a pandemic (who.int, 2020).

Other words that can be taken from this short passage of the match, and be considered slang are: *gonna* and *banged*. The word *gonna* is a short form of *going to*, and could be viewed as an example of ordinary everyday-speech and is highly informal. It is also an example of elision. *Banged* is an inflection of an onomatopoeic word that has multiple meanings depending on the context in which it is being used. In this particular case, it refers to when the ball has been struck with considerable force by the batsman.

Colloquial words and phrases can be heard in football, netball and rugby union commentaries as well. A commentator or expert might call a player *scrappy* or *instrumental*, or they might talk about a player and say: “she’s been class all season”, which would refer to the player in question having played well throughout the season. The word *scrappy* is a colloquial term which is highly polysemic. In sports, it is usually used to describe an athlete/team that is “very competitive and willing to oppose others without fear to achieve something” according to [dictionary.cambridge.org](https://dictionary.cambridge.org) (2020). *Instrumental* is commonly used when someone/something performs a key role (OED, 2020). In the football match between Brighton and Arsenal in the WSL, the phrase “she goes and duffs it like that” is spoken by one of the commentators. *Duff* is a colloquial word, and a homonym, with multiple meanings depending on the context in which it is being used. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2020), the word can refer to: “Coal in the form of small particles and dust” or “A boiled or steamed sweet pudding, usually containing fruit, and made in a bag” (OED, 2020). In sport, however, it is usually used in golf [ibid], to refer to a failed shot made by a player, and that is the probable meaning in this case as the player who “duffed it” kicked the ball out of play when she did not have to. “The whistle” is sometimes used in rugby union to refer to the referee of the match who usually has a whistle at his disposal in order to call on the players’ attention. “The final whistle” is also a common expression which means the sound of the final whistle blow of the match to signal that it is over. The word *whistle* functions as a synecdoche in this case as it refers to the referee with whatever tools he/she may need during the match, which accords to Deignan’s (2005) definition of synecdoches. Lastly, the short phrase “the floor”, is used in both football and rugby union and refers to the ground or surface being played on. More sports terms and colloquial words can be found in the Glossaries in Appendix 3.



## 5. Discussion

### 5.1 Overview of Findings

This chapter will attempt to answer the thesis questions listed at the beginning of this paper with reference to the data related in the previous chapter. Each of the findings to the questions will be discussed in the following chapter based on the results from the analysis.

#### *5.2.1 Thesis question 1 – In what ways, and to what extent, do public commentators in British broadcast display speech variations according to the particular sport involved?*

The analysis showed that there are speech variations in British sports broadcasts. Most variations concern the commentators' accents, which vary depending on whether they feature as the general commentator of the match or if they are there as the expert commentator. Out of the five sports included in this study, all the general commentators displayed accents that are closer to the RP accent, while there were more variations among the experts. Depending on the sport in question, the experts' accents vary from stronger to weaker, and the sports where the accents had stronger regional influences were football and netball and, in some cases, rugby union. These sports' associations to the working classes may be one of the reasons the experts' display stronger regional accents, according to Trudgill (2000). The experts themselves have usually played the sport before professionally, which may be the reason for them speaking with accents with regional influences. However, the experts of cricket and tennis did not display any regional influences in their accents, which may also relate to the social status of those two sports. The general commentators' accents being closer to the RP accent suggests that they have benefited from higher-level or more prestigious education, which affirms the views of both Trudgill (2000) and Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015). The analysis also showed that the most noticeable differences in pronunciation were evident in the vowel sounds and glottal stops. The commentator who spoke with accents closer to RP favoured the [ɑ:] and [ɔ:] sounds, while some of the experts displayed more regional vowel sounds like the Scottish [ʊ] sound. Another linguistic feature that could be assigned to more regional accents and lower social class speech was the favouring of the [ɪn] sound in words

ending with ‘-ing’, instead of the more RP traditional RP [ɪŋ]. The use of glottal stops, in words including a [t] sound, is also one of the characteristics of regional accents and working-class speech, according to Trudgill (2000). However, Hughes’s et al. (2012) claim that even though glottal stops are more associated with lower social classes, the commentators who speak with accents that are closer to the more prestigious RP accent tend to use them as well, although not as frequently as some of the experts who have strong regional accents. The instances where the general commentators may, occasionally, use glottal stops are in words that have a final [t] sound.

Based on the results from the analysis regarding the variations of grammar associated with dialects, fewer variations occurred during the broadcasts. Most of the commentators, if not all, showed ‘correct and proper’ use of grammar during the broadcasts based on how Trudgill (2000) defines dialects. The variation in grammar that was evident may not concern dialectal differences, but may be a result of the context of sport and the genre of sports commentary. In football and netball, where the action taking place on the pitch/court is fast, the commentators may occasionally omit some determiners and pronouns when commenting. Had the commentators had more time to express the information they are required to provide the spectators/listeners, they may not have left those grammatical items out. When such grammatical features are left out, the information may be more or less difficult to decipher for the spectator or listener. The people watching the match on TV may not be as dependent on the commentators using determiners and pronouns as they can use the images on the TV to decipher what the commentators may have referred to. The listeners on the radio may be more dependent on the commentators using those small but sometimes necessary grammatical items. However, as long as the spectator/listener can understand what the commentator wants to express, it does not matter whether or not the commentator is using the correct and proper SE grammar, according to Trudgill (2016). Generally, the content of the commentary is understood.

Connected speech is present in all of the sports commentary, and it becomes especially evident when the commentators have to express information in a rapid pace to keep the spectator/listener up to speed on the events of the match. It is normal for sounds to either be

deleted, added, or changed when strings of words are spoken in normal speech, according to Knight (2012). When the commentators speak fast, they maximize the information they want to relay, and may also try to add some excitement for the spectator/listener. It could be assumed that (regional accents aside) the faster the speech, the greater amount of connected speech is likely to occur. When a football or netball match is being broadcast on the radio, the commentators are required to speak more and faster, which may cause the commentators to have more cases of connected speech compared to when a cricket match is being broadcast on TV, where the commentary is slower and more deliberate.

*5.2.2 Thesis question 2 – How are such variances attributable to the sociolinguistic factors such as the gender, and to the social class/es of the speaker, and that are associated with the sport itself?*

The results from the analysis show that there are some slight differences in how men and women speak in the broadcasts. Overall, the female, as well as the male general commentators, speak in what is considered by Trudgill (2000) and Bell (2013) to be correct and proper forms of English. They have clear articulation and their accents are not strongly influenced by region. However, there are some occasions where the female experts do show traits of more working-class speech, which are traditionally assigned by sociolinguists to men. One interesting finding is the way the male commentators use the English language. The general contention, according to Trudgill (2000), is that men pay less attention to the way they speak, but that is not what this study showed. The male commentators seem to be just as aware of the power and prestige tied to language as their female counterparts. What the study has shown is that it is the female expert commentators who display traits of more working-class speech. Based on the match commentaries analysed for this study, it seems as though the male commentators are aware, if not even more aware, of how language and power are connected than the female commentators. The example of the commentary from the 2019 Wimbledon Ladies' final showed that the male commentator /presenter used the same linguistic features associated with female speech and higher social standing as his co-commentator (Annabel Croft) did. This result could have been slightly different if the commentary if men's football had been done by two commentators (one expert).

The relation between power and language is evidenced by the distance it can create between people from different social classes. In the past, men have tended to use language as a way of showing their masculinity by speaking with accents that are more associated with the working class. According to Bell (2013), women have, in the past, generally spent longer in education and use language in a more technically correct way in terms of accents that had fewer regional influences. However, this has changed. With men doing the commentary in sports for broadcasting companies like the BBC, where proper and correct English has been important, men who wanted to work for them must have acquired use of the language that is more like BBC English. That may have been done with the help of higher levels of education, which in turn may have made men more aware of how their use of the English language can create and help maintain distance between different social classes. The fact that most of the male commentators speak with accents closer to RP, and use proper forms of English, they show their awareness of how language is a source of power. Most of the female commentators use language in the way they are expected to according to Trudgill (2000), which the males do also. Based on the observations of Trudgill (2000); Bell (2013) and Mooney and Evans (2019), the commentators speak using forms of language that would be considered to be “proper” in terms of their pronunciation and grammar. However, there are cases where some of the experts show some features of language that could be considered to be more colloquial and working-class, but those experts are mostly female which could be viewed as somewhat surprising considering the fact that it is, according to Trudgill (2000) and Bell (2013), usually men who tend to adapt and maintain more working-class speech patterns.

The results of the analysis may also have been influenced by the social class associated with the sport. Tennis and cricket are sports that are associated with higher social classes; they are played to a greater level at public and private schools across the UK, whose pupils usually belong to higher social classes, according to Hobbs (2016) and Wheeler et al. (2017). Because some sports are, to varying degrees, connected to the UK social-class system, it could be argued that the commentary style reflects social classes associated with the sports, and some evidence of this was detected in all of the sports featured in this study. Consequently, tennis, cricket and rugby union commentaries are delivered by people who do not display working-class speech traits; rather, they speak with accents that are closer to RP, with Standard English dialects and with sociolects that reflect the higher social classes, while the commentators of

women's football and netball do not. That means that football and netball would not have the same expectations of having commentators broadcasting with RP accents, and this was especially the case with the expert commentators. It is clear that the social class of the sport is not fully accounted for by the way the commentators speak as not all of the experts speak in the same way and have the same sociolinguistic traits. In short, this study finds that professional commentators generally adhere to what Trudgill (2000) describes as the correct and proper forms of spoken English in their commentaries of matches.

