Balogné Bérces Katalin

Beginner's English Dialectology:
An Introduction to the Accents and Dialects of English

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Borítóterv: Glied Viktor
Lektor: Cser András
Patrick Honeybone

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Foreword and acknowledgements

This coursebook has emerged from a series of seminar handouts and my notes from various readings, which I gradually collected as teaching material to be used in the one-term elective dialectology seminar I started as an experiment at the Department of English, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, in spring 2006. It immediately turned out that my initial conception that this topic is very much in demand among the students was right: the course continued to be considerably popular in the terms to come. It soon became evident that we needed a coursebook which suited both our purposes and the circumstances we were working under: a coherent text written for a non-native audience, available in Hungary, and meant to be covered in one term (cca. 12 weeks). That was the motivation driving me to start compiling this material at the beginning of 2007. Its construction has been just as gradual as the collection of its sources: a number of draught versions have been tested in subsequent classes, whose members I owe gratitude for being the involuntary guinea pigs. In addition, special thanks should go to Kinga Földváry, who enthusiastically supplied me with sample material from the very beginning, who took up the teaching for two terms when I was not around, and who, as a consequence, found herself one fine day in the role of tester and proof-reader for this text, too. I am also grateful to my reviewers, András Cser and Patrick Honeybone, for their invaluable comments, and a whole lot of people who sent me photos to be used as illustrations in the book, kindly relinquishing copyright: (in alphabetical order) Melinda Dickerson (Mount Rushmore), Zsófia Ferencz (U.S. Capitol), Orsolya Hubert (Ireland), László Kristó (Wales), Andrea Laczay (skyscrapers in San Francisco), Dávid Palatinus (Sydney Opera House, Parliament House in Canberra), Károly Pintér (Statue of Liberty, cable car in San Francisco), Csaba Seregélyes (Canada) (and a few others, whose photos could not eventually find their way into the final version). The rest of the illustrations and maps were produced by myself.

The coursebook is supposed to be suitable for its primary target audience, advanced (especially BA) students of English, who have a pretty good command of (standard) English and some background knowledge of English pronunciation and grammatical terminology. The first half of the book surveys the major regional dialects of English, in comparison to the standard varieties. It concentrates on pronunciation differences for at least two reasons. First, the topic of the book is too wide for a single coursebook to be covered in 12 weeks, so it must be narrowed down somehow – the choice strongly reflects my own taste. Second, pronunciation is the very area where the differences are the most common and systematic. Consequently, the discussion is quite heavily loaded with phonetic terminology – the brief introduction entitled *Symbols used in the book*, immediately following this *Foreword*, is meant to clarify the interpretation of the most frequent special characters found in the text.

Then, the second half of the book takes the differences between Standard British English and Standard American English under scrutiny: besides pronunciation, we also discuss vocabulary, grammar and spelling differences in considerable detail. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the text of the book itself is written consistently according to the regularities of British English grammar and orthography.

Each chapter concludes with questions and exercises for revision and practice, a list of recommended further reading and of the references in the text, and, finally, a (not in the least exhaustive) list of electronic links, some of which may be far from academic in their content but still, they may motivate the students to do further browsing and research. At the end of the book an appendix is found entitled *Pronunciation of names and technical terms* (containing the expressions marked with an asterisk * in the text) followed by the *Subject index* (containing the **boldfaced** expressions), both of which are supposed to help the reader.

As can be guessed from the acknowledgements above, the book is full of illustrations: maps, drawings, photos. In most cases they are closely connected to the topic they accompany, but some of them are just there to interrupt the monotony of the text. I hope the reader will find the discussions informative, and the illustrations entertaining.

Katalin Balogné Bérces
December 2008

Symbols used in the book

The coursebook consistently uses the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), more specifically, its version which was compiled to describe English by A.C. Gimson. This is the transcription system employed in several dictionaries including *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (4th or later edition) and *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*. Here follows a brief intoduction to these symbols and the sounds they represent.

The vowels of standard English are either monophthongs (with one vowel quality, like all the vowels of standard Hungarian) or diphthongs (with two vowel qualities combined). In the charts below keywords are used to identify the vowel phonemes (following the practice introduced in John C. Wells (1982) *Accents of English* – throughout this book, such keywords will be typed in CAPITAL letters).

First, the monophthongs of standard British English can be classified as front (pronounced in the front of the oral cavity) or back (pronounced in the back of the oral cavity) or central (pronounced in the middle); as high (or close) (with the tongue body in a high position, close to the palate) or low (or open) (with the tongue body in a low position and the mouth open) or mid (in the middle); as rounded or unrounded (with or without lip-rounding); as short (indicated by just a single symbol) or long (with a colon [ː] after the basic symbol), in the following way:

	Front	Central	Back	
	unrounded	unrounded	unrounded	rounded
High/ close	[iː] FLEECE	-	-	[uː] GOOSE
	[ɪ] KIT	-	-	[ʊ] FOOT
Mid	[e] DRESS	[ə] COMMA [ɜː] NURSE	-	[ɔː] THOUGHT/ NORTH
Low/ open	[æ] TRAP	[ʌ] STRUT	[ɑː] BATH/ START	[ɒ] LOT

The vowel at the end of COMMA has a name of its own: schwa.

The diphthongs of standard British English can be classified according to their second terms as fronting, centring and backing:

Fronting	Centring	Backing
[eɪ] FACE	[ɪə] NEAR	[əʊ] GOAT
[aɪ] PRICE	[eə] SQUARE	[aʊ] MOUTH
[ɔɪ] CHOICE	[ʊə] CURE	

The consonants of English can be classified as labial (pronounced with the lips), coronal (pronounced with the tongue), velar (pronounced near the soft palate in the back of the oral cavity) or glottal (produced by the vocal cords only); as stops or fricatives (with or without the stopping of the airflow), affricates (with stops and fricatives combined), nasals (with the air coming out through the nose) or approximants (with just a slight approximating movement); as voiced or voiceless (with or without vocal cord vibration):

	Stop		Fricative		Affricate		Nas	Appr
	v-ed	v-less	v-ed	v-less	v-ed	v-less	voiced	
La	[b] bit	[p] pit	[v] vine	[f] five			[m] me	[w] wet
Co	[d] did	[t] tip	[ð] this [z] zoo [ʒ] beige	[θ] thin [s] sea [ʃ] she	[dʒ] jet	[tʃ] chat	[n] nice	[l] let [r] run [j] yet
Ve	[g] get	[k] key					[ŋ] sing	
Gl				[h] hot				

Of these consonants, the TH-sounds ([θ ð]), often referred to as interdentals (because they involve the insertion of the tongue tip between the upper and lower front teeth), are worth special attention as they are frequently replaced by other consonants in non-standard Englishes.

Finally, throughout the book two types of brackets are used: phonetic transcriptions are given in square brackets [ ], while spelling (also called orthography*) is separated from the commentary by angle brackets < >.

The very brief description above introduced the most frequent symbols used in the rest of the book – less frequent characters are explained within the running text upon first mention.

1 Background

1.0 Background: introduction

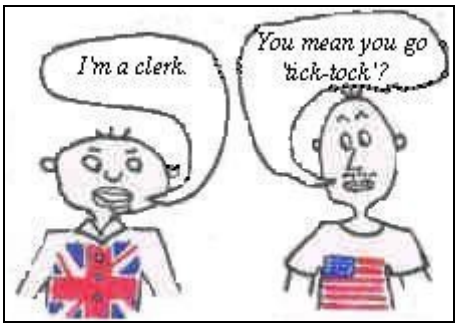
"As a Geordie I am also applying for a grant to have Geordie recognised as a language, when working in London I was advised by my Cockney mates to speak English, I also advised them to do the same, Hell blazes where do we stop, the Brummies, the Norfolk–Suffolk swede-bashers, the Cornish pasties, the Devon arrrghs, the Wiltshire moon-rakers, the Hartlepool monkey hangers, please Jock do me a favour and live with it."

This quotation from an internet forum illustrates how important it is for anyone related to, dealing with, and/or interested in the English language to be aware of its diversity and the social evaluation of its varieties.

First, the most important message of the quotation is the inevitability of the existence of linguistic variation: whether you like it or not, the geographical distance and physical separation of communities cause regional variation in the way speakers use their language (and also, social differences cause social variation!). Even if speakers often feel that this or that dialect of their language is "nice" or "nasty", linguistically there is no way in which the varieties could be weighed against each other on aesthetic or whatever grounds: none is better or more beautiful or more correct than the others, and of course, everyone means his/her own dialect by "English". There is only a sociological process which raises one variety above the others, and calls that one variety the socially accepted norm, the **standard** (see section 1.1 for more detail).

Second, even native speakers like the Geordie author (coming from Newcastle) feel that the differences between the geographical varieties (dialects) of British English (like Geordie [Newcastle], Cockney [London*], Brummy [Birmingham], etc.) may be so huge as to qualify them as separate languages. They are different from each other, and they are all different from what is taught to foreigners, Standard English. Indeed, it is common

for tourists and students of English first arriving in Britain to be puzzled by the linguistic situation they are exposed to. There are numerous anecdotes about Americans at a loss in London*, and British people misunderstood in the US. Anyone holding a degree in English should be conscious of these facts: they should incorporate the control of one specific variety into their knowledge of English, and at the same time be able to cope with at least some of the others. Having the right expectations can help with dialects you do not use yourself – that is why the primary aim of the following eight chapters is to develop a passive knowledge of the major dialectal differences between Englishes on the one hand, and of the major pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary differences between the standards of Britain and the US on the other.



1.1 Theoretical background

During its long history, English has developed two **standard varieties**, that is, two forms, both of which are equally accepted by the societies of their respective countries. One is Standard British English in England (and Wales*), the other is Standard American English in the US. The pronunciation varieties of languages are commonly referred to as **accents**. The standard or reference accent of England is traditionally referred to as **Received Pronunciation** (where *received* means 'accepted'), abbreviated to RP, whereas that of the US is often referred to as **General American**, or GA (or GenAm) for short. It is important to highlight that the various *dialects* of a language are distinguished on the basis of differences of *grammar and vocabulary*, whereas the term *accent* only refers to *pronunciation* differences. Therefore, Standard British English is a dialect, RP is an accent; Standard American English is a dialect, GA is an accent.

In addition, notice that this sense of the word *accent* is much wider than in everyday use, where it basically coincides with what linguists refer to as a foreign accent. Here, in contrast, it is a general expression to refer to the pronounced form of any variety of any language, that is, the standard accent (standard English pronunciation, standard Hungarian pronunciation, etc.) is

just another accent in the same way as geographically or otherwise defined forms (e.g., Australian English, working class London* English (called Cockney, mentioned above), Black English (that is, the African American vernacular), or the Szeged variety of Hungarian). In this sense of the word, then, everyone has an accent, not only foreigners!

As remarked above, all dialects and accents are, from a linguistic point of view, created equal (☺). Speakers sometimes think that you do not use your mother tongue properly unless you exclusively use **standard** forms (you may have heard Professor Henry Higgins sing "Why can't the English learn to speak?" in *My Fair Lady*), but this is not true. All the dialects and accents of a language have the same structural complexity, the same expressive capacity, and they differ from each other in rule-governed, systematic ways. Even the London* flowergirl makes no random "mistakes", no "incorrect" structures – except, of course, for slips of the tongue, but such are made by the Queen of England, too! The only feature that the standard variety of a language bears which raises it above the others is its privilege: social acceptance. It is the language of written communication and of formal circumstances like the law or most of the media. It is the variety taught to foreigners and recorded in dictionaries. But the choice of the standard dialect is always driven by a linguistically arbitrary decision, a historical accident. Should now Szeged be the capital city of Hungary, the standard form of its name would be *Szöged*; should London* be situated in the north of England, no CUP-vowels would be taught in English classes, and *but* would rhyme with *put* even in this book.

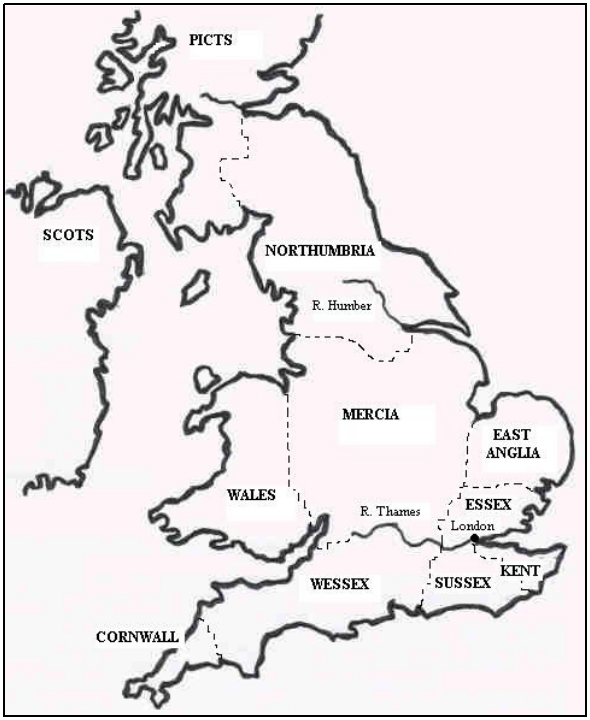
In the following discussions of the accents and dialects of English, a purely descriptive stance is taken, and the standard/non-standard distinction is used instead of subjective, judgmental terms like "good/bad", "right/wrong", "nice/ugly", or "correct/incorrect".

1.2 Historical background

The following two sections provide a brief survey of the history and evolution of the accents and dialects of English in (1.2.1) and beyond (1.2.2) the British Isles.

1.2.1 The emergence of English dialects

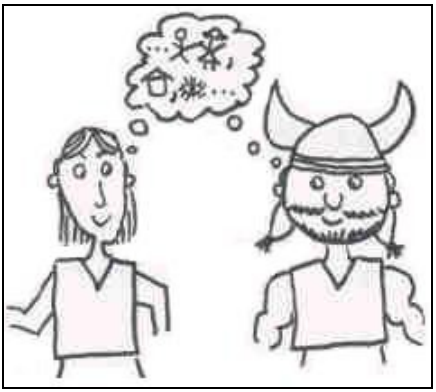
The history of English dialects begins in the 5th century, when the so-called **Anglo-Saxon invasion** took place. When the Roman forces had been withdrawn from Britain, the (mostly romanized) Britons (or Celts) appealed for help to Germanic tribes living on the continent, to protect them against the Picts and the Scots. Help came in the form of an invasion of Angles, Saxons and Jutes*, and most of the Britons were driven to places known today as Wales* and Cornwall. The invaders spoke dialects of West Germanic, which served as the basis for the earliest form of the English language, **Old English** (**OE**). Ironically, the Old English word *wealas*, meaning 'outsiders, foreigners', is where the name of Wales* originates from.



The newcomers formed seven kingdoms, the so-called **heptarchy**, shown in the map: Kent (settled by the Jutes*); Essex, Sussex, Wessex (Saxons); East Anglia, Mercia*, and Northumbria* (Angles). With time, four major **dialects of Old English** emerged: Kentish, West Saxon, Mercian*, and Northumbrian*. (Mercian* and Northumbrian* are sometimes grouped together as Anglian.) Most of the Old English manuscripts that have come down to us use the West Saxon dialect (e.g., King Alfred the Great, in the 9th century, spoke that variety), but present-day Standard English is basically rooted in the Mercian* dialect.

Interestingly, the dialects of Celtic* spoken by the Britons (the ancestors of present-day Welsh and Cornish, and also of Breton spoken on the continent) had hardly any influence on this early English, as if almost no communication had taken place between the Celts and the invaders: there are just a few words of Celtic* origin in present-day English, mainly placenames.

From a linguistic point of view, the **Viking* invasions** of the 8th–11th centuries turned out to be more significant. The Vikings*, whom the English called Danes (although they were rather a mixture of Scandinavian peoples), made their first attacks primarily to plunder, but later waves of invasion resulted in settlements in, as well as to the north of, East Anglia, where traditional dialects show characteristic features of Scandinavian origin even today. After a hundred year's warfare, Alfred the Great, king of Wessex, finally managed to defeat the Vikings*, but was forced to make a treaty according to which the northern and eastern parts of England were governed by the Northmen (not *Normans*!). This area came to be known as the **Danelaw**. The Vikings* spoke various dialects of a Scandinavian language now called **Old Norse**, and as it was also a Germanic language, Old English and Viking* speech were largely mutually intelligible. They had numerous words in common, such as *man, wife, mother, house, summer, winter, come, see, hear*. In fact, some Old Norse words even replaced their Old English equivalents and spread to the southern dialects, too, e.g., *they/them/their, sister, egg, skin, sky* (and lots of other words starting with *sk*-).



During the 10th–11th centuries, due to partly the strength of Alfred's kingdom, partly the subsequent period of flourishing culture and learning in Wessex, the West Saxon dialect of Old English was about to become the standard written language of England. However, this process was interrupted by another historical event.

1066, the date of the **Norman Conquest**, marks the beginning of the **Middle English** (ME) period. The Norman invaders had Viking* ancestors (preserved in their name) who had settled in the north-west of France (now called Normandy) and adopted the French language. When they arrived in Britain, they already spoke the variety of French which is usually referred to as **Old Northern French**. For centuries following the Conquest, their Norman French dialect (which developed in England into what is called **Anglo-Norman**) was the language of the governing classes of England, which exerted an extraordinary impact on the English language. A huge amount of vocabulary was borrowed from French, e.g., *army, beef, clergy, country, court, crime, duke, fool, fruit, government, horrible, jury, language, letter, literature, mirror, nature, pilgrim, pork, prince, question, royal, secret, sentence, soldier,* etc. The spelling conventions of French were adopted by the French-speaking scribes recording contemporary English speech, and the traditional Old English literacy was lost. For instance, Old English long *u* as in *hus* was replaced by *ou* in *house* (actually, present-day English spelling mainly represents the pronunciation of the late 14th century). Slowly the ties with French Normandy loosened, and English was rehabilitated as the national language of England: in 1362 the king's speech at the opening of parliament was delivered in English for the first time; gradually the law courts started to use English, too, and the Middle English period is also characterized by rich vernacular literature.

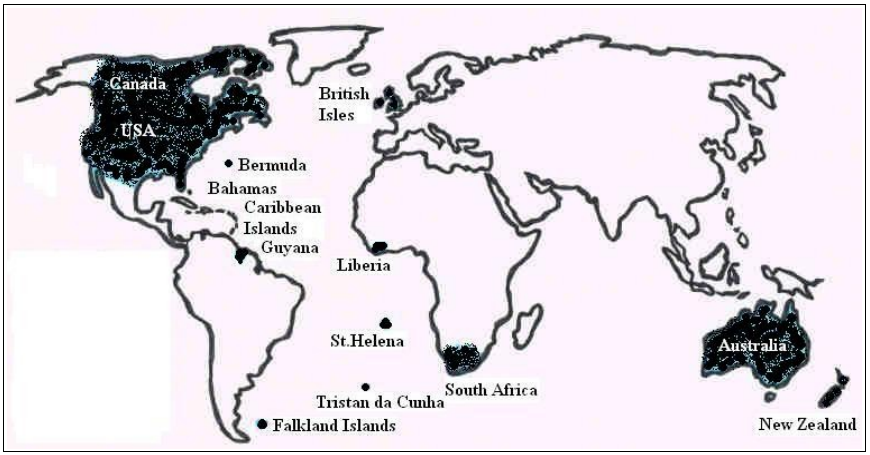
There are five major **dialects of Middle English**, as shown in the map: Northern, the Midland dialects (East Midland and West Midland), Southern, and Kentish. By the end of the 15th century, a standard dialect had arisen, based on the educated speech of the centres of politics and learning: London*, Oxford and Cambridge.

Consequently, it was an essentially East Midland variety (the variety spoken by, for example, Geoffrey Chaucer).

The **Early Modern English** period (15th–17th c.) is marked by fundamental linguistic, especially phonological, changes (rather than historical events), most of which were (sadly) ignored in spelling. For example, we are faced with the effects of the Great Vowel Shift (see Chapter 3) if we compare Chaucer's English and that of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Later, during the **Modern English** (sometimes called Late Modern English) period (18th c.–middle of the 20th c.) further pronunciation features were introduced which are responsible for today's major dialectal differences in England (see Chapter 2).

1.2.2 The spread of English

The English language appeared outside England soon after its emergence. In the British Isles, the linguistic situation and the historical background in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales* are dealt with in Chapters 2–3 in detail. At this point, suffice it to say that the first English speakers settled in what is now Scotland as early as in the Old English period, and they eventually developed their own variety; English arrived in Ireland in the 12th century; and it was only established in Wales* in the 19th century.



English was "exported" beyond the British Isles during the **Early Modern English** (15th–17th c.) and **Modern English** (18th c.–middle of the 20th c.)

periods. As the British Empire grew, the English-speaking population of each colony took up characteristic speaking habits and as a result further dialects evolved. During the 16th century, the first English settlements appeared in North America (Chapter 4) and trade started with West Africa (present-day Nigeria*). At the turn of the 18th–19th centuries, the first convicts were sent to Australia, and the British began to settle in South Africa. Then, in the middle of the 19th century, the settlement of New Zealand started (English as spoken in the southern hemisphere is treated in Chapter 4). The map above shows the major native English-speaking areas of the world (based on Trudgill – Hannah (1982: 6)).

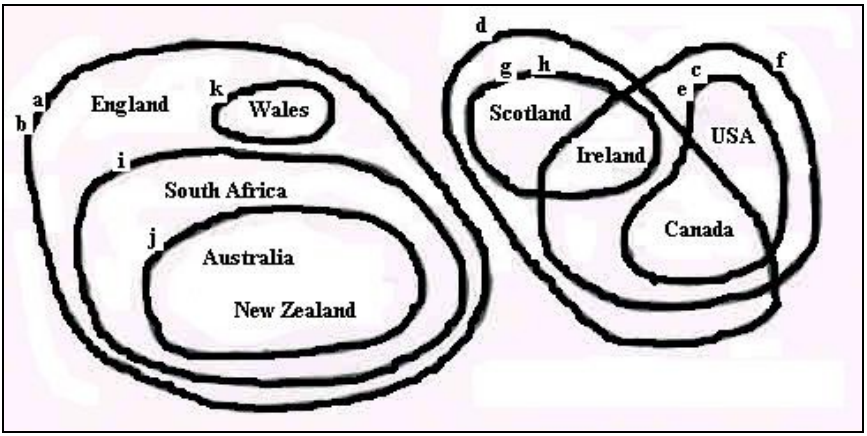
Note that the expansion of English was not due to linguistic factors but historical developments. The growing size of the Empire, the growing number of speakers also meant growing prestige for the language. In addition, English became the majority language of the US, too, where more and more immigrants arrived and adopted it. The number of countries where English is spoken, as well as the economic and military strength of those countries has led to enormous political power. Eventually, then, various non-linguistic factors like industry, trade, war, the media and learning (present-day scientific discourse is primarily carried out in English!) have led to the position that this language now has in the world.

1.2.3 Possible classifications of English accents

In what follows, a few possible classifications of English accents are sketched out. As the first set of chapters (Chapters 2–6), that is, the chapters introducing the major international varieties of English, are either exclusively or primarily concerned with pronunciation, we only consider pronunciation-based relationships here. This means that differences of grammar, and subtypes of English created by such differences, are ignored. However, it is true for all (linguistic) classifications that they are usually based on connections and groupings that result from a historical chain of events: a modification to the linguistic system (e.g., a sound change) which starts in a certain geographical or social sphere is unable to affect the whole of the rest of the population, its spread is incomplete, and therefore a division or gap is brought about between two speech communities. This is illustrated by several examples below.

1.2.3 Possible classifications of English accents

The following figure (inspired by Figure 1.1 in Trudgill – Hannah 1982: 5) shows pronunciation-based relationships among the major English-speaking geographical areas. It uses eleven factors, that is, eleven pronunciation features which only characterize a certain subset of the accents spoken at those localities.[1] For example, line *a* marks the deletion of non-prevocalic [r] (called **R-dropping**) in England, Wales*, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. (See below and Section 2.1 for more detail.) The **BATH-broadening** line (line *b*) separates accents which pronounce "broad" [ɑː] (rather than "flat" [æ]) in a group of words containing *bath, can't, dance, last,* etc., frequently referred to as the BATH-words (see Section 2.1). The **tapping/flapping** line (line *e*) indicates which standard varieties are characterized by the voicing (i.e., tapping or flapping) of intervocalic [t], i.e., which are the so-called **tapping dialects/accents**, in which certain [t]'s turn into the so-called **tap** or **flap** ([ɾ]), pronounced with a single quick tapping movement of the tongue (like the *r* in Hungarian *perec* 'pretzel'). (As a matter of fact, tapping is found in most non-standard accents, but it has found its way into the standard in Canada and the US only – cf. Section 4.2.)



a: R-dropping, *b*: BATH-broadening
c: LOT Unrounding, *e*: tapping/flapping
d: COT=CAUGHT
f: syllabic [r] in BIRD
g: PULL=POOL, *h*: WHICH≠WITCH
i: TRAP=DRESS
j: front [a] in BATH
k: THREW≠THROUGH

[1] Keep in mind that the countries included in the figure are large enough to have internal variation – the figure only represents the majority accents. E.g., as we will see presently, the R-dropping line (*a*) could in fact cut both England and the US into two.

Note that BATH-broadening, R-dropping, tapping, and the like are sound changes, innovations which arose in a particular segment of the English-speaking community, spread to its other segments but did *not* spread to *all* of them – thus dialectal differences have been created. The sound changes and phenomena mentioned in the figure will be treated in more detail in later chapters.

On the whole, the figure reveals that it is possible to distinguish between **two main types of English accent**: an **"English" type** (English English, Welsh English, South African English, Australian English, New Zealand English) and an **"American" type** (US English, Canadian English), with Scottish and Irish English located somewhere between the two, perhaps forming a separate category.

Note, however, that national boundaries do not necessarily coincide with the borderlines between speech communities, as has been mentioned in footnote 1 above. Even within one country, different segments of the population may exhibit different behaviours. To illustrate this, let us consider the issue of **R-dropping** in more detail. As we have seen above, in certain accents of English (parts of England, Wales*, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand) the sound [r] is only found before a vowel in pronunciation (e.g., in the word *red*) – all other orthographic* (= spelt / written) *r*'s are deleted, i.e., dropped (e.g., in *care, hard*). Such accents are called **non-rhotic***, while accents with all orthographic* *r*'s pronounced are called **rhotic***.

The chart below shows rhoticity in the accents of English. It is based on Harris' system (1994: Chapter 5), which distinguishes four subtypes (dubbed type A, B, C, and D – see column 2) and Table 2.2 in Trudgill – Hannah (1982: 15). It also includes the traditional terminology of the rhotic/non-rhotic* bifurcation of accents (column 1). Column 3 lists the major accents which need be distinguished, and columns 4 to 8 specify the phonological environments relevant to the discussion: a "yes" means a pronounced [r] in the given position, a "no" means R-dropping. The dash (–) stands for the [r] in question, the closing square bracket ( ]) indicates a morpheme boundary, the vertical line (|) indicates a pause, "Á" is a stressed vowel, "A" is an unstressed vowel, "V" is short for (any) vowel, and "C" is short for consonant. Finally, the braces ({ ... }) enclose objects in a disjunctive (*either/or*) relation. Columns 7 and 8 distinguish between two cross-morpheme cases, one is called **Linking-R** (morpheme-final [r] pronounced)

and **Intrusive-R** (non-historical [r] inserted). (For more explanation and more examples, see the next chapter.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Harris' system		Morpheme-internal			Cross-morpheme	
				– Á *red*	– A *very*	– {C, |} (= –]C) *care, hard*	–]V (linking) *caring*	–]V (intrusive) *idea–of*
1	non-rhotic	B	RP	yes	yes	no	yes	no/variable
2		C	Non-RP, SouthEngEng	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
3			East New England USEng	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
4			New York City USEng	yes	yes	variable	yes	variable
5			AusEng	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
6			NZEng	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
7		D	SAfEng	yes	no	no	no	no
8			South East USEng	yes	no	no	no	no
9	rhotic	A	ScotEng	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
10			IrEng	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
11			CanEng	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
12			Mid-West USEng	yes	yes	yes	yes	no

(Abbreviations of the accents: RP = Received Pronunciation, SouthEngEng = Southern English English, USEng = US English, AusEng = Australian English, NZEng = New Zealand English, SAfEng = South African English, ScotEng = Scottish English, IrEng = Irish English, CanEng = Canadian English)

There are several conclusions to be drawn from the chart. First, the traditional rhotic/non-rhotic* distinction is not fine-tuned enough: notice that the *non-rhotic* label actually subsumes three categories. Second, certain geographical areas, e.g, England or the US, exhibit such a degree of internal variation that they need to be broken down into sub-classes or sub-regions. In the case of England, RP is distinguished from Non-RP Southern English English (and in fact, a "Non-RP South-west" category may as well be

squeezed into type A – see the next chapter). In the US, the situation is so complex that there are as many as four distinct sub-regions (East New England US English, New York City US English, South East US English, Mid-West US English – this final category represents GA). In addition, within New York City extensive internal variation has been recorded (basically, social class variation – see Labov* 2006 and Section 4.1).

In Chapters 2–6, a whole lot of pronunciation features will be introduced, all of which separate accent types in English in a similar fashion.

