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АМЕРИКАНСКИЙ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ

ЮНИТА 2

ДИАЛЕКТЫ АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

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Разработано Д.А.Бургхардтом

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Юнита 1. Британский и американский английский.

Юнита 2. Диалекты английского языка.

ЮНИТА 2

Дан очерк диалектов английского языка (США, Великобритания, Ирландия, Австрия, ЮАР, Новая Зеландия, страны Карибского бассейна).

Для студентов факультета лингвистики СГУ

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* Глоссарий расположен в середине учебного пособия и предназначен для самостоятельного заучивания новых понятий.

ТЕМАТИЧЕСКИЙ ПЛАН

Общие различия в произношении американского и британского вариантов английского языка. Язык газет и журналов. Диалекты в Северной Америке. Диалекты в Великобритании (Англия, Шотландия, Шетландские острова, Уэльс). Ирландский диалект. Карибский английский (креольский индийский). Австралийский английский. Новозеландский английский. Английский язык в ЮАР.

ЛИТЕРАТУРА

Базовый учебник

1. Crystal G. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of English Language. Any edition.

Дополнительная литература:

2. Gilbert J. B. Clear Speech. Pronunciation and Listening Compehension in North. American English. Cambridge University Press, 1993.

3. McCormick C. British-American / American-British Dictionary. Hyppocrene Books, 1996.

4. Guide to Business Correspondence. Merriam-Webster, 1996.

5. Buttor S.H., Humphries J. A. Mastering English Language. 2nd Edition. Macmillan, 1992.

6. Walken D. Exploring Newspapers. Macmillan, 1993.

Примечание. Знаком (*) отмечены работы, на основе которых составлен научный обзор.

Pronunciation Among the Americans and the Other English Speaking Countries

The major differences in pronunciation on the North American continent (United States of America and Canada) is not that difficult to characterize. Spelling is much more difficult to analyze than pronunciation; however, plays an important role in speaking American.

As students learning English, you have studied phonetics of the English language, more exactly—British English. In this lesson we will investigate the major differences in pronunciation (phonics) and compare these differences between the British dialect and the American dialect.

The closed vowel -a- in pronunciation. In British pronunciation, this sound is somewhere between the ‘æ-sound’ and the ‘ɔ-sound’, which is pronounced as an (æ), or a bit longer than just an ‘ə-sound’. This sound in British is made with the mouth in an open and relaxed position while producing an ‘ɔ-sound’ from deep in the throat. This sound in American is made with the mouth in a tightened and opened position (almost like a smile) while producing a short exasperation to the letter-sound ‘e’, but is produced a bit shorter and higher in the throat than in the British pronunciation and partially through the nose, making it a more nasal pronunciation.

Compare:

British -

cannot [kænət], plant [plɑnt], grass [grɑs], address [ədres]

American -

cannot [kənət], plant [plænt], grass [græs], address [ˈædres]

The r-sound. The British tend to “swallow” the r-sound especially in closed syllables, and elongate the previous vowel sound much like the final ‘e’ in a word will elongate the previous vowel. Americans, on the other hand, will pronounce all r’s, with the exception of the extreme Northeastern United States (see Lesson 3).

Compare:

British -

cart [kɑt], discord [ˈdiskɔ:d], record [rɪˈkɔ:d], short [ʃɔ:t], March [mɑ:tʃ],
choir [kwaɪə], bark [bɑk], father [ˈfɑ:ðə]

American -

cart [kɑ:t], discord ['diskɑ:d], record [rɪ'kɑ:d], short [ʃɔ:t], March [mɑ:tʃ],
choir ['kwɛə], bark [bɑ:k], father [fɑ:ðə]

The -lk sound. As with the r-sound, the British elongate the previous vowel sound, or even add an ɔ:-sound, to this combination. The Americans will shorten the previous vowel sound or make an 'a'-sound, with the exception of the Southern United States (see Lesson 3).

Compare:

British -

talk [tɔ:k], walk [wɔ:k]

American -

talk [tæk], walk [wæk]

The -tu- -du- phenomenon. The British pronounce this sound combination as it is spelled, that is separately, 't' and 'j:u', 'd' + 'j:u'. The Americans will pronounce this sound combination as a 'tʃ' or dʒu. The only word the British and the Americans agree on is "future," and is pronounced with a tʃ-sound.

Compare:

British -

tarantula [taran'tjʊlə], spatula ['spætjʊlə], spiritual ['spɪrɪtʃʊəl] græduəl

American -

tarantula [taran'tʃʊlə], spatula ['spætʃələ], spiritual [spɪrɪtʃʊəl] grædʒuəl

The sch- pronunciation. This sound is usually pronounced as [sk], as in 'school' [sku:l] in both British and American. The British and Americans also share the same pronunciation of this combination in 'scheme' [ski:m], scholastic [sko'-las-tik], and others. The only difference is with the word 'schedule'. The British pronounce this combination with a 'ʃ'-sound whereas the Americans use the pronunciation as with all other words of this category, i.e., schedule [ʃ'edʒʊəl], Am.: ['skedʒʊəl].

(See -tu- above.)

NEWSPAPER ENGLISH

Newspaper English (or media English) differs from spoken English in that it uses much more complicated grammar (participle I and II, passive voice, perfect tenses, etc.), extremely long sentences, etc. Newspaper articles, with the exception of 'cultural' and 'human interest' columns, usually answer the 'five W's and one H' in the first paragraph if not by the second paragraph (Who, What, When, Where, Why and How). This is done so that the reader may read the first paragraph of a very long column and decide if he would like more details or can go on to the next news article.

Exercise. Find the five W's and one "H" in the following articles.

1. A case for smokeless zones

ALAN ROAD *reports on the new moves to ban smoking in Britain's offices.*

When tobacco clouds from the pipe of a pensive draughtsman activated the smoke detection system in an office of a giant multi-national company recently, fire appliances were dispatched from three neighbouring authorities to deal with the imagined danger.

There are those who would argue that in the interests of public health such sensitive detectors might be linked instead to the laboratories of local hospitals, where the far from imaginary perils of nicotine could be monitored.

While medical research has conclusively identified tobacco as a threat to the smoker's own health, the dangers to innocent bystanders of what might be called nicotine fallout have yet to be proved beyond doubt. This has not prevented unilateralists calling for the banning of smoking in an increasing number of offices.

Nicotine traps

David Simpson, a director of ASH, the anti-tobacco group, says that unsolicited inquiries from the public about workplace policies on smoking are growing apace. 'In the past six months a lot more calls have been coming from the employers side,' he pointed out.

2. Deep in domesticity

Jeffrey Bernard

I can't for the life of me understand why some people are so hell bent on stopping others from doing what they want to do. If I choose to close up my arteries with nicotine and then open them up again with vodka that is my business and I will. But apart from ASH there is now an organisation called Action on Alcohol Abuse which is worried about the fact that 25,000 people die from drinking every year. What else should they die from? Eating? I really would like to be left alone by organisations. AAA also says that 50 per cent of domestic murders are committed by people when they are drunk. Well, of course they are. The other 50 per cent are probably committed by supporters of AAA. You don't have to be drunk to behave like a pig.