### *5.2.3 Thesis question 3 – What colloquial forms and jargon are commonly used across different sports, and which sports unique linguistic features?*

Based on the results from the analysis, the use of jargon, slang and colloquial forms of English is evident. Technical terms are useful tools for communicating what is happening in the match to the spectators and listeners, which is part of Howard and Zé Amvela's (2007) argument of the use of jargon. With terms like *scrum* (rugby union), *love* (tennis) and *feed* (netball), the communication is made fast and efficient for the commentators as they are able to describe the events with a single word, or sometimes with a short phrase. They will thus be able to keep following the actions of the match in order to keep the spectators/listeners up to speed on the events of the game and not risk missing anything significant. Had the commentators been forced to explain every technical term tied to the sport, the communication would not be as efficient, and people who are well-acquainted with the sport could miss the expert comments on the match. It might, however, be more informative for the people who are not familiar with the terms to receive an explanation of what the terms refer to.

Out of the five sports focused on in this study, cricket and tennis are the two sports where the use of jargon and colloquial English is most frequent. For cricket, it could be argued that the use of technical terms is comes from its vast history. It is a sport that has been played since the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup>, and the sport has acquired words associated to it for a considerable amount

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<sup>18</sup> The earliest reference to cricket in England dates back to the 16th century when it was played at Guildford, Surrey, according to Herman (2016).

of time which could be one reason it has such an extensive vocabulary with terms rooted in obscure metaphorical references. It was notable how some of the words could seem highly informal, and even comical, yet they have been widely adopted as part of the sport's technical vocabulary. Words such as *cow-corner* and *golden duck* do not signal higher degrees of formality, and, based on the arguments Denham and Lobeck (2013) presented about the difficulties in distinguishing between jargon and slang, those words could be mistaken for slang even though they are technical expressions in cricket. Another interesting finding on the cricket commentary is that the use of jargon, slang and colloquial forms of English is quite unique and can, at times, be somewhat difficult to understand. When the commentators use jargon, they are not trying to exclude people from the game, which both Howard and Zé Amvela (2007) and Murray (2012) mentioned could be a risk with the use of jargon; they are simply trying to communicate in an orderly fashion by using the words that are associated with the sport. There is no way the commentators can know whether or not the spectators/listeners understand what is being communicated with the help of technical terms and slang while the match is in progress; they have to rely on the spectators either sharing the interest in the sport or possessing the necessary knowledge about it in order to follow along with the match commentary, the events that are occurring and their implications for the outcome. With Howard and Zé Amvela's (2007) and Murray's (2012) argument of people risk being excluded from the sport by the use of jargon, there are sports where that risk may be abated. The jargon tied to football is not as central to the game, nor as opaque, as the jargon for cricket and tennis. The fact that the jargon of football may be easier to understand could be because of its status and popularity across the globe. With the simplicity of the game, and the relatively straightforward terms and phrases used by the commentators during the matches, the spectators have a high chance of working out the meanings of any occasional usage of unfamiliar terms and thus achieving full comprehension of any commentary.

Just as jargon can be a useful tool in communicating with people who share the same field of interest, in this case sport, so can registers. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) claimed that the use of a register is useful and that it makes the communication easier among people who share it. This is true about the genre of sports commentary as well. The commentators both share and use the same register, which makes the communication between them easier and usually on the same level of formality, which is another aspect of registers [ibid.]. With focus being put

on the use of register and formality, the analysis showed that there are some occasions where slightly more formal word choices are used by the commentators, and the sport where this is most common is tennis. There are times when the commentators of tennis tend to use a register/words that signal higher degrees of formality when talking about the players or something outside the actual match itself. Some of the more formal words that can be heard in tennis commentary (such as *contest* and *fatigue*) would probably not be used in sports such as netball and football as they are associated with formal, highbrow middle-class sociolects, and would thus risk alienating working-class viewers. Additionally, with the differences in how players and teams are addressed, it seems as if tennis is the one that stands out in question of formality, at least when comparing how the women's players and matches are referred to. Commentaries for sports which have a greater propensity to attract working-class audiences, such as football and netball, seemed to be delivered in lower registers.

One other finding the analysis showed and that was referred to by Howard and Zé Amvela (2007), is that the same words can be used in more than one sport but with slightly different meanings. What is noticeable about these kinds of words is that they often relate to the rules of the sport. *Offside* is one example of a word that is part of the jargon of more than one sport, and it figures in four out of the five sports included in this study (football, cricket, rugby union and netball). The meaning is much the same in three sports, but in cricket, the meaning does not bear any resemblance to that of the other sports (see Appendix 3 for a more detailed explanation of *offside* in each sport). There could be a number of reasons why that is, and one could be that the set-up of the game is not at all similar to the other sports; the point of cricket is not to launch the ball across a goal line or into a goal hoop, and the players in cricket are not running to position themselves behind defenders and closer to the goal. When words like these are used in more than one sport, some people may be able to use their knowledge of the word's meaning in one sport and apply it to others; so, a football fan may draw upon his/her knowledge of what *offside* refers to and work out the meaning of it in rugby union.

Denham and Lobeck (2013) assert that slang and jargon are somewhat difficult to distinguish from each other, which can be applied to the way in which the commentators speak with regard to their word choices while commenting on the sport. The jargon includes terms that

are more technical and “formal” but some of them have come to have slang words to refer to the same element or situation in the sport (this is not something that shows up in the transcripts, but in the glossaries in Appendix 3 and it is something that was noticeable after watching/listening to several matches in order to conduct this study). Despite the fact that both Lobeck and Denham (2013) and Mooney and Evans (2019) had found that some people consider slang and jargon to be informal and used extensively by people of the working-classes, the result of the study showed that that is not the case. Even though the sports are all associated to different social classes, the commentators speak in much the same way and with the same sort of language (meaning the use of jargon, slang, their accents, dialects and articulations etc.) regardless of which social class the sport they are commenting on is associated. The players, coaches, fans and commentators are using the “language” that is associated to the sport and these people can be from all social classes. With regard to Mooney and Evans’ (2019) assertion that children from higher social classes are taught to use more formal forms of the English language and are discouraged from using slang, it could be assumed that the commentators of cricket and tennis would identify with these social classes and have such backgrounds. It could also be assumed that their commentaries would be affected by this notion, and would therefore consist of higher register language and RP, and that slang expressions would be less evident. However, the analysis showed that that is not the case; the commentators of both tennis and cricket still use non-standard forms as much as commentators of the less prestigious sports. There is, however, slightly less use of slang and colloquial English in tennis compared to cricket when the commentators are alluding to, or commenting on a player’s background, a previous match or other aspects outside the actual match itself.

#### *5.2.4 Thesis question 4 – To what extent do sports commentators rely on hearers being able to recover meaning when they use colloquial forms and jargon?*

The analysis showed that jargon is used in every sport, and that it is more or less recognised by the public. Howard and Zé Amvela (2007) stated that all fields of interest, study and profession etc. will have its own vocabulary, which is true of the sports of this study. Tennis and cricket are the two sports where the use of jargon is most frequent, which could be due to the fact that they are both ball and racquet sports that require the players to master multiple techniques for how the ball should be thrown, delivered, served or bowled in multiple



numbers of ways and it can also be returned, hit or smashed in just as many ways. All these different types of vital movements and actions will affect the match. The outcome of these actions/movements may be important for the spectator/listener to know about in order to understand what is going on in the match. Commentators of rugby union and netball also rely on jargon in their communication, but it is not as heavily used as in tennis and cricket. Football is also influenced by the use of technical terms but as the sport is widely known to the public and is easily understood by people who do not share the interest in the sport as the players, coaches and fans, the jargon is somewhat easier to understand than some other sports. So, the communication is made more efficient with the use of jargon and it brings the sports fans, athletes and coaches together across the world as was further stated by Howard and Zé Amvela (2007).

Colloquial forms of English and slang is used in all of the sports included in this study. With the use of colloquialisms and slang, the communication is, at times and to varying degrees, made more efficient. In the genre of sport commentary as well as other field of interests, study or profession, slang and jargon can, at times, be hard to distinguish from each other according to Denham and Lobeck (2013). The commentary of cricket, with the use of jargon, colloquial English and slang, is quite unique and at times, opaque, compared to the other sports focused on in this study. Some of the words that are part of the jargon can be mistaken for slang or colloquial English expressions as they can signal lower degrees of formality which is one of the factors to be considered according to Denham and Lobeck (2013). The key to distinguishing slang from jargon is to be found in the register of the discourse; slang refers to the most informal forms of language and it is associated with sociolect, while jargon is neither formal nor informal [ibid]. Words like *cow-corner* and *duck* could be thought of to be slang when they are in fact jargon as they are technical expressions and unrelated to sociolect. The meanings of such words may not be easily calculated from context and are then indecipherable if not explained within the commentary. When this occurs, there is a risk that viewers may lose the thread of the commentary and the events and progress of the match being observed. Commentators appear to rely on viewers already having a comprehensive grasp of the sport's vocabulary throughout any match.

For people who are not habitual viewers of televised sports and/or who have not played them, the jargon may still be easier to understand because of the incessant coverage of sports in media and on TV. Howard and Zé Amvela (2007) explain how the jargon of sports and other fields of interest or profession etc. may become familiar and comprehensible to the wider public if they are sufficiently exposed to it by the media. With football being played and televised globally, the jargon associated with it is therefore unsurprising that it has spread across nations and continents regardless of local languages.

## **6. Conclusion**

The object of this study was to investigate and analyse how and to what extent sports commentators of British broadcasts display speech variations in different sports, and how such variations can be attributed to sociolinguistic factors and social class of the speakers and the sports in question. It also aimed to analyse how jargon, slang, and colloquial forms of English influence the genre of sports commentary as well as how the spectators/listeners' understanding of what is being communicated is affected by it. The sports featured in this study was football, cricket, rugby union, netball and tennis. Little, if any, research had been done on these topics in relation to UK sports commentary. In order to conduct this study, more general research and theories on each specific topic was used and applied to the commentators of the sports. Theoretical approaches relating to accents, dialect, and sociolects in the UK were considered, followed by scholarly work on register, jargon, slang, and colloquial English as well as some on sports and social class in the UK. Lastly, general information on sports equipment and availability of fields/pitches/courts were researched as these may be relevant to the sociolinguistic aspect of the study. The various approaches and resources were then applied to the data of the commentators in order to find answers to the research questions. Data was collected from videos from YouTube.com and from broadcasts from BBC and Sky Sports channels; these videos were watched and listened to multiple times in order to make transcriptions of parts of the matches to provide the workable data. Each transcription made was approximately two minutes long and featured both a general commentator and an expert, except for the commentary of men's football, which was managed by one general commentator.