1.3 Revision and practice

1. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
   - The author of the quotation from the internet forum wants to have Geordie recognized as a separate language.
   - The standard accent of England is RP.
   - The standard accent of the US is RP.
   - The Queen of England does not speak an accent.
   - According to Professor Henry Higgins in *My Fair Lady*, the English cannot speak.
2. In the introductory quotation it is suggested that dialects of English should be recognized as separate languages. Discuss this possibility. Compare the case of English to other languages like Serbian, Croatian, or Chinese. What distinguishes a dialect from a language? An aphorism commonly attributed to a linguist called Max Weinreich says that "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy". How should this definition be interpreted?
3. The ideal informant for a dialectologist concerned with traditional dialects and accents is a non-mobile (living at the same place most of his life), older, rural male (sometimes abbreviated to NORM). Why?
4. In a recent survey, people of all backgrounds living in Wales identified themselves as Welsh, *rather than British*. In light of the historical background to terms like *Welsh* and *British*, identify and explain the controversy hidden in Welsh people's self-identity.
5. Mark the four major dialect areas of Old English in the map of OE kingdoms in Section 1.2.1 above.
6. Explain the relevance of the following names and expressions to the history of English dialects and the spread of English. Some of the

expressions are not mentioned in the text above – do library or internet research to clarify them if necessary.

Alfred the Great, Anglo-Saxon Invasion, Beowulf, British settlers in South Africa, Caxton's printing press, Celtic, Chaucer, Convicts sent to Australia, Danelaw, Early Modern English, Heptarchy, Middle English, Modern English, Old English, Old Norse, Old Northern French, Present-day English, Shakespeare, The American War of Independence, The Great Vowel Shift, The Mayflower, The Norman Conquest, Viking invasion

7. Do you know which dialect of Middle English was spoken by the authors of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Piers Plowman, The Owl and the Nightingale* and the *Bruce*?
8. How do the dialects of Middle English correspond to the dialects of Old English?
9. Present-day Standard English is rooted in the Mercian dialect of Old English. How?
10. Consider the chart showing the complex case of rhoticity in Section 1.2.3 above, and answer the following questions.
    - Which of columns 4–8 are illustrated by the example words *marry, purest, far, write, bird, stared, sawing, Paris, starch, star, Star Wars, Star Wars, starring, Paula Abdul, rain*?
    - What is the phonological difference between types B, C, and D?
    - Intrusive-R is only found in which (what kind of) accents?
    - Which parts of the US are found in the non-rhotic category? How could the fact that standard British English pronunciation, RP, is non-rhotic, explain this distribution?
    - Which type(s) do the southern hemisphere countries belong to? Why?
    - What do the speech communities of type D have in common?

1.4 Further reading and references

Algeo, John (1982) Problems in the origins and development of the English language. 3rd ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Algeo, John (ed.) (2001) The Cambridge history of the English language. Vol. 6: English in North America. Cambridge: CUP.

Bauer, Laurie (2003) An introduction to international varieties of English. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: Chapter 2.

Burchfield, Robert (ed.) (1994) The Cambridge history of the English language. Vol. 5: English in Britain and overseas: Origins and development. Cambridge: CUP.
Davies, Diane (2005) Varieties of modern English: An introduction. London: Longman.
Freeborn, Dennis with Peter French and David Langford (1993) Varieties of English. 2nd ed. Houndmills, Basingstokes: Palgrave.
Hughes, Arthur – Peter Trudgill – Dominic Watt (2005) English accents and dialects: An introduction to social and regional varieties of English in the British Isles. 4th ed. London & New York: Hodder Arnold.
Harris, John (1994) English sound structure. Oxford: Blackwell.
Kortmann, Bernd – Edgar W. Schneider (eds.) (2008) Varieties of English. Vol. 1–4. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
Labov, William (2006) The social stratification of English in New York City. 2nd ed. Cambridge: CUP. (First published 1966.)
Pyles, Thomas – John Algeo (1993) The origins and development of the English language. 4th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Trudgill, Peter – Jean Hannah (1982) International English. London: Edward Arnold: Chapter 1.
Upton, Clive – J.D.A. Widdowson (2006) An atlas of English dialects. 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge: 2–7.
Wells, John C. (1982) Accents of English. Vol. 1–3. Cambridge: CUP.

1.5 Links

Resources (corpora, databases) for the accents and dialects of English:

- The International Corpus of English (ICE):

http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/ice

- The Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (NECTE):

http://www.ncl.ac.uk/necte

- The Freiburg English Dialect Corpus (FRED):

http://www2.anglistik.uni-freiburg.de/institut/lskortmann/FRED/index.htm

- British Library:

http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/index.html
http://sounds.bl.uk/Browse.aspx?collection=AccentsAndDialects

- The International Dialects of English Archive:

http://web.ku.edu/idea

- The Routes of English (BBC Radio4):

http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/routesofenglish/index.shtml

- BBC Voices project:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/recordings/index.shtml
- Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE):
http://polyglot.lss.wisc.edu/dare/dare.html
- Telsur Project (A Phonological Atlas of North America):
http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/home.html
- Vincent Voice Library:
http://vvl.lib.msu.edu/index.cfm
- Accents of English from around the World:
http://soundcomparisons.com
http://www.eleaston.com/world-eng.html

Miscellaneous:
http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Language (esp. *Linguistic diversity*)
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Standard_language
http://www.cornish-language.org
http://www.bbc.co.uk/1xtra/tx/british.shtml (on national identity in Britain)
http://www.whoohoo.co.uk (funny translators from standard English into various non-standard (including Ali G's) varieties)

2 The British Isles 1: England and Wales

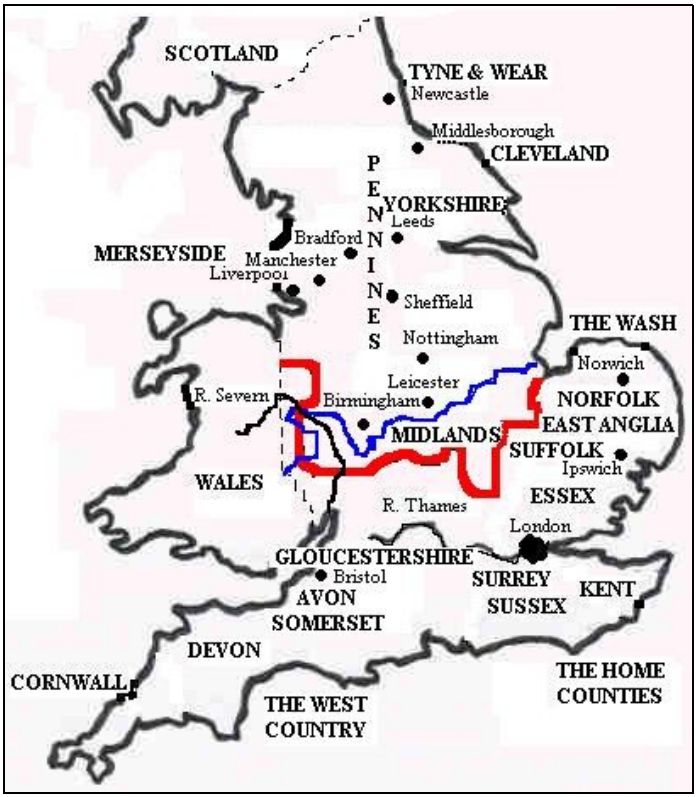
2.0 England and Wales: introduction

This chapter covers the non-standard varieties of English English (in comparison to standard English, of course). As Welsh English has its roots in English English dialects and the Celtic* language Welsh, and shows no significant resemblances to Scottish and Irish English, it is also included here. (The other "Celtic* countries" are discussed in the next chapter.)

In England, only a small percentage of the population speak RP, the others exhibit more or less regional characteristics in their usage of English. There are several possible classifications of the dialects and accents of England, and several possible regional divisions; here we choose that of Wells's (1982) as, although it is exclusively based on (a couple of) pronunciation features, it is simple enough to suit our purposes. As you can see in the map below, the approximate boundaries of two rather salient pronunciation features (the so-called FOOT-STRUT Split, indicated by the broad line, and BATH-broadening, the narrow line – for more detail, see Section 2.1) nearly coincide. As both lines roughly run from the River Severn in the west to the Wash in the east, this major dialect boundary can be referred to as the **Severn–Wash line**. The region to the north of this line is henceforth called the **linguistic north**, whereas the rest is the **linguistic south**.

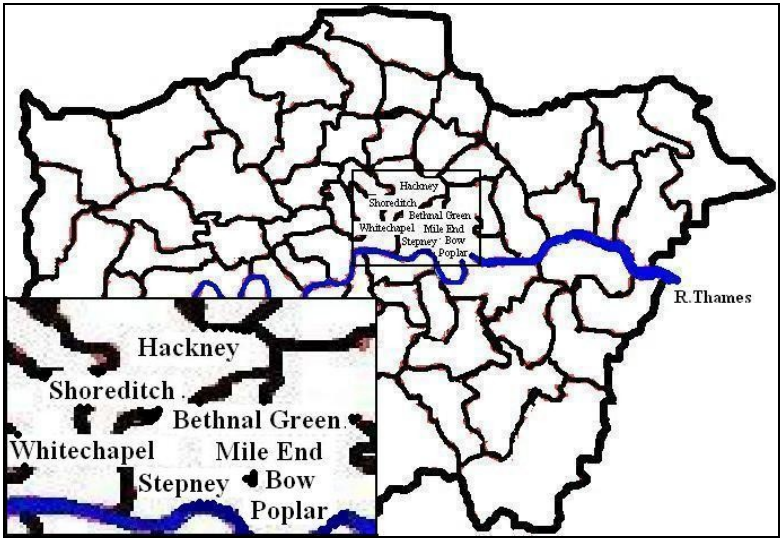
In this linguistic sense, **the north** of England does not only comprise that part of England which is ordinarily called the north (i.e., from the Mersey* and the Humber up to the Scottish border) but also most of the midlands. Therefore, this region can be divided into three areas: **the midlands** (the east midlands with Leicester* and Nottingham*, and the west midlands with the Birmingham–Wolverhampton* conurbation), **the middle north** (around the Pennines*: Liverpool and Merseyside*, Manchester, Bradford*, Leeds, Sheffield) and **the far north** (Tyneside (Tyne and Wear*)

with the Newcastle-upon-Tyne conurbation and Tees-side with Middlesborough* and Cleveland). The major urban varieties of the north of England are **Geordie** (the traditional dialect of Tyneside/Newcastle), **Scouse*** (Merseyside*/Liverpool), **Brummy** (Birmingham), and the dialect of Leeds in Yorkshire.



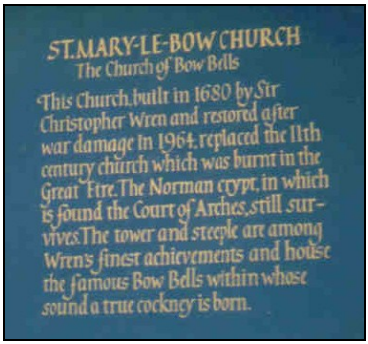
The south of England includes three general areas: **the home counties** (the counties adjacent to London*: Kent, Surrey*, Sussex, Hertfordshire*, Essex), **East Anglia** (Norfolk* and Suffolk*, with two large urban centres: Norwich* and Ipswich), and **the west country** (the cider counties of Gloucestershire*, Avon*, Somerset*, and Devon, the main centre of population being Bristol).

London*, the capital city of England (and, of course, Great Britain) is worth special attention here, for at least two reasons. First, it is large enough

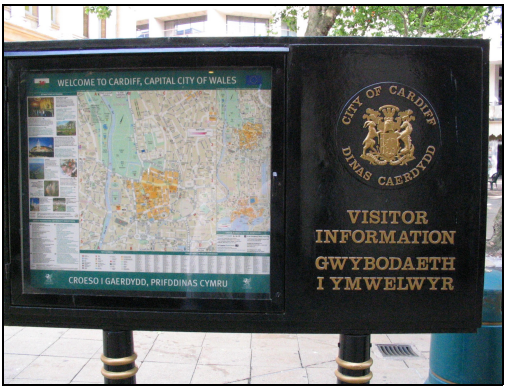


to exhibit considerable dialectal variation itself. Second, its characteristic variety, **Cockney**, is doubtless the best known urban variety of English, has even found its way into popular culture and literature, from *Pygmalion*'s and *My Fair Lady*'s Eliza to Guy Richie's films, and therefore its **covert prestige** is enormous (i.e., its forms are positively valued although it is not officially or publicly recognized as a norm). Cockney is the name of the traditional working-class dialect of London* as well as its speaker: the local man of the innermost suburbs of east London* called the East End (Bethnal Green*, Stepney, Mile End, Hackney, Whitechapel, Shoreditch, Poplar, Bow*).

According to the classical definition, a true Cockney is supposed to be someone born within the sound of **Bow* Bells**, the bells of St. Mary-le-Bow* church (in Bow* Lane, not far from St. Paul's Cathedral* – for history, pictures, bell ringing times and the like, check out http://www.stmarylebow.co.uk).



As for the historical background to Welsh English, it is important to mention that, although Welsh people have had at least some contact with the English language since the Middle Ages, they have only spoken English as a first language for the past 1–2 centuries – relatively recently – as English was only thoroughly established in Wales* during the 19th century. Consequently, most English-speaking areas, e.g., North America, have had a longer tradition of English than Wales*. Nowadays the majority of the population of Wales* consist of native speakers of English, and there is a minority (cca. 20%) of native speakers of Welsh, a Celtic* language (who also speak English). The main influence on Welsh English, especially on the pronunciation, has been exerted by the Welsh language.



The following discussion surveys the major accents and dialects of England and Wales*. Due to space limitations, we concentrate on pronunciation features, and only briefly illustrate the non-standard grammatical and lexical characteristics of English English. While you read,

keep in mind that anywhere you go in England, what you find is not a patchwork of distinct dialectal areas with clear-cut boundaries. On the one hand, the limits of dialectal features in maps are abstractions, not discrete borderlines on one side of which people speak one way and on the other side of which they speak the other way; these boundaries simply indicate a region along which there is considerable variation of two competing forms, but the amount of variation reduces in both directions as you move further away from this region. On the other hand, even the dialectal areas defined by these lines exhibit a kind of **continuum** of dialectal forms, mostly governed by speakers' position on the social scale: everywhere in England local varieties range from the broadest local accent up to Near-RP and RP. In London*, for instance, a segment of the population qualifies as a (broad) Cockney speaker, but most working-class Londoners* speak an accent which shows a bit fewer local characteristics (sometimes called popular London* English), as opposed to middle-class speakers, whose accent is even closer to RP (called London* Regional Standard); even higher social classes speak Near-RP or RP proper.

2.1 England and Wales: historical background

> "The fundamental reason why accents differ is that languages change. English pronunciation changes as time passes; and the developments which have arisen and become established in different places and among different social groups have not been identical. Present-day pronunciation patterns reflect the changes which have taken place, modifying earlier pronunciation patterns."
>
> (Wells 1982: 93–94)

During the history of the English language, major sound changes emerged in certain parts of England, leaving certain other parts unaffected. Eventually, the imperfect spread of sound changes resulted in differences between regional varieties.

The sound changes relevant to the discussion of the accents of England are the following:

The FOOT-STRUT Split (17th c.)
A **split** is a sound change whereby a sound starts turning into another one but some of its occurrences remain unaffected (either systematically or randomly) by the change, and as a result the original sound "splits" into two:

the old sound and the new reflex. If enough time passes after the introduction of the change, the original sound may undergo further changes and take a different course of development.

This is what happened to Middle English (=ME) [u], which split into present-day Standard English [ʊ] as in words like *put* (developing from the original vowel) and present-day RP [ʌ] as in words like *strut* (the "new" sound – the quality of this vowel may slightly differ in other accents). Phonologists have proposed that [ʊ] is retained mostly after labial consonants (which is not surprising, as [ʊ] itself is also a labial (rounded) sound), cf. *put, full, butch(er), bull*, etc., although there are cases of the vowel having been "unprotected" from the change by the labial (e.g., *but, fun, pun*). That limited set of examples which preserve the original rounded vowel are called FOOT-words, following the terminology of Wells (1982).

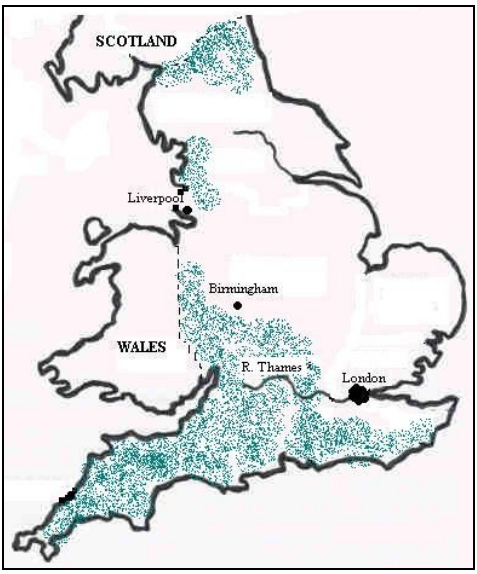
The FOOT-STRUT Split hasn't taken place in the broad accents of the north of England (i.e., north of the Severn–Wash line), and only partly so in Ireland, therefore in these systems [ʊ] is retained in all the examples mentioned above, and the phoneme [ʌ] is missing altogether. As a consequence, words like *put* and *putt*, *could* and *cud*, *look* and *luck*, *stood* and *stud*, etc. are often homophones.

Early Yod-dropping (beginning of the 18th c.) (as opposed to Later Yod-dropping in North America – see Chapter 4)

As the different spellings suggest, words like *threw* formerly contained a vowel different from the vowel in words like *through*. When there is one of <u, eu, ew, ui, ue> in spelling, it indicates an original diphthong, something like [ɪu] or [ju], the yod of which was dropped in most accents of English after palatals (e.g., *chute, chew, juice, yew*), after [r] (as in *rude, crew, shrew, grew*), and after consonant+[l] sequences (e.g., *blue, flew, glue*). Certain conservative Welsh and north-of-England accents, however, retain the distinction, as Welsh *threw* [θrɪu] vs. *through* [θruː] illustrate.

R-dropping (18th c.)

The deletion of non-prevocalic [r] is responsible for one of the major divisions of the accents of English into rhotic* and non-rhotic* ones. Those accents of English whose speakers pronounce all orthographic* <r>'s are referred to as **rhotic* accents** (after the name of the corresponding letter in the Greek alphabet, *rho*). The other accents are **non-rhotic***, that is, their



speakers drop the <r> when it is followed by a consonant or a pause (i.e., nothing in speech), and they only pronounce it when it is followed by a vowel. As a consequence, word-final <r>'s are heard when they are followed by a vowel-initial morpheme like *-ing, -er/-or, -ee, -y,* etc. or a vowel-initial word (those [r]'s are called **Linking-R**), but they disappear when they are final or when they are followed by a consonant-initial morpheme like *-(e)d* (the <e> is mostly silent), *-ment*, *-ly*, etc., as in *retirement* and *rarely*, or by a consonant-initial word. Hence the difference between *tire/tired* vs *tiring*, *bore* vs *boring*, *err* vs *error*, *refer* vs *referee*, and *fur* vs *furry*. Similarly, Linking-R is pronounced in phrases like *more exciting*, *your eyes*, (*to*) *err is* (*human*), *care about*, *centre of*, *tire us*, etc., and between the sentences in, e.g., *He doesn't care. I do* or *There's a spider. I'm scared*.

The map above shows the approximate boundaries of rhoticity in England, with the rhotic* accents indicated by the shaded areas.

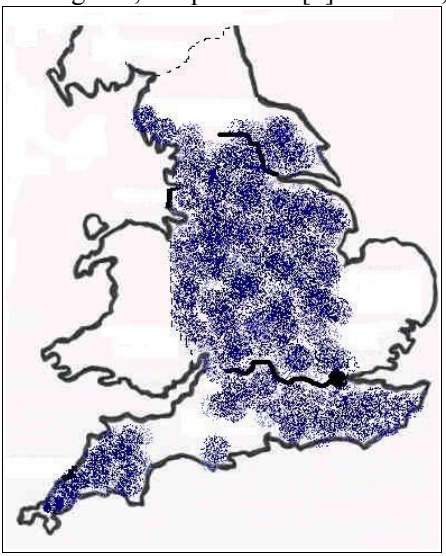
R-insertion (18th c.)

There are some cases when rhotic* speakers do not pronounce an [r], and there is no <r> in spelling, however, many non-rhotic* speakers pronounce one, e.g., in *sawing* [ˈsɔːrɪŋ], *gnawing* [ˈnɔːrɪŋ], *rumbaing* [ˈrʌmbərɪŋ], *baahing* [ˈbɑːrɪŋ] *(of sheep)*. This is called **Intrusive-R**. Intrusive-R is only found in non-rhotic* accents, and it only appears at (certain) morpheme boundaries, after non-high vowels like [ɑː ɔː ɜː ə]. Similarly to Linking-R, under the same conditions as between a word and a suffix, Intrusive-R also appears between two words, as in *visa application*, (*the*) *idea is*, (*the*) *Shah of* (*Persia)*, *schwa insertion*, *law and* (*order*), *Gloria Estefan*, etc., and between the two sentences in *Try that sofa. It's softer* or *Call Maria. I need*

her. It is an interesting fact that Linking-R and Intrusive-R have a number of features in common, they are phonetically identical, and both of them characterize the non-rhotic* accents of English only – linking and intrusion go hand in hand with R-dropping.

The TRAP-BATH Split (also referred to as ***BATH-broadening***) (18th c.)
This is another split, whereby an original [a ~ æ]-like vowel (that is, a low front vowel similar to Hungarian *á* or Present-day English [æ]) split into (original) "flat" [æ], as in words like *trap*, and "broad" [ɑː] as in words like *bath*. Other examples of BATH-words include *after, ask, can't, chance, class, dance, glass, grass, last, master, pass, path, staff*. The TRAP-BATH Split hasn't taken place in the broad accents of the north of England (i.e., north of the Severn–Wash line), therefore in these systems [æ] (or [a]) is retained in all the examples mentioned above, and the phoneme [ɑː] may only appear in pre-*r* environments (e.g., *car*, *part*) and other, restricted examples like *father*.

H-dropping (completed by the beginning of the 19th c.)
In the working-class accents of most of England, the phoneme [h] is absent, therefore words like *house, hit, hammer, happy* start with a vowel; and words originally only differing in the presence vs absence of a [h] become homophonous, e.g., *hedge–edge, art–heart, arm–harm*. (A word of warning is in order here: the words *hour, heir, honest, honour* do not start with an [h] even in RP/GA; while words like *historic* or *hotel* vacillate between the aitch-ful and aitch-less pronunciations even in RP/GA.)



The map illustrates how widespread it is to "drop one's aitches" (the shaded areas) in present-day non-standard English (although this pronunciation feature still has very low prestige).

Diphthong Shift (completed by the beginning of the 19th c.)
In Cockney and the local accents of much of the south of England, a chain of phonetic changes affects [iː] and the diphthongs:

	bee	*bay*	*buy*	*boy*
RP	[iː]	[eɪ]	[aɪ]	[ɔɪ]
Cockney	[əi]	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ] or [ɒɪ]	[oɪ]

	you	*no*	*now*
RP	[uː]	[əʊ]	[aʊ]
Cockney	[əu]	[ɒʊ]	[æʊ] or [æː]

That is, the long high monophthongs become diphthongs starting with schwa, whereas the diphthongs change their first terms (e.g., the front vowel at the start of [aɪ] (similar to Hungarian *á*) is back [ɑ ~ ɒ] (more like Hungarian *a*), or the [ɔ] of [ɔɪ] is more close ([o] is Hungarian *o*)). In broad Cockney, the vowel of *now* is usually a long monophthong [æː].

L-vocalization (completed by the beginning of the 19th c.)
In RP, word-final and pre-consonantal *l* is pronounced with a velar gesture – this is called **dark-L** [ɬ] (as opposed to the other, Hungarian-type **clear-L**), and it sounds as if an [o]-like vowel was inserted before it, e.g., *milk* [mɪoɬk], *shelf* [ʃeoɬf], *feel* [fiːoɬ]. In several non-standard varieties of English, the [ɬ]'s may even disappear, e.g., *milk* [mɪok], *shelf* [ʃeof], *feel* [fiːo]. This is called **L-vocalization**, as the consonant *l* is replaced by a vowel.

Glottal replacement (or ***Glottalling***) (completed by the beginning of the 19th c.)
This is the replacement of a [t] by a glottal stop [ʔ]. In Standard English (RP or GA, but mostly in GA) it can only happen within words when the [t] is followed by a syllabic nasal, e.g., [n̩] as in *button* [ˈbʌʔn̩]. In several non-standard varieties of English, especially London* English, this can even happen intervocalically, e.g., *butter* [ˈbʌʔə] (or [ˈbʊʔə]) or *city* [ˈsɪʔɪ], and

words like *little* can be re-spelt to reflect this pronunciation (accompanied by L-vocalization) as *li'oo*.

2.2 England and Wales: pronunciation

(1) the linguistic north:

flat-BATH accents with unsplit FOOT/STRUT and H-dropping

(2) the linguistic south:

- split FOOT/STRUT
- broad BATH
- **Initial Fricative Voicing** in the west country (esp. in Somerset*), e.g., *farm* [v-], *thimble* [ð-], *seven* [z-], *shepherd* [ʒ-], *Somerset* ['zʌmərzet]
- Bristol: **Intrusive-L**: the addition of [l] to the end of words otherwise ending in a schwa, e.g., *banana, tomorrow*. Numerous homophones arise, e.g., *area=aerial*. It is different from Intrusive-R because it can also appear utterance-finally. It alternates between clear and dark according to what the following segment is.

(3) Cockney:

- the Diphthong Shift:

  This is the reason for Professor Henry Higgins of *My Fair Lady* to try to teach Eliza Doolittle how to pronounce the sentence *The rain in Spain stays mainly in the plain* "properly".
- L-vocalization: *salt–sort, fault–fought–fort, pause–Paul's, Morden–Malden, water–Walter* are homophones.
- H-dropping: the sentence for Eliza to practice on is: *In Hertford, Hereford and Hampshire hurricanes hardly ever happen*.
- **TH-fronting**: the fronting of the two interdentals [θ, ð], that is, they are replaced by [f, v], respectively. As a result, *thin* sounds the same as *fin*, and *brother* rhymes with *lover*.
- **final *-ow* reduction** (common non-standard feature in the whole English-speaking world): word-final, otherwise unstressed [əʊ] (or its equivalent) is reduced to schwa, in words like *barrow, yellow, tomato, window*. This pronunciation of *fellow* is reflected in spellings like *fella* or even *feller*, and *potatoes* often reduce to *taters*.
- T-glottalling (glottal replacement)

- **schwa-insertion** between two consonants. E.g., the [vl] of *lovely* is broken up to yield [ˈlʌvələi]; in spelling, this can be indicated by adding a letter <r> (which is, of course, unpronounced): *lover<u>l</u>y*.

(4) Welsh English:

- "sing-song" or "lilting" intonation
- vowel quality: more monophthongs than in Standard English as monophthongs replace the diphthongs, e.g., [eː] in *face*, [oː] in *goat*.
- mostly non-rhotic*, with rhotic* speakers in the southernmost areas and along the English border in the east only. This is puzzling, since Welsh speakers are "surrounded" by rhotic* areas in England, and the Welsh language itself is also fully rhotic*. Most probably Welsh English is non-rhotic* because from a historical point of view it is the English imposed by schoolteachers. In the 19th century, when English was established in Wales*, non-rhoticity was already the norm, which served as the appropriate model for Welsh people.
- clear-L in all phonological environments
- lack of Early Yod-dropping
- the vowel of STRUT-words is central and therefore sounds the same as the schwa. As a consequence, *a large untidy room* is homophonous with *a large and tidy room*, *unorthodoxy* with *an orthodoxy*, and *seagull* rhymes with *eagle*.
- the TRAP vowel is more open than in RP: [a] (like Hungarian *á*).
- the diphthongs in words like *price* and *mouth* start with a central vowel, e.g., *life-time* [ˈləiftəim].

2.3 England and Wales: grammatical and lexical features

A few examples of non-standard grammatical features in England:

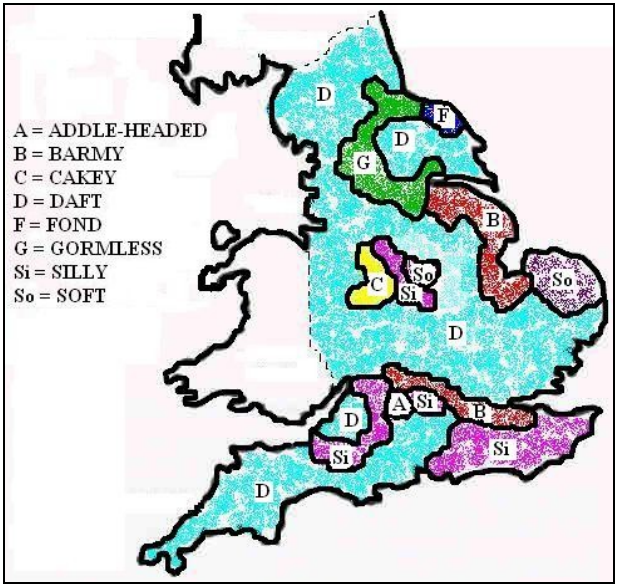
She don't know	for	*She doesn't know*
Have you went there?		*Have you gone there?*
She don't have none		*She doesn't have any*
I ain't comin'		*I'm not coming*
We ain't seen him		*We haven't seen him*
the man what did it		*the man who did it*
or *the man as did it*		
or *the man did it*		

No, I never	for	*No, I didn't*
Where did you get them shoes		*Where did you get those shoes*
He hurt hisself		*He hurt himself*
She's five foot tall		*She's five feet tall*
She weighs eight stone		*She weighs eight stones*
I likes it		*I like it*
She like it		*She likes it*

A few Welsh English examples:

He do go shopping every week	for	*He goes shopping every week*
or *He's going shopping every week*		
I'm not sure is it true or not		*I'm not sure if it's true or not*
There's no luck with the rich		*The rich have no luck*
There's young she looks!		*How young she looks!*

Space limitations prevent us from a detailed discussion of variation in vocabulary, but this map, based on map 47 (p.106) in Upton and Widdowson (2006), showing the dialectal variants of the word *silly* may suffice to illustrate how complex the picture can be in certain cases.