And I know about domestic murder. I lived with a girl once who tried to murder me. She used to burn the toast, insist on following me to the races and she was very much into sighing. You know, deep heavy sighs that make you wonder just what the hell you've done. The Guilt Machine I used to call her. She once even came to the Coach and Horses and stood in the doorway looking reproachfully at me. She didn't come inside, she just stood there and dabbed an eye with a handkerchief. She had another sort of sigh as well, much shorter and harder. That was the aggressive sigh and a nasty noise it was too. Such a terrible waste of a lovely body. Whoever it is who is responsible for putting the right brains into the right bodies really screws up sometimes. She was a dancer and I've noticed that dancers tend to be a little daft. I mean it's a funny thing to do, isn't it? I don't think it's natural. If you were with someone and they suddenly got up on their points, flung their arms in the air and then began to tiptoe through the tulips you'd send for a doctor or throw a bucket of cold water over them. wouldn't you? But this girl used to do her barre exercises at the ironing board. 'Just iron the bloody shirt,' I'd say and she would with a tremendous sigh. Well, she had to go and she did. She got a job dancing in Beirut.

3. Red Arrows jet crashes into row of houses

By Mark Rosselli

A JET belonging to the RAF aerobatics team, the Red Arrows, crashed on to houses in a Lincolnshire village yesterday after hitting a second Red Arrows aircraft.

The houses, two of which were badly damaged, were not occupied at the time, and both pilots parachuted to safety. More than 200 children were playing at a primary school about 250 yards from the crash. The accident happened at lunchtime as a formation of six Red Arrows was practising near

the team's home base at RAF Scampton, north of Lincoln. The exact details of the incident will be established by an RAF board of inquiry, but it appears that as the formation was travelling at about 1,500 ft, the flight leader's Hawk jet was hit by a second jet.

As both spun out of control, the pilots ejected; one jet landed in a field close to the village of Welton, about three miles from the airfield. The other crashed into a row of council houses at the edge of the village, clipping two with its wing tip before crashing into a third.

Last night, the pilots were said to be in a satisfactory condition at Lincoln County Hospital, one with a broken leg and the other with minor chest and back injuries. Neither was named.

LESSON 3

YPOK 3

DIALECTS IN THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, AND OTHER COUNTRIES

As in almost any language, there exist several spoken dialects. This can be seen with French (Paris, districts of France, Quebec (Canada), Louisiana (USA), Central African Republic (Africa). This can also be discovered in German (High German, Low German, Swiss German), Spanish (Catalonia, Central America, South America, Basque), Portuguese (Portugal, Brazil), and Chinese (Cantonese, Manchurian and over 500 other dialects).

Therefore, it follows that English is not an exception (North America, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa). In turn, each of these dialects may be divided into subgroups, or subdialects. In this section we will deal with the United States and Great Britain.

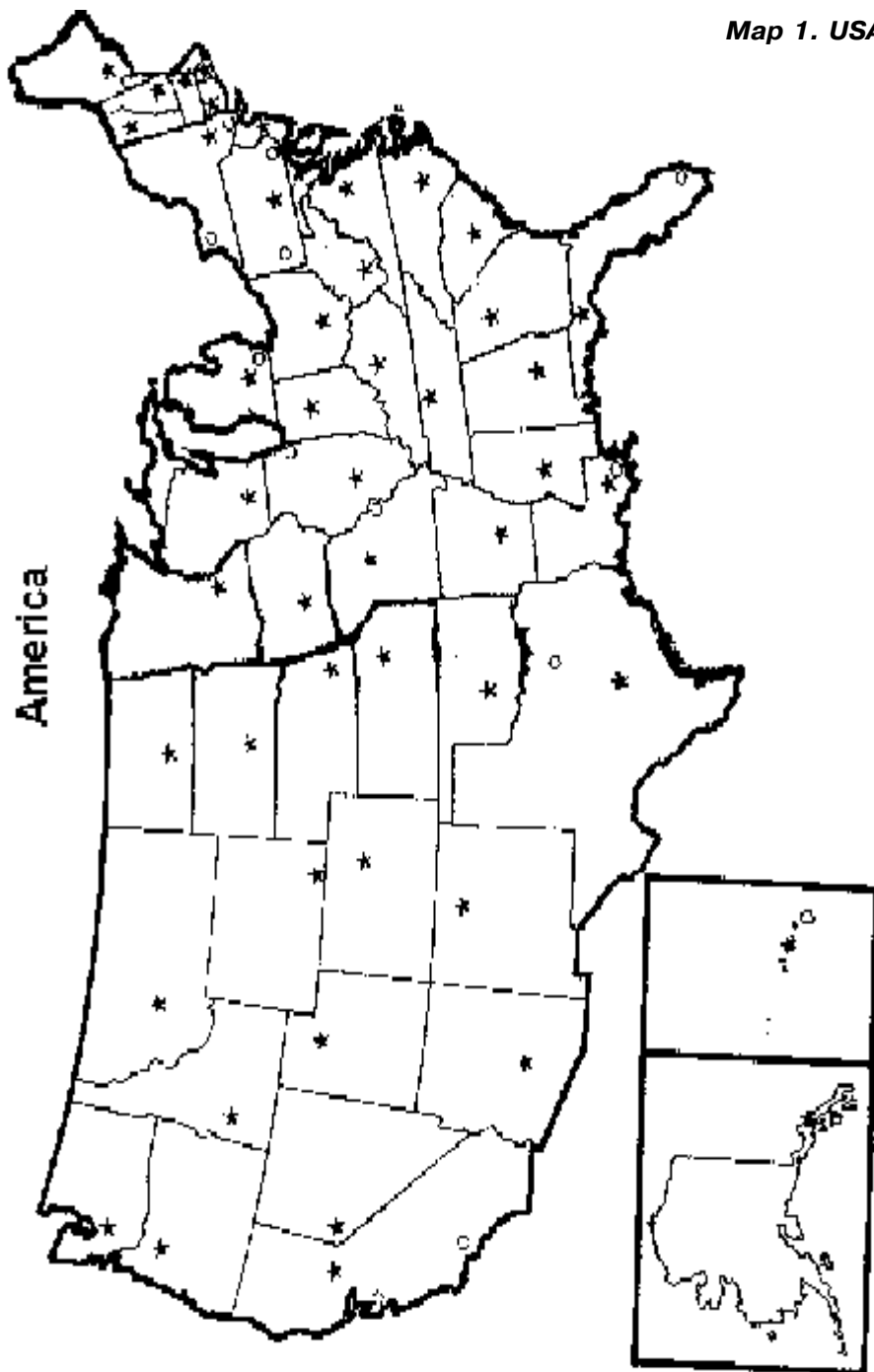
Dialects occur because of geographical separation, racial groups, mixtures of foreign languages (including pronunciation, syntax, and word usage), economic and education status, as well as historical events.

The United States of America

The United States can roughly be divided into eight subdialects (which also have a 'sub-subdialect', i.e., subdialects within a certain area belonging to an even larger subdialect). 'Sub-subdialects (for example, 'Black English,' 'Bronx,' 'Brooklyn,' etc.) will be considered as the ninth category in this section.

Map 1. USA

The United States of America



Subdialect Number I - The “*Extreme*” North-Eastern United States

This is a very small area of the United States having its own particular pronunciation of the American language, and consists of the following six states: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. By the way, Rhode Island is not an island at all, but geographically the smallest state in the US, bordered by Connecticut and the Atlantic Ocean.