The analysis showed that speech variations occur in UK sports commentary. These variations are usually assigned to the expert commentators of sports that are associated with lower social classes. In this study, the female expert commentators of football and netball were the ones that displayed regional accents, while their male counterparts did not. The general commentators of both sexes in all five sports, as well as the male experts, displayed accents that were closer to the RP accent. The female experts of tennis also speak in accents that are closer to the RP accent. The results of the analysis also showed that the sports that are associated with higher social classes, tennis and cricket, are the ones where the RP accent is favoured by both general commentators as well as experts. However, all the commentators display the sociolinguistic feature of glottal stops to varying degrees. The analysis showed that there were no clear dialectal differences between the commentators in terms of vocabulary and grammar. No one used words associated with different regions, they all used forms of English that could be seen as being Standard English. As for the grammar, there were no clear variations in grammar with regard to region. However, there were some grammatical differences that occurred in some of the sports, but those differences were not determined by region and dialect, but more on the context in which the commentators were in; some sports required fast delivery of speech from the commentators which caused some of them to omit certain grammatical features. The actual information conveyed would not have been affected for the TV audience, but could be somewhat troublesome for listeners on the radio broadcasts to decipher as they did not have the advantage of being able to relate the action on the field to the commentary. Lastly, all the commentators display connected speech when commenting, and it is most noticeable when they have to speak fast. Overall, the commentators of sport use what is traditionally regarded as the correct and proper forms of English, specifically Received Pronunciation (RP).

There was no clear difference between male and female speech and use of language. While scholars assert that females are more inclined to adhere to RP than males in the general speech population, there was little difference detected in this study when comparing the use of regional and colloquial forms between male and female commentators. Some female commentators were found to show speech traits more associated with male and working-class speech, however. The language used by all the commentators were influenced by the sports'

associations to social class; those covering the sports associated with higher social classes displayed less speech variation than those of sports of lower social status (football and netball).

Sports commentary has a specialised vocabulary that cannot be considered to be formal nor informal. The register is closely connected to the jargon of the sports' and some of the words cannot be replaced with other words that might signal higher or lower degrees of formality. However, in sports where the commentators had more time to deviate from the events on the field, pitch or court, the register could be seen as being more or less formal depending on the commentator's choice of words. There was one sport in particular where there was a slightly higher degree of formality, and that sport was tennis. Words that the commentators of tennis use are not likely to be used by the commentators of sports like football and netball, which are considered to be working-class sports. The analysis also showed that there is frequent use of jargon in all five sports in the study to varying degrees. The commentators of more technical sports (tennis and cricket) tend to use jargon more often than the ones' in the other sports. The results of the analysis also showed that some terms that were used in one sport could also figure in others, which corresponds with Howard and Zé Amvela's (2007) findings. However, the meaning of the words may alter slightly depending on which sports they are used in. By using jargon, the commentators manage to convey information efficiently to the spectators/listeners. However, the use of jargon can be somewhat troublesome to understand for people who are not familiar with it or the sport in question, but the commentators are not trying to exclude people from the sport by using jargon. Furthermore, slang and colloquial words/expressions also feature in the genre of sports commentary, and cricket uses it most frequently out of the five sports in this study. The jargon tied to cricket consists of both technical terms, some slang and colloquial words, which make the commentators of cricket to mix jargon with slang and colloquial expressions frequently. Most commentators in the five sports use colloquial expressions and slang when describing players and athletes and their abilities and qualities on the field, pitch or court. Metaphors and synecdoches also feature in the genre of sports commentary.

One area of this study that could be further researched and more detailed concern dialects and dialectal differences between the commentators of the different sports. Further research could be conducted on the topic of sports commentary. Such research could involve the same sports, but the data could be collected from other English-speaking countries and their commentary, which then could be compared to the UK commentators' use of the English language and their use of jargon. Another area worthy of further research concerning sports commentary would be a comparison between other sports such as athletics, figure-skating or sailing, to the five sports of this study and establish what similarities and differences exist between the sports and their commentators' use of standard English forms, colloquialisms and jargon. During the work on this study, attempts to contact with the BBC and BBC Academy have been made but without success. Further research would, therefore, benefit from more information which the broadcasting company can provide with regard to accents, dialect, jargon etc. One last suggestion for further research could be to focus on the spectators/listeners and their comprehension of the commentaries, with or without the advantage of being able to observe the sporting event.

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## Appendix 1 – Sports

### *Football*

Football is one of the most popular sports in the world, and it is played by using the feet to pass, dribble and shoot a ball to try to score goals. The sport is played by both men and women. The rules and regulations of the game is conducted by FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Footbal Association). According to FIFA (2016) regulations, the field of play must be of rectangular shape and be split into two equal halves by a halfway line. A match is played by two teams of eleven players on the field, one of whom is the goalkeeper. Players are not allowed to touch the ball with their hands, except the goalkeeper who is allowed to use his or her hands within the penalty area. A goal is scored when the whole ball has crossed the goal line in between the goalposts and under the crossbar. The team that scores the most goals win the match. All that is required for playing football is a ball and, ideally, football boots.

### *Cricket*

Cricket is a popular British sport that has been played for over a century (source). The Cricket Council (2018) formulates the rules of the game, and how it should be played. A match is played between two sides/teams, one will start as the fielding team and the other as the batting team, and each team has eleven players. The fielding team has a bowler who will bowl/throw the ball and try to get the batsman out by either hitting the wickets behind him, hit the batsman with the ball, or make the batsman miss the ball. The batsman, who plays for the batting team will try to hit the ball with the bat and score as many runs (point) he can by running between the wickets as many times as he can before the fielders hit the wickets with the ball. If the batsman hits the ball out of the ground boundary or the full pitch boundary, he will receive a set number of either 4 or 6 runs. Each match consists of two innings, and the fielding team have to get 10 outs before they can play batting team. An innings ends when both teams have been the batting team and fielding team once. The team will try to score as many runs as possible when batting, and the team that scores the most runs win the match. According to the ICC (2018), a cricket match can go on for five days, with 6 hours of play per

day if not otherwise decided by the Home Board. There will be intervals for tea/drink, food, and between innings during the match.

### *Rugby*

Rugby is a ball game where two teams play against each other on a rectangular shaped field with goals and goal lines at each end of the field. World Rugby (2015) explains that the point of the game is to “carry the ball over the opponents’ goal line and force it to the ground to score.” (World Rugby 2015:3). Players are allowed to pass the ball by throwing it to each other. However, they are not allowed to pass the ball forwards toward the goal line, they must pass it backwards or sideways. They are allowed to kick the ball forwards, but all team mates must be behind the ball when it is kicked. When a player has possession of the ball, he/she may run with it toward the goal line to try gain territory or to score. Players are allowed to tackle the ball carrier. When a team has managed to carry the ball over the goal line and scored a try, they will be awarded a conversion, which means that they will get the opportunity to score two extra points by kicking the ball between the goal posts and over the cross bar. A game is divided up into two equal halves of 40 minutes with a break in between the halves, and each team will have 15 players on the field during a game.

### *Netball*

Netball is a sport which used to be played exclusively by women, but men are allowed to play it now as well. The International Netball Federation (INF 2018) presents netball as a game played by two teams of seven players who are not allowed to touch the ball with their feet. The field of play is called a court, and a match is played in four quarters of fifteen minutes each. If a match is tied when the fourth quarter is finished, extra time consisting of two halves of maximum seven minutes each will be added to determine the winner. Players are allowed to pass the ball by throwing it to a teammate, and goals are scored by throwing the ball through the ring which is placed in the goal third of the field. The INF (2018) rules states that players have restricted areas of the court in which they are allowed to play depending on their

position. Some positions are only allowed to play in one playing area, and others are allowed to play in two or three playing areas. However, no player is allowed to play in all playing areas of the court. The highest division in which netball is played in the UK is called *Netball Superleague*.

### *Tennis*

Tennis is a racket sport played by both men and women. The International Tennis Federation (ITF 2019) has established the rules of the game, and they are the same for both men and women. According to the ITF (2019), a match is played on a court of rectangular shape, and is played either in singles (individually) or in doubles (pairs). The players/teams stand on each side of a net which divides the court into two equal halves, and the point of the game is for the players/teams to try to score points by hitting the ball over the net in a way that makes the opponent either miss the ball or fail to return it over the net in a correct way. The ball is not allowed to bounce more than once, if it does then the player who failed to return the ball loses the point. If a player causes the ball to hit a permanent fixture, touches the ball twice before returning it, deliberately handles or catches the ball, or returns the ball before it has crossed the net, the player will lose the point. Also, if a player touches the net with his or her racket, clothes or with any body part, the point is lost. In doubles, if both players touch the ball before returning it they lose the point (ITF 2019). The winner is the player/team who wins two sets (in a match of three sets), or three sets (in a match of five sets).

One of the most prestigious tournaments of the tennis season is the Wimbledon, which is played in London, England. Often attended by members of the English royal family.