The vocabulary of Cockney, especially **Cockney rhyming slang**, however, are worth more attention. In rhyming slang a word is replaced by an expression, usually a pair of words coordinated with *and*, the second one of which rhymes with the original word, e.g., *wife=trouble and strife* or *fork and knife*, *head=loaf of bread*, *look=butcher's hook*, *phone=dog and bone*.

The new expression is often shortened to the non-rhyming part so that *use your head* becomes *use your loaf*, *have a look* becomes *have a butcher's*, etc. Eventually, such speech becomes very difficult to understand for someone unfamiliar with the expressions, and in fact, that was the original intention of Eastenders! During the 19th century, East End criminals invented and perfected this way of puzzling the police. Nowadays it is generally used as part of London* slang, and in fact some of the expressions have even become part of everyday English.

2.4 Wells' anecdotes

Bristol (Wells 1982: 344): Intrusive-L has generated a number of jokes, e.g., Bristol is the only city in Britain "to be able to turn ideas into ideals, areas into aerials, and Monicas into monocles"; where "a father had three lovely daughters, Idle, Evil, and Normal"; and where a local girl learning to dance was heard to say "I can rumble but I can't tangle".

Geordie (Wells 1982: 375): making use of some non-RP vowel qualities ([ɜː] is replaced by [ɔː], plus certain THOUGHT-words are pronounced with [aː]), there is a well-known Geordie joke in which a local man goes to see the doctor about his hurt knee, the doctor bandages it up and asks him, "Do you think you can walk [wɔːk] now?", to which the Geordie replies, "What do you mean, can I work? I can hardly walk [waːk]!"

London*/Cockney (Wells 1982: 314): when deciding about the names of railway stations, the railway authorities ensured that the local stations in south London* are named in such a way as to be distinct for the R-dropping, L-vocalizing population: there are stations like *Morden, Morden Road, Morden South*, but *New Malden, Malden Manor*.

London*/Cockney (Wells 1982: 314): someone from the East End called Walter has told Prof. Wells that until he learnt to read and write he always thought his name was *Water*. (And it even made more sense. ☺)

London*/Cockney (Wells 1982: 329): making use of TH-fronting, funny advertisements for beer claim that the brand in question is awarded "thirst prize" (which sounds the same as *first prize*), and that "for the southerner, it's the guv'nor" (which is a perfect rhyme).

northerners (Wells 1982: 354): when discussing the differing social acceptance of BATH-broadening and unsplit FOOT/STRUT: "There are many educated northerners who would not be caught dead doing something so vulgar as to pronounce STRUT words with [ʊ], but who

would feel it to be a denial of their identity as northerners to say BATH words with anything other than short [a]."

Welsh English (Wells 1982: 382): it is said to be impossible for the Welsh and the English to sing the round *London's Burning* together, due to the clash in the line *Fire! Fire!* between Welsh [ˈfəijə ˈfəijə] (with a central diphthong plus no smoothing but hiatus filling) and English [ˈfaː ˈfaː] (with a smoothed triphthong).

2.5 Revision and practice

1. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
   - The Welsh language shows no significant resemblances to Scottish or Irish Gaelic.
   - Yorkshire belongs to the northern English speech area.
   - London English is a typical example of southern English English.
   - The vowel inventory of English in the linguistic north is smaller than that of RP.
   - Cockney is the name of the variety spoken by the highest social classes in the historical centre of London.
   - The boundaries in dialect maps do not indicate sharp borderlines on the two sides of which completely different forms are used, but rather they represent areas where forms get mixed and are less distinct.
2. Are the home counties rhotic or non-rhotic? How about East Anglia? The west country?
3. Where does the name of the city of Bristol originate from?
4. What accent would Robin Hood speak today?
5. Why is Milne's Eeyore called Eeyore?
6. What is German for *number*, *us*, *under*, *hundred*, *blood*, *tongue*, *butter*? What does the stressed vowel of these words show? Which regional pronunciation of English is closer to the German forms?
7. In light of the fact that Cockney is characterized by H-dropping, schwa-insertion, TH-fronting and glottal replacement, what is the broad Cockney pronunciation of the words *Henry*, *athletics*, and *umbrella*?
8. What features can you identify in the following sentence, heard on an East End market? *Come on darlin' ... amazin' bargain ... you ain't seen nuffink like it!*

9. Can you "translate" these Cockney utterances into RP?

ˈɑːf ə ˈpæːn	ˈmjʊuzɪkoː	ˈwoːʔəlʊu ən ˈsɪʔɪi ˈlɑɪn
æːr ˈɒʊd ə jəu	ˈsoʊ ə ˈbɪʔ və ˈdʒʌŋgoː	ˈwẽʔ ˈdæʊn
ˈnæər ɪiz ˈdan ɪʔ	ˈbæːʔ ˈæːr əˈgʌʊ	ˈlɪʔo ˈbɒʔoz

10. Match the following Cockney rhyming slang expressions with their meanings.

a. For beginners:

Expressions:		Meanings:	
apples and pears	*jam jar*	toast	piano
brown bread	*joanna*	teeth	mouth
daisy roots	*joe Soap*	stairs	kiss
dustbin lids	*moby Dick*	sister	kids
frog and toad	*north and south*	sick	dope (stupid man)
half inch	*on the floor*	road	dead
hampstead Heath	*sausage and mash*	poor	cash
hit and miss	*skin and blister*	pocket	car
holy ghost	*sky rocket*	pinch (steal)	boots

b. For those who think they are not beginners ☺:

Expressions:		Meanings:	
barnet	*elephants*	pissed	suit
boat	*ginger*	drunk	hair
brahms	*iron*	head	eyes
bread	*minces*	poof (homosexual)	money
crust	*whistle*	face	queer (homosexual)

c. Can you figure out what the following expressions mean?

Would you adam and eve it?	*Use your loaf!*
Keep yer alan's on!	*You've lost your marbles.*
You're having a bobble!	*He's taking the micky.*
Me old china	*A cup of rosie?*

2.6 Further reading and references

Gramley, Stephan – Kurt-Michael Pätzold (2004) A survey of modern English, 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge: 227–234, 245–247.

Hughes, Arthur – Peter Trudgill (1996) English accents and dialects: An introduction to social and regional varieties of English in the British Isles. Hodder Arnold, London & New York: 7–9, 54–64.

Hughes, Arthur – Peter Trudgill – Dominic Watt (2005) English accents and dialects: An introduction to social and regional varieties of English in the British Isles. 4th ed. Hodder Arnold, London & New York.

Trudgill, Peter – Jean Hannah (1982) International English. London: Edward Arnold: Chapter 2.

Upton, Clive – J.D.A. Widdowson (2006) An atlas of English dialects. 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge.

Wells, John C. (1982) Accents of English. Cambridge: CUP. Vol.1: 184–263, Vol.2: 301ff.

2.7 Links

- London:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cockney
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cockney_rhyming_slang
http://www.ic.arizona.edu/~lsp/CockneyEnglish.html

- Geordie:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geordie
http://www.le.ac.uk/ee/glossaries/2008/geordieslang (Geordie Slang Dictionary)
http://www.funtrivia.com/playquiz/quiz17156613a5a98.html (Geordie quiz)
http://humour.200ok.com.au/image_geordiewindaz.html

- The British Library:

http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/find-out-more/england
http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/find-out-more/wales
http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/find-out-more/received-pronunciation

- Films to watch (without dubbing, of course):

http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0058385 (*My Fair Lady*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0064541 (*Kes*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0166175 (*East is East*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0112966 (*The Englishman Who Went Up a Hill But Came Down a Mountain*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0120735 (*Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0208092 (*Snatch*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0249462 (*Billy Elliot*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0088512 (*EastEnders* – still on since 1985!)

3 The British Isles 2: Linguistic conservatism in the Celtic countries

This chapter covers the linguistic situation in two traditionally Celtic* countries, Scotland and Ireland (Wales* was discussed in the previous chapter). First of all, it is important to note that RP does not enjoy the same status in these countries as in England and Wales*: it is not regarded as such an unquestioned norm (e.g., Scottish English has a standard of its own, a variety of Standard English called **Scottish Standard English** (frequently abbreviated to SSE)).In ***Scotland*** there is a threefold linguistic situation, that is, three major speech communities exist side by side. First, there are a number of speakers of **Scottish Gaelic***, a Celtic* language related to both Welsh and Irish Gaelic*. Nowadays it is only spoken by a minority of the population of Scotland, mostly in the Hebrides*. Second, there is an English-based variety called **Scots**. Scots is in fact the collective name of the traditional rural dialects and their urban variations, and there is no general agreement as to whether it is a dialect of English or a separate language (see below in Section 3.1). Third, quite a lot of people speak **Scottish English**, that is, Standard English with a Scottish accent. These three speech communities overlap to a great extent: monolingual speakers of (Scottish) English do not abound (especially in rural areas and lower social classes), as a large portion of the population is bilingual (in control of two languages/dialects) – both the speakers of Gaelic* and those of Scots also speak (Scottish) English. Therefore in the Scots–Scottish English relation the distinction between accent and dialect is of utmost importance: while Scots qualifies as a *dialect* of English (if not a distinct language) since it has its own characteristic pronunciation, grammatical and lexical features, Scottish English is an *accent* of English, being a pronunciation variety only.

As you can see in the map, Scots has four main regional divisions. The largest and most important is **Central Scots**, spoken in an area stretching from West Angus and northeast Perthshire* to Galloway and the River Tweed. It also subsumes the Scots-speaking areas of Ulster in Northern Ireland. It is this area where the two largest cities of Scotland, Glasgow (the largest city) and Edinburgh* (the capital city), are situated, and where more than 2/3 of the population of Scotland live. The smaller divisions are **South(ern) Scots** (Roxburgh*, Selkirk* and East Dumfriesshire*), **North(ern) Scots** (from East Angus and the Mearns* to Caithness*, with Aberdeen)[2] and **Island Scots** (on the Orkney and Shetland Islands).

The 32 counties of the island of traditional ***Ireland*** are divided into the six counties of **Northern Ireland** (which roughly corresponds to a former province of Ireland called **Ulster,** and which is part of the United Kingdom) and the twenty-six counties of the **Republic of Ireland** (also called **Eire***). The linguistic situation here is similar to the one in Scotland: on the one hand, it is also a threefold situation with a Celtic* language, Scots and English; on the other hand, during their histories several waves of population migration have taken place between the two countries in both directions (but, from a linguistic point of view, more importantly from Scotland to Ireland), as a consequence of which their languages and dialects have had profound influence on each other and show spooky resemblances.

[2] In the Western Highlands, Highland English, rather than (North) Scots, is spoken.

The three languages spoken in Ireland are **Anglo-Irish** (English originating from (the west of) England and having its own characteristic pronunciation, grammatical and lexical features; this is the variety which is meant by the term *Irish English* and it is sometimes also called **Hiberno*-English**), **Ulster Scots** (or **Scotch-Irish,** a variety of Scots "imported" from Scotland), and **Irish Gaelic*** (or **Erse*** – a Celtic* language closely related to Scottish Gaelic*). Nowadays everyone speaks English either as first or second language, but the influence of the old Irish language can be traced in the pronunciation of even monolingual English speakers.

The major speech areas of Ireland are shown in the map below. In Ulster, there seems to be more regional variation than in the rest of the island, and accordingly a distinction is made between **Ulster Scots** (or Scotch-Irish), **Mid-Ulster English** (including Belfast), and **South Ulster English** (a transition between Mid-Ulster English and South Hiberno*-English). In the Republic what is usually referred to as **South(ern) Hiberno*-English** is spoken. It is relatively homogeneous regionally, with much clearer dialectal differences defined socially, i.e., in terms of the level of education and the urban/rural distinction.

3.1 The Celtic countries: historical background

The "career" of English in ***Scotland*** (starting in Lowland Scotland) goes back to the 6th–7th centuries, the settlement of the first Anglo-Saxon tribes. Ever since, some form of English has been spoken here, so it is no wonder that its most ancient version, Scots, has developed such features that it is debatable whether it should not rather be considered as a distinct language.

Scots is a descendant of the Northumbrian* dialect of Old English, with Scandinavian and Norman French elements. It was first known as *Inglis*; then, by the 15th century it had become the official language of the Kingdom of Scotland, renamed *Scottis* or *Scots,* and it was the language of

court and government under the Stewart monarchy. Since the 16th century

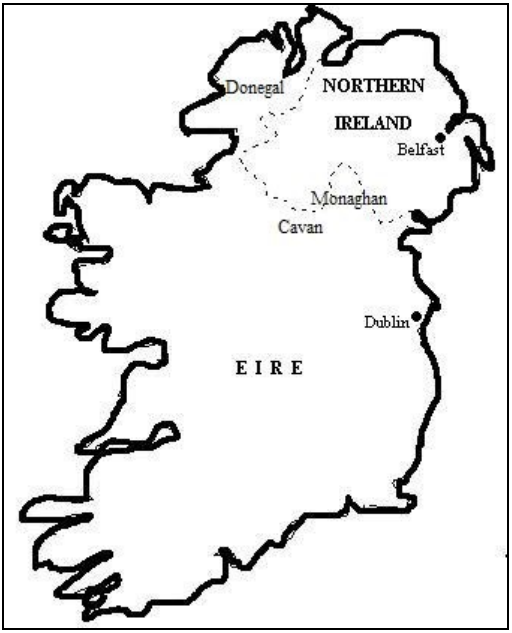
Scots has been losing prestige, with English taking over, and the process was further accelerated by the publication in 1611 of the King James' Bible, in English; this is how the lack of a Scots translation contributed to the spread of English influence into Scotland. By that time, however, Scotland had already lost its political independence from England as in 1603 the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland took place after the death of Elizabeth I. Then in 1707 the Act of Union united the two Parliaments, and ever since the official (written) language of Scotland has been the English of England. The spread of English was completed in the 1740's, during the Highland Clearances, when after the failure of the second Jacobite rebellion, English was imposed in much of the Highlands, too.

As we have mentioned, nowadays virtually everyone in Scotland speaks (Scottish) English, and although the political independence of the country is much larger (with a parliament of its own), both the Gaelic* language (to a larger extent) and Scots play a secondary role, especially in urban life. However, the literary tradition of Scots, in the work of great poets like Robert Burns, is worthy of mention.

In ***Ireland***, English has been spoken since the 1200s (the Norman settlement in the so-called Pale in south-east Ireland, after 1172, when the English king became Lord of Ireland) but it has had a firm status only since the 17th century. During the so-called Plantation of Ulster started in 1609, English and Scottish planters (=settlers) arrived in the north of the island. James I confiscated lands of Irish rebellious nobles and sold them to settlers. It is important to note that the settlements brought to Ireland speakers of two kinds of English, Scots from Scotland and

English from the north and west midlands, therefore the present-day linguistic situation in the country is the result of a long history of English and Scots shaping upon a Gaelic* background.

At least two further historical events contributed to the strengthening of the English-Irish bond: the Cromwellian settlements of 1650 on the one hand, and the Act of Union of 1800 uniting Great Britain with Ireland. The Great Famine of 1845–9 (also called Potato Famine) had at least two very important side effects: not only did it trigger a considerable wave of immigration from Ireland into North America and other parts of the globe, but it also contributed to the political division of Ireland into "two nations". As Ulster was much more industrialized at the time, it was not as badly affected by the Famine as the rest of Ireland, which almost entirely relied on agriculture, and which, as a consequence, felt more dissatisfaction over, and therefore showed greater opposition against, British rule. As is well-known, in 1921 this southern part of Ireland became a free state, and has been a republic since 1949, while the rest, Northern Ireland, is part of the United Kingdom.



Bear in mind that, although the dialect boundaries do not always follow the political border, this "partition" is not only political but linguistic as well: while the dialects of the northernmost counties are rich in Scots forms due to the settlements from the Scottish Lowlands during the 17th century, in the territory of the present-day Republic a process started much later, in around 1800, which replaced Irish Gaelic* with the English of the west midlands of England. Today Irish is the Republic's official language although only cca. 2% of the population speak it (the second official language is, of course, English).

As a matter of fact, historical Ulster is larger than Northern Ireland: three counties, Donegal*, Monaghan* and Cavan*, formerly belonging to Ulster, are now part of the Republic of Ireland (see map above).

As in the previous chapter, in the rest of the discussion of the accents and dialects of the two Celtic* countries we concentrate on pronunciation features and touch upon grammar and vocabulary only very briefly. The sound changes relevant to what follows are the following:

The Great Vowel Shift (GVS – 15th–16th c.)
All the long vowels of ME "shifted" in a kind of chain of sound changes.

before the GVS	after the GVS		before the GVS	after the GVS	
iː	aɪ	*mice*	ɛː	eː	*break*
uː	aʊ	*mouse*	ɔː	oː	*broke*
eː	iː	*geese*	aː	eː	*name*
oː	uː	*goose*			

The vowels of *mice* and *mouse*, for example, became diphthongs; the others got one step higher: e.g., the Hungarian *e*-type vowel of *break* turned into something like Hungarian *é*, the [ɔː] of *broke* was replaced by the more close Hungarian *ó*-like vowel, etc. Note that these changes did not take place in one go, e.g., the diphthongs emerging from [iː] and [uː] first had higher starting points which gradually lowered to [a]. In the case of the front vowels, no accent of English was exempt from the GVS; in the case of the back vowels, however, the change was regionally restricted: in the far north of England and in Scots dialects it was incomplete, and the vowels were either unaffected or took some other course of development. E.g., ME [oː] developed into [øː] (Hungarian *ő*) or [iː ~ ɪə] in parts of Scotland (e.g., *goose, good* – cf. the Scots spelling *guid* for 'good'), or ME [uː] remained [uː] in words like *house*. (Notice that in several accents of English, including the standard pronunciations, the vowels of *break/name* and *broke* later developed into the diphthongs [eɪ] and [əʊ~oʊ], respectively.)

The NURSE Merger (15–17th c.)
In present-day standard accents words like *heard=herd=stirred=bird=word* all rhyme, and have the same vowel as words like *nurse*. Originally, as

suggested by spelling, all of them contained different vowels, which merged into the same sound, [ɜ]. That is why such a change is called a **merger**. In most Scottish and Irish accents it has not occurred, or has only partially occurred, therefore words like *word/bird* have [ɔr] but words like *heard* have [ɛr]; words like *kerb* have [ɛr] but words like *curb* have [ʌr].

WH-reduction
In most present-day accents of English, words like *which = witch, whine = wine, wheel = weal* are homophones, although spelling shows that originally the former in each pair contained a consonant sequence of a [h] and a [w], that is, [hw] (some people have in fact suggested that phonetically this object is more like a voiceless labio-velar fricative [ʍ] rather than a **consonant cluster**, i.e., a sequence of two consonants). Later this cluster reduced to a single [w] in most of the English-speaking world except for a few areas like Scotland, Ireland, and parts of the US.

3.2 The Celtic countries: pronunciation

If a sound change is regarded as a **linguistic innovation** appearing in the speech of the younger generations of a speech community, those segments of the community which remain unaffected by the change can be regarded as **linguistically conservative**, retaining an older form in their speech. In this sense, both Scots/Scottish English and Irish English exhibit a certain degree of **linguistic conservatism** since a number of sound changes (the GVS, the NURSE Merger, the FOOT-STRUT Split, WH-reduction, R-dropping, R-insertion, etc.) have been unable to reach them either partially or completely. (Note however, that they are not *totally* linguistically conservative, as they have also innovated in other ways – see below for examples.)

Scots:
- rhotic*
- no NURSE Merger
- [u] in MOUTH-words: *house, out, now*
- [ø ~ y] (that is, Hungarian *ő* or *ű*) in words like *moon, good, stool*; Northern Scots [iː]
- other vowels: *stone* is [sten] (cf. Scottish English [ston]), *deaf* and *head* have [i], many FOOT-words contain [ʌ]; there is no one-to-one correspondence between RP and Scots vowels, e.g., in Angus: *book* [ʊ],

bull [ʌ], *foot* [ɪ], *boot* [ø], *lose* [o], *loose* [ʌʊ] – all with a high back rounded vowel in RP

- the velar fricative [x] (the *ach-Laut* of German; this is what we pronounce in *Bach* or *doh* 'mustiness') of ME retained: e.g., *daughter* [dɔxtɪr]; also found in loanwords from Gaelic*, e.g., *loch* [lɔx]
- allows for clusters like [kn-, vr-, -xt], ill-formed in present-day English: *knock, knee; write, wrocht* 'worked'
- lack of WH-reduction in words like *what, when, which*
- final *-ow* reduction

Scottish English:

- rhotic*; the realization of the *r*: the popular stereotype is [r], i.e., the Scottish "roll their r's" (this is called an coronal **roll** or **trill**, and it is the same as Hungarian *r* when pronounced long or with emphasis). However, Scottish *r* is very often pronounced as a tap [ɾ] (and, depending on social class and style, the standard coronal approximant is also used)
- no NURSE Merger
- lack of WH-reduction
- no distinction between clear/dark-L (most commonly, all *l*′s are dark)
- no H-dropping

- T-glottalling is attested (although it is dependent on social class and style)
- vowels: MOUTH-words with [u] (dependent on social class and style)

Vowels before [r] in Scotland (cf. the NURSE Merger)
Generally, Scots/Scottish English allows for a wider variety of vowels to appear before a non-prevocalic [r] than RP/GA. E.g., words like *pert* and *heard* contain [ɛr], *dirt* and *bird* may have [ɪr], and *hurt* and *word* have [ʌr]. Such vowel+[r] sequences all merge into [ɜr] in GA or [ɜː] in RP.

The Scottish Vowel Length Rule (a major Scottish innovation; also called **Aitken's Law**, after the linguist who first described it)
In Scottish Standard English (SSE), all vowels except [ɪ ʌ ɛ] exhibit a variation between their short and long pronunciations: they are long before the voiced fricatives ([v ð z ʒ]), [r], and word-finally; but short elsewhere. E.g., the phoneme [i] has two variants, long [iː] in *breathe, sneeze, leave, hear, bee*, etc., and short [i] in *Keith, lease, leaf, feed, leap*, etc.

Irish English (of the Republic):
- the name of an Irish accent: **brogue**
- rhotic*
- all *l*'s are clear(ish)
- the English stereotype of an Irish accent: [t, d] is pronounced instead of [θ, ð] (**TH-stopping**) and vice versa
- no H-dropping
- no WH-reduction

vowels:
- no NURSE Merger
- some speakers: unsplit FOOT/STRUT
- [æ] is usually realized as [a] (like Hungarian *á*)
- the STRUT-vowel is a mid centralized back, schwa-like vowel
- words like *face* and *goat* contain monophthongs
- [aɪ] is variable: [ɛɪ ~ ʌɪ ~ ɑɪ]; the stereotype is that the Irish say "noice toime" for *nice time*
- there is a single reduced vowel, the schwa, therefore *abbot–rabbit–grab it* rhyme, *starlet = starlit* [ˈstaːrlət], *addition = edition*, *-ing* is pronounced [ən], so *lying = lion*

- final *-ow* reduction, in words like *window, yellow* it reduces to a schwa, in verbs (e.g., *follow, swallow*) to [i:]

(***Ulster English*** is also fully rhotic* and has clear-L in all positions; but it differs from other forms of Irish English, e.g., certain features of the vowel system are shared with Scottish English (especially in Ulster Scots), e.g., vowel length is dependent on the phonetic context similarly to Aitken's Law in Scots/Scottish English; or there is no TH-stopping.)

3.3 The Celtic countries: grammatical and lexical features

Here we only give a few illustrations of the lexical and grammatical characteristics of the dialects in question.

Scots:
- words: e.g., *gloaming* 'twilight', *greet* 'weep', *outwith* 'outside', *chaft* 'jaw', *lass* 'girl', *ken* 'know', *ilka* 'each, every', *bairn, wean, littlin, geet* 'child', *callant, loon, chiel* 'boy', *plunk* 'to play truant', *heidbanger* 'lunatic'
- three-way distinction in demonstratives for close/far/further: *this/that/yon, here/there/yonder*
- prepositions with *be-* begin with *a-*: *afore, ahind, atween*, etc.
- auxiliary verbs are negated with *na*(*e*), e.g., *hasna*(*e*), *dinna*(*e*), [dizne] is used for *does not*
- morphology: irregular word forms: *bake–beuk–baken, work–wrocht–wrocht*; *coo* 'cow' – *kye* 'cows', *soo* 'pig' – *swine* 'pigs', *ee* 'eye' – *een* 'eyes'
- present tense *-s* is used in all persons as a narrative tense form, e.g., *we says, I comes*
- special structures like *the man <u>that his dog</u> ...* for *the man whose dog ...*

Irish English:
- words: e.g., *cog* 'to cheat on an exam', *airy* 'cheerful, light-hearted', *bowsey* 'a disreputable drunkard', *kink* 'spasm of laughter or coughing', *blather* 'to talk nonsense at length', the directions of the compass: *above* 'north', *below* 'south', *back* 'west', *over* 'east'
- special syntactic structures, e.g.:

All the week it's after being cold	for	*... it's been cold*
Who is this book belonging to?		*Who does this book belong to?*
He fell and him crossing the bridge		*He fell when he was crossing ...*

3.4 Revision and practice

1. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
- In both Scotland and Ireland, three major language forms are spoken.
- The other name of the Republic of Ireland is Erse.
- Scotland was settled by Anglo-Saxons in the 1200s.
- There are a number of Scots speakers in the Republic of Ireland.
- The effects of the GVS are traceable in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.
- The effects of the GVS are traceable in Shakespeare's works.
- As a result of the GVS, all the long vowels of ME changed.
- As a result of the GVS, all the long vowels of ME became diphthongs.
- In certain varieties of Scots, vowels like Hungarian *ő* and *ű* are found.
- Scots, Scottish English and Irish English are all rhotic.

2. Can you translate the following Scots sentences into Standard English?
   Yaize yer ain spuin *Ir ye awricht, Jimmie?*
   canny leave nuthin alane *The kye cums hame*
   Walcome til the wabsteid o the Scots Language Society
   Auld men dees an bairns suin forgets!
3. What is the difference between Scottish Gaelic, Scottish English and Scots?
4. What characteristics of Scots do the underlined words in the first stanza of Robert Burns' *Blythe Hae I been On Yon Hill* illustrate?
   Blythe hae I been on yon hill, *Now nae langer sport and play,*
   As the lambs before me; *Mirth or sang can please me;*
   Careless ilka thought and free, *Lesley is sae fair and coy,*
   As the breeze flew o'er me; *Care and anguish seize me.*
5. Match the synonyms. Which is the odd one out?
   Eire, Erse, Hiberno-English, Irish English, Irish Gaelic, Republic of Ireland, Scotch-Irish, Ulster, Ulster Scots
6. Explain briefly how the history of English spoken by the Irish is reflected by the differences between Northern Ireland and the Republic.
7. Compare the status of RP in England, Wales and Scotland.
8. Collect arguments for *and* against the claim that Scots is a linguistically conservative dialect.
9. Collect the major differences and similarities between Scots/Scottish English and Irish English.
10. Explain why Welsh English is not included in this chapter.

3.5 Further reading and references

Gramley, Stephan – Kurt-Michael Pätzold (2004) A survey of modern English, 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge: 234ff.

Hughes, Arthur – Peter Trudgill (1996) English accents and dialects: An introduction to social and regional varieties of English in the British Isles. Hodder Arnold, London & New York.

Hughes, Arthur – Peter Trudgill – Dominic Watt (2005) English accents and dialects: An introduction to social and regional varieties of English in the British Isles. 4th ed. Hodder Arnold, London & New York.

Pyles, Thomas – John Algeo (1993) The origins and development of the English language. 4th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 234–6.

Wells, John C. (1982) Accents of English. Cambridge: CUP. Vol.2: 393ff.

3.6 Links

- Scots:

http://www.cs.stir.ac.uk/~kjt/general/scots.html
http://www2.arts.gla.ac.uk/SESLL/STELLA/STARN/crit/scotsine.htm
http://thecapitalscot.com/pastfeatures/scots-language.html
http://www.scots-online.org
http://www.dsl.ac.uk/dsl (Dictionary of the Scots Language)
http://www.lallans.co.uk (the wabsteid o the Scots Language Society)
http://www.electricscotland.com/poetry/purves/Hist_Background.pdf
http://www.robertburns.org
http://www.scuilwab.org.uk/index.htm
http://www.abdn.ac.uk/elphinstone/kist/mclips (downloadable mp3 tracks)
http://www.scotsindependent.org/features/scots/index.htm
http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/aboutus/whatis/#scots

- Everyday English and slang in Ireland:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hiberno-English
http://www.at.artslink.co.za/~gerry/irisha_m.htm

- Films to watch:

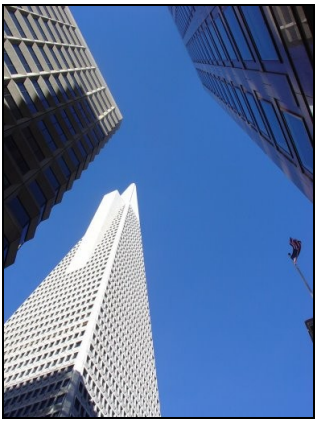
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0117951 (*Trainspotting*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0151691 (*My Name is Joe*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0166396 (*Waking Ned Devine*)

4 North America and/versus the southern hemisphere

4.1 Former British colonies: background

This chapter is concerned with, on the one hand, the *largest* single English-speaking area in the world: North America (with the US and Canada), and, on the other hand, the English-speaking portion of the southern hemisphere where, besides New Zealand and the very *small* native-speaker population of South Africa, the *smallest* continent, Australia is situated. Thus, what can be referred to as the two antipodes of the English-speaking world is introduced here, not only geographically but, as is clear from the following discussion, linguistically too.