The reason for this subdialect is generally because of its location bordering Canada to the North. Canada may be divided into three individual dialects thanks to Quebec (a French-speaking province located in the Northeast), i.e., Eastern dialect (Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Prince Edward), French dialect (Quebec), and the remainder of Canada to the West of Quebec being an ‘American’ dialect (Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon, and Northwest Territories).

In this area of the United States, the natives use the same dialect as those from the Eastern part of Canada, namely a British accent, in particular when not pronouncing r’s in words that we studied in Lesson One of this Unit. In this area words are spelled in the ‘American’ version of English; however, their pronunciations are closer to the British version. The rate of speech is quicker than the rate of the British version, and quicker than the Southern (V), Texan (VI) and the Appalachian (III) subdialects; however, is the fourth slowest (or middle-range) in regard to the remainder of the US in speech rapidity patterns.

Example: *Park your car in the back yard.* (Here all the r-sounds are pronounced in all other parts of the United States.)

From Maine: Pa-hk yoh cah in the back ya-hd. (Here all the r-sounds are pronounced as in the British version.)

Here there is also the exclusion of large cities, in particular Boston (Massachusetts), which will be discussed in the ninth subdialect as it is a dialect in itself.

Subdialect Number II - East Coast/Central

This subdialect is located on the Northeastern seaboard of the Atlantic Ocean and the North-central part of the United States, or Great Lakes area, and consists of 11 states: New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota. These states have always been known for industry (especially Michigan) and

politics (especially New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland) and, therefore, have their own style of speech. The main differences are rapidity of speech (the second quickest in rate in the US) and the phenomenon of simultaneously speaking through the mouth and the nose. This may be difficult to understand how this is done; however, natives of this region have a tendency to sound 'nasal' when speaking to others, and this sound is produced by bringing the voice up to the top of the throat and partially through the nose, creating a specific sound. This may be explained from history as it was the 'bourgeois' area in the United States before and shortly after the Civil War period. Another influence in the style of speech is the location of Quebec (Canada), a French-speaking province directly North of this area which makes pronunciation a bit softer and more nasal, and brings some French words and phrases into this subdialect as well. This area is also somewhat 'cut-off' from other parts of the US, mainly by the Appalachian Mountains (to the south), partially by the Mississippi River (to the west), and by the Great Lakes and Quebec (to the north). Again, the larger cities have their own dialects which will be mentioned in the ninth section. These cities are New York (New York), containing several sub-subdialects, i.e., Brooklyn, Bronx, Harlem, etc., Chicago (Illinois), especially 'Black-English,' and Washington, D.C., (Maryland).

Subdialect III - The Appalachians

The Appalachian subdialect is found in the Appalachian Mountains, and consists of the following four states: Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. This area is one of the poorest regions in the United States and is isolated because of a mountainous area, with the exception of Virginia on the Eastern seaboard of the Atlantic Ocean. Here we can find many words incorrectly pronounced, speech patterns a bit slower (the third slowest in rate in the US), and many words that are indigenous to only this area (for example, 'Golly', 'Gosh-sakes', 'shucks', 'by-God', and others). There is no industry and very little agriculture in this area, again with the exception of Virginia. Because of this absence of industry and agriculture, this area suffers in economy as well as education. This does not mean that the people from this area are uneducated, but do not have the opportunity, need or want to associate with other regions outside the Appalachians. This area forms a barrier between the quicker speaking East Coast/Central (II), and the extremely slow speaking South (V) because of the Appalachians as well as the Mississippi River. Here, even in large cities like Memphis (Tennessee) or Charleston (West Virginia), there is little difference in speech from the remainder of the Appalachian subdialect.

Subdialect Number IV - Central Mid-West

The Central Mid-West subdialect is located in the agricultural center of the United States and includes the following seven states: Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Oklahoma, North Dakota, South Dakota. These states are not very populated and there is almost no industry. This is the 'bread-basket' of the US, with the exception of North and South Dakota. This region is bordered by the Mississippi River to the East, the Rocky Mountains to the West and by the Red River and Texas to the South. The rapidity of speech in this area is medium, i.e., not as fast as East Coast/Central (II), and quicker than Appalachian (III). There are some elements of the South (V) in speech rapidity and pronunciation in the states of Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri; however, these are very slight.

Subdialect Number V - South

The Southern subdialect is not similar to any other dialect in the United States and is found in the following eight states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas. These are former 'Plantation' states, where tobacco, cotton and many other natural fiber products are grown. This is a very hot and humid region of the US, and differs from the rest of the US not only because of the climate, but also in customs, traditions, and, of course, speech patterns. This is the slowest speaking subdialect in the United States. The natives of the South not only speak extremely slowly in comparison to the rest of the US inhabitants, but also are probably the most 'polite' speakers, using many 'unnecessary' words of politeness, i.e., excessive use of modal verbs, the verb 'to do' (You **do** want to go to the show, **don't** you?), and other words that are no longer (or very rarely) used in Modern American (What **ever** do you mean? I know nothing **whatsoever** of his **whereabouts**.) The slowness of speech is most likely connected with the habit of elongating all syllables to an almost ridiculous length. People not from the South sometimes get irritated and bored when speaking with Southerners, especially if they are from the Rocky Mountain/West Coast (VII) or East Coast/Central (II) areas.

Here we must take into consideration Louisiana and Florida, two states that have much in common with the South; however, are intermixed with other conditions in their speech patterns.

First of all, Louisiana was a former French colony, and many people (especially in New Orleans and surrounding areas) speak a French dialect (Creole). This Creole accent has a definite effect on pronunciation and an intermixing of French words into the language.

Second, Florida, being a former colony of Spain and being in close proximity to the Caribbean Sea, has influence from both the Spanish (Puerto

Rico) and French (Haiti) languages. Aside from this, Florida is considered a 'retirement' state for the elderly from all parts of the US, as well as a very popular vacation spot not only for Americans, but also for Europeans. Because of these influences on the language, Florida may soon be excluded from the Southern Group as far as subdialects are concerned.

Subdialect Number VI - Texas

There is a saying that 'Everything is **BIG** in Texas.' Texas is the second largest state geographically in the United States (Alaska is the largest and became a state only in 1959). Texas and Oklahoma used to be grouped together in subdialects; however, Texans and Oklahomans have always disagreed with one another and this combination is no longer observed. Texas stands alone in subdialects not only because of its size, not only because of its somewhat isolated location, but because Texans insist on it and strive to be unique in the United States. (Texas's nickname is the Lone Star State.) They show their pride in their specific subdialect which is very slow ((not as slow as the South (V)) by using what is called a 'cowboy' dialect, or 'Texas Drawl.' Not everyone in Texas is a cowboy, and not everyone wears a cowboy hat, cowboy boots, or rides a horse to work. There is also a tendency to use what is called 'Tex-Mex,' or a combination of English with Spanish (Mexico). Spanish is spoken especially in the South of Texas nearer the border to Mexico, which also influences this subdialect.