## Appendix 2 – Transcriptions

### Football

1. Transcript from the match between Brighton and Arsenal in the WSL (Women's Super League) from January 2020. The transcription starts at 18:31 and ends at 20:21. Link to video on youtube: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ySxns3\\_CgQw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ySxns3_CgQw)

E	1	=yea I I thin- I think we we talk a lot	
	2	about arsenals attack apparatus but arsenal	
	3	lost the ball in possession there there was	
	4	for players who were fighting to win it	
	5	back no they didn't win it back exactly	
	6	there but they forced the ball out of play	
	7	and then the time they get possession back	
	8	so I think we also have to to a- kinda	
	9	applaud that from arsenal and the fact that	
	10	is not just they're attacking ability as a	
	11	team is their defensive quality as a team	
C	12	=rice given a <i>set piece</i> I think they might	
	13	have preferred to continue playing given	
	14	that they were <i>in possession</i> inside the	
	15	arsenal <i>half(.)</i> they can try and fashion	
	16	something(.) and arsenal can try and <i>clear</i>	
	17	<i>their lines(.)</i> good early <i>pressing</i> from	
	18	brighton when arsenal is <i>in possession</i> in	
	19	that back three=	
E	20	=yea a- th- i-i- it is but i'm jus s-	
	21	slightly concerned about the hight of how	
	22	eh brighton are at this moment in time	
	23	baring in mind the goal they just lost	
	24	which was a crossfield pass which was in	
	25	behind=	
C	26	=williamson down the line to lisa evans	
	27	gibbons is racing to get back miss it from	

	28	nobbs from fod to rords and the clearance	
	29	is claimed by walsh and she just stops it	
	30	from creeping over the line brighton	
	31	somehow survive=	
E	32	=yea ahm lisa evans has done this week in	
	33	week out for arsenal I think they've scored	
	34	fourteen goals from crosses from the ehm	
	35	the right hand side and eh yo- no megan	
	36	moss she stands up she does well to save	
	37	that one and she also does very well t- to	
	38	hold on to the second ball=	
C	39	=yes under pressure from nidema kirkdike	
	40	getting the vital foot in the way for	
	41	brighton(.) netherlands international	
	42	herself was part of the squad that reached	
	43	the final of the world cup last summer	
	44	didn't kirkdike although didn't play the	
	45	tournament but of course will now so well	
	46	the threat of viviane nidema and daniella	
	47	van der donk and jill rords her country	
	48	women=	

2. The following transcription is made from the same match as the previous transcript. This transcript starts at 22:06 and ends at 24:07. The words that are underlined mark regional features of accents as well as how some words or parts of words that show more of the RP traits, articulation and pronunciation.

C	1	williamson is there to try and have= how	
	2	good shielding and strength from victoria	
	3	williams(.) plays it into nobbs under	
	4	pressure(.) gibbons trying block the cross	[tryɪŋ]
	5	walsh has to watch it and walsh claims it	
	6	well=	

E	7 8 9 10 11 12	=she does indeed eh: nidema just in and around sniffing for anything that could possibly go wrong an even knowing that that type of striker is in there can cause a bit of nerve as a goalkeeper but she did well to hold on to that=	[ə'raʊnd] [nowin],
C	13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27	=well won by volti makerrick comes back and wins it excellently from her(.) and perhaps gets a little lucky with the pass well she would have done if it could have been kept in just whizzed past leah williamson(.) but le garric is going to be such a key player for brighton this afternoon did very well in the goalers draw in the continental cup scored the winning penalty in the subsequent shootout against arsenal and that linkup play between her and eileen weelan ho hasn't really been able to get into the game so far for brighton will be integral to their chances to getting back into this one=	
E	28 29 30	=yeah I do believe she scored an absolute beauty of a goal this season as well so she has that i-in her locker=	
C	31 32 33 34 35 36 37	=yes she did against burmingham in november as arsenal comes forwards nobbs as it is saved by walsh and cleared away by brighton arsenal piling on the pressure (...) shniderbeck(..) her is the goalscorer van der donk(.) nidema(.) gemma fay pointing next to m[e=	
E	38	=[ha ha ha]=	
C	39 40	=to nidema to get inside the penalty area what's that gemma=	



E	41	=no is just she drops into that space kim	little
	42	little picks up on it straightaway makes	
	43	that diagonal run an they've they've done	
	44	that so many times this season an its just	
	45	such intelligent play an that's what makes	
	45	it so difficult y-y-you kinda look at	
	46	teams li- like brighton an you thin how c-	
	47	how you no defending better= it is really	
	48	really difficult when these players almost	
	49	ehm can read each others minds in terms of	
	50	the play=	

3. Short Transcript form the same match. This transcript starts from 39:57 and ends at 41:08.

C	1	=so let's have that sam kerr vivianne	
	2	nidema chat then gemma fay who is the most	
	3	difficult to face= you've faced both of	
	4	them=	
E	5	=well sam kerr bust my knee so(.)so i	
	6	wasn't too happy about that but she didn't	
	7	score against me viv has scored against me	
	8	ehm they're they're both excellent players	
	9	ehm but slightly different ehm viv's a	
	10	really annoying player because she just	
	11	looks like she is not interested sometimes	
	12	and all of a sudden she sparks to life	
	13	whereas sam is a- such an industrious	
	14	player she is working constantly and she is	
	15	effective in that way and viv is effective	
	16	in in her way but look the thing that's	
	17	similar between them both is they don't	
	18	just score one type of goal they are not	
	19	just a box finisher they're not just a they	
	20	score spectacular goals outside they don't	

	21	just score with their head they do it all	
	22	we- we've seen sam do it in the US we've	
	23	seen her do it in the world cup we've seen	
	24	her do it in australia and viv's the same=	
C	25	=here is jordan nobbs for arsenal(.)	
	26	finding a little space down the right to	
	27	evans(.) little almost ducked underneath it	
	28	i wonder whether she slipped or whether she	
	29	felt it might go through to nidema ..) but	
	30	arsenal retain possession=	
E	31	=i think she was trying to head it but	
	32	realised that her head didn't go in that	
	33	direction=	

4. Transcript from the, match between Hull City and Leeds United in the 2019/2020 EFL Championship (men's football). The transcription starts at minute 29 of the match and ends at minute 32. This match could not be watched on youtube, so it was recorded on a dictaphone and the recording could be repeated multiple times.

C	1	=when you're a winger you don't always have	
	2	to beat your fullback(.) just bent that	
	3	round robbie mckenzie and invited the run	
	4	forward from teammates harrison(.) been a	
	5	good outlet in this opening half of leeds	
	6	almost half an hour gone=	
		[long pause]	
C	7	=a game of few penalty area thrills and	
	8	spills up to now(.) marcelo bielsa asked	
	9	aside ahead early on through that luke	
	10	ayling deflected shot=	
		[long pause]	
C	11	=hernandes(..) harrison=	
	12	[long pause]	

C	13	=hull supporters just felt that ehm mallik	
	14	wilks was obstructed there but hull still	
	15	struggling to find a rhythm in this match=	
		[long pause]	
C	16	=wilks(...) ball in by elder but only	
	17	magennis in the penalty area=that's got to	
	18	change from hull city's point of view= have	
	19	to get more than one body inside the leeds	
	20	penalty area there=	
		[long pause]	
C	21	=real lack of confidence in the hull city	
	22	ranks and the dreadful run that they're in=	
	23	the worst in ten years=	
		[long pause]	
C	24	=hernandes lovely way to pass to pick up	
	25	costa (...) leeds throw=	
		[long pause]	
C	26	=hernandes (...) hernandes caught in	
	27	possession there by honeyman whose pass	
	28	wasn't the best(.) and made life rather	
	29	more easy than it should have been for	
	30	white(...) klich(..) plenty of time and	
	31	space here for calvin phillips just too	
	32	long for costa(.) do get real width in	
	33	their play leeds= costa on the right	
	34	harrison on the left= phillips just over-	
	35	cooking that one(.) timely return from	
	36	injury though from leeds promotion hopes=	

1. Transcript mad from the 2019 T20 match between Somerset and Sussex. The transcription starts at 2:13:11 into the video clip and ends at 2:16:13. Link to access the video on youtube:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w-Xe1A633G0>

C	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	=here's jerome taylor in an bowls and that's driven and max wallows onto it very very quickly at(.) midoff(.) full length delivery from jerome taylor and he's not offering the batsman m- much in the way of room to eh free their arms at the moment= jerome taylor(.) which is the way you have to bowl on this sort of torms and pitch it's not an absolute road if it's like the one on on friday i- i-it takes a bit of time for the batsman to pick up the pace of it it's just a little bit slower than it looks(.) its tethering bowls is it is a a yorker attempted yorker its a low fulltoss in the end and tom able will do the fielding an at third man twenty-one for one=	bowls driven midoff full length delivery  batsman  yorker full toss fielding 21 for 1
E	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25	=is it terrific anthony to see cooking grounds I see full for the rafters ho- homes been packed for the first eh the first two games eh six thousand people crammed in the home under the lights is terrific fun and I think a lot of counties are reporting standout crowds which is is wonderful news=	
C	26 27 28 29 30 31	=yes I think walking and winning the world cup has given the whole game a terrific shot in the arm(.) here terr then he's bowling to: luke wright he's there he bowls a full toss= low full toss which is driven straight to: james	bowling full toss

	32	hilldriff at eh extra cover end of a good	over
	33	over fo[r=	
C	34	=[very good over=	
E	35	=jerome taylor went for just three runs	runs
	36	at the end of it sussex twenty-one for	21 for 1
	37	one with eh(.) five to lorry evans	
	38	[mumbles something inaudible]=	
C	40	=yes he was disappointed there luke	
	41	wright but he h-he-he picked out the	
	42	fielder on the offside there had there	fielder
	43	was five fielders on the offside but he	offside
	44	hit the ball straight to him you can just	
	45	sense the frustration there from luke=	
	46	the p.a announcer is getting very excited	
	47	about something i'm not quite sure where	
	48	he is ehm: but anyway(.) is ehm is this	
	49	gregory(.) [mumbles something inaudible]	
	50	i[t is gregory=	
E	51	=[it is gregory]=	
C	52	=uhm: who played for the england lions a	
	53	couple of weeks ago [alongside=	
E	54	=[he did]=	
	55	=ollie robinson in the game down at	
	56	cantebury against australia ay- the	
	57	somerset skipper is gonna come running in	skipper
	58	to bowl to lorry evans in the fourth over	over
	59	he bowls evans drives handsomely down the	bowl
	60	ground good clicking shot which is only	drives
	61	gonna ri-= the stumps= its i think he-	stumps
	62	well i'm not sure if that's how the	
	63	reaction the fielders is that he did= it	fielders
	64	was driven down the ground by lorry it	driven
	65	was it was a very smart piece of fielding	fielding
	66	at mid on and evans looked to me to be	mid on