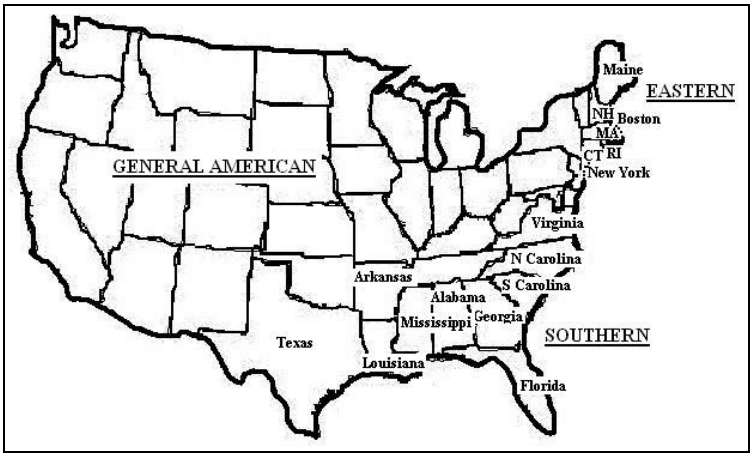
In the territory of the present-day ***United States of America***, the first English-speaking settlements were established along the Eastern coast: in 1584, the so-called Roanoke* settlement in what is now North Carolina, whose settlers had mysteriously disappeared by the time the next group of immigrants arrived; the first lasting settlement was established 20 years later in Jamestown, Virginia; then in 1620, when the journey of the *Mayflower*, heading for Virginia, ended in Plymouth*, Massachusetts. The mid-west and the far-west were settled much later, from the east. Therefore it is a logical consequence that it is along the Atlantic coast that we find the sharpest dialectal differences in both geographical and social terms, where the major dialect boundaries of the US run horizontally, from east to west; however, as we proceed towards the west, these boundaries fade and get intertwined – just as the early pioneers migrated and mingled.



The first settlers came from the west country and the eastern part of England, bringing their own accents and dialects of English English with them; in addition, there arrived a considerable number of Ulster Scots speakers from Ulster. For a long time, the eastern coast as well as the south-east of what was to become the US, with their significant seaports carrying out serious trade (including the trade of black slaves in the south!) with the rest of the world, had strong associations with England, whose linguistic innovations were prestigious enough to enter the American speech norm.

Then, as the westward expansion accelerated in the 1800s, the linguistic influence of both the mother country and the eastern coast started a gradual decrease, since neither the British nor the eastern-coast innovations were carried westward by the pioneers. Finally, the Englishes of the eastern coast and the south-east ended up as minority varieties, e.g., the non-rhotic* prestige of England could only spread to Boston and New York (and the surrounding areas) and the coastal south, but not any further; and BATH-broadening remains even more a minority pronunciation.

Dialectologists have come up with several classifications of the dialect areas of the US, some chiefly based on pronunciation, others on lexical/grammatical differences. Here we employ one of the older, pronunciation-based classifications; although it is much less detailed than many others, it appears to be both sufficient and suitable to the present purposes. According to this system, there are three main speech areas in the US: (1) **Eastern US English** comprises eastern New England (Maine, eastern Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and the easternmost corner of Connecticut*), whose principal city is Boston, Mass.; and New York City also belongs here. (2) **Southern US English** is spoken in the lowland south (Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas). Finally, (3) **General American** (GA or GenAm) is the collection of "that majority of American accents which do not show marked eastern or southern characteristics" (Wells 1982: 470), that is, it is the complementary set of accents. As a major characteristic, Eastern and Southern US English are typically non-rhotic*.



As GA is discussed in detail in Chapter 6, it is only briefly mentioned below, in its comparison to Canada, and a bit more space is devoted to the non-GA accents, including **New York City** (NYC) English, which has its own characteristics that Americans are generally aware of. In this respect, it is similar to London*, but unlike the English metropolis, it is not associated with any degree of overt or even covert prestige. (Cf. the covert prestige of Cockney.) This may be the reason why NYC innovations in speech have never been able to spread any further than a sharply restricted territory comprising the boroughs of the city plus a few adjacent areas (as opposed to the British situation, where language purists have already started talking about the "cockneyfication" of RP).

NYC English is well-known for its social stratification, mainly from the work of **William Labov*** (1966, second edition in 2006). In his famous survey of the effects of socio-economic class on R-dropping, Labov* elicited the phrase *fourth floor* from people in three NYC department stores, a low-status, an intermediate, and a high-status one; his finding was that, roughly speaking, the higher the social class, the more likely the rhotic* pronunciation, although several other factors such as age and style seem to complicate the picture.

Although US English may be taken as the primary model for Canadian English (but see below), Britain's oldest North American colony, Newfoundland*, is in fact found in ***Canada***. Its history started in 1497, when John Cabot, an Italian seafarer (perhaps accompanied by his son,

Sebastian) sailed west in English ships, hoping to find a shorter route to Asia. After a long journey, he discovered an unknown land, which he called 'new found land' (and he died the following year). Despite this early discovery, the first settlement in Newfoundland* was established only much later, in 1583.

Today Canada has two official languages, English and French, and for the 2/3 of the population the first language is English. French is a majority language only in Quebec*, but there is a considerable number of French speakers in Ontario* and New Brunswick*, too. In the rest of Canada, there is a relatively small number of French speakers, which means that the English-speaking territory is much larger and so is the number of speakers.

Still, Canadian English pronunciation is unusually and surpisingly homogeneous both geographically and socially, with significant variation only found in the east (e.g., Newfoundland*, having the longest history of English in North America, is characterized by its own linguistic features as well as by a continuum of varieties ranging from broad local accents to standard English – in this respect, the situation here is very much like that of the traditional dialect areas of England).

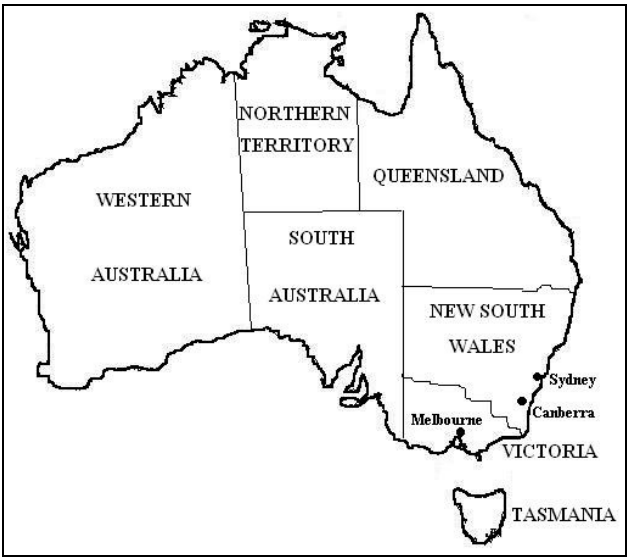
During the five centuries of its history, Canada has been in contact with both the US and Britain, therefore the English which is spoken here is a kind of mixture of the two traditions. Although as a member of the Commonwealth Canada is still, to a certain extent, connected politically to Great Britain, from a linguistic point of view the influence of the US manifests itself more (due to the obvious reasons of geographical closeness, commercial relations, and the effect of the media): relatively few differences are found in pronunciation and vocabulary, and virtually no grammar differences exist between Standard AmE/GA and Canadian English. Therefore these two varieties can be subsumed under the single label "**North American English**".

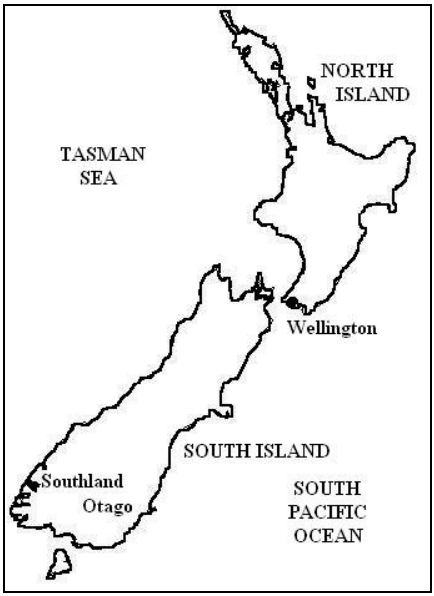
As mentioned above, Canadian English is rather homogeneous; in the discussion of pronunciation, for instance, it seems sufficient to talk about only two areas separately: Newfoundland* and the rest of Canada. Some authors, however, distinguish between three major dialect areas: (1) Newfoundland*, (2) eastern Canada (the Maritime provinces – New Brunswick*, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia* – and Ontario*), and (3) western Canada; eastern and western Canada are chiefly separable on the basis of the lexical differences (rather than pronunciation differences) they exhibit.

The other antipode of the English-speaking world we are concerned with here is the ***southern hemisphere***, whose English-speaking territories were settled from Britain at around the same time: Australia (from 1788), New Zealand (officially from 1840), and South Africa (from 1820). As in all of these former British colonies English was established at the beginning of the 19th century, they share not only much of their history, but many of their linguistic characteristics, too.

The story of ***Australia***, the smallest continent in the world, starts in 1770, when Captain James Cook claimed east Australia for the crown. Very soon, in 1788, the first penal colony, the Botany Bay settlement, was set up, with Port Jackson as the centre (to become present-day Sydney), which received numerous convincts transported from Britain. Most of the convict settlers spoke an Irish or a southern English variety, and the latter had by far the strongest influence on Australian English pronunciation. The natives called aboriginals* formerly spoke a number of Australian languages; today only 1% of the total population of Australia does so (mostly in Western Australia and the Northern Territory).

Australian English is remarkably homogeneous, the little variation attested being social and stylistic rather than geographical. Most probably it is the lack of regular contact with RP as well as of social pressure to imitate a prestige that has hindered the spread of British innovations in speech, and it is the relatively small number of population characterized by a great extent of mobility that has prevented geographical variation from emerging. Accordingly, the three main divisions of Australian English are defined in social (rather than regional) terms: most authors distinguish between Broad, General, and Cultivated Australian English.



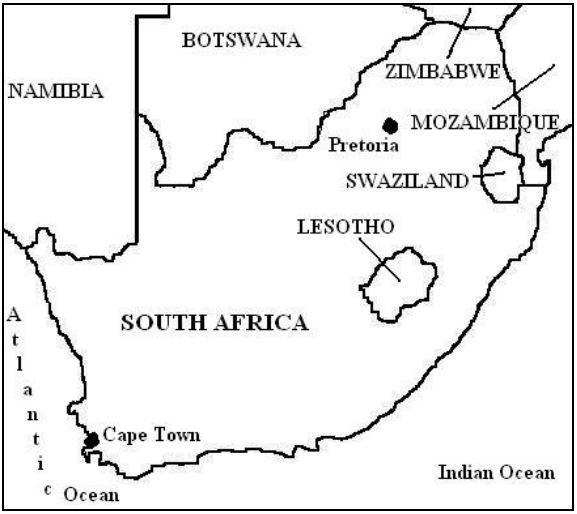


The two islands of ***New Zealand***, the North Island and the South Island, are located south-east of Australia. New Zealand (together with Tasmania*) was discovered in 1642 by Abel Janszoon Tasman*, a Dutch captain. In 1769 Captain Cook circumnavigated New Zealand (and in 1770 he met his first kangaroo). The first English-speaking settlers were whalers and Christian missionaries mostly coming from Australia. Then in 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi officially proclaimed British sovereignty over the territory, and a large-scale English settlement began (though no penal stations were established), fed by immigration from both Great Britain and Australia.

The sources of the immigrations had an inevitable linguistic effect, as a result of which New Zealand English (NZE) is almost indistinguishable from Australian English; there are more differences in lexis than pronunciation, owing primarily to the words of Maori* (a Polynesian* language) origin. (Around 1–3% of the population still speak Maori*.) Very much like Australian English, NZE exhibits a socially based distinction between Broad, General and Cultivated, without significant regional characteristics. The only exception seems to be constituted by the southernmost parts of the South Island, especially Otago* (see map), with a number of Scots features, having originally been settled by Scottish people.

Well before the British occupation of the Cape Colony in 1806, ***South Africa*** had been populated by Dutch settlers called Afrikaners*, and the first British settlers only arrived in 1820. Since the 1996 post-apartheid constitution, the country has had 11 official languages, including, besides nine Bantu languages, English and Afrikaans* (a West Germanic language originating from Dutch). In terms of the number of mother-tongue speakers, ¾ of the population speak one of the many Bantu languages (Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Sotho, etc.), and ¾ of the rest speak Afrikaans*, making English

the seventh largest language only. Still, South African English (SAE) is widely used as a second language in commercial and industrial life, and there are numerous Afrikaans*-English bilinguals. Virtually everybody in the country has some knowledge of English, and the diversity of the speakers' social class and ethnicity results in slight but palpable differences between White SAE (ranging from a so-called "conservative" variety and a "respectable" one to the broadest "extreme"), Afrikaans* SAE, Black SAE, and Indian SAE. On the whole, SAE shows a spooky resemblance to both Australian English and NZE, and a similar variety of English is said to be spoken in the surrounding areas (Lesotho*, Swaziland*, Zimbabwe*, Botswana*, Namibia*), and also in Zambia, Malawi* and Kenya.



4.2 North America and the southern hemisphere: pronunciation

Before we discuss the pronunciation features of the countries described above, a few sound changes need to be introduced.

American innovations

Most of the innovations of US English, especially the ones which are general characteristics of GA, are also found in some local accent in Britain, therefore very frequently it is not clear whether they are true US innovations, having arisen independently, or residualisms which are accepted as standard in the US but not in England.

- LOT Unrounding (late 17th – early 18th c.)
The original rounded [ɒ] vowel of words like *lot* turned into unrounded [ɑ]. In addition, the result of the change is phonetically rather long, and as such, it merges with the vowel of *father*-type words. E.g., *bo͟other* has [ɒ] in RP but [ɑ] in GA (due to LOT Unrounding), while the stressed vowel of *fa͟ther* is [ɑ] in both, which means that *bother* and *father* rhyme in GA but not in RP.

In most North American pronunciations this LOT-vowel has even merged with the vowel of words like *thought* and *caught* (this is the so-called **THOUGHT-LOT Merger**), thus *caught=cot, stalk=stock* all have the same [ɑ] sound.

- Chain Shifts of vowels
A **chain shift** is a series of sound changes which affects several vowels at the same time in such a way that one change induces another one, which induces another one, and so on, similarly to a chain reaction. Earlier, in Section 3.1, the Great Vowel Shift was introduced, which is in fact an example of chain shifts. Much more recently, over the past three decades or so, two major chain shifts have been identified which the vowels in certain US areas undergo. First, the **Northern Cities Chain Shift** is attested in the states around the Great Lakes in the inland north of the US, especially in its largest cities, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Flint, Gary, Chicago, and Rockford. When it is completed, it has shifted as many as six vowels, but it does not affect all areas to the same extent. Therefore, it is a complex phenomenon somewhat beyond the scope of the present discussion, but its first step is always when the TRAP-vowel [æ] turns into [eə] or even [ɪə], and the final change replaces the KIT-vowel [ɪ] by a sound similar to Hungarian *e*.

Second, the **Southern Shift**, called so because it is primarily found in the southern states and the south midland, is triggered by the monophthongization of the PRICE-vowel, which is followed by a gradual process whereby the first term of the diphthong [eɪ] becomes less front and less high. Then further vowels may be affected, and similarly to the Northern Cities Shift, its extent is variable. In its fullest form it involves the shifting of not fewer than ten vowels.

- (Later) Yod-dropping

The rule of Early Yod-dropping, discussed in Chapter 2, has become generalized in many North American accents to take place after all coronal consonants – not only [l, s, z], where it is also characteristic of Advanced RP (RP spoken by younger generations), but after [θ, t, d, n], too. That is why *new* is [nju:] in RP but [nu] in GA, *tuna* is [ˈtju:nə] in RP but [ˈtunə] in GA, *dude* is [ˈdju:d] in RP but [ˈdud] in GA.

- T-voicing

In certain environments a *t* becomes voiced and merges with [d]. As a further development, both voiced *t*'s and *d*'s can undergo **T/D-tapping/flapping**, the result of which is the so-called tap/flap, a coronal rhotic* consonant, whose IPA symbol is [ɾ]. This process is well-known in North America and in informal-colloquial British English – the accents it characterizes are the so-called **tapping accents/dialects**. (Cf. Section 1.2.3.)

The most frequent environment for tapping/flapping is the intervocalic position, that is, between two vowels; however, it is important to note that the syllable following the *t/d* is always unstressed, e.g., *tomato* [tʰəˈmeɪɾəʊ], *vanity* [ˈvænɪɾɪ], *matter* [ˈmæɾə(r)], *butterfly* [ˈbʌɾəflaɪ], *nobody* [ˈnəʊbəɾɪ], *little* [ˈlɪɾɬ̩]. Since for most speakers *d* is affected in the same way as *t*, pairs like *matter–madder, petal–pedal, I hit it–I hid it, atom–Adam, bitter–bidder, waiting–wading, parity–parody,* and *bleating–bleeding* are homophones.

Tapping/flapping also applies across word boundaries, but while within words a consonant must be followed by an unstressed vowel to undergo tapping/flapping (the *t* is tapped in *á<u>t</u>om* but not in *a<u>t</u>ómic*), across words this stress-sensitivity ceases to exist, and all word-final consonants followed by any vowel undergo the process; not only do we find tapping in *ge<u>t</u> alóng*, where the next vowel is unstressed, but in *ge<u>t</u> úp*, too – the underlined *t* in all of *righ<u>t</u> away*, *no<u>t</u> a joke*, *a<u>t</u> all* is usually pronounced as a tap.

In addition to the intervocalic position, tapping/flapping is also possible when the *t/d* is followed by a syllabic [l̩] (that is, an *l* in a syllable without a vowel), e.g., *battle, little, peddle*; when the *t/d* is preceded by *r*, e.g., *party, dirty, harder*; and when the *t* is preceded by *n*, as in *twenty, winter*, although in such cases the *t* is usually deleted altogether.

Canadian innovation

The first element in the diphthongs [aɪ] as in *price* and [aʊ] as in *mouth* is raised from an open quality to a mid one. This is traditionally called **Canadian Raising**, and it takes place when the diphthongs stand before voiceless consonants: [aɪ] becomes [əi], and [aʊ] becomes [ʌʊ] in words like *pipe, white, like, life; out, couch, south, house*. The words in pairs like *write* vs. *ride*, *out* vs. *loud, knife* vs. *knives, house* vs. *houses* have raised and unraised pronunciations, respectively.

Southern Hemisphere innovations

- Southern Hemisphere Shift

Besides a type of Diphthong Shift familiar from Cockney, this process also includes a general raising of short vowels. E.g., the open vowel of TRAP is raised to mid, becoming the vowel of RP DRESS; *rack* is mistaken for *wreck*, *Here's Dad* is mistaken for *He's dead* by English ears.

- KIT Split

In South African English, in stressed syllables [ɪ~i] has split into [ɪ~i] and [ə], e.g., *sing* [sɪŋ] vs. *limb* [ləm]; *kit* [kit] and *bit* [bət] do not rhyme. The conditioning environments are rather complex and variable.

4.2.1 The pronunciation of eastern US English

Although the eastern dialect area has its distinctive characteristics, due to strong GA pressure all of them are variable and recessive. Unlike GA (see Chapter 6), this accent is traditionally non-rhotic* and uses a broad BATH-vowel (both are innovations originating in the south of England), and it shows a tendency to use [ɪ] rather than schwa in the weak syllables of words like *waited, horses, ticket*, etc., which also makes it sound more like RP. The social pressure to imitate the rhoticity of GA has led to "overprecise" pronunciations (called **hypercorrections**), where non-historical *r*'s pop up by analogy with historical ones. This phenomenon is referred to as **hyper-rhoticity**. Thus many eastern US speakers now do not only use morpheme-final intervocalic Intrusive-R's, e.g., [lɒːr] *law* by analogy with *for* (familiar from non-rhotic* accents) but preconsonantal and utterance-final ones as well, e.g., in words like *cloth* [klɒːrθ] and *cough* [kɒːrf] too, by analogy with words like *north* [nɒːrθ] and *wharf* [wɒːrf].

Besides occasional hyper-rhoticity, the most significant features of present-day eastern US speech are variable rhoticity and the presence of both the flat and the broad vowel in BATH-words.

NYC English is also characterized by variable non-rhoticity and the appearance of Intrusive-R in the case of non-rhotic* speakers. The major difference between the eastern New England and the NYC varieties of eastern US pronunciation lies in the phonetic realization of vowels, e.g., the NURSE vowel is [ɜɪ] (= certain CHOICE-words), e.g., *earl=oil* [ɜɪl], or the PRICE vowel is [ɑɪ] (similarly to Cockney). As for the consonants, [θ ð] are often pronounced as stops (like Hungarian *t* and *d*, respectively), and T-glottalling and L-vocalization are somewhat more extensive than in GA.

4.2.2 The pronunciation of the linguistic south in the US

An interesting point to note here is that it is almost impossible to distinguish the speech of southern blacks from that of southern whites; in fact, many northerners tend to identify southern whites as blacks when exposed to their speech only. This may have painful consequences – it has been reported that white southerners moving to the north find it extremely difficult to find a flat by answering newspaper ads on the phone, due to the landlords' negative bias felt towards African Americans.

A few characteristic features:

- no distinction made between [ɪ] and [e] before nasals, therefore *pin=pen* both sound as [pɪn], *hymn–hem, mint–meant* are homophones, *many* is [ˈmɪnɪ], *Memphis* is [ˈmɪmfɪs]
- **the southern drawl**: relatively longer vowels in stressed syllables and relatively more weakening of unstressed syllables
- monophthongization of the PRICE-vowel
- the Southern Shift
- "**breaking**" of short vowels by the insertion of a [ə ~ ɪ] like vowel, e.g., *lip* [lɪəp], *rap* [ræəp], *bad* [bæəd] or [bæɪd], *thing* [θæɪŋ]; *special=spatial* are homophones, and *egg* rhymes with *vague*
- the STRUT-vowel is mid central [ɜ]; that is why the British stereotype view is that American southerners say *lerve* instead of *love*, e.g., *Don't starp lervin' me*
- rhoticity: this area is mostly, except for the outer south, firmly rhotic*, often even hyper-rhotic (e.g., *window* [ˈwɪndər]). In many places the

distinction is socially based: blacks and upper-class whites speak a non-rhotic* accent, lower-class whites speak a rhotic* accent.
- distinction between clear/dark-L
- the pronunciation of *isn't* and *wasn't* with [d] instead of [z]
- TH-fronting (like in Cockney)

4.2.3 The pronunciation of North American English

Both the majority accents of US English (=GA) and Canadian English are characterized by rhoticity, a flat BATH-vowel, T/D-tapping, LOT Unrounding, the THOUGHT-LOT Merger, dark-L in all phonological positions, and (Later) Yod-dropping. In addition, sporadically the lack of WH-reduction is also attested (that is, *whale–wail, whine–wine* differ).

The distinctive feature of Canadian English pronunciation is Canadian Raising; saying *I saw the White House* as [aɪ ˈsɑː ðə ˈhwəit ˈhʌʊs] is typical of Canada only.

(As it was mentioned above, **Newfoundland*** stands apart from the rest of Canada, chiefly due to early Irish and southwest English settlement. It exhibits a large extent of sociolinguistic variation, where the main factor appears to be age. It shares full rhoticity with the rest of Canada, but it is also characterized by Initial Fricative Voicing (a southwest English feature); clear-L in all positions; and TH-stopping (familiar from Irish English – Chapter 3). In addition, the vowels in PRICE=CHOICE merge into [əi]; the simplification of final consonant sequences takes place in words like *post, nest* (ending in [-s]), and even in the name of *Newfoun'lan'*; and finally, H-dropping and WH-reduction to [w] are more wide-spread here than in the rest of the country.)

4.2.4 The pronunciation of southern-hemisphere English

British features:
- non-rhoticity
- BATH-broadening
- Diphthong Shift (actually, the three main divisions of Australian English, Broad, General and Cultivated, basically differ in the degree of Diphthong Shift)
- variable H-dropping

distinctive features:
- no contrast between schwa and [ɪ] in weak syllables: in Australia, e.g., schwas are found in all unstressed syllables, as in the second syllables of *chatted* and *torches* (see Wells' anecdote in Section 4.4 below)
- the general raising of short monophthongs: part of the Southern Hemisphere Shift
- little or no T-glottalling; instead, intervocalic T-voicing is frequent

All of these features characterize the three countries in essentially the same way. In what follows, only those properties are listed which constitute the major differences.

Australia:
- BATH-words with [aː]
- [ɪ] in weak syllables is replaced by [ə]: *boxes–boxers, founded–foundered, tended–tendered, humid–humoured* are homophones; *valid–salad, rabbit–abbot, bucket–ducat, Alice–callous* rhyme

New Zealand:
- the most important difference from Australian English: the short vowel of KIT-words is a central, schwa-like vowel, e.g., *this thing* [ˈðəsˈθəŋ], *dinner* [ˈdənə], *phonetics* [fəˈnetəks], *city* [ˈsətiː]; at New Zealand airports, in announcements a phrase like *Flight 846* is reported to be heard by Americans as *Flight ite four sucks*
- non-rhotic*, except for Otago* and Southland (the southernmost provinces of the South Island); this is called "**the Southland burr**"
- for some speakers, WH-reduction does not take place

South Africa:
- the KIT Split
- major differences between Australian/New Zealand English and SAE: the BATH-vowel has a very back quality [ɑː ~ ɒː]; the long vowels of FLEECE and GOOSE are exempted from the Diphthong Shift

The major conclusion of the discussion of English pronunciation in North America and/vs the southern hemisphere is the following: in North America, we find "American-type" pronunciation features (rhoticity, standard T/D-

tapping, LOT Unrounding, Later Yod-dropping, etc.), as opposed to the southern hemisphere, where "English-type" pronunciation features prevail (non-rhoticity, Diphthong Shift, broad BATH, H-dropping, etc.). The largest former colonies of the British Empire can, therefore, be divided into two major groups, "American-type" and "English-type" accents, as introduced in Section 1.2.3. In fact, some authors claim that, linguistically speaking, New Zealand is to Australia as Canada is to the US – this has been sufficiently illustrated by the discussion above. This bifurcation of the accents of English is chiefly owing to a series of historical events, which led in the early or mid 18th century to what Wells (1982: 211) calls "**the great divide**". He fixes the symbolical date in 1750, which marks the end of the shared development of British and American English. Later British innovations have had no or just a minimal effect on North American pronunciation, and later American innovations have had no or just a minimal effect on British pronunciation. The pronunciation features of the former colonies have been determined by which of the two trends could exert a stronger influence. That is how throughout North America an American-type accent has spread; but since the southern hemisphere was colonized well after the "great divide", only the characteristically British features were "exported" to these areas, and consequently in these countries an English-type pronunciation is still the norm to a smaller or greater extent.

4.3 North America and the southern hemisphere: grammar and lexis

As grammar and vocabulary are discussed in more detail in Chapters 7–9, where these aspects of American English and British English are compared, only a few examples are given here for the distinctive features of the individual territories.

Canadian English

Recall from above that virtually there are no grammatical differences between US English and Canadian English. However, there are a few Canadianisms such as *sault* 'waterfall', *muskeg* 'a northern bog', *canals* 'fjords'; *cat spruce* is a kind of tree, *tamarack* is a kind of larch, *kokanee* is a kind of salmon, and *siwash duck* is a kind of duck. Canadian English is also "famous" for the frequent use of the discourse marker *eh?* carrying various meanings like 'you see?' or 'believe me, I'm not fooling'.

Australian English

It exhibits no significant grammatical peculiarities; while formal usage tends towards British English, non-standard usage is characterized by the general non-standard features of English. An interesting example for a typically Australian feature is the possibility of using the feminine pronoun *she* to refer to inanimate nouns, e.g., *She'll be right* 'Everything will be all right', *She's a stinker today* 'The weather is excessively hot today'. Certain word formation processes seem to be somewhat more frequent than elsewhere, e.g., reduplication, usually applied in names for Australian flora and fauna, e.g., *bandy-bandy* is a kind of snake, *gang-gang* a kind of cockatoo, *kai kai* means 'food'; the diminutive-forming endings *-y/-ie* and *-o* are more frequent, too, as in *broomy, Aussie, mozzie* 'mosquito', *surfy; arvo* 'afternoon', *bottlo* 'bottle-shop', *smoko, Stevo*.

As for vocabulary, Australian English has a set of rhyming slang expressions of its own, e.g., *sceptic tanks* 'Yanks'. Special lexical items include *bonzer* 'terrific', *chookie* 'chicken', *cobber* 'mate', *crook* 'ill', *dinkum* 'genuine', *larrikin* 'rowdy', *swag* 'bundle', *tucker* 'food', etc. Not really surprisingly, it contains loanwords from Aboriginal* languages, most of which are widely used outside Australia, too, e.g., *kangaroo, boomerang, budgerigar, dingo, koala, wallaby, wombat*. Certain Standard English words have gained new meanings, e.g., *station* 'farm', *paddocks* 'fields', *mob* (of sheep) 'flock/herd', *footpath* 'pavement', *overlanders* 'cattle drivers', *lolly* 'sweet' and *cocky* 'small farmer'. Australian slang also appears to be very creative, e.g., *job* 'robbery', *judy* or *sheila* 'woman', *crook* 'ill, angry', *drongo* or *nong* 'a fool', *mug* 'face', *pigs* 'police', *shickered* 'drunk', *swell* 'gentleman'. The common colloquial form of greeting in Australia is *Goodday* [gəˈdeɪ] (or [gəˈdaɪ]), a dress is a *frock*, wellington boots are *gumboots*, an anorak is a *parka*, and the cinema is called *picture theatre*.