Subdialect VII - Rocky Mountain/West Coast

From the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean is the largest area of subdialect in the United States and consists of twelve states: Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Idaho, Nevada, California, Oregon, Washington, Alaska. The size of this area is enormous, and has sub-subdialects; however, they are very similar to one another. This is the subdialect that is spoken the quickest, however, the clearest, or cleanest. Most television and radio broadcasters from the United States are from this area as it is considered the only subdialect 'without an accent.' (This statement is false, as the West Coast accent is an accent in itself outside the West Coast.) The rapidity of speech is so quick, that for an 'outsider' only half of the statement is understood. Besides this, the character (etiquette) of speech also differs from the rest of the US in that one does not wait for the first speaker to finish his statement before the second speaker begins to respond or answer. This makes conversations very difficult because there is no pause between the speakers. Usually Texans (VI), Appalachians (III) and Southerners (V) have the most difficulty in listening comprehension and dialogs with Westerners (VII).

The 'Mountain States' (Montana, Wyoming, Colorado), as well as the 'Desert States' (Utah, Nevada) have a tendency to speak slightly slower than the extreme West Coast. The Southern states of this region (Arizona, New Mexico, Southern California) have a tendency to use Spanish words in their lexicon owing to their bordering Mexico. The Northwestern region (Oregon, Washington) not only have the quickest speakers of the entire United States, but also mix some Japanese (because of trade) and Native American Indian languages into their lexicon, although irregular and depending on their interlocutor. Alaska is slightly different only in that there Aleutian, Kodiak, and other Native Indian languages are intermixed, but the rate of speech is the same as in the remaining Rocky Mountain/West Coast (VII) area.

Subdialect Number VIII - Hawaiian

It is not difficult to understand that Hawaii has a totally different subdialect in America, considering that this island state is located in the middle of the Pacific Ocean some 2,300 miles from mainland America. Their speech rate is relative to that of the Rocky Mountain/West Coast (VII) area, which is very quick. The main difference (and difficulty) in their speech is an intermixing of the Hawaiian (Polynesian), Japanese, and American languages. Polynesian has remained and is spoken in the everyday speech of the average Hawaiian, although it has changed a bit in pronunciation due to English influence. However, it is almost impossible to understand, let alone pronounce, phrases and individual words for the outsider until he becomes accustomed to 'their' speech. (This is particular in place names, streets, surnames, climactic conditions, and native foods, customs, and animals.) The Hawaiians use many vowels and vowel combinations, more so than English speaking people are used to. An example can be seen in how the islands are called: Hawaii, Kahoolawe, Kauai, Lanai, Maui, Molokai, Niihau, and Oahu. A shark is called Mahi-Mahi, and 'Merry Christmas' would be 'Mehle kahliki mahka' (*sic*).

Section Number IX - Sub-Subdialects

New York City is the most populous city in the United States (over seven million inhabitants, not including its suburbs which adds approximately an additional 10 million inhabitants, called Greater New York) and is divided into several districts, or boroughs, with their own sub-subdialects, namely Manhattan, Queens, Brooklyn, the Bronx, Harlem, and Staten Island. Here we can find many differences in pronunciation, and the infamous 'Black-English' which is especially prominent in Brooklyn, Harlem (a sub-district in Manhattan) and the Bronx. Aside from this, there are several 'sub-boroughs' within each of these larger boroughs, i.e., Little Italy, Little Russia,

Germantown, Chinatown, the Jewish District, etc., which add many foreign words to their lexicon.

Chicago is the second most populous city in the United States (over three million inhabitants, not including its suburbs). Here we can find a sub-subdialect of 'Black-English' different from the 'Black-English' in Brooklyn, Harlem and the Bronx.

Boston, even though not a large city (less than one million inhabitants), has its own sub-subdialect. This sub-subdialect is very similar to the remainder of the Extreme Northeast (I) except syllables are emphasized a bit clearer and tend to be elongated, or drug out.

Washington, D.C. (less than one million inhabitants), the capital of the United States, has a particular sub-subdialect in that it is the political center of the country. This means that people (representatives) from all over the country are located in this city and include in their lexicon much political jargon and slang that is not used in regular speech throughout the remainder of the United States.

GREAT BRITAIN and OTHER COUNTRIES

As in the United States, there are subdialects in Great Britain. These subdialects can be divided into the following: Irish, Scottish, Welsh, English, and many sub-subdialects in London.

ENGLAND

VOWEL VARIATION

Plotting vowel variation is a much more intricate matter than in the case of consonants, and far more distinctions in phonetic detail are required.

A broad distinction can be drawn between those accents which retain some kind of /r/ (generally in the South, West, and far North) and those which do not. Several qualities of /r/-colouring can be distinguished: fricative ([ɹ]), retroflex ([ɻ], especially in the South-West) and uvular ([k], in the far North) variants. Front varieties of vowel quality are increasingly likely as one moves away from the South-East, though there are pockets of back vowel quality. Diphthongization occurs in the North-East.

In this analysis, the vowel in such words as up ([ʊp] oop' in the North, [ʌp] in the South) is considered to be the chief distinguishing feature, and a division between North and South has been made on this basis.

MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION

There is a remarkable diversity in the use of the verb to be in English dialects, especially in its negative forms. Among the interesting features are: the use of *is''s* in the North; *ain't* is widespread in the East Midlands and

South-East, with variant forms (*en't*, *yun't*) further west; and forms based on *be* dominate in the South-West.

For comparison, the range of forms recorded in other persons is given below (minor variants in parentheses):

I am: am, are, be, bin, is

you are (sing.): you are, ye are, thou are, thou art, thee art, thou is, you be, you bin, thee bist, (thee be, thou bist, you am)

she is: is, be, bin, (am, bist)

we are: are, am, be, bin, (aren)

they are: are, am, is, be, bin, (aren, at, bist)

she isn't: isn't, 'snot, isno', ain't, en't, yun't, idn', inno, bain't, ben't (idn't, binno', byent, 's none, yen't)