	67	struggling now whether the ball hi- hit	
	68	the stumps whether gregory farmedlessly I	
	69	don't quite know but it look- you know it	
	70	l-[l-looked=	
E	71	=[la- larry	
C	72	=that looks tight it did look close (.)	
	73	that was a fur- is that wallarut who is	
	74	that at mid on=	mid on
E	75	=that's ehm: tom able=	
C	76	=well it was a terrific good of fielding	fielding
	77	and evans to be struggling= however he	
	78	survives lorry evans goes to six of eight	deliveries
	79	deliveries sussex twenty-two for one as	runs
	80	gregory in lovely sunshine runs in and	bowls
	81	bowls to luke right who drives firmly	bowls,
	82	down the ground this time to midoff and	drives
	83	another go- good bit of fielding at	midoff,
	84	midoff prevents a single=	single
E	85	=no its not tom able i-its tom the other	
	86	tom lamonbee=	
C	87	=right=	
E	88	=tom able is out at ehm deep midwicket=	midwicket

2. Transcript made from the 2019 T20 match between Derbyshire and Gloucestershire. The transcription starts at 1:14:55 and ends at 1:16:37. Link to video clip from youtube:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XxVJeU9sPr8>

C	1	=what do you think we've seen a bit of	
	2	paceoff work at trent bridge we saw	
	3	nottingham bowl and notts bowl(.) spin in	
	4	the powerplay that seemed to work middlesex	
	5	bowls pretty much seam up all the way	

	6	through didn't work quite as well= what do	
	7	you think this surface is gonna require=	
E	8	=i think it looks a pretty good surface	
	9	with a little bit of kiss and a bit of	
	10	carry on it at the moment(.) just challenge	
	11	the derbyshire bowlers to get the top of	
	12	the or stump board straight as they can	
	13	maybe middle stump(..) it's banged away i	
	14	think it's gonna be four it's a good bit of	
	15	work(.) be tell to start with the ball=	
	16	that's a great bit of work on the boundary	
C	17	=give yourself a couple of bang(.)that is	
	18	excellent work(.) tough last over man whose	
	19	birthday it is today twenty-nine years of	
	20	age(.) unfortunately there is no guarantee	
	21	even if it's your birthday that you're	
	22	gonna have a good day with the bat or ball	
	23	(.) no one cares=	
		[long pause]	
E	24	=no sign of of a change up delivery drop	
	25	down in pace to sixty-eight mile an hour	
	26	off cutter(..) it seems to me just gonna	
	27	try and get this ball as much as you can at	
	28	top stump almost four day areas= four day	
	29	length=	
C	30	=gets away with that=	

3. Transcription made from the 2015 T20 match between Kent and Lancashire. The transcription starts at 00:49 and ends at 02:33. Link to the match on youtube:<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kdpochvHY80>

C	1	=you were saying something to me off air	
	2	actually about half an hour ago= a lot of	

	3	your games here in twenty twenty are under	
	4	lights= you can see the floodlights there	
	5	but they won't come into action(.) and	
	6	generally the pitch behaves slightly	
	7	differently under lights so yeah	
	8	interesting decision there from stephen	
	9	croff but sam northeast is happy so= i- I	
	10	looked at the pitch as well it just looks a	
	11	little crusty on top a little bit dry(.)	
	12	the rain that we've had here during the	
	13	last four or five days hasn't had any	
	14	impact at all on the the surface= there is	
	15	one of the star turns that'll keep wicket	
	16	of course(.) spoke to him in an interview	
	17	and he's absolutely chuffed as you'd	
	18	imagine having eh regained the ashes=	
		[long pause]	
C	19	=so joss barlow will keep wicket for	
	20	lancashire and daniel bell drummond will	
	21	open the batting for kent= one of Kent's	
	22	very finest young players= rob stepped	
	23	aside from the twenty twenty game to allow	
	24	some of these youngsters to eh take their	
	25	chance and he has certainly done that=	
E	26	=yeah that batting index would have gone up	
	27	this year because ha- has played a lot of	
	28	twenty twenty cricket but he would have	
	29	probably been around a hundred in the last	
	30	couple of years and he's got right up there	
	31	one four three that's what we look at	
	32	really just get that batting index up pass	
	33	talks of good players around one eighty=	
	34	that's a good game= that's where you wanna	
	35	be=	



C	36	=and daniel with him and the captain will	
	37	get us underway= stephen croft who quite	
	38	often see this don't we= just an over of	
	39	spin= let's just try to get it out of the	
	40	way(.) so it's pressure on the opening	
	41	batsman who isn't quite sure what tempo to	
	42	bat at(.) should be a cracking game this	
	43	one=	

### *Rugby union*

1. Transcript made from the 2019 Gallagher Premiership match between London Wasps and Northampton Saints. The transcription starts at 32:10 and ends at 33:43. Link to match from youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FTMcyPVnJNE>

C	1	=to the short side larroux(..) this	
	2	could be interesting as well but this	
	3	time(.) fully committed(.) defensively	
	4	as it to ala the ball stopped wasps	
	5	though and suppelwanga is using nissam	
	6	carr and saints are in a- something of	
	7	disarray defensively they've scrambled	
	8	well(.) dug through by daley who'll take	
	9	the territory for now=	territory
E1	10	=really good reorganisation from saints	
	11	they were in a disarray but only because	
	12	it came from a turnover but they hang	turnover
	13	off= tom wall does exceptionally well	
	14	there's the initial take (.)from toala	
	15	then back in play quickly=	
		[long pause]	
C	16	=gives that everything he's got(.) he	
	17	hasn't quite found touch found daley(.)	
	18	nissam carr(.) chewing up the ground at	

	19	the moment oh now then opportunities for	
	20	larroux and uhm(.) in the end strong	
	21	challenge=	challenge
E2	23	=clever block in the midfield by jejong=	block midfield
C	24	=that's miles forwards (.) absolutely	
	25	miles forwards tomas young gives the	
	26	offloads is then taken in by collins=	
		[long pause]	
E2	27	[ha ha ha ha ha](...) to be fair	
	28	northampton would probably prefer not to	
	29	have a scrum they've got the ball=	scrum

2. Transcription made from the 2019 Gallagher Premiership match between Sale Sharks and Saracens. The transcription starts at 19:30 and ends at 21:36. Link to the video on youtube.com: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p-7HOeavTfw>

E	1	=what is impressive is with the speed of	
	2	saracens to get back to their feet after	
	3	the tackles= here we see wigglesworths	
	4	cover coming from swooper slides in haley	
	5	off his feet as well(.) got to allow the	
	6	man to get at he is maki- you can't go off	
	7	the off your feet you just dive on top of	
	8	someone who has dived on the ball=	
C	9	=rits to the front and ehm burger rather	
	10	surprised by it i mean he is not happy	
	11	about the straightness of the mr brice=	
E	12	=i think it was- i think it was for	
	13	dumming at the throw which(.) he isn't	
	14	actually doing he just doesn't quite know	
	15	what the call is the communication is	
	16	broken down so he started to throw it	
	17	realised that he had got it wrong(.) tried	

	18	to check out of it but it counts as a dummy	
	19	throw=	
C	20	=schalk burger enjoying his time with	
	21	sarries eleven wins from twelve starts so	
	22	far for the former spring bock(...) settles	
	23	so quickly didn't he(.) as if he's been	
	24	part of this set up for years=	
E	25	=you get the impression with someone like	
	26	scott burger wherever he goes in the world	
	27	he's gonna settle very quickly the saracens	
	28	way will help that(.) having some familiar	
	29	faces around like [mumbles something	
	30	inaudible] but he is just absolute quality	
	31	in everything he does=	
C	32	= didn't even need to print a new shirt now	
	33	did they(.) mitchell= mcginty= janley(.)	
	34	again so eager to get the ball in hand with	
	35	their left winger(.) mcginty having a	
	36	little crack himself this time on halfway	
	37	(.) macko vunipola working hard over the	
	38	ball and securing the penalty=	

## *Netball*

1. Transcript made from the 2019 Superleague match between London Pulse and Manchester Thunder. The transcription starts from 23:15 and ends at 24:50. Link to the video of the match from youtube: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DCLvHzDYSO8&list=PL-AeU\\_6NSj-G\\_lgLVEoHGjBKvI9OuRyX5](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DCLvHzDYSO8&list=PL-AeU_6NSj-G_lgLVEoHGjBKvI9OuRyX5)

C	1	oh turner down=	
E	2	=be interesting to see were this game	
	3	goes cathrine ehm you talk about the one	
	4	before were it is just a get through	
	5	game for loghborough but also a	

	6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14	confidence game and they didn't come out of that very confidently(.) interesting to see whether thunder have the same perspective today against pulse or whether pulse are the ones that's gonna come out with that confidence of playing well and keeping um ehm to a scoreline that is acceptable to lose at or acceptable to win at=	scoreline
C	15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23	=well thunder average just over sixty-two goals a game this superleague season having netted eight hundred and seventy coming in to this round fifty match so we now they can pop them in pop one in an bring it back to two= under ten minutes remaining in the end of this first quarter= ohanalan forever busy(.) she loves a little bounce pass=	goals netted match  quarter  bounce pass
E	24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34	=yeah I now but I think that it is the work done by tomer and long out the front you now the moment they're allowing them diagonal forward options to be ehm goal through ehm= quite cheeky from negwarow to have her on the post ehm(.) it normally works but she musn't obviously stepped on court before she actually picked the ball up but(.) yeah I think thunder won't let her do that again=	goal   court
C	35 36 37	=she's gone early with it= she's marked a card with it now= she's gone in the first quarter with that try=	card quarter
E	38	=hu hu	