New Zealand English

The grammar of NZE is almost fully standard, with not many distinctive features. Its vocabulary shares many items with Australian English (e.g., *lolly*), but there are also quite a few words of Maori* origin: *hoot* 'money', *kiwi* (also used to refer to New Zealanders, even by themselves!), *Pakeha*

'white New Zealander', *puckerooed* 'broken down', *yacker* 'work'. In the Maori* loan *whare* [wa:ri:] 'small house, hut', the first vowel is often pronounced [ɒ], which is reported to have led to a schoolboy's spelling mistake in *Dad thought Mum looked tired so he hired a whore for the holidays*. Other special vocabulary include *sports* 'guys', *bobsy-die* 'fuss, panic', *bushy* 'someone from the countryside', *bowser* 'petrol station', *squiz* 'a look', *beaut* 'fine, good', *dinkydi* 'true, honest, genuine', and *choom* 'English person'. *Hurray* can function as a leave-taking formula (meaning 'goodbye'), and *good* (*thanks*) is a possible answer to the question *How are you?*.

SAE

SAE is characterized by a number of typical grammatical structures, like:

I'm busy working	for	*I'm working*	(Afrikaans* influence)
also: *I'm busy waiting*		*I'm waiting*	
be scared for sg		*be scared of sg*	
explain me		*explain to me*	

It uses a general response question *is it?*, in all persons, numbers and tenses, as in *He's gone to town. – Oh, is it?* (for *Oh, has he?*). In broader varieties, certain constructions allow for the deletion of object Noun Phrases, e.g., *Have you got?, Have you sent?, Did you put?*. Finally, the word *no* can be used as a kind of neutral introductory particle in answers and comments, in a discourse like *How are you? – No, I'm fine, thanks.*

Its vocabulary has made (sometimes rather sorrowful) contributions to world English (*apartheid, meerkat*, etc); besides, it contains loans from Afrikaans* (*lekker* 'pleasant, excellent', *trek* 'arduous trip', *veld* 'open country, grassland') and from the native African languages (e.g., *donga* 'river bank', *mamba* 'a type of snake').

4.4 Wells' anecdotes

Canada (Wells 1982: 491): "The British usually take English-speaking Canadians for Americans. This is upsetting to some Canadians, who tend to feel that the speech of Americans is, or should be, clearly distinguishable from their own. It was after all the Canadians who remained loyal to Britain when the United States broke away two centuries ago. Yet the British can be forgiven for this error: a typical Canadian accent agrees with GenAm rather than with RP at almost every point where these reference accents differ from one another."

Canada (Wells 1982: 494): the raised pronunciation of the MOUTH-vowel is sometimes perceived by Americans as an [u]-like vowel, hence the popular stereotype that Canadians say *oot and aboot* for *out and about*.

New York City (Wells 1982: 502): with respect to the stigmatization of NYC English, Wells cites Labov* (1966: 499): "as far as language is concerned, New York City may be characterized as a great sink of negative prestige".

New York City (Wells 1982: 508): the caricature stereotype is that the Brooklynese for *thirty-third* is *toity-toid*.

Southern US English (Wells 1982: 540): to avoid the confusion potentially caused by the *pin=pen* merger, lexical expansions are used, e.g., *straight-pin* instead of simple *pin*, or *fountain-pen* instead of *pen*.

Australia (Wells 1982: 601): an Australian newsreader working on British television was once complained about not only for his overseas accent but also for apparently reporting, due to his schwas in all unstressed syllables, that the Queen had *chattered* (=chatted) to factory workers, and an electricity breakdown in a hospital had forced the staff to continue working with the use of *tortures* (=torches).

New Zealand (Wells 1982: 606): Australian sailors can easily identify New Zealand ones by the fact that they say [ʃəps] instead of [ʃɪps].

4.5 Revision and practice

1. Are the following statements true or false?

- The largest single English-speaking area in the world is Australia.
- The first English-speaking settlements in North America were established in Plymouth, Massachusetts.
- New York City English is not associated with any degree of (overt or covert) prestige.
- In Canada, for the 1/3 of the population the first language is English.
- Canadian English pronunciation is relatively homogeneous both geographically and socially.
- Southern hemisphere Englishes have a longer history than English in North America.
- The varieties of both Australian and New Zealand English are called Broad, General, and Cultivated.
- Australian English contains a number of words of Maori origin.

- The southernmost parts of New Zealand exhibit a number of Scots features in speech.
- English was brought to South Africa by Dutch settlers called Afrikaners.

2. Decide whether the following US cities belong to the Eastern, Southern or GA speech area:

Atlanta	*Houston*	*New York City*	*Richmond*
Boston	*Little Rock*	*Orlando*	*Roanoke*
Charleston	*Los Angeles*	*Pensacola*	*Salt Lake City*
Chicago	*Miami*	*Phoenix*	*Seattle*

3. A number of languages other than English are mentioned in the reading. Identify the contexts for the following languages:
Aboriginal languages, Afrikaans, French, Maori, Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa, Zulu
4. Match the Australian rhyming slang expressions with their meanings.

Expressions:
3 KZ, Bugs Bunny, captain (James Cook), cheese and kisses, dig in the grave, Eau-de-Cologne, Noah's (ark), Olivers (=Oliver Twist), Onkaparinga, Oxford scholar, Rex Hunt, rock and roll, snake's hiss, Warwick Farm
Meanings:
arm, cunt ('stupid person'), dole, dollar, finger, head, look, missus ('wife'), money, phone, piss, pissed ('drunk'), shark, shave

5. Explain, with reference to eastern US English, how hypercorrection, analogy and hyper-rhoticity are related.
6. Pronunciation spellings are frequently used in literature to represent non-standard pronunciations using the regularities of standard orthography. In Hungarian, e.g., spelling the name of the 8th district of Budapest as *Nyócker* shows that in non-standard Hungarian the *l* of words like *nyolc* 'eight' are commonly deleted and at the same time, the preceding vowel lengthens. Such re-spellings of words are wide-spread in English, too: e.g., spelling *thousand* as *thoosand* suggests a pronunciation with a long [uː]. The next two exercises provide further examples. The following quotation, for instance, comes from Kingsley Amis, *I want it now* (1968: 61, London: Cape). Which US accent is being modelled here?

Ah, Apollo jars. Arcane standard, Hannah More. Armageddon pier staff.
is a possible pronunciation spelling for:
I apologize. I can't stand it any more. I'm a-gettin' pissed off.

7. Can you identify the features of Australian English pronunciation in the following expressions from *Let Stalk Strine*, by Afferbeck Lauder, "Professor of Strine Studies, University of Sinny", quoted by Wells (1982: 594)?

Let Stalk Strine	means	*Let's Talk Australian*
flesh in the pen		*flash in the pan*
Tan Cancel		*Town Council*
calm bear klyter		*come back later*

What does the "professor's" name, *Afferbeck Lauder*, mean? What may it refer to?

8. Consider the following text appearing on a souvenir cup from Canada. Which aspects of Canadian English, and of Canadian culture in general, does it describe?

> *Hey, I'm not a lumberjack or a fur trader. And I don't live in an igloo or eat blubber or own a dog sled. And I don't know Jimmy, Sally or Suzie from Canada, although I am certain they are really, really nice. I have a Prime Minister, not a President; I speak English and French, not American; and I pronounce it about not a boot. I can proudly sew my country's flag on my backpack; I believe in peace keeping, not policing; diversity, not assimilation; and that the beaver is a truly proud and noble animal. A toque is a hat, a chesterfield is a couch, and it is pronounced zed. Not zee, zed. Canada is the second-largest land mass, the first nation of hockey and the best part of North America. My name is Joe, and I am Canadian.Thank you.*

4.6 Further reading and references

Gramley, Stephan – Kurt-Michael Pätzold (2004) A survey of modern English, 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge: 250–259, 296–313.

Labov, William (2006) The social stratification of English in New York City. 2nd ed. Cambridge: CUP.

Pyles, Thomas – John Algeo (1993) The origins and development of the English language. 4th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 228–230.

Trudgill, Peter – Jean Hannah (1982) International English. London: Edward Arnold: Chapter 2.

Wells, John C. (1982) Accents of English. Cambridge: CUP. Vol.3: 467–470, 490–553, 592–622.

4.7 Links

- North America:

http://www.americandialect.org (the American Dialect Society)
http://us.english.uga.edu (linguistic atlas projects in the US)
http://polyglot.lss.wisc.edu/dare (*Dictionary of American Regional English*)
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_York_dialect
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern_American_English
http://www.geocities.com/yvain.geo/dialects.html (dialect map of AmE)
http://www.evolpub.com/Americandialects/AmDialhome.html
http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas (the TELSUR Project)
http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/NationalMap/NationalMap.html (*A National Map of the Regional Dialects of American English*)
http://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/ICSLP4.html (a paper entitled *The Organization of Dialect Diversity in North America* by William Labov)
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canada
http://www.pbs.org/speak/seatosea/americanvarieties

- Southern hemisphere Englishes:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australian_English
http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Appendix:Australian_rhyming_slang
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Zealand_English
http://www.ualberta.ca/~johnnewm/NZEnglish/home.html
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_African_English
http://www.southafrica.info/travel/advice/saenglish.htm
http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O29-SOUTHAFRICANENGLISH.html

- Films to watch:

(thousands of films with American English!)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0075686 (*Annie Hall*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0126250 (*Cookie's Fortune*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0090555 (*Crocodile Dundee*)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0305396 (*The Crocodile Hunter* – Steve Irwin)
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0099450 (*Don't Tell Her It's Me* – "A szerelem Harley Davidsonon érkezik")
http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0080801 (*The Gods Must Be Crazy*)

5 Pidgins, creoles, Black English and other ethnic varieties

5.1 Pidgins and creoles

5.1.1 Pidgins and creoles: background

Pidgins and creoles are the linguistic offsprings of European colonization: they are **mixed languages** based on a prestigious language called the **superstrate*** (usually a European language, that of the colonizers) and the less prestigious vernacular of the colonized, local population (called the **substratum*** language). Traditionally, they are named after the superstrate* language, therefore whenever the superstrate* is English, we talk about an **English-based** pidgin or creole, or **pidgin English** (abbreviated to **PE**) or **creole English**. In most cases, the bulk of the vocabulary derives from the superstrate* language, but the grammar is heavily influenced by both the substratum* language and the special function and development of these forms of language (see presently).

Pidgins[3] are used as second languages in multicultural communities, in contact situations such as trade, so that people with different mother tongues can communicate with each other. Since they are only used for limited purposes and in specific circumstances, they are not expected to be suitable for all situations and functions, therefore they are less elaborated than native languages, with smaller vocabularies and reduced grammars. Such English-based pidgins are, e.g., Melanesian* PE (**Tok Pisin** – [pisin] or [piʃin] or [pitʃin]), or Hawaiian PE. **Creoles** are different because they arise when the pidgins become the first languages for certain communities. For example, this is what happens when a child's parents come from different linguistic backgrounds, and can only communicate with the use of a pidgin. Then, the

[3] The word *pidgin* derives from the **Chinese Pidgin English** pronunciation of *business*. (Ironically enough, the use of Chinese Pidgin English, the variety which has "christened" all such mixed languages, was forbidden by the Chinese government, and had died out by the end of the 19th century.)

child will have the pidgin as the model for language acquisition, and will learn it as its mother tongue. In such cases, the pidgin undergoes a process of enrichment/expansion, to be capable of serving all the functions expected from a full-fledged language. Consequently, creoles are enriched, expanded, regularized versions of pidgins, and they have the full complexity of any language. Perhaps the best-known English-based creole is Jamaican Creole. As creolization is normally an ongoing process within the multilingual community, with several stages, pidgin and creole are in fact at the two ends of a linguistic continuum from minimal pidgin to true creole.

Interestingly enough, all pidgins and creoles resemble each other in linguistic structure – there is a high degree of structural similarity among the various English-based pidgins and creoles on the one hand, and between English-based pidgins/creoles and those based on other languages (Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese) on the other. Several hypotheses have arisen to explain this. Some authors claim that pidgins and creoles resemble each other because all have developed from a common source (probably Portuguese), which has determined the basic linguistic structure, and the differences have come to being by the replacement of the original Portuguese word stock by vocabulary items from the other colonizers' languages. Another explanation refers to the similarity in the historical conditions under which all such mixed languages have emerged: the similar structures of West African languages, in which all are rooted, and the similar strategies of simplification used by the Europeans in communicating with the locals. Most probably, both factors have contributed to the process. In addition, perhaps the most plausible hypothesis claims that both simplification (from the superstrate* language to the pidgin) and enrichment/expansion (from the pidgin to the creole) involve universal processes (e.g., consonant cluster simplification processes – see below, leaving off inflectional endings, etc.). This final explanation is particularly attractive in the light of another process in the history of English, namely, the development of English morphology during the late Old English (OE) – early Middle English period, whereby most of the rich morphology of OE was lost. In this process, one factor seems to be the communication with the Vikings*, which was a contact situation similar to the one which have given rise to pidgins/creoles: the (largely) common word stock, accompanied by differing morphological endings, contributed to the emergence of the "reduced" grammar present-day English has. It may be the case that the first

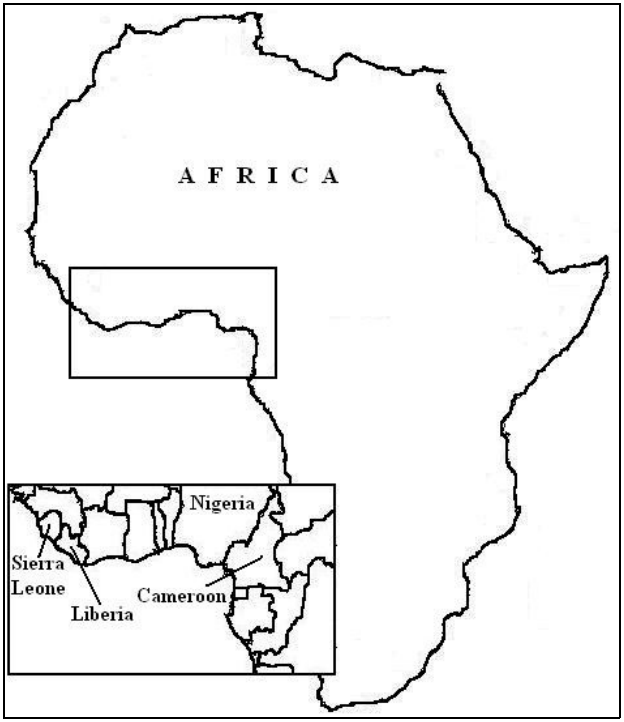
pidgin English ever was the one used by the English and the Vikings* trading with each other.

The history of English-based pidgins and creoles started in West Africa, from where already pidgin-speaking slaves were imported to the Caribbean* area and the southern US. In addition, English pidgins and creoles developed in the Papua-New Guinea* area, too. Therefore there are three general speech areas to be considered: the Caribbean*, West Africa and the Pacific.

The special feature of the Caribbean* is the fact that that is the region where black people constitute the great majority of native speakers of English. Here no pidgins, only creoles are spoken. In our discussion, the

Caribbean* area is taken to include, besides the Caribbean* basin, the relevant parts of the mainland of South America (particularly Surinam* and Guyana*) and Central America (especially Belize*) as well as the Georgia–South Carolina coast in the US. Today the most populous of the West Indian English-speaking territories is Jamaica, in the Greater Antilles*.

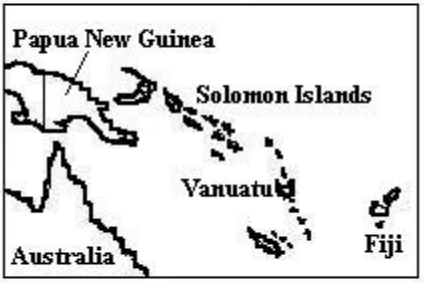
In most of these areas a **continuum** is found between the local creole and (the local variety of) Standard English ranging from broad creole (sometimes called "**patois***") to Standard English. As a consequence, Standard English exerts a continuous influence on the creole (as it is preferred in, e.g., government, school, or the media), which results in a process whereby more and more standard features appear in the creole (called **de-creolization**). The major creoles are the following: **Gullah*** (a creole spoken along the American coast), Jamaican Creole, Guyana* Creole, and Belize* Creole. All of these are affected by de-creolization, although to varying extents. The vernacular of Barbados*, called **Bajan***, contains so few creole elements that it can simply be regarded as a dialect of Standard English. A special case is offered by Surinam*: here the usual continuum is absent since Standard English is not present in the linguistic situation. As the creole called **Sranan*** (formerly referred to as Taki Taki) has, since the middle of the 17th century, been unaffected by English (except for the very beginning of its history, but then the country was ceded to the Dutch in 1667), no de-creolization is taking place, and Sranan* is on the way to become an independent language, already unintelligible to English speakers.



The state of English in West Africa is different from what we find in the Caribbean* because here there is virtually no native English-speaking population, English is

spoken as a second language (although it is the official state language in a number of countries including Nigeria*, Sierra Leone*, Cameroon*, and Liberia*). As a result, the continuum between creoles and Standard English does not exist in this region, and instead of the influence of Standard English, the local pidgins and creoles are in contact with a number of regional West African languages like Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa. English has relatively few creole speakers here, but many pidgin users. The major variety is called **West African Pidgin English** (**WAPE** – also known as Wes Kos, Broken English, and a number of other names) and it is used as a **lingua franca** in multilingual communities by over a million people, particularly in Cameroon* and Nigeria*. In these countries more and more creolized pidgins appear in linguistically mixed marriages in urban centres, and there are creolized forms of WAPE in Sierra Leone* and Liberia*, where slaves were returned from the late 18th century on, so that today cca. 5% of the population of Liberia* is constituted by native speakers of English, and 2–5% of the population of Sierra Leone* are speakers of **Krio***, the English-based creole.

The third area to be considered is the Pacific, by which we basically mean the pidgins and creoles of Melanesia*: **Tok Pisin** (of Papua New Guinea*, already mentioned above), **Neo-Solomonic** (or Solomon Islands Pijin), and **Bislama** (of Vanuatu*, in the New Hebrides*), but those spoken in Australia, Fiji, and Hawaii also belong here. In the last three places mentioned, the Caribbean*-type continuum-situation is found, with varieties ranging from pidgin and creole to Standard English, which gives rise to de-creolization, therefore we also encounter a number of de-creolized varieties.



In the Pacific, perhaps the most significant mixed language is Tok Pisin, with nearly a million users, and with varieties from minimal pidgin to full creole, e.g., Urban Tok Pisin (Tok Pisin bilong taun), Rural Tok Pisin (Tok Pisin bilong ples), Tok Skul, Bush Pidgin (Tok Pisin bilong bus). These are characterized by varying degrees of development and structural complexity.

Finally, a few words concerning the future and fate of English pidgins and creoles. As we have seen, some of them are standing firm, such as

Sranan*, Tok Pisin, Solomons Pijin, or Bislama. They may eventually end up in the status of independent languages. Others are in constant touch with Standard English, which exerts such a strong influence on them that they "suffer" de-creolization in the upper segments of the linguistic continuum. Yet others are already on the way to disappear – a notable example is Gullah*. These may copy the fate of lost pidgins and creoles like Chinese PE (mentioned above in a footnote), or the pidgin which was once spoken by the Maoris* in New Zealand but was totally replaced by (a New Zealand type of) Standard English (cf. Chapter 4.2.4).

5.1.2 Pidgins and creoles: pronunciation

In the Caribbean*, mostly English-type varieties are found, e.g., they have a broad BATH vowel, (most of them) are non-rhotic* (although Barbados* is fully rhotic*), TRAP-words have [a], and they are characterized by H-dropping. A Jamaican feature is the insertion of [j] between a velar consonant and an open vowel (e.g., *cat* [kjat]), and the insertion of [w] between a labial consonant and [aɪ] where Standard English has [ɔɪ] (the CHOICE-words), e.g., *point* [pwaɪnt], *boy* [bwaɪ].

The pronunciation of WAPE is distinctly African, and reflects the phonology of the speakers' mother tongues more than anything else.

In Melanesia*, Tok Pisin has a couple of characteristic features worthy of note, for instance, it replaces all of English [s ʃ tʃ dʒ] by [s] (cf. the name of the pidgin!). Another one is the lack of the [ɪ~iː] distinction. This, accompanied by the merger of the **sibilants** (i.e., [s z ʃ ʒ tʃ dʒ]) and a devoicing of final obstruents, leads to the homophony of words like *ship, jib, jeep, sieve, chief* (all pronounced as if they were *sip*). The consonants [b p f] are not distinguished, either, which results in further homophones like *beach, beads, fish, peach, piss, feast, peace* (= *pis*).

The following is a description of the major pronunciation features English-based pidgins and creoles have in common:

- simplified phoneme inventory. E.g., the interdentals are often missing, they are replaced by [t] and [d] (TH-stopping – cf. Irish English): Jamaican Creole [tɪŋ] 'thing', [dem] 'them'. In the Caribbean*, [v ʒ h] are also often missing: [v] is replaced by [b] or [w], [ʒ] is replaced by [dʒ] or [ʃ], [h] is deleted (H-dropping) (especially in Jamaica). Among the vowels, schwa is normally absent, and it is usually replaced by [a] (particularly in word-final position), or other reduction vowels are chosen (the

equivalents of RP [ɪ] and [ʊ]). The vowels of FACE and GOAT are usually monophthongized.

- consonant clusters are simplified, both initially and finally. In some cases a vowel is inserted to break up the cluster, in others one of the consonants is deleted. E.g., Tok Pisin *pelet* 'plate', Nigerian* PE *filag* 'flag', *tori* 'story'. Jamaican Creole [kratʃ] 'scratch', [traŋ] 'strong', [tʃaɪl] 'child'. In final clusters ending in [t] or [d] in Standard English, usually the final consonant goes, e.g., *left, nest, act; send, build*. Other final clusters may be "repaired" using different strategies, e.g., *ask* may become [aks] (a process called **metathesis***[4]), but *mask* is reduced to [maːs]. In the intermediate varieties of continuum situations, occasional hypercorrections occur (cf. Chapter 4.2.1), e.g., [stʌk] for *tuck*, [straɪv] for *thrive*.

5.1.3 Pidgins and creoles: grammatical and lexical features

The individual pidgins and creoles all have their characteristic features, e.g., the ones in the Caribbean* are rich in **reduplications** such as *little-little* 'very small' and **collocations** like *tall hair* 'long hair' or *keep a party* for 'have a party'. WAPE contains numerous loanwords from the African vernaculars, while Tok Pisin has been borrowing from Melanesian* and European languages other than English. Tok Pisin also makes good use of **conversion**, e.g., *vot* 'vote (v.), election', *hevi* 'heavy, weight', and **compounding**, e.g., *smokbalus* 'jet' (from *smok* 'smoke' and *balus* 'bird, airplane'). Jamaican Creole has tight bonds with reggae music and Rastafarian culture, both of which contribute with their typical vocabularies, e.g., *dreadlock* 'tightly twisted locks of hair' (*dread* means 'terrible, excellent'), or *overstand* for 'understand'.

However, English pidgins and creoles also have striking similarities. The following is a selection of grammatical features they are generally characterized by:

- a reduced vocabulary, compensated for by the extensive use of paraphrase and metaphor: e.g., Tok Pisin *screw belong arm* 'elbow', *grass belong head* 'hair', Australian PE *him brother belong me* 'friend'.
- a degenerate system of grammatical inflections: particularly plural *-s* on nouns and past tense (pt.) *-ed* are not normally used, e.g., Australian PE

[4] Cf. Hungarian *teher – terhek* 'burden nom.sing. – pl.', or the *Kristie – Kirstie* name variation.

aj 'eye' or 'eyes', Sranan* *wiki* 'week' or 'weeks', Sranan* *bribi* 'believe' or 'believed'. In intermediate varieties (recall continuum!) plural *-s* may be replaced by, e.g., *-dem* e.g., *boddem* 'birds', or Tok Pisin *ol* as in *ol sip* 'the ships'. The function of pt. *-ed* is sometimes taken by a pre-verbal element, e.g., *ben/bin* as in Sranan* *ben de* 'was, existed', Guyanese *bin gat* 'had', Nigerian* PE *been meet* 'met', Australian PE *bin si* 'saw', Tok Pisin *samting i bin katim* 'something divided it'.

- a lack of grammatical function words such as the **copula** *be*, prepositions (instead, a generalized preposition, *belong* is used – cf. the examples above), determiners (like articles, demonstratives, etc.), conjunctions. The consequence of this fact is usually a strict word order (as in Standard English, the relatively poor morphology results in relatively strict syntax). Sometimes, however, the system of pronouns is more elaborate in certain points, e.g., Jamaican Creole has *yu* for 'you (sing.)', and also *unu* for 'you (pl.)'.

5.2 Black English

5.2.1 Black English: history

Black English (henceforth BE) has also been elsewhere referred to as **African American Vernacular English** (abbreviated to **AAVE**), **African American English** (AAE), **Black Vernacular**, **Black English Vernacular** (BEV), and **Black Vernacular English** (BVE). In addition, it is sometimes called **Ebonics** or **Inner City**[5] **English** (ICE).

As far as its origin is concerned, several hypotheses have been formulated. According to one view, it is based on the English that African slaves learnt from their masters as a second language, but as the children of the slaves learnt English from their parents (rather than their masters) throughout the generations, this resulted in a kind of "imperfect" acquisition, with ensuing divergence from Standard English.

Nowadays, however, another view is more popular. Some authors claim that American BE is a de-creolized (see above) form of a so-called **Plantation Creole** (ultimately deriving from WAPE), which was once spoken throughout the American South (and Gullah* is possibly related to it), therefore BE has the traces of the West African languages originally spoken by the black slaves. This is the so-called **creole hypothesis**. In fact, most coursebooks today admit that both explanations may hold true to a

[5] *Inner city* is a euphemism for the ghetto.

certain extent, and both factors may have contributed to how the present-day lexis and structure of BE is built up.

Another riddle in connection with (American) BE concerns its relationship to the linguistic south of the US (cf. Chapter 4.2.2 – also see the discussion there). It is the naked truth that BE shares many features with southern US (white) speech. The basic question here is whether it is Southern US English that has affected (especially the pronunciation of) American BE, or the other way round. Most probably, though, there has always been a two-way interchange, which has produced a reciprocal influence. As for the English lexicon, the BE influence is undeniable, since certain vocabulary items even percolated into Standard English, such as *jive, chill out, soulmate, juke(box), jazz* and *threads* 'clothing'. There have even been etymologies made up for inevitably the most widely recognized English word in the world, *okay* (or *O.K.*), according to which it has its origins in African languages, was carried to North America by the slaves, from where it has spread all over the globe (see *Anecdotes* in Section 5.4 below).

5.2.2 Black English: pronunciation

The major features shared by Southern US English and BE are the following:

- non-rhoticity: in its broadest variety, this is **Type D non-rhoticity** in Harris' system in Chapter 1.2.3, where the *r* is only pronounced when followed by a stressed vowel. That is, it is also dropped in words like *Paris* (which becomes homophonous to *pass*) or *terrace* (which becomes homophonous to *Tess*).
- *l*-deletion/vocalization: again, homophones arise like *toll=toe, all=awe*.
- consonant cluster simplification, especially finally, and especially that of an alveolar obstruent, so that *meant=mend=men, past=passed=pass* all sound the same. However, the deletion is more likely when the target is not a past tense morpheme (that is, deletion is more likely in *past* than in *passed*, although when it is the past tense inflection, even then there are more deletions in BE than in Southern US English).
- neutralization of [ɪ] and [ɛ] before nasals, therefore *pin=pen* both sound as [pɪn].
- monophthongization of the PRICE-vowel.

Interestingly, a well-known feature of BE pronunciation is shared by Cockney (Chapter 2.2) rather than US accents, namely **TH-fronting**: the

fronting of the two interdentals [θ, ð], that is, they are replaced by labiodental [f, v], respectively, e.g., *brother* [ˈbrʌva].

In addition, there are non-systematic pronunciation features, too, e.g., *business* [ˈbɪdnɪs], *ask* [æks] (see metathesis* above), or initial stress in words like *police*.

5.2.3 Black English: grammatical and lexical features

Some of the grammatical and lexical features of BE are the following:

- **double/multiple negation**, e.g., *Don't nobody know the answer* 'Nobody knows the answer', *Ain't nothin' goin' on* 'Nothing is going on', *I don't know nothing about no one no more* 'I don't know anything about anybody anymore'.
- no copula (e.g., *She my sister* 'She is my sister'), but **habitual/invariant *be*** to express habitual actions and states, e.g., *John happy* 'John is happy now' vs. *John be happy* 'John is always happy', *he working* 'he is working now' vs. *he be working* 'he is always working'.
- the past tense and past participle forms of certain verbs, irregular in Standard English, are often identical, e.g., *ate* for *eat*, cf. *I ain't/haven't ate* for 'I haven't eaten'.
- zero relative in relative clauses, even in subject relatives, e.g., *the man come here yesterday* 'the man who came here yesterday'.
- question formation without inversion, e.g., *Who that is?,* and inversion in indirect questions, e.g., *They asked could she go*.
- double modals, e.g., *I might could have gone*.
- numerous characteristic vocabulary items, e.g., *goober* 'peanut', *dig* 'understand', *bad-mouth* 'criticize severely', *gray* 'white (man)', *kitchen* 'the particularly curly or kinky hair at the nape of the neck', *siditty* or *seddity* 'snobbish, bourgeois'.