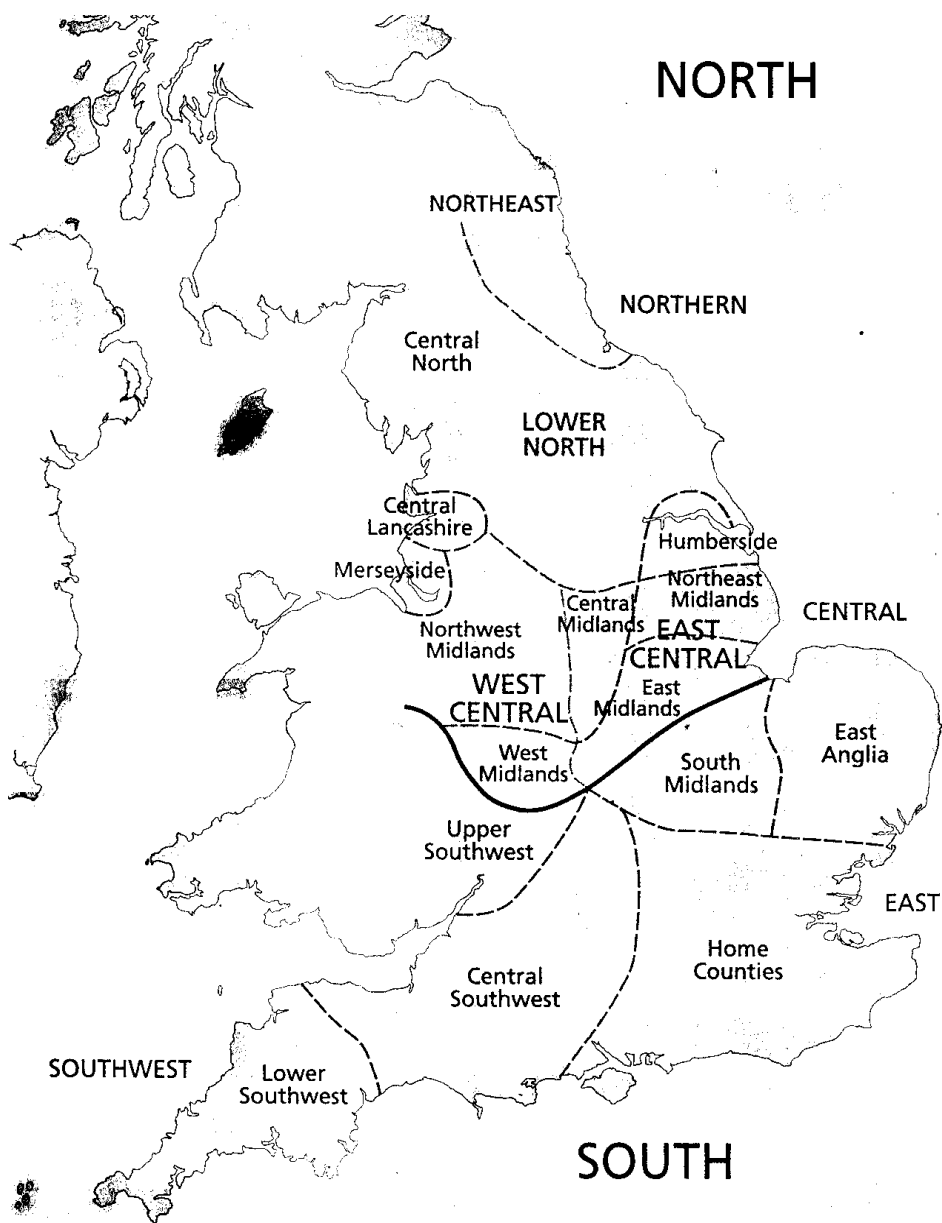
they aren't: aren't, 're not, ain't, en't, yun't, anno', bain't, baan't, ben't, byen't, byun't, binno', (amno', inno', in't, isn't, 'm not, 're none)

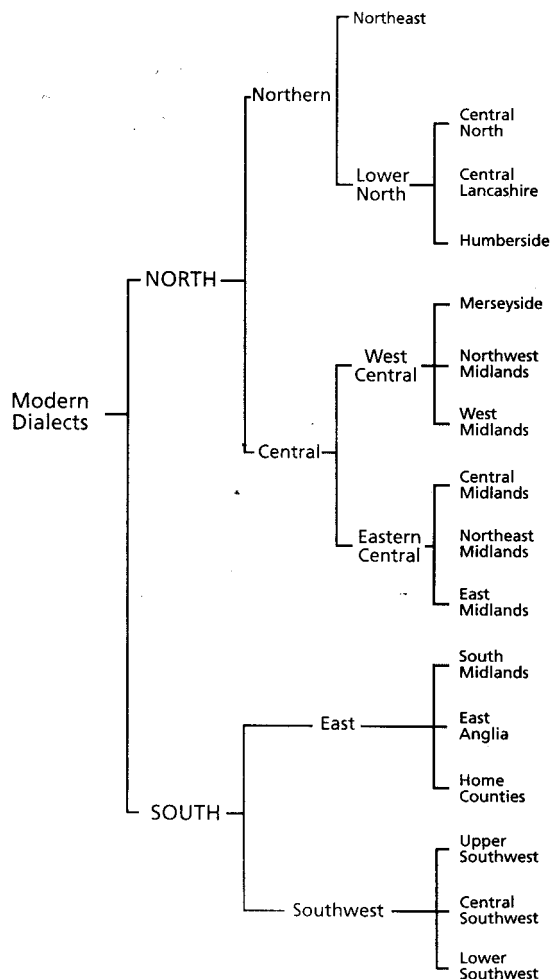
SYNTACTIC VARIATION

The word order *give me it* is usual in the North, most of the East, and in a narrow band across the South Midlands; *give it me* dominates in the lower North-West, West Midlands, and South-East, with the prepositional form, *give it to me*, the norm in the South-West, and also occurring in enclaves around the Thames estuary and in East Anglia. The pronoun -less form *give me* is recorded once, in Surrey. This is doubtless one of the forms which would be much more widely represented in an urban dialect survey.

Area	very	few	cars	made	up	long	hill
Northeast	veree	few	cahs	mehd	oop	long	hill
Central North	veri	few	cahs	mehd	oop	long	ill
Central Lancashire	veri	few	carrs	rnehd	oop	longg	ill
Humberside	veree	few	cahs	rnehd	oop	long	ill
Merseyside	veree	few	cahs	mayd	oop	longg	ill
Northwest Midlands	veri	few	cahs	mayd	oop	longg	ill
West Midlands	veree	few	cahs	mayd	oop	longg	ill
Central Midlands	veri	few	cahs	mayd	oop	long	ill
Northeast Midlands	veree	few	cahs	mayd	oop	long	ill
East Midlands	veree	foo	cahs	mayd	oop	long	ill
Upper Southwest	veree	few	carrs	mayd	up	long	ill
Central Southwest	veree	few	carrs	mayd	up	long	iooll
Lower Southwest	veree	few	carrs	mehd	up	long	ill
South Midlands	veree	foo	cahs	mayd	up	long	iooll
East Anglia	veree	foo	cahs	mayd	up	long	(h)ill
Home Counties	veree	few	cahs	mayd	up	long	iooll

Map 2. England





VARIATION IN SCOTLAND

Of all the varieties of English which have developed within the British Isles, there are none more distinctive or more divergent from Standard English than some of those associated with Scotland. Indeed, the extent of the divergence in one or these varieties has led to a well-established use of the label, the 'Scots language', and to a spirited defence of all that such a label stands for. It is argued that Scots differs from the regional dialects of England in two crucial ways. It is unique because it was once the variety used, in the late Middle Ages, when Scotland was an independent nation; and

it is unique because it has a clearly defined history of its own, with a strong literary tradition beginning in Middle English, its own dialect variants (several of which have individual literary histories), its own 'golden age' and period of decline, a modern literary renaissance, and a contemporary sociolinguistic stature which other dialects of British English do not share. There are many more Scottish expressions in current use in Scotland than there are English dialect expressions in current use in any dialect of England. The term 'dialect island', is sometimes used to capture the character of the Scottish situation.

Some Scots Linguistic Features

The present-day dialect boundary between England and Scotland is one of the most well-defined in Britain. Although there are several features shared with dialects from the north of England — such as some lexical items (e.g. *lass*, *bairn*, *bonny*, *toon*) and some pronunciations, there are many uniquely distinguishing features, found in various distributions north of the border. The following is a selection of features which distinguish Scots from Standard English (SE).