C	39 40 41	=so jackie maison in the pink she outed the obstruction= pulse trying to get into that shooting circle=	obstruction shooting circle
E	42 43 44 45 46 47	=yeah and a great hold by slade to what she did is allowed simple to do that run around that we like from our goal attacks and then just played that 1- ehm long just played that ball obviously over the top of the defenders=	hold  goal attacks defenders

2. Transcript made from the 2019 Superleague match between Wasps and Loughborough Lightning. The transcription starts at 24:53 and ends at 27:06. Link to the video on youtube.com: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xmjNbZ9nKKI>

C	1 2 3	=so jess shaw looking for options(.) there's clark in goal attack position for lightning=	
E	4 5	=yeah good vision from her there to see hannah joseph in that corner pocket=	
C	6 7	=now some good defensive pressure from wasps here making Loughborough work=	
E	8 9 10	=even with two defenders on her she can still take that ball(.) just gotta put it in the right place=	
C	11 12 13 14 15 16	=they say she's been enjoying her time at Loughborough university mary cholhok have been working with the rugby coaches there to increase he- her jumping ability= because you know when you're six foot seven [yo-	
E	17 18 19	=[you don't need to jump do you= but imagine if you were and you can jump as well wow us=	

C	20	=exactly(.) rachel dunn picks it up=	
	21	under six minutes remaining until	
	22	halftime(..) a towel for the court here	
	23	at the university of warwick=	
E	24	=what we have seen of cholhok though is	
	25	again over this last part of this season	
	26	she's become a lot stronger on that take=	
	27	the balls aren't going through her hands	
	28	off the back line= she's taking them	
	29	strongly and that comes with confidence	
	30	and playing more regularly with your	
	31	teammate= but also I'm sure she's been	
	32	doing work individually on her game play	
	33	and her skill work=	
C	34	=ah the difference between her at the	
	35	start of the season that first weekend in	
	36	january when she played= well in the	
	37	beginning of the superleague season she	
	38	was like a rabbit in headlights=	
E	39	=yeah	
C	40	=she really was but boy has she settled	
	41	in wonderfully well(.) pulled it back to	
	42	four now Loughborough lightning coming up	
	43	to five and a half minutes remaining	
	44	until halftime(.) the first semi-final of	
	45	this super saturday= a place at the	
	46	copper bow next weekend up for grabs=	
	47	step forward from clark=	
E	48	=great shot(.) and that's where you wanna	
	49	be that grand finale at the copper box=	
C	50	=that panagarry the wing defence for	
	51	Loughborough lightning stands by= she's	
	52	had a a good season=	

E	53	=she has hasn't she(..) I just love the	
	54	way how she hustles her opponent= she	
	55	forces them into spaces where they don't	
	56	wanna go and then she's come out with so	
	57	many intercepts as well=	

## *Tennis*

1. Transcript made from the semi-final between Rafael Nadal and Roger Federer in the 2019 Wimbledon tournament. The transcription starts at 38:22 and ends at 39:36. Link to the video on youtube.com: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wZnCcqm\\_g-E](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wZnCcqm_g-E)

C	1	still no breaks: in the sunshine here on	
	2	centre court it's six five to federer in	centre
	3	this hugely anticipated match(..) now	court
	4	(..) roger federer was talking about	match
	5	neutralising opponents a-and you often	
	6	do that with a slice o- or a chip but	
	7	the actual statistics on on federer here	slice, chip
	8	the return spins that he's playing with	
	9	today= previous rounds of course	return
	10	different opponents different setup	spins
	11	raffas not down on the other end but the	
	12	in previous rounds(.) top spinning at	
	13	fifty nine percent today he's trying to	top
	14	come over the return(.) the slice today	spinning
	15	one in then o-or just above one and ten	return,
	16	he's trying to come over the ball but it	slice
	17	is not working particularly at the	
	18	moment=	
E	18	=na- n- not working particularly well	
	19	but I don't think he's really had that	
	20	many opportunities obviously when you	
	21	are playing the slice it gives nadal	

	22	more time to get round and hit his	forehand
	23	forehand and really be aggressiv[e=	
C	24	=[so is	
	25	he trying to avoid the raffa forehand by	forehand
	26	hitting the return=	return
E	27	=well because he will hit it harder with	
	28	the top spin he can get it through the	top spin
	29	court get to:(.) potentially nadal's	court
	30	backhand more easily(.) I think the way	backhand
	31	the sets unfolding it would be(.)	
	32	fitting if it did go to the tiebreak=	tiebreak

2. Transcript made from the match between Simona Halep and Serena Williams in the 2019 Ladies Wimbledon final. The transcription starts at 25:27 and ends at 27:33. Link to the video on youtube.com: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oeA4PmClbyo&t=376s>

E	1	=yeah it feels like the match is about to	
	2	start and eh simona halep trying	
	3	desperately to take any ball she can a- and	
	4	do something with it not just do nothing	
	5	with it because otherwise serena is going	
	6	to start taking control of these rallies=	
E2		[speaking with a foreign accent]	
C	7	=halep at love fifteen at second serve	
	8	backhand from williams down the line=halep	
	9	with the squash shot forehand and now	
	10	running on onto the backhand and get a	
	11	crosscourt for the winner= she's dropped	
	12	that from the sideline= extraordinary shot=	
E	13	=and eh serena williams applauding that	
	14	beautiful crosscourt pass(.) i mean that's	
	15	one of her greatest assets as we keep	
	16	saying her movement and ability to kind of	



	17	defend and track= even if she is on the	
	18	full stretch= i mean she just was so off	
	19	balance when she tried to play that but	
	20	just managed to control the wrists and get	
	21	the ball to dip=	
C	22	=four one fifteen all= backhand from halep	
	23	but the call as you heard from eh line	
	24	judge signalling that the first serve was	
	25	out (..)this serve from halep onto the	
	26	forehand of williams= slapback very hard in	
	27	reply= the backhand from williams onto the	
	28	backhand of halep= forehand hit very hard	
	29	crosscourt by williams and her turn to find	
	30	a mark just inside the sideline=	
	31	breathhtaking strokeplay=	
E	32	=well that backhand kim was something i	
	33	think= halep didn't do enough with that	
	34	backhand she just sort of went a little bit	
	35	safe bigger margin it set up and she does	
	36	that then serena is going to strike=	
C	37	=fifteen thirty on the halep serve	
	38	excellent serve and the return from	
	39	williams is three or four feet over the	
	40	baseline(.) halep has run four and a half	
	41	kilometres further than williams in their	
	42	six matches so far that's almost fifty	
	43	percent as far again(..) she serves now=	
	44	down the middle she's got a high ball which	
	45	she returns to the backhand to the forehand	
	46	of williams= forehand down the line from	
	47	halep= williams hits the backhand in reply=	
	48	now running onto a forehand williams and	
	49	netting=	

3. Transcript made from the match between Novak Djokovic and Roger Federer in the 2019 Wimbledon final. The transcription starts at 57:55 and ends at 1:00:11. Link to video on youtube.com: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TUikJi0Qhhw&t=185s>

C	1 2 3 4	=well it would have been an easy approach to miss but he didn't(.) djokovic three point in a row(.) and he has a set point=	
		[long pause]	
C	6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14	=and it's a way and it's four straight points for novak djokovic= what a battle to win that tiebreak(.) we've talked about the percentages before= over eighty percent of the time the winner of the first set in matches between these two great champions goes on to win the match= first set to djokovic=	
		[long pause]	
C	15 16 17	=oh how interesting that first set was= four straight points= what happened at the end there=	
E	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	=such small margins eh boris pointed out(.) couple of small forehand errors but it's it's got to be live by the sword die by the sword= it's federer's one of his greatest shots= he's got to keep pulling the trigger when he's got that opportunity but it will be interesting to see you know really the importance of that first set for djokovic early part of the second set(.) you feel federer is gonna have to dig in and(.) turn the tide(.) you	

	30	look at the numbers first serve	
	31	percentage from djokovic really	
	32	improved as the set went on= it was	
	33	down at the low forties but when it	
	34	went in= winning eighty eight percent	
	35	of first serve points won= federer's	
	36	got to take some comfort from the fact	
	37	that he didn't give up any breakpoint	
	38	opportunities but(.) very small	
	39	margins= djokovic will be delighted to	
	40	get that first set under his belt=	
C	41	=boris in terms of the actual standard	
	42	of the tennis played by novak djokovic	
	43	in the last few years would you say	
	44	that i- it's been a higher standard	
	45	than anybody else= we've talked about	
	46	the greatest of all time and all that=	

4. Transcript made from the match between Rafael Nadal and Nick Kyrgios from the 2019 Wimbledon tournament. The transcription starts at 41:11 and ends at 43:53. Link to video on youtube.com:<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T4S5YmO0KOU&t=4221s>

C	1	=dab in the stands= some on the court(.)	
	2	kyrgios stepping in to this contest now=	
E1	3	=what a rally(.) and this forehand here	
	4	just rips it through the line and waiting	
	5	to see how he recovers from such a	
	6	physical point=	
E2	7	[speaking in a foreign accent]	
C	8	=that's a response=	
		[long pause]	

E1	9 10 11	=nick trying to keep this game as short as he possibly can(.) looking for as many free points of the first serve=	
C	12 13	=what a lollipop return from nadal and actually winning the point=	
		[long pause]	
E2	14	[speaking in a foreign accent]	
C	15	=that is some touch=	
E1	16 17 18 19 20	=that was brave on the breakpoint but in a= it was the right shot because nadal was so deep in the court (.) skip and a hop just to help it get over the net and inside the baseline so good choice=	
C	21	=just one point down=	

## Appendix 3 – Glossaries

### 1. Football

The definitions to the terms in this list are taken from three different sources: the online sports dictionary sportsdefinitions.com (will be referred to as “SD”), Aford Awards list of football terms (will be referred to as “AA”), and the list of football terms provided by UsingEnglish.com (will be referred to as “UE”).