5.2.4 British Black English

British BE is the variety spoken by the descendants of blacks living in Britain, originally coming from the Caribbean*. The most populous of its dialects is **London* Jamaican** (or **British Jamaican Creole**), a form of West Indian Creole. It resembles Jamaican Creole, although it does not contain many of the broadest creole forms. Most of its speakers usually speak London* English (especially women, or in formal situations), and they only speak the patois* on certain, informal occasions.

5.3 Other ethnic varieties

Due to the extensive immigration it has witnessed throughout its history, the US is the home of many ethnic varieties. According to statistics, by the fourth generation most of the immigrants' descendants become monolingual English speakers, although there are certain ethnic groups which manage to develop such characteristic features that unambiguously identify them as members of their ethnic community. It is this modified variety of English which is then passed on to the following generations.

Besides African Americans, who have developed Black English, there are at least two more ethnic groups in the US that need to be mentioned: Native American Indians and Latinos.

Not many Native American Indians speak their original North American language (a kind of substratum* in the present situation), and even those people are also English speakers, that is, speakers of **Native American English** (**NAE**). Still, the influence of the substratum* is present even in the case of monolingual speakers, although whatever that substratum* language may be, NAE is characterized by features familiar from the descriptions of pidgins/creoles, such as final consonant cluster simplification, or **multiple negation**.

Latino (or **Hispanic**) **English** is the English spoken in the southwest of the US by native Spanish speakers and their descendants. Some are bilinguals with Spanish as the native tongue, but for the others English is the first language, whether they are monolingual (as in most cases) or English–Spanish bilingual. It is difficult to talk about Latino English as a variety since its speech community is far from being homogeneous: there are differences between monolinguals and bilinguals, as well as between Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Mexican Americans, etc. The largest proportion of the Hispanic population is constituted by Mexican Americans, or *Chicanos* (feminine *Chicana*), therefore the major variety of Latino English is **Chicano English** (ChE), sometimes also referred to, rather derogatively, as **Spanglish** or **Tex-Mex**, because of the frequent code-switching (see presently) it applies.

The most salient feature of Latino English is the use of Spanish words and phrases in an English context, and the frequent changing of the register from English to Spanish and back, even within a single sentence. This latter phenomenon is called **code-switching**. It also uses many **loan translations** (or **calques***), e.g., *bad grass* (from Spanish *yerba mala* 'weeds'). There are a few characteristic expressions and usages, e.g., the prepositional

expression *out from* means 'away from', or *borrow* means 'lend' as in *Borrow me your car*.

Besides its vocabulary, the Spanish influence is strong in the grammar of Latino English, too, both in pronunciation and syntax:

- the Spanish vowel system is much smaller than that of Standard English, that is why the Latino English vowel inventory is reduced, which results in homophones like *ship=sheep, gate=get, Luke=look*.
- some of the English consonants are absent in Spanish, e.g., [ʃ] – this gives rise to the substitution of the missing consonant, e.g., [ʃ] is replaced with [tʃ] (and vice versa, due to hypercorrection – cf. Chapter 4.2.1), so that *check*, for instance, becomes *sheck*.
- a typical Latino feature is the devoicing of consonants under certain circumstances, e.g., [z] is pronounced [s] in *easy, guys, please*.
- the interdentals usually undergo **TH-stopping**, therefore *thank* sounds like *tank*, and *that* sounds like *dat*.
- final consonant cluster simplification is frequent, producing homophones like *war=ward, star=start* (as in BE).
- the phonotactics of Spanish forbids word-initial [s] + consonant clusters. Such Standard English examples (e.g., *scare, school*) are often "repaired" in Latino English through the word-initial insertion of [e] (so that the consonant cluster is not at the beginning of the word any more).
- as in Standard Spanish, the **double negative** (or **multiple negation**) is a rule in Latino English, too, e.g., *I don have no money, I no want nothin*.

5.4 Anecdotes

Tok Pisin (Gramley – Pätzold 2004: 345): once a member of the House of Assembly said *les long toktok long sit nating* 'tired of talking to empty seats', which was, due to the merger of sibilant consonants, mistranslated as 'tired of talking to a bunch of shits'.

pidgins (Fromkin – Rodman 1998: 423): earlier editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica defined Pidgin English as "an unruly bastard jargon, filled with nursery imbecilities, vulgarisms and corruptions".

pidgins (Fromkin – Rodman 1998: 423): illustrations of PE linguistic creativity: the question whether the sow has given birth to a litter is *Him cow pig have kittens?*, and Prince Philip, husband of Queen Elizabeth II, was described in Tok Pisin as *fella belong Mrs Queen*.

the Caribbean* (Gramley – Pätzold 2004: 269): the mumming parade at Christmas time is called *John Canoe*. In the West African language Ewe,

dzonck means 'a sorcerer', and *-nu* is a suffix for 'man'. As the chief dancer of the ceremony is a medicine man, the parade has been named after this 'sorcerer-man', whose Ewe name has been reanalyzed as the English name *John Canoe*.

Black English vs. Southern US English (Wells 1982: 554): a test has revealed that Chicagoans, for instance, "consistently interpret the speech of urban-reared white Southern college professors as that of rural uneducated Negroes". (In fact, it is indicative of the similarity between the two varieties that the list in Wells (1982: 556) of BE pronunciation features starts with the following remark: "It will be noticed that almost all of the following points were mentioned above in 6.5, The south. It may well be that any that were not should have been.")

a possible etymology of *okay* (but who knows?) (Wikipedia): *Waaw-kay* is an exclamation in Wolof (an African language spoken in Senegal, Gambia, and southern Mauritania), a combination of *waaw*, which means 'yes', and *kay*, which is an emphatic element. An English traveller heard the expression from a slave in Virginia in the 18th century: *Kay, massa, you just leave me, me sit here, great fish jump up into da canoe, here he be, massa, fine fish, massa; me den very grad; den me sit very still, until another great fish jump into de canoe;...* (J. F. D. Smyth, A Tour in the United States of America (London, 1784), 1:118–21). http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Okay

Chicano English (Gramley – Pätzold 2004: 262): "Various studies have shown that there are considerable obstacles in the way of general acceptance of Chicano English as equivalent to other accents of StE. A matched guise test, for example, in which the participants were told that all the voices they heard were those of Mexican Americans showed a clearer association of pejorative evaluations (stupid, unreliable, dishonest, lazy etc.) with a Chicano voice than with a near-Anglo accent".

5.5 Revision and practice

1. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.

- In pidgin languages, the bulk of the vocabulary usually derives from the substratum language.
- Pidgin languages are no one's mother tongues.
- The Vikings spoke a creole language.
- That part of the world where black people constitute the great majority of native speakers of English is the Caribbean.

- Neither pidgins nor creoles are spoken in the Caribbean.
- The most populous of the West Indian English-speaking territories is Cuba.
- There is no native English-speaking population in West Africa.
- The major speech area of English-based pidgins and creoles in the Pacific is Melanesia.

2. What kind of languages are the following?
   AAVE, Bajan, Bislama, Gullah, Hausa, Igbo, Krio, NAE, Sranan, Tex-Mex, Tok Pisin, WAPE, Yoruba
3. Can you guess where the name of Krio comes from?
4. Can you "translate" the following pidgin expressions into Standard English?

eye water	*foot-bottom*	*grass belong face*
gubmint catchum-fella	*hand-middle*	*hard ears*
him belly allatime burn	*lamp belong Jesus*	*sweet mouth*

5. In pidgin/creole pronunciation, initial consonant clusters are sometimes broken up by a vowel inserted, sometimes by one of the consonants deleted, as in Tok Pisin *pelet* 'plate', Nigerian PE *filag* 'flag', but Nigerian PE *tori* 'story', Jamaican Creole [kratʃ] 'scratch', [traŋ] 'strong'. Is the choice of the repair strategy random or rule-governed?

5.6 Further reading and references

Fromkin, Victoria – Robert Rodman (1998) An introduction to language. 6th ed. Harcourt Brace College Publishers: 412–425.

Gramley, Stephan – Kurt-Michael Pätzold (2004) A survey of modern English, 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge: 247–248, 259–270, 335–347.

Pyles, Thomas – John Algeo (1993) The origins and development of the English language. 4th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 230–2.

Trudgill, Peter – Jean Hannah (1982) International English. A guide to varieties of Standard English. London: Edward Arnold: 95–111.

Wells, John C. (1982) Accents of English. Vol.1–3. Cambridge: CUP: 553–591, 632–645.

5.7 Links

- General:

http://www.ethnologue.com (search for all pidgins and creoles)

http://www.ling.ohio-state.edu/~jpcl (the website of *The Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* with useful links)
http://www.fiu.edu/~linguist/carrier.htm (*The Carrier Pidgin: A newsletter for those interested in pidgin and creole languages* – with the photo of a pigeon :-) on the website)

- Pidgins:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pidgin
http://www.extreme-hawaii.com/pidgin/vocab (learn Hawaiian pidgin)
http://www.e-hawaii.com/fun/pidgin/default.asp (searchable pidgin English dictionary)

- Creoles:

http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/staff/mark/cwbc/cwbcman.htm (The Corpus of Written British Creole)
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Creole_language
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English-based_creole_languages
http://www.yale.edu/glc/gullah/06.htm (Gullah)
http://www.language-museum.com/h/hawaii-creole-english.htm
http://www.une.edu.au/langnet/definitions/hce.html (Hawaii Creole English)
http://www.jamaicans.com/speakja (speak Jamaican)

- Black English:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_English
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ebonics
http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/staff/mark/resource/creole.htm (creole English and Black English)
http://www.linguistlist.org/topics/ebonics
http://www.pbs.org/speak/seatosea/americanvarieties/AAVE
http://www.pbs.org/speak/seatosea/americanvarieties/AAVE/ebonics
http://bryan.myweb.uga.edu/AAVE

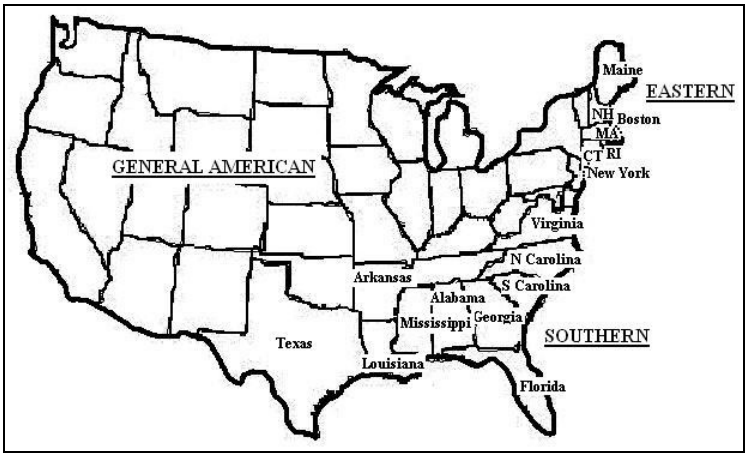
- Chicano English:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicano_English
http://www.pbs.org/speak/seatosea/americanvarieties/chicano
http://www.pbs.org/speak/seatosea/americanvarieties/spanglish

6 RP vs. GA: Systematic and non-systematic differences

6.1 RP vs. GA: background

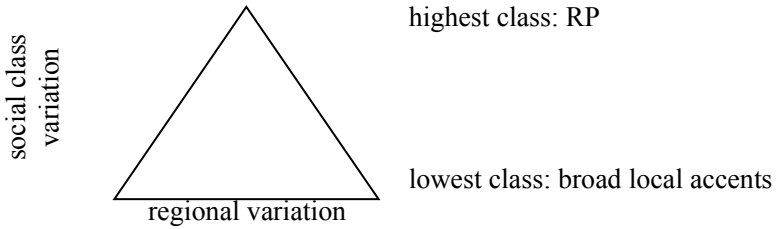
This chapter deals with the comparison of the two standard pronunciation varieties of English: standard British English pronunciation (traditionally called ***Received Pronunciation*** – **RP**) and standard US English pronunciation (***General American*** – **GA** or **GenAm**). Recall from Chapter 4 Wells' definition of GA, according to which it is "that majority of American accents which do not show marked eastern or southern characteristics" (Wells 1982: 470). This is illustrated by the map repeated from Chapter 4.



Notice how vast the geographical region associated with GA is, and consequently how enormous the number of speakers can be (the 2/3 of the American population) – no wonder GA itself is not homogeneous at all and exhibits a large extent of internal variation.

6.1 RP vs. GA: background

While GA is, by definition, the accent of the majority of US speakers, RP is only spoken by a minority (not more than 10% of the population of England). Geographically, it cannot be associated with any particular region in England, therefore it is even less **localizable** than GA: it is impossible to specify where you come from if you speak RP proper (without any trace of a regional accent). That is why no maps, similar to that of the US above, exist to illustrate its geographical extent. Rather, RP is definable in social terms: it is characteristic of the educated, upper or upper middle class Englishman. It is generally true for England that the higher one is on the social scale, the less regional variation his/her speech reflects, and the closer it is to RP. This can best be illustrated in the form of a triangle:



RP is socially accepted as the speech norm in southern Britain (that is, in England and Wales*, but not in Scotland – recall SSE from Chapter 3) – for this reason it has also been called (by, e.g., John C. Wells) **Southern British Standard**. Even its name suggests its overt prestige (that is, its social acceptance) – *received* is used here in an archaic sense meaning 'generally accepted'. Until very recently, there was even a strong social pressure to use RP in all formal situations and contexts (recall Eliza Doolittle's case in *Pygmalion/My Fair Lady*), so much so that before the 1980s it was demanded in its announcers by the BBC. As a result, it is also frequently called **BBC English**.[6]

In what follows, we compare the features of these two standard pronunciation varieties. As far as the historical background is concerned, recall from Chapter 4 the so-called **great divide**, that is, the separation of American English from British English in around 1750: later British

[6] Some authors claim that in England, a new standard form is on the rise, which is a kind of "Cockneyfied" RP, a mixture of RP and the English spoken in the southeast of England (along the river Thames and its estuary – therefore it is commonly referred to as **Estuary English**).

innovations have only been able to have restricted influence on the English spoken in the US; later American innovations have only been able to have restricted influence on British pronunciation patterns.

6.2 Systematic differences

6.2.1 RP vs. GA: vowels

The two accents differ in many ways, most of which concern vowels. On the one hand, a number of systematic **sound correspondences** can be identified, e.g., whenever an RP speaker uses the vowel [əʊ] as in *goat, know, so* (the so-called GOAT-words in the chart below), a GA speaker pronounces [oʊ]; RP [ɒ] in *lot* and *dog* (the LOT-words) corresponds to a somewhat longer [ɑ] in GA. On the other hand, there are differences which are not as general as that but only affect certain sets of words. For example, BATH-words are pronounced in RP with a broad vowel (due to the southern British innovation of TRAP-BATH Split) but with a flat vowel in GA (due to unsplit TRAP/BATH) (see below in more detail). The two vowel systems are contrasted in the chart below, based on Wells (1982), with keywords used for the vowel phonemes. The shaded cells highlight the major differences.

	RP	GA		RP	GA		RP	GA
KIT	ɪ	ɪ	FLEECE	iː	i	NEAR	ɪə	ɪr
DRESS	e	e	FACE	eɪ	eɪ	SQUARE	eə	er
TRAP	æ	æ	PALM	ɑː	ɑ	START	ɑː	ɑr
LOT	ɒ	ɑ	THOUGHT	ɔː	ɔ	NORTH	ɔː	ɔr
STRUT	ʌ	ʌ	GOAT	əʊ	oʊ	FORCE	ɔː	or
FOOT	ʊ	ʊ	GOOSE	uː	u	CURE	ʊə	ʊr
BATH	ɑː	æ	PRICE	aɪ	aɪ	happY	ɪ	ɪ
CLOTH	ɒ	ɔ	CHOICE	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	lettER	ə	ər
NURSE	ɜː	ɜr	MOUTH	aʊ	aʊ	commA	ə	ə

Three remarks are in order here. *First*, it has been mentioned above how heterogeneous GA is, which results in considerable variability even within what we regard as standard American English pronunciation. Obviously, it is impossible to indicate such variability in a chart like the one above. However, let us point out a few examples. (i) The vowel of GOAT-words is

shown here to be a diphthong, but in fact it is frequently realized with a monophthongal quality and as a consequence some authors transcribe it as [o]. (ii) In the chart, the quality of the vowels in NORTH-words and FORCE-words differs; actually, this distinction is getting more and more rare, and nowadays only a small fragment of the GA-speaking community seems to make it (and therefore we will henceforth ignore it). (iii) STRUT-words are frequently pronounced (and transcribed) as a stressed schwa. (iv) The TRAP-vowel may not be as open as in RP, and as a result the DRESS-TRAP distinction may not be as salient. (v) A final, general example of variability within GA concerns vowel length in the case of the monophthongs analyzed as long in RP (FLEECE, PALM, THOUGHT, GOOSE): their actual duration varies to such an extent that the usual notational convention simply avoids using the length mark – that is why GA vowel length is not indicated at all in the chart.

Second, a quick look at the chart immediately reveals that RP's systematic contrast between (short) [ɒ] (in LOT and CLOTH) and broad [ɑː] (in BATH, PALM and pre-R START) is not maintained in GA as, due to LOT Unrounding (cf. Chapter 4), LOT merges with PALM/START, and, due to the lack of BATH-broadening, BATH coincides with TRAP rather than with PALM/START.

Third, RP's centring diphthongs (NEAR, SQUARE, CURE) are missing from the system of GA. As GA is a rhotic* accent, the lack of the rule of R-dropping results in the absence of apparent **minimal pairs** (that is, word pair only differing in one segment) like *bee* and *beer*, GA [bi] and [bɪ(ə)r], respectively. Consequently, the R-influence affecting the vowels before the [r] and producing the centring diphthongs in RP (traditionally called **Pre-R Breaking**), is never obligatory in GA (except for the [oʊ]–[ɔ] pair, which behaves in the same way as in RP, cf. *stone* – *story* GA [stoʊn] – [ˈstɔrɪ]). As a further result, descriptions of GA do not normally consider Pre-R Breaking as a phonological rule – the occasional appearance of the schwa is usually taken to be the result of an optional **schwa-insertion** rule taking place before syllable-final [r]. It is the consequence of this that the GA inventory of diphthongs is much smaller than that of RP (no centring diphthongs) (and triphthongs, not listed separately in the chart above, are missing altogether).

The difference between the RP and GA pronunciations of NURSE, START, and NORTH/FORCE is also owing to the rhoticity difference.

Notice that in these cases it is not the actual quality of the vowels which differs but their length: the same vowel is long if the *r* is dropped (as in RP) but short if it is not (as in GA). This can only be accounted for if we separate R-influence (traditionally called **Pre-R Broadening**, part of which is the so-called NURSE Merger, introduced in Section 3.1) proper (influencing the *quality* of the target vowel) and the lengthening of the vowels in non-rhotic* Englishes, which is a "reaction" of the vowel to the loss of the *r* (responsible for vowel *quantity*). As GA is a rhotic* accent, no *r*'s are dropped; consequently, this lengthening is impossible. Therefore in GA we find the same vowels in *car, lord, stern, firm, hurt* as in RP, only they are short: [kɑr], [lɔrd], [stɜrn], [fɜrm], [hɜrt] – Broadening, but not lengthening, has taken place.

In RP, Pre-R Broadening is regularly and systematically blocked if the *r* itself is pronounced because it is followed by a pronounced vowel – this is the so-called ***Carrot*-Rule**, an example of which is the word *carrot* itself. In GA, although in most cases the *Carrot*-Rule applies in the same way as in RP, a few irregular words are exempt from it – that is, Broadening *does* take place in *carrot*-like words. E.g., *courage, currency, current, curry, hurry, Murray, occurrence*, *turret, worry*, all with [ʌ] in RP but [ɜ] in GA, and *squirrel* RP [ɪ] vs. GA [ɜ].

Finally, it has been mentioned above that while GA is an unsplit TRAP/BATH accent, RP exhibits the phonological innovation of BATH-broadening. Although the TRAP-BATH Split has taken place in rather arbitrary environments, it can be pointed out that most of the so-called BATH-words contain the vowel letter <a> followed by a (voiceless) fricative or a nasal + (voiceless) consonant cluster: *ask* [ɑːsk], *aunt* [ɑːnt], *bath* [bɑːθ], *brass* [brɑːs], *can't* [kɑːnt], *class* [klɑːs], *dance* [dɑːns], *last* [lɑːst], *laugh* [lɑːf], *pass* [pɑːs], *path* [pɑːθ], *staff* [stɑːf], *task* [tɑːsk] – the RP [ɑː] in all of these words corresponds to [æ] in GA. Further examples include *after, answer, calf, example, glass, grass, half, halve, master, past, photograph, rather.* The fact that BATH-broadening does not result in a

totally systematic difference between RP and GA is reflected in examples where the <a> is followed by some other consonant(s), e.g., *banana* RP [bəˈnɑːnə] (GA [-næ-]), as well as in examples where the conditions are met, still one or the other accent does not obey the "rule": e.g., out of *father* [ˈfɑːðə(r)], *lather* [ˈlɑːðə(r)], *rather* [ˈrɑːðə(r)], only *lather* and *rather* contain [æ] in GA; in a few words like *stance* or those starting with *trans*-, even RP favours flat [æ].

6.2.2 RP vs. GA: consonants

As far as consonants are concerned, the systems they set up in the two accents are identical, and the major differences result from the way they undergo phonological processes. One minor exception is the presence of the voiceless labiovelar, [ʍ], in the case of a few GA speakers, whose pronunciation has not been affected by WH-reduction (cf. Chapter 3), and consequently, *which–witch* and *whine–wine* are minimal pairs for them.

However, the phonological rules, listed in what follows, produce much more salient differences.

R-dropping

One of the major differences between RP and GA stems from (non-) rhoticity, that is, the (non-)pronunciation of orthographic* <r>. GA is rhotic*, whereas RP is non-rhotic*: word pairs like *farther* and *father* are homophonous in the latter only. Recall from Chapter 2 the differences and similarities of Linking-R and Intrusive-R, and the fact that R-intrusion only characterizes non-rhotic* accents, i.e., it is only potentially present in RP. While conservative RP speakers still tend to avoid using Intrusive-R, it is widespread in more advanced varieties of RP.

L-darkening

RP (and some of the other accents of English) makes a distinction between clear (alveolar) and dark (velarized) *l* in such a way that only prevocalic *l* remains clear. In GA, *l*'s are in general darker, in all phonological positions.

Aspiration, glottalization, tapping/flapping

The choice of allophones for voiceless stops is conditioned in largely the same way in the two accents. Word-initially and before a stressed vowel (but not after an [s]), [p t k] are **aspirated** ([pʰ tʰ kʰ]), perhaps to a greater extent in RP than in GA, e.g., *potato, cat, decapitate* (but not in *spit, statue, skull*). Syllable-finally, the voiceless stops are (pre)glottalised, that is, a glottal stop accompanies their articulation either simultaneously (this is called **glottalization** or **glottal reinforcement** [pˀ tˀ kˀ]), or preceding the closure of the plosive itself (**preglottalization** [ˀp ˀt ˀk]), e.g., *cat, capture, Scotland, pack, actor, decapitate*. **Glottal replacement** or **glottalling**, when the glottal stop replaces the original plosive altogether (widespread in non-standard British English – see Section 2.1), is only acceptable with [t], in either of two cases: (i) syllable-finally, as in *cat, Scotland* above, although even in such examples the process appears to be more likely in (advanced) RP than in GA; (ii) before a syllabic nasal, e.g., *button*, in both RP and GA.

The major difference lies in the fact that GA is a **tapping dialect**, i.e., the two coronal plosives, *t* and *d*, undergo **tapping/flapping**: in words like *atom, Adam, city, little, puddle, party, twenty* they are usually replaced with the tap/flap [ɾ] in GA. This phenomenon is rare in RP, in fact, it is generally regarded as a non-standard feature in British English. (For a detailed description, see Chapter 4.)

(Later) Yod-Dropping

In RP, the deletion of the yod in the vocalic sequence [juː] is only accepted in the speech of younger generations (that is, in advanced RP) after [s], [z] and [l]. Therefore in words like *suit, super, Zeus, illusion* the yod is only pronounced by conservative (that is, older) speakers of RP ([sjuːt, ˈsjuːpə(r), zjuːs, ɪˈljuːʒn]) but not by younger speakers ([suːt, ˈsuːpə(r), zuːs, ɪˈluːʒn]). In GA, however, (Later) Yod-dropping is much more extensive as it applies after all coronal consonants, that is, in [θj tj dj nj] clusters as well. That is how homophones like *tune – toon, dew – do, new/knew – gnu* emerge; and *suit, super, Zeus, illusion* are [sut, ˈsupər, zus, ɪˈluʒn]. (See Chapter 4.)

6.3 RP vs. GA: non-systematic differences

There are a considerable number of examples where RP and GA differ in an unpredictable, non-systematic way; that is, the pronunciations of individual words need to be listed for RP and GA separately. These can be referred to

as differences of lexical incidence, as the pronunciation difference is an idiosyncratic feature of the individual lexical item.

Some of the most frequent words are given in the chart below. Less frequent words, including recent loanwords and proper names, also exhibit a great deal of variation, but they are ignored for reasons of space. Let us mention, though, two words of Hungarian origin: *goulash* RP [ˈguːlæʃ] vs. GA [ˈgulɑʃ], *czardas* RP [ˈtʃɑːdæʃ] vs. GA [ˈtʃɑrdɑʃ].

	typical RP	typical GA
address	[əˈdres]	[ˈædres]
advertisement	[ədˈvɜːtɪsmənt]	[ˈædvərtaɪzmənt]
anti-	[ˈæntɪ]	[ˈæntaɪ]
apricot	[ˈeɪprɪkɒt]	[ˈæprɪkɑt]
ate	[et]	[eɪt]
beta	[ˈbiːtə]	[ˈbeɪtə]
borough	[ˈbʌrə]	[ˈbɜroʊ]
clerk	[klɑːk]	[klɜrk]
depot	[ˈdepəʊ]	[ˈdipoʊ]
erase	[ɪˈreɪz]	[ɪˈreɪs]
figure	[ˈfɪgə]	[ˈfɪgjər]
garage	[ˈgærɑːʒ]	[gəˈrɑʒ]
herb	[hɜːb]	[ɜrb]
inquiry	[ɪŋˈkwaɪərɪ]	[ˈɪŋkwərɪ]
laboratory	[ləˈbɒrətrɪ]	[ˈlæbrətərɪ]
leisure	[ˈleʒə]	[ˈliʒər]
lever	[ˈliːvə]	[ˈlevər]
lieutenant	[lefˈtenənt]	[luˈtenənt]
liqueur	[lɪˈkjʊə(r)]	[lɪˈkɜr]
mature	[məˈtʃʊə(r)]	[məˈtʊər]
moustache	[məˈstɑːʃ]	[ˈmʌstæʃ]
(n)either	[ˈ(n)aɪðə]	[ˈ(n)iðər]
omega	[ˈəʊmɪgə]	[oʊˈmigə, oʊˈmeɪgə, oʊˈmegə]
patriot	[ˈpætrɪət]	[ˈpeɪtrɪət]

	typical RP	typical GA
process (n)	[ˈprəʊses]	[ˈpraɪses]
progress	[ˈprəʊgres]	[ˈpraɡres]
record (n)	[ˈrekɔːd]	[ˈrekərd]
schedule	[ˈʃedjuːl]	[ˈskedʒul]
shone	[ʃɒn]	[ʃoʊn]
suggest	[səˈdʒest]	[səgˈdʒest]
thorough	[ˈθʌrə]	[ˈθɜroʊ]
tomato	[təˈmɑːtəʊ]	[təˈmeɪtoʊ]
vase	[vɑːz]	[veɪs]
version	[ˈvɜːʃn]	[ˈvɜrʒn]
wrath	[rɒθ]	[ræθ]
Z	[zed]	[zi]

In addition, the strong forms of certain function words differ: *of* RP [ɒv] (GA [ʌv]), *from* RP [frɒm] (GA [frʌm]), *was* RP [wɒz] (GA [wʌz]), *been* RP [biːn] (GA [bɪn]).

Notice that as far as English letter-to-sound rules go, the pronunciations are sometimes more regular in RP (e.g., *beta, lever*), but perhaps more often in GA (e.g., *apricot, ate, clerk, depot, patriot, shone, tomato, vase*), which is due to, in most cases, the RP tendency to preserve traditional spellings/pronunciations on the one hand, and GA's innovations reflecting native intuitions on the other.