Pronunciation

- There is the absence of lip-rounding in such words as *stone* and *go*, giving Scots *stane*, *gae*.
- The close back vowel /u:/ is fronted, so that SE *moon* and *use* are heard in several dialects with [y] (as in French *tu*), and written in such spellings as *muin* and *yuisse*.
- Final /l/ was replaced by an [ʊ]-type vowel in late Middle English, giving many words which are represented without an / in the spelling, as in *saut* ('salt'), *fou* ('full'), *baw* ('ball'). Some spelling systems represent the 'missing/' by an apostrophe, as in *fu'*.
- There were several different effects of the Great Vowel Shift in Scottish English, such as the retention of a pure vowel /u:/ in such words as *hoose* ('house') and *doon* ('down').
- Certain vowels have no inherent length, but are long or short depending on the sound which follows them (the *Scottish vowel-length rule*). Close vowels /i/ and /u/ are most affected. For example, /i/ is long in *leave* and *sees*, but short in *leaf* and *cease*. That this is not just a function of longer duration in front of a voiced (lenis) consonant, as in RP, is shown by such pairs as *agreed* (long) vs *greed* (short) or *feel* (long) vs *feeling* (short), where the conditioning factor is the grammatical boundary between stem and ending.
- A velar fricative is commonly heard, in such words as *loch* and *nicht* ('night'), and also in *technical*, *patriarch*, *Brechin*, and other -ch- items.

- The voiceless bilabial fricative [ɱ] is widespread, allowing a contrast between while and wile, or whales and Wales. In the North-East, the [ɱ] is replaced by /f/: *fa* ('who'), *fite* ('white'), etc.

- A glottal stop is widely heard in urban accents, in such words as *butter*, and is spreading throughout the country, especially in the speech of younger people.

- Pitch range and direction tends to be wider than in RP, and unstressed syllables are often pronounced with greater emphasis (e.g. *Wednesday* with three distinct syllables).

Grammar

- Irregular plural nouns include *een* ('eyes'), *shuin* ('shoes'), and *hors* ('horses'). Regularized nouns include *leafs*, *wifes*, *wolfs*, *lifes*, etc.

- Two pronoun variants are *thae* ('those') and *thir* ('these'). In Orkney and Shetland, and occasionally elsewhere, the *thou/thee/ye* distinction is maintained. Other distinctive pronouns often heard include *mines* ('mine'), *they* ('these'), *they yins* ('they'), and *yous* ('you' plural).

- Numeral one appears in different forms, depending on its position: *ae man* ('one man') vs *that ane* ('that one').

- Distinctive verb forms include *gae* ('go'), *gaed* ('went'), *gane* ('gone'); *hing* ('hang'), *hang* ('hanged'), *hungin* ('hung'); *lauch* ('laugh'), *leuch* ('laughed', past tense form), *lauchen* ('laughed', past participle form); and such other past tenses as *gied* ('gave'), *brung* ('brought'), *tellt* ('told'), *taen* ('took'), and *sellt* ('sold').

- The particle not appears as *no* or *nae*, often in contracted forms as *-na* or *-ny*, as in *canna* ('can not') and *didnae* ('didn't').

- Auxiliary verbs *shall*, *may*, and *ought* are not normally used in speech, being replaced with such forms as *will* (for *shall*), *can* or *maybe* (for *may*), and *should* or *want* (for *ought*, as in *You want to get out a bit*). Double modals may be heard: *might could*, *will can*, etc.

- The definite article is often used distinctively, as in *the now* ('just now'), *the day* ('today'), *the both ofthem*, *go to the church* (in a generic sense, SE *go to church*), *they're at the fishing*, *he wears the kilt*, (SE he wears a kilt), and before names of chiefs (*Robert the Bruce*).

- Syntactic constructions include several uses of prepositions, such as *the back of 3 o'clock* ('soon after 3 o'clock'), and *from (frae)* for *by* in passives (*We were all petrified frae him*). Tag question variations include *Is Mary still outside, is she?* See may be used to mark a new topic, especially in Glasgow, as in *See it's daft doing that*.

Vocabulary

A great deal of the distinctiveness of the Scots lexicon derives from the influence of other languages, especially Gaelic, Norwegian, and French. Gaelic loans, for example, include *cairn*, *capercaillie*, *ceilidh*, *claymore*, *gillie*, *glen*, *ingle*, *loch*, *pibroch*, *sporrán*, and *whisky*, and several of these are now part of Standard English. The following are among the lexical items which remain restricted to Scots. It is the tiniest of samples, considering that *The Scots Thesaurus* (1990), for example, lists over 20,000 items.

airt	direction
ay	always
dominie	teacher
dreich	dreary
fash	bother
high-heid yin	boss
janitor	caretaker
kirk	church outwith
outside of pinkie	little finger
swither	hesitate

There are also many words which have the same form as in SE, but are different in meaning. Examples include *scheme* ('local government housing estate'), *mind* ('memory, recollection'), *travel* ('go on foot'), and *gate* ('road'), as well as several idioms, such as *to miss oneself* ('to miss a treat') or *be up to high doh* ('be over-excited').

Scots Dialect Areas

Map 3 shows the chief dialect areas of Scots, and the counties of Scotland as they existed before the 1975 reorganization of local government in the UK. The Highlands and Hebrides are left blank, as these are the traditional Gaelic-speaking areas, and it is Gaelic rather than Scots which needs to be taken into account when analysing English usage there.