Header	When a player intentionally uses his/her head to win the ball, attempt to score a goal, or pass the ball to a team mate (SD, 2020).
Centre-half	a position assigned to a player on the field in which the player often play aerial passes to his/her forwards as and attacking strategy, and he/she is the heart of the defence on the team (SD, 2020).
Set piece	A free kick, penalty kick, and corner kick that restarts the game (UE, 2020).
Dribble	When a player runs past a defender with the ball close to his/her feet. Usually twists and changes direction when running with the ball (SD, 2020).
Throw-in	When the ball is thrown back into play after it has been kicked out of the boundaries of the field (SD, 2020).
Advantage	When the referee allows the play to continue after a player has been fouled (SD, 2020).
Cross	A delivery of the ball from close to the touchlines into the middle of the field or into the penalty area (UE, 2020).
Midfield	A position on the field where a player is assigned to work, mostly, in the middle of the pitch. Usually functions as a link between forwards and defenders (SD, 2020)
Back four	The players that are positioned in front of the goalkeeper and whose primary job is to keep the other teams forwards from getting to close to the goal and score. The defenders on the team (UE, 2020).
Full back	Defenders playing wider and on the outside of the central defenders (UE, 2020).

Give and go	A move by teammates to get past opponent. Player 1 passes the ball to player 2 and runs past the defender. Player 2 then passes the ball back to player 1 (SD, 2020).
Breakaway	When a player on the attacking team has managed to get away from the defender and is approaching the goal with the ball (AA, 2020).
Goalkeeper	A position on the field assigned to a player that is allowed to use his/her hands in a restricted area of the field to prevent opposing team from scoring a goal (SD, 2020).
Shotstopper	“Stopper” is an informal term for goalkeeper (UE, 2020), Shotstopper is a colloquial term for goalkeeper.
Skipper	A term sometimes used to refer to the team captain (UE, 2020).
WSL	Women’s Super League.
Boot the ball	When a player shoots the ball with much force and usually aimlessly (UE, 2020).
Balloon shot	A shot that goes far too high above the crossbar (UE, 2020).
Clean sheet	When a team manages to not concede a single goal during a match (UE, 2020).
Dummy	Move by a player in which he/she pretends to pass the ball to another player but keeps possession of it, or dodging on way with the ball but takes the ball in another direction (SD, 2020).
Howler	A bad play in the match (UE, 2020).
Nutmeg	When a player plays the ball between an opponent’s legs and runs past him/her and takes possession of the ball again (SD, 2020).
Byline	The line in each short end of the pitch, includes the goal line (SD, 2020).
Foul	An illegal manoeuvre or tackle made by a player. Results in a free-kick or a penalty kick (SD, 2020).
Route One	When the ball is played up the field aimlessly for the attacking team’s striker to chase (SD, 2020).
Park the bus	When one of the teams pull all the players back to defend the goal (UE, 2020).
Spot kick	A more informal term for penalty kick (UE, 2020).

Referee	The person in charge of the match and whose job it is to make sure the rules and laws of the game are followed by the players during the match (AA, 2020).
One-two	When a player passes the ball to a teammate to receive it back immediately. Often used to get past a defender in a triangular movement. This move is also known as “wall pass” or “give and go” (SD, 2020).
Overlap	When a player on the attacking team runs from a position behind the ball on the outside of the player in possession of the ball in order to receive the ball going forward (AA, 2020).
Banana kick	A shot taken with the outside of the foot, making the ball swerve laterally (SD, 2020).
Marking	When defenders follow the opponents in order to prevent them from receiving the ball or scoring a goal. On corner kicks, the forwards and midfielders on the defending team may be asked to mark opposing players as well (SD, 2020).
Trap	When a player slows down and controls the ball using his/her body, usually with the thighs, chest or feet (AA, 2020).
Parry	When the goalkeeper stops the ball from crossing the goal line but does not manage to keep control of the ball (SD, 2020).
Woodwork	Term used to refer to the goalposts and the crossbar (SD, 2020).
Offside	When a player from the attacking team commits a foul by positioning him-/herself closer to the opposing goal and being the defenders when the ball is played to him/her. (SD, 2020).
Wing	The sides of the pitch that are close to the touch lines (UE, 2020).

## 2. Cricket

The definitions to the terms in this list are taken from three different sources: the online sports dictionary sportsdefinitions.com (will be referred to as “SD”), the ESPNcricketinfo.com (ESPNCI) written by Martin Williamson (April, 2007) and the list of terms on the cricker.com website (CR).

Bowler	Player bowling/throwing the ball (SD, 2020).
Batsman	player who is trying to hit the bowled ball with the bat (SD, 2020)
Captain	The person in command of the whole team. Decides the batting order and tactics, is sort of like a coach (SD, 2020).
Fielder	Positions on the field which is neither wicket-keeper nor bowler (SD, 2020).
Striker	The batsman facing the bowler trying to hit the bowled ball (CR, 2020).
Wicket-keeper	Position on the field directly behind the wickets on the batting end (SD, 2020).
Wicket	(1) the stumps or bails (2) the pitch 3) the act of hitting the stumps and thus dismissing the batsman (ESPNCI, 2007).
Sticky dog	A wicket that is difficult to play on because it is drying up from being wet (CR, 2020).
Sticky wicket	Wet pitch that is difficult to play on (CR, 2020).
Stumps	(1) the vertical posts that make up the wicket (2) a way of dismissing a batsman (3) the end of a day's play (CR, 2020).
Bails	The wooden pieces lying on top of the stumps to form the wicket (SD, 2020).
Rock	Colloquial term for cricket ball (ESPNCI, 2007).
Innings	One of two parts of a cricket match. Each team has one innings each in which they will bat (SD, 2020).
Over	the delivery of six consecutive correctly bowled balls from one bowler (SD, 2020)
Umpire	One of the two or three enforcers of the laws of cricket during a match (CR, 2020).
Match referee	A person whose job it is to make sure that the rules and spirit of the game is upheld (CR, 2020).
Creases	Lines on the pitch near the stumps (CR, 2020).
Bowling crease	The line behind the popping crease on which the wickets are placed (SD, 2020).



Popping crease	The lines that are in front and in line with the wickets (SD, 2020)
Cow corner	An unconventional fielding position roughly between midwicket and the long-on. Usually no fielders are placed there as the ball is unlikely to go there. The term is thought to originate from Dulwich College where one corner of the field contained cows. Fielders could then be dispatched to the 'cow corner' during the match (ESPNCI, 2007).
Leg side	"The area of the pitch behind the batsman's legs" (ESPNCI, 2007).
Delivery	The throw of the ball (CR, 2020).
Run-up	The strides taken by the bowler before delivering the ball, also known as "approach" (CR, 2020).
No ball	An illegitimate delivery from the bowler (CR, 2020).
Wide	A delivery that is too far away from the batsman which is impossible to score from (CR, 2020).
Dead ball	The state of play between deliveries (CR, 2020).
Dot ball	A ball bowled without any runs being scored (CR, 2020).
Run	Unit of scoring (SD, 2020).
Pie chucker	A bowler whose deliveries are of medium pace making them easy hit for the batsmen (CR, 2020).
Bye	Runs scored when the ball has not touched the bat or batsman (ESPNCI, 2007).
Leg bye	When the ball bounces off the batsman's pads when he/she attempts to hit it (ESPNCI, 2007).
Obstruction	When the batsman hinders or interferes with the fielder as he/she is trying to catch the ball (ESPNCI, 2007).
Overthrow	Extra runs scored due to an inadvertent throw from a fielder (CR, 2020).
Buzzer	Another term for "overthrow" (CR, 2020).
Offside	The right side of the pitch in relation to the batsmen as they are about to take their stands (SD, 2020).
Catch	A fielder gaining control over the ball before it touches the ground (SD, 2020).
Caught and bowled	When a player is dismissed by a catch taken by the bowler (SD, 2020).
Boundary	(1) the perimeter of the ground

	(2) the term used to mention a four and a six run (ESPNCI, 2007).
Full toss	A ball bowled without bouncing before reaching the batsman (ESPNCI, 2007).
Bouncer	A fast pitched delivery where the ball bounces up close to the batsman's head, also called "bumper" (ESPNCI, 2007).
Yorker	Fast delivery pitched to bounce close to the batsman's toes or the stumps (ESPNCI, 2007).
Googly	"A leg-spinner variant that will turn into the right-hander and away from the left-hander" (ESPNCI, 2007).
Flipper	Leg-spin delivery with under-spin, making the ball bounce lower than normal (ESPNCI, 2007).
Hoik	An unrefined shot usually used for on-side shots. Also called "slog" (ESPNCI, 2007).
Half volley	A delivery that bounces close to the batsman making it easier for him/her to hit the ball (CR, 2020).

### 3. Rugby union

The definitions to the terms in this list are taken from two different sources: the online sports dictionary sportsdefinitions.com (will be referred to as "SD"), and A Beginners Guide to Rugby Union (will be referred to as "BGR").

Try	A try is scored when the ball is grounded over the opponents' goal line in the in-goal area (BGR, 2015)
Penalty	After an infringement the team in possession of the ball will get the chance to score 3 extra points by kicking the ball towards the goal and in between the goal posts and over the crossbar (BGR, 2015).
Goal line	The line the attacking team has to carry the ball over to score a try. There are one goal line on either ends of the pitch, and the goal post are situated on them (BGR, 2015).
Conversion	When a team has scored a try they will get the chance to score 2 extra point by kicking the ball in between the two goal posts and over the crossbar (BGR, 2015).