There are a few differences between the two accents in stress placement, too. Most of them are non-systematic, e.g., *address* RP [əˈdres] vs. GA [ˈædres], *advertisement* RP [ədˈvɜːtɪsmənt] vs. GA [ˌædvərˈtaɪzmənt] (or [ˈædvərtaɪzmənt]) above. In a whole lot of words, mostly of French origin, RP has initial primary stress whereas GA assigns it to the ult, e.g., RP *ábstract* (GA *abstráct*), RP *bállet* [ˈbæleɪ] (GA *ballét* [bæˈleɪ]), RP *béret* [ˈbereɪ] (GA *berét* [bəˈreɪ]), RP *búffet* [ˈbʊfeɪ] (GA *buffét* [bəˈfeɪ]), RP *cáfe* [ˈkæfeɪ] (GA *café* [kæˈfeɪ]), RP *cháuffeur* [ˈʃəʊfə(r)] (GA *chaufféur* [ʃoʊˈfɜr]), RP *Chévrolet* [ˈʃevrəleɪ] (GA *Chevrolét* [ˌʃevrəˈleɪ]), RP *détail* (GA *detáil*), RP *hárass* (GA *haráss*), RP *mássage* [ˈmæsɑːʒ] (GA *masságe*

[məˈsɑʒ]). In a few words the RP pronunciation contains an unstressed syllable with an unreduced vowel (i.e., tertiary stress), which is reduced to zero in GA, e.g., *fragile* RP [ˈfrædʒaɪl] (GA [ˈfrædʒl]), *docile* RP [ˈdəʊsaɪl] (GA [ˈdɑsl]), *missile* RP [ˈmɪsaɪl] (GA [ˈmɪsl]), *regime* RP [reɪˈʒiːm] (GA [rəˈʒim]). A systematic stress difference concerns words ending in *-ary*/*-ory*: the first vowel in these endings is reduced (schwa) in RP but unreduced (i.e., tertiary stressed) in GA: e.g., *January* RP [ˈdʒænjʊərɪ] vs. GA [ˈdʒænjʊerɪ], *laboratory* RP [ləˈbɒrətrɪ] vs. GA [ˈlæbrətɔrɪ].

6.4 Revision and practice

1. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
- GA represents the majority accent in the US.
- RP represents the majority accent in England.
- GA is less homogeneous than RP.
- RP is less localizable geographically than GA.
- The "great divide" took place in around 1570.

2. Should learners of English be taught RP or GA? Consider as many aspects as possible, e.g., pedagogical purposes, economy, practicality.
3. Compare RP, GA and Scottish English/Scots pronunciation with respect to their vowels in pre-R environments.
4. Transcribe the following as they are pronounced in RP and GA.
- *after, ask, bath, can't, chance, class, dance, glass, grass, last, master, pass, path, staff*
- *courage, currency, current, curry, hurry, Murray, occur, occurrence, occurring, squirrel, turret, worry*
- *colonel, Harley, iron, Marley, photograph, torches, tortures*
- *allegory, arbitrary, category, compensatory, contemporary, dictionary, inventory, January, obligatory, ordinary, primarily*
- *New York City, Stuart Little, Atom Ant, looney tunes, water polo*
- *Get up at half past eight and not at quarter past eight!*

5. What causes the misunderstanding in the following story (from Gramley – Pätzold 2004: 273)?

American (to an Englishman): Say, what's your job?
Englishman: I'm a clerk.
American (astonished): You mean you go 'tick-tock, tick-tock'?

6.5 Further reading and references

Gramley, Stephan – Kurt-Michael Pätzold (2004) A survey of modern English, 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge: 272–279.

Hughes, Arthur – Peter Trudgill – Dominic Watt (2005) English accents and dialects: An introduction to social and regional varieties of English in the British Isles. 4th ed. Hodder Arnold, London & New York: Chapter 3.

Pyles, Thomas – John Algeo (1993) The origins and development of the English language. 4th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 222–6.

Trudgill, Peter – Jean Hannah (1982) International English. London: Edward Arnold: Chapter 2.

Wells, John C. (1982) Accents of English. Vol.1–3. Cambridge: CUP: 117–127, 279–285, 467–473.

Wells, John C. (1994) The Cockneyfication of RP? In: Gunnel Melchers – Nils-Lennart Johannesson (ed.) Nonstandard varieties of language. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

6.6 Links

- Estuary English:

http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Estuary_English

http://www.ic.arizona.edu/~lsp/EstuaryEnglish.html

http://www.universalteacher.org.uk/lang/joanna-ryfa-estuary.pdf (a paper entitled *Estuary English: A controversial issue?* by Joanna Ryfa)

http://www.phon.ox.ac.uk/~joanna/sap36_jp.pdf (a paper entitled *Estuary English and RP: Some recent findings* by Joanna Przedlacka)

- British English versus American English pronunciation:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_and_British_English_pronunciation_differences

http://www.travelfurther.net/dictionaries/index.htm (American – British / British – American dictionaries including a pronunciation guide)

http://www.personal.rdg.ac.uk/~llsroach/phon2/sd10.pdf (a paper entitled *British and American Pronunciation* by Snezhina Dimitrova)

7 Lexical differences between British English and American English

Although the two standard varieties of English (American English – henceforth AmE, and British English – henceforth BrE) mostly differ in pronunciation, there exists a certain amount of vocabulary, spelling and grammatical differences as well. We turn to these in Chapters 7–9.[7]

The present chapter is concerned with lexical, that is, vocabulary differences. There are thousands of words and expressions which are distinctively either British or American. As it would be impossible (and pointless) to provide an exhaustive list here, we will only introduce the theoretical background of how and why BrE and AmE differ in this respect, and give a few examples.

7.1 Lexical differences: background

The emergence of the lexical differences is due to several factors. A number of AmE innovations (new words, or new senses for already existing English words) were brought about by the fact that North American settlers needed names for fauna and flora non-existent in the British Isles (e.g., *corn*, *robin*)

[7] It is worthy of mention that in both vocabulary and grammar, we concentrate on *Standard* AmE and BrE, and ignore non-standard variation. This is important to point out because, e.g., for historical reasons certain vocabulary items and grammatical structures which are standard in AmE but not in BrE (and are, as a consequence, treated here as typically American) may be still used in non-standard BrE dialects.

as well as by linguistic contact with other languages (besides American Indian and African languages, AmE has also been exposed to considerable Spanish influence). Technological development and cultural divergence have also caused differences (e.g., technical terms for carparts, in sports and education). Finally, the two varieties undergo independent linguistic change, as a result of which different lexical items enter the system (either via borrowing or internal coinage) and leave the system (i.e., become old-fashioned, archaic, and eventually lost).

The differences arise when either an already existing English word gains a new sense, or a new word is coined or borrowed in one variety, however, the new sense or word is not adopted, or only partly adopted, by the other. As there is a constant communication between the two standard Englishes, the status of a given difference may be subject to change: words characteristic of one variety may gradually enter the other and eventually become fully integrated and understood in both – therefore they become part of standard English in general. That is why the development of a regionally limited lexical item into a word common to AmE and BrE can be broken down into four stages. In the first stage, the innovation is totally unknown in the other variety, e.g., AmE *meld* 'merge, blend', BrE *hive off* 'break away from the main group, become separate'. A number of slang expressions belong here, e.g., BrE *bloke* 'man', *blag* 'attack and rob', *fag* 'cigarette', *loo* 'lavatory', *quid* 'one-pound note', *ta* 'thank you'. In the second stage, the new word or sense is understood but not used in the other variety, e.g., AmE *cookie*, BrE *scone, ring road*. In the third stage, it is understood and used in both varieties but retain the original British or American "flavour", e.g., AmE *movie*, BrE *telly*. Finally, the borrower variety fully adopts the new expression, e.g., AmE *boost, hi*, BrE *semi-detached, pissed off*. Nowadays, most of such inter-dialectal borrowing takes place from AmE into BrE.

A remark is in order here: very often it is difficult to classify a given lexical item according to which stage it happens to be in within the process of adoption, since what is going on is a constant change, and consequently,

the state of affairs may alter with time; in addition, different spheres of life (e.g., the media vs. everyday conversations) or the different generations (older vs. younger) may evaluate the same item differently.

There are numerous interesting theories concerning why new words or senses spread from one dialect into the other. One possible explanation is that many informal or slang phrases are found to be so vivid and expressive that they are borrowed into the other variety, e.g., *joint* 'a low or shabby bar or club' or *sucker* 'a person who is easily cheated or deceived, a gullible person' (both originally AmE). Another attractive feature of a novel item may be its shortness or snappiness, characteristics which are favoured by the general English tendency to use monosyllabic words, e.g., AmE *cut* 'reduction', *to fix* 'to repair', BrE *chips* 'French fries'. However, the most evident case is when a name is invented for a new concept, that is, a former **conceptual gap** is filled, e.g., AmE *know-how*, BrE *brunch, smog, tabloid*.

Some authors also claim that certain word-formation processes tend to be favoured in present-day English, therefore new words or expressions produced with such techniques are more likely to spread. E.g., verb-preposition/particle constructions (AmE *be into sy/sg* 'be passionately interested in sy/sg', *cave in* 'collapse, give up', BrE *butter up* 'sweet talk', *be cheesed off* 'annoyed') or zero derivation (also called **conversion**) (AmE *brush-off* 'a quietly curt or disdainful dismissal', *hairdo* 'a way of wearing the hair, coiffure', *showdown* 'a decisive confrontation or contest') are both wide-spread in English.

7.2 Lexical differences: examples

There are various possible classifications of the examples of BrE-AmE vocabulary differences; two alternatives are introduced below.

One possibility is to group the examples according to the degree to which the two varieties share the word or expression in relation to its meaning. In this respect, five subtypes can be distinguished:

- same word, different meaning, e.g., *pants* or *vest* (both are outer garments in AmE, but pieces of a man's underwear in BrE);
- same word, additional meaning in one variety, e.g., *fall* (additional meaning in AmE: 'autumn'), *dumb* (additional meaning in AmE: 'stupid'), *to mind* (additional meaning in BrE: 'to look after', as in *mind your head*), *leader* (additional meaning in BrE: 'editorial');

- same word, difference in style (formal vs. informal), connotation (positive vs. negative), frequency of use (common vs. uncommon), e.g., *autumn* (uncommon and formal in AmE), *row* 'quarrel' (uncommon in AmE), the degree word *quite* (negative/neutral in BrE, positive in AmE);
- same concept or item, different word (the majority of the differences), e.g., *faucet* (AmE) – *tap* (BrE), *generator* (AmE) – *dynamo* (BrE), *line* (AmE) – *queue* (BrE), *to call* (by telephone) (AmE) – *to ring* (BrE), *can* (AmE) – *tin* (BrE), *to check* (AmE) – *to tick* (BrE), *couch* (AmE) – *sofa* (BrE), *gas* (AmE) – *petrol* (BrE), *to make a reservation* (AmE) – *to book* (BrE), *sidewalk* (AmE) – *pavement* (BrE). Very often a third word or expression also exists which is shared by the two varieties, e.g., *drug store* (AmE) – *chemist's* (BrE), plus additional shared *pharmacy*;
- unknown concept due to cultural, geographical, etc. differences, e.g., BrE *moor, fen, heath, Yorkshire pudding, bobby, boxing day*, AmE *prairie, canyon, succotash* 'lima or shell beans and kernels of green corn cooked together'.

The other possibility is to group the examples according to meaning, that is, according to semantic field. Below we list a few such classes illustrated by unordered and rather random sets of lexical items. However, keep in mind that the labels *AmE* and *BrE* always refer to words which "typically" characterize the respective varieties, although they may already have been adopted to some extent by the other one, too.

- food and cooking

AmE	BrE
cookie (plain)	*biscuit* (sweet)
biscuit	*scone*
cracker	*biscuit* (savory)
dessert	*pudding*
pudding	*custard*
custard	*egg custard*
jello	*jelly*
jelly	*jam*

AmE	BrE
appetizer	*starter*
to broil	*to grill*
stove	*cooker*
fish sticks	*fish fingers*
pitcher	*jug*
candy	*sweets*
corn	*maize*
french fries	(*potato*) *chips*

AmE	BrE
crepe	*pancake*
hamburger meat	*mince*
eggplant	*aubergine*
zucchini	*courgette*

AmE	BrE
(*potato*) *chips*	(*potato*) *crisps*
bowl (e.g. for pudding)	*basin*
set the table	*lay the table*
thermos bottle	*vacuum flask*

- clothing and accessories

AmE	BrE
garter	*suspender*
suspenders	*braces*
pantyhose	*tights*
pants	*trousers*
underpants (men's)	*pants*
sweater (pullover)	*jumper, jersey, woolly*
jumper	*pinafore dress*
undershirt	*vest*
vest	*waistcoat*
a run (in a stocking)	*a ladder*
overalls	*dungarees*

AmE	BrE
barette	*hairslide*
changepurse	*purse*
purse	*handbag*
smock	*overall*
sneakers	*gym shoes, trainers*
robe, bathrobe	*dressing gown*
diaper	*nappy*
rubber boots	*gumboots*
tuxedo	*dinner jacket*
backpack	*rucksack*
underpants (women's)	*knickers*
knickers	*knickerbockers*

- accommodation, household

AmE	BrE
apartment	*flat*
first floor	*ground floor*
second floor, etc.	*first floor*, etc.
napkin	*serviette*
flashlight	*torch*
floorlamp	*standard lamp*
wall-to-wall carpet	*fitted carpet*
sheers	*net curtains*

AmE	BrE
closet	*wardrobe*
elevator	*lift*
faucet	*tap*
garbage	*rubbish*
garbage can	*dustbin*
bathtub	*bath*
eiderdown quilt	*duvet*
pantry	*larder*

AmE	BrE
living room	*sitting room*
yard	*garden*
garden	*vegetable/flower garden*
mail-box	*letter-box, pillar box, post box*

AmE	BrE
to vacuum	*to hoover*
paper towels	*kitchen paper*
to ground a wire	*to earth*
dishwashing liquid	*washing-up liquid*

- commerce, jobs and professions

AmE	BrE
mortician	*undertaker*
bill	*(bank) note*
drug store	*chemist's*
hardware store	*ironmongers*
liquor store	*off-licence*
trade (noun)	*custom*
installment plan	*hire purchase*

AmE	BrE
store	*shop*
salesclerk	*shop assistant*
teller	*cashier*
fruit/vegetable store	*greengrocer*
attorney	*solicitor*
barber	*hairdresser*
garbage collector, garbage man	*dustman, refuse collector*

- higher education, university

AmE	BrE
semester, term	*term*
faculty	*(academic) staff*
(full) professor	*professor*
associate professor	*reader*
assistant professor	*senior lecturer*
instructor	*lecturer*
freshmen	*first year students, freshers*
assign sy a term paper	*give sy an essay to write*

AmE	BrE
supervise an exam	*invigilate an exam*
grade	*mark*
doctoral dissertation	*doctoral thesis*
MA thesis	*MA dissertation*
take exams	*take/sit exams*
suspend	*rusticate*
expel	*send down*
dorm(itory)	*student hostel, hall (of residence)*

- transportation, travelling

AmE	BrE
baby buggy	*pram (perambulator)*
(child's) stroller	*push-chair*
station wagon	*estate car*
trailer/camper/ mobile home	*caravan*
license plate	*number plate*
truck	*lorry, van*
trailer truck	*articulated lorry*
pedestrian underpass	*subway*
subway	*underground railway*
pullman car (railway)	*sleeping car*
yield (road sign)	*give way*
wrong way (road sign)	*no entry*
no passing (road sign)	*no overtaking*
round-trip ticket	*return ticket*
railroad	*railway*
baggage	*luggage*

AmE	BrE
gas(oline)	*petrol*
windshield	*windscreen*
fender	*wing*
hood (of a car)	*bonnet*
trunk (of a car)	*boot*
cab	*taxi*
muffler	*silencer*
divided highway	*dual carriageway*
over-pass	*fly-over*
interchange (on motorway)	*junction*
freeway, superhighway	*motorway*
shoulder (of road)	*verge*
paraffin	*paraffin wax*
kerosene	*paraffin*
parking lot	*carpark*
pedestrian crossing	*zebra crossing*

- miscellaneous

AmE	BrE
legal holiday	*bank holiday*
check (at a restaurant)	*bill*
appointment book, calendar	*diary*

AmE	BrE
line	*queue*
period (punctuation)	*full stop*
resume	*C(urriculum) V(itae)*

AmE	BrE
bulletin board	*noticeboard*
busy (phone line)	*engaged*
lady bug	*ladybird*
intermission	*interval*
ball-point pen	*biro*
eraser	*rubber*
fall	*autumn*
shot (injection)	*jab*

AmE	BrE
laid off	*redundant*
fire sy (from a job)	*sack sy*
merry-go-round	*roundabout*
sidewalk	*pavement*
game	*match*
band-aid	*plaster*
vacation	*holiday*
zero	*nought*

7.3 Idioms

In addition, there are a number of idiomatic expressions, full phrases, which are either characteristically British or American. Some of them originate from sport terminology. Sometimes they are so similar that it is easy to mix them up, e.g., BrE *to do sg off one's own bat* 'to do sg independently, without consulting others', AmE *to do sg off the bat* 'to do sg immediately, without waiting'. The BrE examples mostly come from cricket or soccer, e.g., *a sticky wicket* 'a difficult situation', *it is not cricket* 'it is not fair', *to queer sy's pitch* 'to spoil sy's plans', *a good innings* 'a long life'. Many AmE examples come from baseball, e.g., *to play hard ball* 'to be (ruthlessly) serious about sg', *to touch base* 'to get in contact', *take a rain check* 'postpone', *blooper* 'mistake, failure', *off base* 'wrong'.

7.4 Revision and practice

1. There are two photos used as illustration at the beginning of the chapter; find the characteristically British expressions in them.
2. The reading claims that in present-day English the borrowing of loan words and senses mostly takes place from AmE into BrE. What do you think can be the explanation?
3. Fill in the following charts.

   a. Give the distinctively BrE equivalents of the AmE terms.

AmE	BrE	AmE	BrE
billion		*sedan*	
cone (ice cream)		*streetcar*	
to mail		*traffic circle*	
pitcher		*turtleneck*	

b. The following terms are either exclusively BrE or have at least one special sense that is predominantly BrE. Give the AmE equivalents of the BrE senses.

AmE	BrE	AmE	BrE
	accumulator		*hoarding*
	drawing pin		*sleeping partner*
	form (at school)		*switchback*
	gangway		*tart*

4. "Translate" the following text from AmE into BrE. Invent similar stories.
   Last fall Johnny went to college, staying in a dormitory. During the first semester he got excellent grades, but he was still a freshman when he was expelled for plagiarism in a term paper assigned by an associate professor.
5. Translate the examples in Section 7.2 above into Hungarian. Sometimes the Hungarian expressions are similar to or the same as the English ones; but do they tend to resemble BrE or AmE more?

7.5 Further reading and references

Algeo, John (1982) Problems in the origins and development of the English language. 3rd ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Gramley, Stephan – Kurt-Michael Pätzold (2004) A survey of modern English, 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge: 289–295.

Pyles, Thomas – John Algeo (1993) The origins and development of the English language. 4th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 215–9.

Trudgill, Peter – Jean Hannah (1982) International English. A guide to varieties of Standard English. London: Edward Arnold: 73–79.

7.6 Links

http://esl.about.com/library/vocabulary/blbritam.htm

http://www.woodlands-junior.kent.sch.uk/customs/questions/americanbritish.html

8 Grammar differences between British English and American English

In contrast to pronunciation and vocabulary differences, the two systems of spelling and grammar do not deviate considerably. In addition, the nature of these two types of differences is such that they hardly ever cause comprehension problems. The present chapter deals with grammar differences between standard British English (BrE) and standard American English (AmE); spelling and punctuation differences are discussed in the next (final) chapter.

8.1 Grammatical differences: background

On the following pages the notion of grammar is used in the traditional sense: it incorporates **morphology** (differences in word forms and word-formational processes) and **syntax** (differences in various aspects of sentence structure, including word order and the use of auxiliaries, tenses, etc.). The discussion is structured according to whether a given construction is typical, that is, more characteristic, of this or that variety. However, it needs to be pointed out that a rather loose interpretation of "typical" is necessary since in most cases there is no clear-cut boundary between BrE and AmE usage, the two contain the same grammatical structures, and the actual difference lies in the frequency of use, e.g., tag questions are more common in BrE, but *-body* pronouns (like *somebody, everybody, nobody*) are more common than *-one* pronouns (like *someone, everyone, noone*) in AmE.

Section 8.2 covers the structures typical of BrE, while Section 8.3 is concerned with AmE. As you will see, the former is much shorter than the latter, for at least two reasons.

First, standard AmE has permitted numerous innovations (or simply: alternatives) in grammatical constructions, very often in the form of regularization or analogy, which are either unheard of, or cannot escape stigmatization as non-standard, in Britain. An example for such regularization and analogy comes from the area of verb morphology: several verbs like *burn, dream, learn*, etc., which belong to the group of irregular verbs with unpredictable past tense and/or past participial forms in standard BrE, have developed regular *-ed*-final forms in standard AmE. Others, such as *dive* or *sneak*, have done just the opposite: they have replaced the regular BrE template, by analogy to some irregular pattern, with **vowel ablaut** (the variation of the internal vowel, e.g., *dive–dove* in AmE), zero or *-en* inflection, typical of the "strong" verbs of English. (See Section 8.3 for more examples.) Another tendency in AmE goes towards simplification and deletion; for instance, infinitival *to*, conjunctions in collocations, or other elements with little semantic load, are easily left out, e.g., *They've come see me* (for *They've come to see me*), *Go fix it now* (for *Go and fix it now*), *I'll help water the flowers* (for *I'll help to water the flowers*), or *The cat wants out* (for *The cat wants to go out*). Such innovations lead to a more extensive discussion of AmE.

Second, students of English in Hungary are usually more familiar with the regularities of standard BrE grammar as it is this variety that is the most widely taught; therefore BrE can be taken as a kind of reference point, and from such a perspective whatever is a simple difference may strike us as an AmE peculiarity.

The two sections below, then, aim to provide a selection of the major differences between the two standard varieties. Let us emphasize that it is a selection, and as such is far from being exhaustive. In making the selection, several factors have determined the decision as to what to include and what not to include. For example, many similar discussions list BrE structures which have become so dated that we hardly ever meet them nowadays, especially in spoken English – most of those cases are ignored here. The

remaining list of examples was cut even shorter by considerations of grammatical significance and frequency of use. Keep in mind, however, that in the world of global communication these national characteristics may well be doomed to spread in both directions and finally fade away.

8.2 Typically BrE structures

- Certain auxiliaries, e.g., *shall* or *shan't*, are rarely used in AmE, and even then in very formal contexts such as academic discourse or legalistic language; otherwise, they are usually replaced by more neutral auxiliaries, e.g., by *will* (to express simple futurity):

BrE:	*I shall ring you up when I arrive*	both:	*I will ring you up when I arrive*

- In (conservative) BrE conditional clauses, the auxiliary *should* is used in first persons rather than *would* – this is less and less frequent even in present-day BrE, and totally avoided in AmE:

BrE:	*I should go to the party if I was invited*	both:	*I would go to the party if I was invited*

- BrE sometimes uses *will* and *would* in a predictive sense:

BrE: (doorbell ringing) *That will be Zed* both: *That must be/is Zed*

- Certain verbs like *seem, look,* and *sound* can, in BrE, be directly followed by a Noun Phrase:

BrE:	*He seems a fool* *Peter looks a clown*	both:	*He seems to be a fool* *Peter looks like a clown*

- A number of English verbs can be used as either a lexical verb or an auxiliary. AmE treats them as lexical verbs, while BrE typically also allows for using them as operators in sentences, that is, it analyses them as auxiliaries. This fact produces what is perhaps the most conspicuous grammatical difference between AmE and BrE: the usage of *have, used to, dare, need*:

BrE: (the verb is an auxiliary)	both: (the verb is a lexical verb)
Have you got a problem?	*Do you have a problem*?
He used not to play tennis	*He didn't use to play tennis*
How dare you say that?	*How do you dare to say that?*
We needn't study English	*We don't need to study English*

- Collective nouns like *team, faculty, family, government, committee, council, board, the public* normally require plural verb agreement and pronoun substitution in BrE but are treated as singular in AmE:

BrE: *The US Government are discussing the issue* AmE: *The US Government is discussing the issue*

BrE: *Scotland Yard are now treating the mysterious death of former KGB agent, Alexander Litvinenko, as murder*[8]

AmE: *Scotland Yard is on the hunt*[9]

- BrE uses no article with certain count nouns like *hospital* and *university*:

BrE: *He died in hospital* AmE: *He died in the hospital*

- In BrE, pronouns are frequently deleted after prepositions in sentences like:

BrE: *The cake has flowers on* both: *The cake has flowers on it*

- The so-called *do*-substitution construction with auxiliary *do* as a pro-form is only found in BrE, e.g.:

(*Have you found what you're looking for?*)
BrE: *Yes, I have done* both: *Yes, I have / Yes, I have done so*

- In conditional *if*-clauses, *if* can be left out in BrE, with the subsequent inversion of the subject and the modal auxiliary:

[8] http://www.guardian.co.uk/russia/article/0,,1966009,00.html
[9] http://www.unclesgames.com/product_info.php?ref=3&products_id=2216&affiliate_ banner_id=1

BrE:	*Should you meet Jack, tell him to come*	both:	*If you should meet Jack, tell him to come*
	Had I met you earlier, I wouldn't have married Juliet		*If I had met you earlier, I wouldn't have married Juliet*

- The so-called mandative subjunctive (see below in Section 8.3) is normally replaced in BrE by the indicative. In addition, there is a shared structure with so-called putative *should*:

BrE: *I suggest that you don't do that again!* AmE: *I suggest that you not do that again!*
both: *I suggest that you shouldn't do that again!*

- In BrE it is possible to use the expression *in case* as a conjunction:

BrE:	*Be quiet in case he should call the police*	both:	*Be quiet so that he won't call the police*

- As for word order, there are two differences worthy of mention: first, in BrE a person's attributes often come *after* the person named:
BrE: *Tony Blair, the ex-PM* AmE: *ex-PM Tony Blair*

Second, in the names of rivers, BrE puts the word *river* before the name:

BrE: *the River Thames* AmE: *the Hudson River*

8.3 Typically AmE structures

- AmE uses certain auxiliaries in senses or contexts uncommon in BrE, e.g., *would* in the sense of *used to* (that is, for past habitual activities):

AmE: *My father would say...* both: *My father used to say...*

- *Would* is also possible in conditional subclauses (after *I wish* or *if*):

AmE:	*I wish I would have married Steve Hufnagel*	both:	*I wish I had married Steve Hufnagel*

- Standard AmE contains a few verb forms which are either not used or nonstandard in England. As already mentioned above (Section 8.1), some of them have emerged through regularization. The chart below lists the most frequent such examples. (Abbreviations: *inf* = infinitive ("first form"), *pt* = past tense ("second") form, *ppt* = past participle ("third form").) Be careful because in some irregular examples the vowel also changes, which is not usually indicated by the spelling.

	BrE		AmE	
inf	pt	ppt	pt	ppt
burn	*burnt*	*burnt*	*burned*	*burned*
dream	*dreamt*	*dreamt*	*dreamed*	*dreamed*
dwell	*dwelt*	*dwelt*	*dwelled*	*dwelled*
kneel	*knelt*	*knelt*	*kneeled*	*kneeled*
lean	*leant*	*leant*	*leaned*	*leaned*
leap	*leapt*	*leapt*	*leaped*	*leaped*
learn	*learnt*	*learnt*	*learned*	*learned*
smell	*smelt*	*smelt*	*smelled*	*smelled*
spell	*spelt*	*spelt*	*spelled*	*spelled*
spill	*spilt*	*spilt*	*spilled*	*spilled*
spoil	*spoilt*	*spoilt*	*spoiled*	*spoiled*

Other verbs are irregular in AmE, although the standard BrE system treats them as regular: they have become attracted to some irregular pattern (that is, they produce their forms by analogy to other, irregular verbs):

	AmE	
inf	pt	ppt
bet	*bet*	*bet*
dive	*dove*	*dived/dove*
fit	*fit*	*fitted/fit*
prove	*proved*	*proven*
quit	*quit*	*quit*
shave	*shaved*	*shaven*
sneak	*snuck*	*snuck*
wet	*wet*	*wet*

However, there are a few special cases. The most frequent example is the past participle of *get*, which is *gotten* in AmE, *got* in BrE. The form *gotten* is not normally used in BrE, and even in AmE, it is slightly restricted: it is not used in the sense of 'have' (therefore sentences like *I haven't gotten far with the essay* are, while sentences like **I've gotten a brother* are not, well-formed).

Another special case concerns the AmE usage of the verb *slay*, which has two past tenses, the choice depending on the meaning: when *slay* means 'to kill violently', its past tense form is *slew*, but in its figurative sense, 'to delight or amuse immensely', the regular form *slayed* is usually chosen, e.g., *He slayed the audience*, or *That slayed me* 'caused me to laugh vigorously'.

- Other verbs, e.g., *like*, may exhibit different behaviour in AmE and BrE, cf.:

AmE:	*I like to play chess* *I'd like for you to do the homework yourself*	both:	*I like playing chess* *I'd like you to do the homework yourself*

- An interesting difference in the usage of articles is found in expressions composed of the word *half* plus a unit of measure: in such cases, the indefinite article may come before *half* in AmE:

AmE:	*a half hour*	both:	*half an hour*

- Note that the names of the four seasons are equally possible with or without a definite article in both varieties (e.g., *in summer* or *in the summer*), except for *fall* in AmE, which obligatorily requires the article, therefore: *in the fall* but not **in fall*.