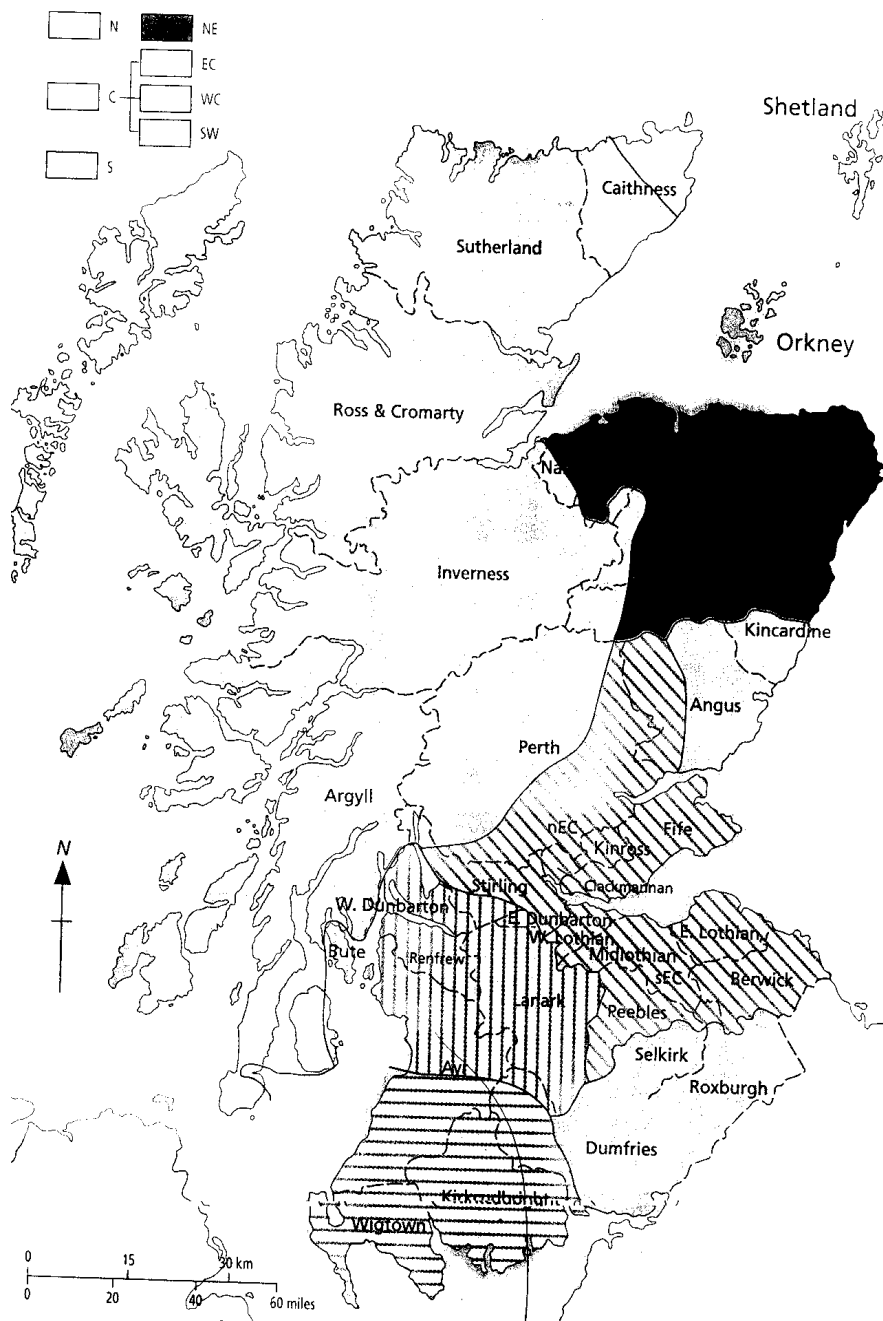
Insular Scots

Orkney and Shetland

Northern

- Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness
- Nairn, Moray, Banff, Aberdeen (North-East Scots) airt
- Kincardine, E Angus

Map 3. Scotland



Central

East Central

• W Angus, Perth, Stirling, Fife, Kinross, Clackmannan Worth-East Central)

• West Lothian, Edinburgh, Midlothian, East Lothian, Berwick, Peebles (South-East Central)

West Central

• W and E Dunbarton, Argyll, Bute, Renfrew, Glasgow, Lanark, N Ayr

South-West

• S Ayr, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, Galloway, W Dumfries

Southern

• Roxburgh, Selkirk, E/Mid Dumfries

Ulster Scots

Shetland Speech

The variety of language used in the Shetland Isles is said to be one of the most distinctive of all Scots dialects. This extract is from a piece of academic writing—a contribution to a symposium on Scots published in the journal *English World-Wide* (1981).

Shetland's 'ain aald language' has its röts awa back ida Norn tongue at wis spokken in Shetland fae aboot da nint tae da seeventeent century. Da Scots fock at cam among wis fae da sixteent century an on brocht der ain leid, an at da lang an da lent da twa languages melled tagidder to mak da tongue we caa Shetlandic. While dis wis gjaan on, anidder wye o spaekin an writin wis shapin da local speech. Diswis English-ösed by da Kirk, da laa-coorts an ida sköls. (From JJ. Graham, 1981.)

röts roots / *ida* in the / *fock* folk / *af wis* that was / *brocht* brought / *da lang an da lent* at long last / *ösed* used / *Kirk* Church

Much of the visual identity of this style is due to the choice of spelling (e.g. *da* for the). Many Shetlanders, of course, speak a much less distinctive dialect, as seen in this extract from a 64-year-old man's account of the fire festival, Up-Helly-Aa. The language is essentially Standard English, with just the occasional dialect form.

well/- hit's a procession/a procession of maybe nine hundred guizers/
and if you do not ken what a guizer is/ that is somebody that dresses up / to
pretend to be something else/... in the old days / part of the reason for the
festival / was to celebrate the end of the dark days of winter / and the return
of the sun / well whatever else has changed/the weather has not changed
very muckle/- hit's still the dark days of winter /...and there's nobody now/

more than in the old days/ blither to see/the return of the sun/even though it's still not very high in the sky/than the Shetlander is (After B. Oreström, 1985.)

blither happier hit it ken know muckle much

There is evidently a continuum linking Standard English and Scots in informal speech, and to some extent in writing. At one extreme, people from Scotland may speak a dialect which is to all intents and purposes Standard English, with only a slight Scottish accent indicating where they are from. At the other extreme, a highly distinctive variety may be used, with an extremely localized English vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar, often coloured by borrowings from Gaelic. In between, Scots features may appear in varying proportions, coloured by regional variations within Scotland, and often with substantial dialect mixing. Certain regions are much more distinctively Scottish, and some have developed their own literatures, notably the north-east, Shetland, and Glasgow.

WELSH ENGLISH

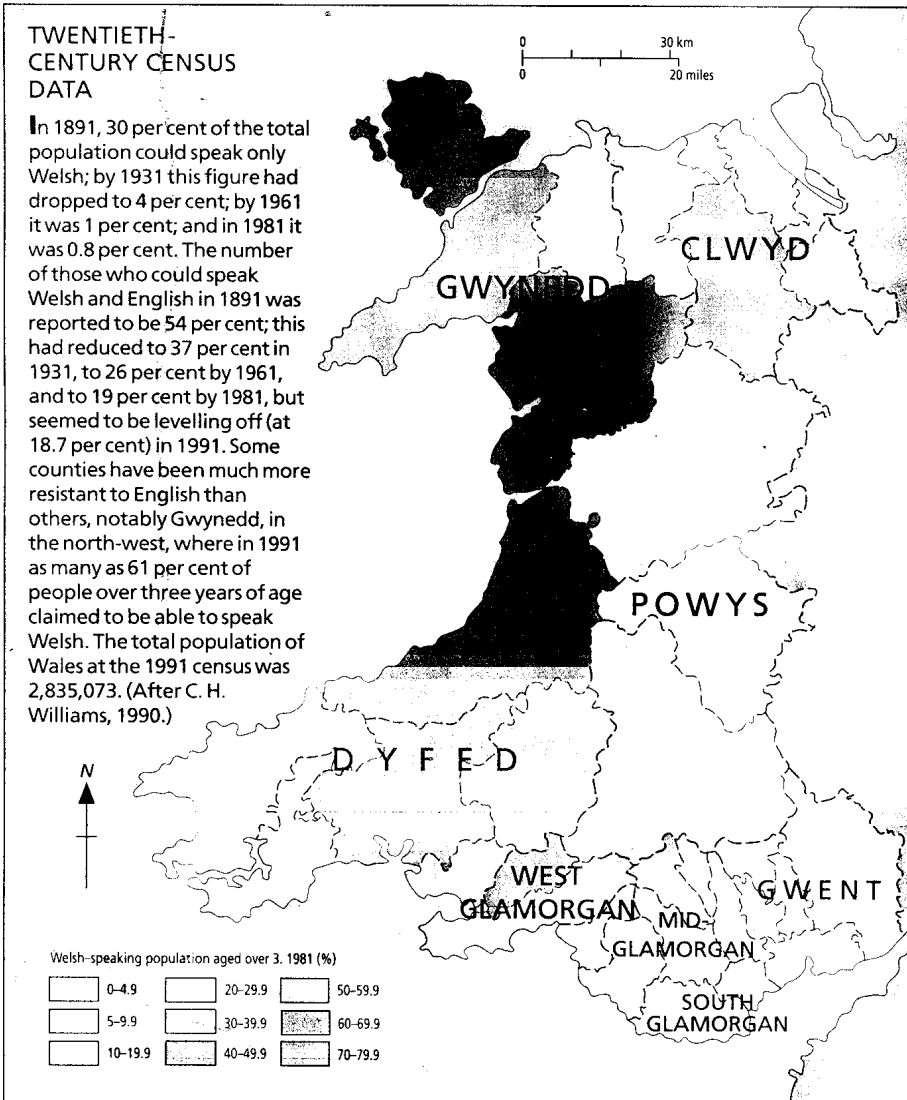
The Welsh, more than any other nation, have a right to feel aggrieved when they reflect on the history of English, for it was their ancestor language which was displaced when the Anglo-Saxon invaders first arrived. Modern Welsh is the direct descendant of the Celtic language which was spoken at the time throughout most of Britain. This language survived for a while in Cumbria, south-west Scotland, Devon, and Cornwall, as well as in Wales, but after the Middle Ages it remained only in the latter two areas, and from the 19th century it is found in Wales alone.