Drop goal	A drop goal is scored when the ball is kicked on the half-volley in between the goal posts and over the crossbar in open play (BGR, 2015).
Infringement	When a player breaks one or more laws of the game, e.g. after a forward pass or knock-on (BGR, 2015).
Scrum	Restart of play after a stoppage caused by an infringement (BGR, 2015).
Ruck	When the players on each team join arms and forms a circle around the ball. The players then try to get possession of the ball but can only use their feet to do so (SD, 2020).
Grubber	When the ball has been kicked and is bouncing and rolling on the ground (ESPN, 2020).
Knock-on	When a player mishandles the ball by either dropping it or if it rebounds of the hand or arm of a player and moves forward toward the goal line (SD, 2020).
Offside	When a teammate is in front of the player in possession of the ball (SD, 2020).
Scrummage	A restart of the play after an infringement has occurred in which 8 players on each team joins together around the ball and tries to reach it (SD, 2020).
Punt	When a player releases the ball from his/her hands and kicks it before it hits the ground (SD, 2020).
Props	The front-row forwards on the team, one either side of the hooker (SD, 2020).
Hook	When the hooker tries to reach the ball with his foot in the scrum (SD; 2020).
Hooker	The player who tries to win the ball in the scrum by only using his feet and that throws the ball in to the line-out (BGR, 2015).
Locks	The players who tries to win the ball form line-outs. They are also the anchors of the scrum, mauls and rucks (BGR, 2015).
Flankers	The players that are assigned to try to get possession of the ball through turn-overs, usually by speed and by tackling (BGR, 2015).

Number 8	The player who carries the ball in open plays, secure possession of the ball in the scrum, and that functions as the link between forwards and backs when the team is attacking and while defending (BGR, 2015).
Scrum half	The player that tries to make the decisions of whether to keep the ball close or to play it fast, and that also provides the link between forwards and backs at scrums and line-outs (BGR, 2015).
Fly half	The player that tries to make tactical decision on the field during the game, makes the decisions whether to pass the ball or make a break and go for a try (BGR, 2015).
Centres	Players that have two main goals on the match; the first is to tackle opposing players when defending, and to breach the opponents defence while attacking and trying to score a try (BGR, 2015).
Wings	Players on the outside of the central defence. These players are there to provide speed in attack and to strengthen the defence (BGR, 2015).
Full back	The last defender, usually has amore central position on the field. Their main job is to prevent the opposing team from scoring a try by tackling, and they should also have a good kick (BGR, 2015).
Line-out	A play to restart the game after the ball has gone out of the boundaries (SD, 2020).
Blind-side	The side of the scrum that is closer to the side-lines of the pitch (ESPN, 2020).
Dummy pass	When the ball carrier moves as if to pass the ball to a teammate, making the opponent move towards that player and thus creating space for the ball carrier to keep running with the ball (SD, 2020).
Dummy runner	When a player on the attacking team moves towards an opponent as if he/she is about the receive a pass only for the ball to be passed to someone else, kicked forwards or carried on by the ball carrier. The goal of this move is to trick the opponent to mark a player and thus create space for offensive plays for the attacking team (SD, 2020).
Pill	Slang for “rugby ball” (ESPN, 2020).
Hospital pass	A pass made where the receiver will be tackled when catching the ball (ESPN, 2020).

Sin bin	When a player is dismissed for an act of misconduct he is sent of the field for 10 minutes to sit on the sin bin (ESPN, 2020).
Obstruction	When a player impedes a player on the opposing team who is not in possession of the ball and thus committing a foul (SE, 2020).
Place kick	A kick made when the ball has been placed on the ground (SD, 2020).
Rugger	Colloquial name for “rugby union” (ESPN, 2020).
Tap tackle	A tackle that makes the opponents legs collide with each other and make him/her fall to the ground (ESPN, 2020).
Turnover	When the defending team takes possession of the ball form the attacking team (ESPN, 2020)

#### 4. Netball

The definitions to the terms in this list are taken from three different sources: the online sports dictionary sportsdefinitions.com (will be referred to as “SD”), the NETFIT Netball Dictionary (NND) and theukrules.co.uk and their list of netball terminology (UKR).

Attacking team	Team in possession of the ball (SD, 2020).
Defending team	Team not in possession of the ball (SD, 2020).
Goal third	The end third on the court where the shooting circle and goal post is located (UKR, 2020).
Transverse lines	The two lines that divide the court into thirds. One centre third and two goal thirds (UKR, 2020).
Contact	Occurs when a player’s intentionally or unintentionally interfere with an opponent’s play (NND, 2017).
Centre pass	The throw that starts the match and the throw that starts the play after a goal has been scored (SD, 2020).
Free pass	A throw awarded to team that has been fouled (UKR, 2020).
Obstruction	When an opposing player interferes with a pass or shot (SD, 2020).
Dodging	When a player suddenly changes direction to trick the opponent and to get into a position where she can receive the ball (NND, 2017).

Block	When a defending player positions herself in a way that forces the opponent to move into another space to try to receive a pass (NND, 2017).
Keeper	The player who is restricted to play inside her team's goal third and the goal semi-circle (UKR, 2020).
Give and go	When a player plays a pass to a teammate and receives it back straight away (NND, 2017).
Bounce pass	A pass played where the ball bounces before it has reached the player aimed at. Usually used to get around a defender (NND, 2017).
Centre circle	The circle in the middle of the court where the match is started (NND, 2017).
Offside	When a player enters a part of the court where she/he is not allowed to play in (UKR, 2020).
Lob	A high pass where the receiving player has to jump in order to catch it (NND, 2017).
Umpire	Person in charge of following a checklist before the start of the match and check the players' nails and jewellery, also in charge of the scoreboard during the match (UKR, 2020).
Match official	The people who make sure that the match is played within the rules and regulations of netball. The referees (UKR, 2020).
Penalty pass	Awarded the opposing team when an obstruction or contact has occurred. The offending player has to stand next to the opposing player and is not allowed to participate until the ball has been played (SD, 2020).
Dummy run	When a player moves as to receive a pass to fool the opponent and creates space for a teammate to receive the ball instead (SD, 2020).
Feint pass	When a player pretends to pass the ball to one player but then plays it to another player in a different area. Can also be referred to as "feint dodge" (UKR, 2020).
Feed	A pass made into the shooting circle (NND, 2017).
Goal-circle	The semi-circle marks the shooting area in each end of the court (UKR, 2020)

Lunging	When a player uses one leg to take a long stride while the other leg is still (SD, 2020).
Clearing	When a player moves to clear space for another player to move into (NND, 2017).
Pivoting	When a player keeps one foot on the ground and swivels on it to turn into another direction (UKR, 2020).

## 5. Tennis

The definitions to the terms in this list are taken from four different sources: the online sports dictionary sportsdefinitions.com (will be referred to as “SD”), onlinetennisinstructions.com (will be referred to as “OTI”), the US Tennis Associations list of tennis terms (will be referred to as “USTA”), and the Australian Tennis Federation’s website (tennis.com.au, 2020).

Game	A segment of a set in which a sequence of points are played with one player serving the ball. One player must win 4 or six points for the game to be over (USTA, 2017).
Set	A unit of scoring. A player must win six or more games to win the set (USTA, 2017).
Love	A score of 0 (USTA, 2017).
Baseline	The line at the furthest end of the court away from the net. A boundary of play (SD; 2020).
Deuce	Score of 40–40 which means that both players/couples has won three points (USTA, 2017).
Deuce court	The right side of the tennis court where all the deuce points are played (USTA, 2017).
Forehand	A stroke played with the palm of the hand facing the direction of the strike (SD, 2020).
Backhand	A stroke played across the body with the back of the hand facing the direction of the strike (SD, 2020).
Drop shot	A soft return of the ball with backspin that lands close to the net (USTA, 2017).

Rally	Following the ball, a series of return hits of the ball which ends when one player fails to return the ball in a legal way (USTA, 2017).
Centre line	The line in the middle of the court that runs through the court and connects the service lines on each side of the net (SD, 2020).
Court	The area where a tennis matches are played. Can have different surfaces; grass, clay or concrete etc. (SD, 2020).
Umpire	The person who is in charge of the match and who sits on a high chair in line with the net (SD, 2020).
Hawk-eye	“system of video line-calling employed by the Grand Slams.” (tennis.com.au, 2020).
Challenge	When a player wants the umpire to review the spot where the ball landed before it went out of play (tennis.com.au, 2020).
Return of service	Stroke made by the receiver of the service (SD; 2020).
Tiebreak	When the score of one set has reached 6-6 a seventh point has to be played to settle the score. That score is called a tiebreak (OTI, 2020).
Drop volley	A soft hit on the ball close to the net that causes it to drop on the other side of the net with little pace (SD, 2020).
Break	When a player wins the game of the opposing player when he/she was the server (OTI, 2020)
Break points	Whenever the receive-player wins a point which then results in him/her winning the game of the server (SD, 2020).
Match point	When a player only needs to win one point in order to win the match (OTI, 2020).
Serve	Short for “service” and refers to the action of putting the ball in play (UTSA, 2017).
Ace	A winning service shot that the receiver cannot return (UTSA, 2017).
Slice	A stroke that makes the ball swerve in the air and/or stay low after it has bounced (SD, 2020).
Chip	When a player uses underspin in order to block a shot back into court, or as a counterattack on a powerful serve (tennis.com.au, 2020).
Top-spin	When the ball is returned with an exaggerated follow-through which causes the ball to hit the court faster (SD, 2020).



Grand Slam	The four major tournaments in tennis; French, US and the Australian Open, and Wimbledon (SD, 2020).
Crosscourt	When the ball is hit diagonally across the court and into the opponents side of the net (SD, 2020).
GOAT	Colloquial acronym that stands for <i>Greatest of all Time</i> .

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