- As far as adjectives and adverbs go, we can mention a couple of AmE peculiarities, e.g., the adjective *real* is sometimes used as an adverb to refer to degree or give emphasis:

AmE:	*real good*	both:	*really good*

- Sentence-medial adverbs (like *never, always*, etc.) can be placed either before or after the first auxiliary in AmE sentences:

AmE:	*I still haven't found what I'm looking for*	both:	*I haven't still found what I'm looking for*

- There are small differences in the use of prepositions, a sample of which is given in the following chart:

AmE:	*meet with sy*	BrE:	*meet sy*
	stay home		*stay at home*
	be home		*be at home*
	Monday through Friday		*Monday to Friday*
	fill out (a form)		*fill in (a form)*
	different than		*different from/to*
	out (the window)		*out of (the window)*
	around (the corner)		*round (the corner)*
	on the weekend		*at the weekend*
	get on/off the train		*get in/out of the train*
	to talk with	both:	*to talk to*

- In the expression of clock-time, we find the following Americanisms in the choice of prepositions:

AmE:	*twenty of/till five*	both:	*twenty to five*
	five after six		*five past six*

- Furthermore, AmE uses *on* for BrE *in* with certain nouns like *team, street*, and the preposition can be omitted in time adverbials with dates (note the difference in the order of the elements!), the days of the week, and with plural nouns used as time expressions:

AmE:	*on the team*	BrE:	*in the team*
	on the street		*in the street*
	He did it July the 4th		*He did it on the 4th of July*
	It happened Thursday	both:	*It happened on Thursday*
	He goes there Mondays		*He goes there on Mondays*

- In AmE, so-called uninverted response questions are more common, e.g.:

(*He lives in a barrel*.)
AmE: *He does?* both: *Does he?*

- In addition, AmE uses simple past tense in some cases where BrE has present perfect, particularly with adverbs like *just, already, yet, still*:

AmE:	*He just went home* *Did you do it already?*	both:	*He's just gone home* *Have you done it already / yet?*

- As already mentioned above (Section 8.2), the subjunctive is much more common in AmE in *that*-clauses (the so-called **mandative subjunctive**) and in conditional structures:

AmE:	*I suggest that you not do that again!* *They insist that a meeting be held* *It is important that you send your CV, too* *If this be the case...* *Whatever be the reason...*	both:	*I suggest that you shouldn't do that again!* *They insist that a meeting should be held* *It is important that you should send your CV, too* *If this should be the case...* *Whatever should be the reason...*

- Finally, certain word-formation processes are more productive in AmE than in BrE, e.g., *-ify* (as in *citify* 'urbanize', *uglify*), *-ize* (e.g., *burglarize* 'break into (a house)', *decimalize* 'convert to a decimal system'), *-cian* (e.g., *mortician* 'undertaker', *beautician* 'hairdresser'), *-ee* (e.g., *retiree* 'a person who has retired from a working or professional career', *draftee*), *-ery* (e.g., *eatery* 'luncheonette, restaurant', *winery*), *-ster* (e.g., *teamster* 'one who drives a team or motortruck especially as an occupation', *gamester* 'gambler'), *-wise* (e.g., *timewise*, *weatherwise* 'as far as time/weather is concerned'). It was mentioned in the previous chapter that **conversion** (zero derivation) is also more frequently used in AmE than in BrE to derive new words (e.g., *to author* 'be the author of', *to pressure* 'pressurize', *to room* 'occupy or share a room, especially as a lodger', *a cook-out* 'an outdoor barbeque', *know-how*, *a try-out* 'an audition').

8.4 Revision and practice

1. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.

- There are fewer grammatical differences between BrE and AmE than pronunciation differences.
- Word order belongs to syntax.
- Suffixes like *-ed* belong to morphology.
- The verb forms *swim–swam–swum* illustrate ablaut.
- In the sentence *I haven't got a brother*, *have* is used as an auxiliary.
- The term *past participle* means the verb form used in simple past tense.
- The term *infinitive* means the base form of the verb.
- The first clause in *Should you meet him, tell him to phone me* illustrates the mandative subjunctive.
- The first clause in *Should you meet him, tell him to phone me* illustrates the conditional subclause.
- The usage of *text* in *If you have a mobile phone, it's cheaper to text* illustrates conversion.

2. Complete the chart with the missing verb forms.

	BrE		AmE	
inf	pt	ppt	pt	ppt
bet			*bet*	*bet*
dive			*dove*	
dream	*dreamt*	*dreamt*		
fit			*fit*	*fitted/fit*
leap	*leapt*		*leaped*	*leaped*
learn	*learnt*	*learnt*		
prove			*proved*	
quit			*quit*	*quit*
shave			*shaved*	
sneak				
spell			*spelled*	*spelled*
spill	*spilt*	*spilt*		

3. Find the characteristically BrE features of the following sentences.

Hadn't you been late, we should have finished in time.
Pete suggested that we went to the cinema instead of the exhibition.
They have got a house in a village by the River Severn.

4. Are the following word forms typically BrE or AmE? What are the BrE/AmE equivalents?

candidature, cook book, spark plug, stationers

5. Can you "translate" the following AmE sentence (from Gramley – Pätzold 2004: 289) into BrE?

I don't feel like we should go out on account of it's late, plus I'm tired

8.5 Further reading and references

Algeo, John (1982) Problems in the origins and development of the English language. 3rd ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

– (2006) British or American English? A handbook of word and grammar patterns. Cambridge: CUP.

Gramley, Stephan – Kurt-Michael Pätzold (2004) A survey of modern English, 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge: 283–289.

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Trudgill, Peter – Jean Hannah (1982) International English. A guide to varieties of Standard English. London: Edward Arnold: 43–68.

8.6 Links

http://www.wikinfo.org/index.php/American_and_British_English_differences#Grammar

http://esl.about.com/library/weekly/aa110698.htm

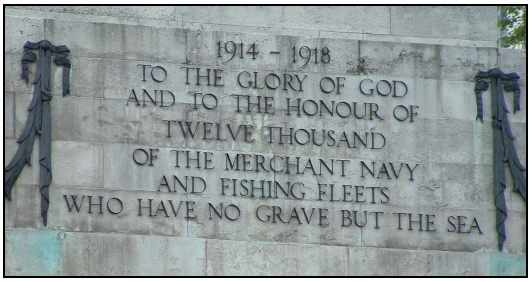
9 Spelling differences between British English and American English

9.1 Spelling differences: background

In the discussion below, the major spelling (that is, **orthographic***) differences between AmE and BrE are divided into two classes: systematic vs. non-systematic differences. Most of them have arisen due to AmE innovations, some of which were introduced by **Noah Webster's dictionaries and text-books**. In most cases, however, Webster did not invent any radical change to the spelt form of a given word; all he did was fixing the spelling by making a choice from several alternatives current in earlier BrE. E.g, words ending in *-our* in present-day BrE and *-or* in present-day AmE (e.g., *splendour/splendor*), or words ending in *-re* in present-day BrE and *-er* in present-day AmE (e.g., *theatre/theater*), used to be spelt both ways even in BrE before the spellings were officially fixed as standard in this or that variety. (By the way, Webster was the one who dropped the *-k* in words like *almanack, musick, physick, publick, traffick* – an innovation which was adopted by BrE, too.)

When we compare the BrE spellings with their AmE equivalents, we notice two basic trends in AmE. One is **simplification**, that is, the dropping of some letter or combination of letters without which the spelt form reflects the pronunciation equally well, as in *program* for *programme*. (As we see in

Section 9.2 below, there are a few cases of BrE simplifications, too.) The other trend is towards **regularization**, that is, the new spelling conforms more to the letter-to-sound correspondence regularities which are traceable in the great majority of the English word stock (see Section 9.2). Such examples of **pronunciation spelling** (mentioned in an exercise in Section 4.5) or **phonetic re-spelling** omit silent (= unpronounced) letters, and/or replace ambiguous or too complex letter combinations with more regular ones, cf. *plow* for *plough*, *draft* for *draught*, or *donut* for *doughnut*.



Two areas where there is an abundance of non-standard spellings usually involving simplification and phonetic respelling are advertising and the coinage of brand names. The primary function of the new spelling in such cases is to attract attention, and exactly because of this they are called **sensational spellings**, but some examples also come from roadsigns, where the strategy is used to save space. AmE appears to contribute somewhat more to the set of English sensational spellings, although some of them have gained global acceptance. Examples include *thanx, tonite, lite, thru, Xing, Kleenex,* etc.

A characteristic feature of BrE spelling, as opposed to AmE, is the preservation of conventional forms, e.g., in a BrE text French diacritics are normally retained in words such as *café, élite, entrée, fête, fiancée, naïve*, while in AmE, the process of Anglicization usually eliminates such foreign diacritics. Another example concerns the fate of digraphs in words of Latin origin: BrE preserves them in words like *encyclopaedia, amoeba, manoeuvre, aesthetics, archaeology,* etc., whereas they usually undergo simplification in AmE. (For more examples, see below in Section 9.2.)

It is worthy of note at this point that nowadays there is a strong tendency for AmE regularities to spread into BrE, due to the extensive

contact between the two forms and the AmE dominance of the media and the internet. So much so that some AmE spellings are even taking over. In words with alternative *-ise/ize*, for instance, *-ize*, which was, for a long time, regarded as typically AmE, is getting so widespread that now it is the form some of the major British publishers recommend to their authors.

9.2 Systematic differences in spelling

The bulk of the systematic differences result from the AmE inclination for simplification, mentioned above. The examples can be organized into subgroups as follows:

BrE:	*-mme* *programme*[10]*, kilogramme*	AmE:	*-m* *program, kilogram*
BrE:	*-our*[11] *colour, favour, honour, labour, odour, vapour*	AmE:	*-or*[12] *color, favor, honor, labor, odor, vapor*
BrE:	*-ou-* *mould, moult, smoulder*	AmE:	*-o-* *mold, molt, smolder*
BrE:	*-ae-* *anaesthetic, encyclopaedia, mediaeval, paediatrician, aesthetics, anapaest, anaemia, aegis, gynaecology, haemorrhage, archaeology*	AmE:	*-e-* *anesthetic, encyclopedia, medieval, pediatrician, esthetics, anapest, anemia, egis, gynecology, hemorrhage, archeology*
BrE:	*-oe-* *amoeba, foetus, manoeuvre, oesophagus, oestrogen, diarrhoea, homoeopathy*	AmE:	*-e-* *ameba, fetus, maneuvre, esophagus, estrogen, diarrhea, homeopathy*
BrE:	*-ogue* *catalogue, dialogue, monologue, prologue*	AmE:	*-og* *catalog, dialog, monolog, prolog*
BrE:	*-dge-* *abridgement, acknowledgement, judgement*	AmE:	*-dg-* *abridgment, acknowledgment, judgment*

[10] When it is a computer program, however, even BrE spells it with *-m*.

[11] Exceptions: *honorary, coloration, laborious, stupor, terror, squalor*, etc.

[12] Exceptions: *glamour, saviour*, etc.

BrE: *-y-*	AmE: *-i-*
cyder, cypher, syren, tyre	*cider, cipher, siren, tire*

A special case of simplification in AmE spelling is what can be dubbed **orthographic* consonant de-doubling**, that is, the elimination of final consonant doubling. Before we can discuss why AmE has dropped certain double consonants, first we have to understand what use **final consonant doubling** has in the English system of orthography* in general. That is why we take a brief detour at this point, and have a look at the positions of vowel letters in the orthographic* word, which are based on what other letters follow them.

Stressed vowel letters are in either of two types of **graphic positions**, which are called **free position** and **covered position**. The following chart only shows those subcases of the two types that are relevant to the present discussion. In the examples the stressed vowel letter in question is in underlined boldface, while the letters of the following environment are in capitals. (V = vowel letter, C = consonant letter, # = end of the orthographic* word; the hyphen denotes the position of the stressed vowel letter.)

Free position	Covered position	
-CV	(a) -CC	(b) -C#
c**a**TEr	b**a**TTer	p**a**T#
m**i**ME	gl**i**MMer	sw**i**M#
adh**e**RE	**e**RRor	pref**e**R#
bl**o**KE	bl**o**CKage	bl**o**T#

As it can be seen in the chart, vowel letters followed by a consonant+vowel letter sequence are said to be in free graphic position, however, they are in covered graphic position when they are followed by two consonant letters, which are either identical or different (covered position type (a)), and when they are followed by a word-final consonant letter (covered position type (b)). Crucially, the free graphic position normally indicates the long

(sometimes called "**tense**") pronunciation of the vowel letter, including the long monophthongs [iː] and [uː] and the diphthongs (as in *cater, mime, adhere,* and *bloke*), while the covered position normally suggests the short monophthongs ([ɪ ʊ e æ ɒ ʌ]) or, when followed by <r>, the broad pronunciation ([ɑː ɔː ɜː]) of the vowel letter (as in all the other examples in the chart). (The short and the broad vowels together constitute the class of the so-called "**lax**" vowels.) Compare the pronunciation of the letter *a* in *cater* and *batter*: the doubling of the consonant letter is the signal of the difference in the quality of the preceding vowel. (Bear in mind that morpheme-internal double consonant letters NEVER denote a long consonant! The [t] in *batter* is just as short as in *cater*.)

Now consider the examples under covered position type (b), and attach a vowel-initial suffix to these stems. The stressed vowel letter will suddenly find itself in free graphic position unless the stem-final consonant letter is doubled to keep up the covered position. In no way does a spelling like *pater* suggest the pronunciation of the noun meaning 'one that pats'; rather, it is the representation of a word that rhymes with *cater* (and happens to be the English pronunciation of a Latin word meaning 'father'). That is how we are led to the spelling *patter*, and similarly, *swimming, preferred, blotter*, etc. The function of orthographic* consonant doubling is to preserve the original covered graphic position of the stressed vowel letter, and thus show that the pronunciation of the vowel has not changed after the attachment of the suffix.

Crucially, however, this only holds for stressed vowel letters. As in completely unstressed syllables the choice of vowel sounds is limited to three[13] ([ɪ ʊ ə], out of which the schwa has the highest frequency), the contrast between so-called "tense" and "lax" vowels is suspended, and

[13] Recall that in certain accents (e.g., southern-hemisphere English) the variety of weak vowels is even more limited.

therefore the graphic position becomes functionless, too. Compare apparently similar words like *omit* and *vomit*: since the final syllable is stressed in the former only, the orthographic* doubling of the final *t* is only meaningful in that case (e.g., *omitted, omitting*). For *vomit*, however, the doubling of the *t* would be completely superfluous and as such it is not applied: *vomited, vomiting*.

The above discussion of graphic positions is relevant to our topic because in a few verbs, BrE traditionally doubles the final consonant letter even if this is meaningless, the final syllable being unstressed. For instance, out of the verb pair *grovel – propel*, the former has initial stress so orthographic* consonant doubling is only justified in the latter (i.e., *propelling, propeller,* etc.); still, BrE has this superfluous doubling on *grovel*: *grovelling, groveller*, etc. AmE, however, has got rid of this doubling, that is, has simplified/de-doubled the final consonants in non-finally stressed stems (another piece of acknowledgement to devote to Webster), which results in another systematic difference between BrE and AmE spelling:

BrE:	AmE:
counsel – counsellor	*counsel – counselor*
grovel – grovelling	*grovel – groveling*
kidnap – kidnapper	*kidnap – kidnaper*
level – levelled	*level – leveled*
libel – libellous	*libel – libelous*
marvel – marvelling	*marvel – marveling*
quarrel – quarrelling	*quarrel – quarreling*
revel – revelling	*revel – reveling*
travel – traveller	*travel – traveler*
worship – worshipper	*worship – worshiper*
yodel – yodelled	*yodel – yodeled*

After the discussion of AmE simplifications, let us turn to cases where it is BrE which chooses the simpler spelt variant of a word. There are two subcases: first, in a set of *l*-final stems, BrE opts for a single *l*, while AmE has it doubled:

BrE:	AmE:
fulfil(ment), instal(ment), skilful, wilful, appal, enthral, instil, fulness, enrol	*fulfill(ment), install(ment), skillful, willful, appall, enthrall, instill, fullness, enroll*

Second, in a few *-ion* nouns, AmE preserves a *-ct-* sequence inherited from the corresponding verbs, but BrE traditionally simplifies and replaces it with an etymological (Latin) *-x-*:

BrE:	*connexion, inflexion, retroflexion*	AmE:	*connection, inflection, retroflection*

Some of the AmE innovations reflect the influence of pronunciation on spelling. For instance, the uncertainty of vowel identity under zero stress has led to variants like the following[14]:

BrE:	*encase, enclose, endorse, enquire, ensure, enure*	AmE:	*incase, inclose, indorse, inquire, insure, inure*

It is also possible that in the notorious *-re/-er* pairs, the AmE versions reflect the pronunciation more faithfully: recall that AmE, at least standard AmE pronunciation (=GA), is rhotic*, and in a rhotic* accent, if the schwa (the vowel denoted by the *e*) is pronounced, it comes *before* the [r]:

BrE:	*calibre, centre, fibre, litre, manoeuvre, metre, sepulchre, spectre, theatre, goitre*	AmE:	*caliber, center, fiber, liter, maneuver, meter, sepulcher, specter, theater, goiter*[15]

In the spelling of the verbal *-ise/ize* ending, we may also trace the drive to reflect pronunciation more reliably:

BrE:	*apologise, baptise, capitalise, dramatise, glamourise, naturalise, organise, satirise, analyse, paralyse, realise*[16]	AmE:	*apologize, baptize, capitalize, dramatize, glamorize, naturalize, organize, satirize, analyze, paralyze, realize*[17]

[14] Some of the non-systematic differences, such as the *pyjamas – pajamas* pair, also belong to this category.

[15] Exceptions: *acre, genre, ogre*, etc. The *-er* is not extended to derived forms like *central, theatrical*, which also supports the explanation making reference to the influence of pronunciation.

[16] Exceptions: *capsize*, etc.

[17] Exceptions: *advertise, televise, improvise*, etc.

This is because the letter *s*, when between vowel letters, may represent either [z] (as in *music* [ˈmjuːzɪk], *desert* (n) [ˈdezət], *cousin* [ˈkʌzɪn], *phase* [feɪz], *close* (v) [kləʊz], *bosom* [ˈbʊzəm], *busy* [ˈbɪzɪ] – the RP pronunciations are transcribed) or [s] (e.g., in *base* [beɪs], *basic* [ˈbeɪsɪk], *case* [keɪs], *bison* [ˈbaɪsn], *promise* [ˈprɒmɪs], *goose* [guːs], *house* (n) [haʊs], *close* (adj) [kləʊs] – the RP pronunciations are transcribed). Although the examples with [z] are more numerous, the words with [s], some of which are rather frequent, produce the impression of uncertainty. Spelling [aɪz] with the letter *z* disambiguates the situation.[18]

Finally, let us discuss an example of redundancy in English spelling, that is, a situation when two spelt forms have identical meaning: both *-nce* and *-nse* represent [ns] regularly, and it seems to be the case that BrE prefers *-nce* somewhat more[19], whereas AmE chooses *-nse*:

BrE: *defence, licence* (n), *offence, pretence*

AmE: *defense, license* (n), *offense, pretense*

both: *suspense*

The spelling with *s* is regular because *s* normally represents [s] after *n* as in *insist* [ɪnˈsɪst], *tense* [tens], etc. On the other hand, the spelling with <c> is regular because according to the rule regulating the pronunciation of the consonant letter <c> (and, in fact, *g*, too) <c> is pronounced "soft", i.e., [s], before the vowel letters <e>, <i>, and <y>, regardless of whether the vowel letter is pronounced and how it is pronounced (this is the so-called **Velar Softening** rule, which is called so because the basic pronunciation of <c> is [k], a velar sound, which becomes "soft" [s] before <e i y>; cf. *c*an't* vs. *c*ent*).

[18] In addition, etymology also supports the spelling with *z*, as the suffix itself derives from Greek *-izein*.

[19] In nouns. The verb *license* comes with *-nse* even in BrE. Similar noun/verb pairs in BrE include *advice/advise, practice/practise, prophecy/prophesy*.

9.3 Non-systematic differences in spelling

The following is a list of the most frequent words with non-systematic differences, that is, differences which unpredictably characterize the individual words only, rather than sets of words.

BrE:	AmE:
aeroplane	*airplane**
axe	*ax*
buses	*busses, buses*
carat	*karat*
cheque	*check*
cosy	*cozy*
draught	*draft*
faggot 'bundle of sticks'	*fagot*
gaol	*jail*
gauge	*gage, gauge*
grey	*gray*
jewellery	*jewelry*
kerb	*curb*
moustache	*mustache**
plough	*plow*
pyjamas	*pajamas, pyjamas*
sceptic	*skeptic*
speciality	*specialty**
storey	*story*
sulphur	*sulfur*
toffee	*taffy**
tsar	*czar*
waggon	*wagon*
whisky	*whiskey*
woollen	*woolen*

* = pronunciation also differs (besides regularities like R-dropping, BATH-Broadening, etc.)

9.4 To hyphenate or not to hyphenate

As Gramley – Pätzold (2004: 281) put it, "there is a marked avoidance of hyphenations in AmE". In compounds, for example, BrE uses more hyphens, while AmE prefers fused forms or variants with the terms written as separate words, e.g.:

BrE:	AmE:
book-keeper	*bookkeeper*
day-dream	*daydream*
dry-dock	*dry dock*
flower-pot	*flower pot*
note-paper	*note paper*
make-up	*make up*

Stressed prefixes, too, tend to be separated from the stem by a hyphen in BrE, e.g.:

BrE:	AmE:
co-operate	*cooperate*
neo-colonialism	*neocolonialism*
anti-war	*antiwar*

9.5 Differences in punctuation

In this area, there are few differences, and, just as usual, the variants are slowly getting mingled, the variation becoming free rather than national. We only mention four examples.

In **quotations**, the closing quotation mark typically precedes the full stop in BrE, but follows it in AmE:

BrE:	AmE:
Punctuation *means "the use of marks in writing to separate structural units".*	Punctuation *means "the use of marks in writing to separate structural units."*

In lists of more than two items, having a **comma** before *and* in the final item is more common in AmE than in BrE:

BrE:	AmE:
Gaol, grey, kerb *and* plough *are typically BrE spellings.*	Jail, gray, curb, *and* plow *are typically AmE spellings.*

In business letters, the **salutation** is usually followed by a comma in BrE but a colon in AmE:

BrE:	AmE:
Dear Sirs,	*Dear Sirs:*

A sentence after a **colon** starts with a lower case letter in BrE, while AmE uses a capital letter in such a situation:

BrE: *There is one thing I must tell you: do not trust him.*

AmE: *There is one thing I must tell you: Do not trust him.*

9.6 Revision and practice

1. There are several photos used as illustration throughout the chapter. Can you spot the examples for (a) typically British forms; (b) sensational spelling?
2. Why are spellings like *lite, to-nite, luv, tuff, kwik,* (*Ever*)*brite,* (*Walk*)*rite* (*Shoes*)*, Def Leppard, e-nuff, fone, danjerous, Hytek* (*Windows*) more regular than their original equivalents? What letter-to-sound rules are involved?
3. Collect examples.
   a. Collect recent English examples of sensational spelling.
   b. Collect Hungarian examples of sensational spelling or other cases of phonetic respelling (e.g., *Nyócker*).
4. When AmE simplifies *-ae-* and *-oe-*, is there a principled account why it always keeps the *e* and drops the other letter?
5. What is a *meter* in BrE and AmE?
6. Words like *acre, mediocre,* and *ogre* are not re-spelt to end in *-er* in AmE. Why? What pronunciations would such spellings suggest?
7. In Section 9.2 above, in both *error* and *prefer* the stressed vowel letter is in covered graphic position and pronounced "lax". Why are they still pronounced with two different vowels?
8. Decide whether the following forms are British or American.
   ameba, analyze, catalog, center, defense, draft, enrollment, favor, jail, judgement, kerb, kidnapper, litre, traveller, tyre
9. Rewrite the following sentences:
   (a) using the rules of AmE spelling:
   A coloured labour union leader was sent to gaol for uncivilised behaviour. You can pay by cheque if you buy a new pair of pyjamas of any colour in our three-storey shopping centre.
   (b) using the rules of BrE spelling:
   The gray-haired traveler with a long mustache stopped his wagon at the curb. The skillful kidnaper sat daydreaming by the dry dock, drinking liters of whiskey, after having hidden the jewelry in the aluminum flower pot.
10. Discuss why the RP pronunciations are more regular in *beta, lever*, and why the GA pronunciations are so in *apricot, ate, clerk, depot, patriot,*

shone, tomato, vase. (Cf. Chapter 6.) What are the relevant letter-to-sound rules?

9.7 Further reading and references

Algeo, John (1982) Problems in the origins and development of the English language. 3rd ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Cook, Vivian (2004) The English writing system. London: Hodder Arnold.

Gramley, Stephan – Kurt-Michael Pätzold (2004) A survey of modern English, 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge: 279–283.

Pyles, Thomas – John Algeo (1993) The origins and development of the English language. 4th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 226–8.

Trudgill, Peter – Jean Hannah (1982) International English. A guide to varieties of Standard English. London: Edward Arnold: 69–73.

9.8 Links

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_and_British_English_spelling_differences

http://www2.gsu.edu/~wwwesl/egw/jones/spelling.htm

http://www2.gsu.edu/~wwwesl/egw/jones/differences.htm

http://www.musicalenglishlessons.org/spelling-diffs.htm

http://articles.gourt.com/en/American%20and%20British%20English%20spelling%20differences

http://esl.about.com/library/quiz/bl_britamquiz.htm

Pronunciation of names and technical terms

The following is the list of the RP transcriptions of the expressions marked in the text with an asterisk, in alphabetical order. GA pronunciations are only added when they significantly differ from RP, in a way that is not predictable on the basis of the systematic differences introduced in Chapter 6.

aboriginal [ˌæbəˈrɪdʒənəl]
Afrikaans [ˌæfrɪˈkɑːns]
Afrikaner [ˌæfrɪˈkɑːnə]
Antilles [ænˈtɪliːz]
Avon [ˈeɪvən]
Bajan [ˈbeɪdʒən]
Barbados [bɑːˈbeɪdɒs]
GA [bɑrˈbeɪdoʊs]
Belize [bɪˈliːz]
Bethnal Green [ˌbeθnəl ˈgriːn]
Botswana [bɒtˈswɑːnə]
Bow (suburb in London) [bəʊ]
Bradford [ˈbrædfəd]
Brunswick [ˈbrʌnzwɪk]
Caithness [ˈkeɪθnes]
calque [kælk]
Cameroon [ˌkæməˈruːn]
Caribbean [ˌkærəˈbiːən]
cathedral [kəˈθiːdrəl]
Cavan [ˈkævən]
Celtic [ˈkeltɪk]
Connecticut [kəˈnetɪkət]
Donegal [ˌdɒnɪˈgɔːl]
Dumfries [dʌmˈfriːs]
Edinburgh [ˈedɪnbrə]
Eire [ˈeərə]
Erse [ɜːs]
Gaelic [ˈgeɪlɪk]
Gloucester|shire [ˈglɒstə|ʃə]
Gullah [ˈgʌlə]
Guyana [gaɪˈænə]
Hebrides [ˈhebrədiːz]
Hertford|shire [ˈhɑː(t)fəd|ʃə]
Hiberno [haɪˈbɜːnəʊ]
Jute|s [dʒuːt|s]
Krio [ˈkriːəʊ]
Labov [ləˈbɒv] GA [ləˈboʊv]
Leicester [ˈlestə]
Lesotho [ləˈsuːtuː]
Liberia [laɪˈbɪərɪə]
London|er [ˈlʌndən|ə]
Malawi [məˈlɑːwɪ]

Maori [ˈmaʊrɪ]
Mearns [meənz]
Melanesia|n [ˌmelə'niːzɪə|n]
GA [ˌmelə'niːʒə|n]
Mercia|n [ˈmɜːsɪə|n]
GA [ˈmɜrʃɪə|n]
Mersey|side [ˈmɜːzɪ|saɪd]
metathesis [meˈtæθəsɪs]
Middlesborough [ˈmɪdlzbrə]
Monaghan [ˈmɒnəhən]
Namibia [nəˈmɪbɪə]
Newfoundland [ˈnjuːfən(d)lənd]
Nigeria|n [naɪˈdʒɪərɪə|n]
non-rhotic [ˌnɒnˈrəʊtɪk]
Norfolk [ˈnɔːfək]
Northumbria|n [nɔːˈθʌmbrɪə|n]
Norwich [ˈnɒrɪdʒ]
Nottingham [ˈnɒtɪŋəm]
Nova Scotia [ˌnəʊvə ˈskəʊʃə]
Ontario [ɒnˈteərɪəʊ]
orthographic [ˌɔːθəˈgræfɪk]
orthography [ɔːˈθɒgrəfɪ]
Otago [əʊˈtɑːgəʊ]
Papua New Guinea [ˌpæpʊə njuː ˈgɪnɪ]
patois [ˈpætwɑː]
Pennines [ˈpenaɪnz]
Perth|shire [ˈpɜːθ|ʃə]
Plymouth [ˈplɪməθ]
Polynesia|n [ˌpɒlɪˈniːzɪə|n]
GA [ˌpɑːləˈniːʒə|n]
Quebec [kwɪˈbek]
rhotic [ˈrəʊtɪk]
Roanoke [ˈrəʊənəʊk]
Roxburgh [ˈrɒksbrə]
Scouse [skaʊs]
Selkirk [ˈselkɜːk]
-shire (in place names) [ʃə]
Sierra Leone [siːˌerə liːˈəʊn]
Somerset [ˈsʌməset]
Sranan [ˈsrɑːnən]
substratum [ˈsʌbstrɑːtəm]
GA [ˈsʌbstreɪtəm]
Suffolk [ˈsʌfək]
superstrate [ˈsuːpəstreɪt]
Surinam [ˌsʊərɪˈnæm]
GA [ˈsʊrənɑːm]
Surrey [ˈsʌrɪ]
Swaziland [ˈswɑːzɪlænd]
Tasman [ˈtæzmən]
Tasmania [tæzˈmeɪnɪə]
Vanuatu [ˌvænʊˈɑːtuː]
Viking|s [ˈvaɪkɪŋ|z]
Wales [weɪlz]
Wear [wɪə]
Wolverhampton [ˌwʊlvəˈhæmptən]
Zimbabwe [zɪmˈbɑːbwɪ]

Subject index