In the 19th century, the Industrial Revolution fostered the emigration of Welsh speakers to jobs in England, and later the immigration of English speakers to jobs in the mining and smelting industries of South Wales. The population movements continued to grow in the present century, fuelled by wars and economic recessions. And behind everything, in recent years, there has been the relentless linguistic pressure towards anglicization, stemming from the dominance of English in technology, the media and the economy — as in every other part of the world.

Some Features Of Welsh English

The distinctiveness of Welsh English varies greatly within Wales, being most noticeable in areas where Welsh is strong (the north-west). There is no universally used standard variety, despite the fact that some features are thought by outsiders to be “typically Welsh”, and used in a stereotyped way in literature and humour. A good example is the tag *look you*, a direct

Map 4. Wales.



translation from a Welsh tag, which is rarely if ever used by real Welsh English speakers (though you would never guess from listening to Fluellen in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, one of the many famous literary Welsh).

Pronunciation

- A contrast is not made between /ʌ/ and /ə/: the two vowels of *butter* are identical, unlike RP /bʌtə/.
- Consonants between vowels are often lengthened, as in *money* /'mɒni/ and /'bʌtə/.
- Two Welsh consonants are found: the well-known voiceless / sound, as in *Llandudno*), and the velar fricative /x/ (as in *bach*).
- There is no /z/ in Welsh, and in northern dialects several English word-pairs sound the same: *pence/pens* are both /pens/. Similarly, the lack of affricates in Welsh results in identity between such pairs as *chin* and *gin*:/

Grammar and Vocabulary

- The tag question *isn't it* is used by some speakers after all pronouns: *You're leaving, isn't it?* Another tag is *yes*, especially in colloquial form asking for agreement, *yeah?*
- To express emphasis, the predicate (apart from the first verb) can appear before the subject: *Running on Friday, he is; Fed up I am.*
- There are several Welsh loan-words, such as *eisteddfod* (a type of arts festival), *Duw* ('God', as in exclamations), *del* ('dear', as a term of endearment), and *nain* and *taid* ('grandma', 'grandpa').

IRISH ENGLISH

Ireland, as a geographical part of the British isles, is usually considered alongside Great Britain when investigating English language use. This makes sense, from a linguistic point of view. It is sometimes forgotten that Ireland was the first of the overseas English-speaking colonies, and that there has been some 800 years of continuous contact between the two nations. Moreover, the issues involved in identifying the kind of variation found today in Northern Ireland overlap considerably with those encountered in the Irish Republic. Both parts of Ireland are therefore dealt with on these pages.

Dialect Division

As with other English-speaking varieties, Hiberno-English is by no means homogeneous. A major boundary can be drawn, first of all, between the dialects spoken in the southern two-thirds of the island and those spoken further north, in the former province of Ulster (a larger area than the six counties which comprise modern Northern Ireland). Ulster, the more varied linguistic situation, can be divided into two main areas. The dialect spoken in

the north-east of the region is known as Ulster Scots or Scotch-Irish, because it displays many features which can be traced back to the speech of the 17th-century immigrants from the Scottish Lowlands. The dialect used elsewhere, known as Mid-Ulster or Ulster Anglo-Irish, displays far less Scots influence, having been largely settled by immigrants from England (chiefly from the west and north-west Midlands).

Within both Ulster and the south, a range of varieties of Hiberno-English can be found. Rural dialects, especially those in the west, display a highly conservative character, much influenced by the speech forms of Gaelic. Urban dialects, especially those of Dublin and Belfast, are more heavily influenced by English, and display many of the nonstandard forms found in the urban dialects of Great Britain. And throughout the country there is an educated variety of Hiberno-English, containing relatively few regional forms — though enough to make such speech ‘sound Irish’ to outsiders. As heard in the formal language of the national radio station. Radio Telefís Éireann, only occasional items of lexicon (e.g. *taoiseach* [ˈtʰiːʃəx] ‘prime minister’) distinguish it from Standard English.

Pronunciation

Several phonetic features distinguish Hiberno-English from Received Pronunciation. (RP), some involving subtle contrasts in vowel length, lip rounding, and tongue position. Below is a selection of features heard in the more distinctive accents.

- Words such as *tea* and *key* tend to be pronounced with /e:/ instead of RP/i:/, as reflected in such literary spellings as *ray*, *Paycock*.
- RP /ɔi/ is often pronounced /əi/, especially in the south: as suggested by the literary spelling *jine* for *join*.
- There are several differences from RP in open vowels: in particular, words like *path* and *calm* often have a long front /a:/, with a long back /ɑ:/ used in *saw* and *talk*. /r/ after vowels is kept in such words as *car* and *purse*.
- /t/ and /d/ are usually dental (alveolar in RP), and the RP *th* fricatives /θ, ð/ appear as plosives (thanks /*tʰaŋks*/, this /*d-is*/); some pairs of words (e.g. *thin* and *tin*) may therefore sound the same.
- /l/ is always clear in such words as *full* and *field*.
- Some consonant clusters have been influenced by the Gaelic sound system: for example, /s/ may become /ʃ/ before /t, n, l/, as in *stop* /ʃtop/.

Irish Stress

A noticeable feature of many Hiberno-English accents is the way the chief stress in a polysyllabic word is often different from its location in RP. Stress patterns seem to be more flexible than in RP, especially in the south,

and there is considerable variation, but a few general tendencies have been noted.

- Verbal suffixes attract the stress in words with three or more syllables (*educate*, *advertise*, *prosecute*), along with their inflections (*educating*, *complicated*).

- In polysyllabic nouns, a syllable followed by a consonant cluster tends to attract the stress: *algebra*, *architecture*, *character*. This feature is often stigmatized as nonstandard, though such forms as *orchestra* and *discipline* may be heard in educated speech.

The general pattern is one of stress postponement, the primary stress appearing later in the word compared with RP. Many other words show this pattern (*triangle*, *safeguard*, *diagnose*), though there is much variation, especially when people allow their speech to be influenced by American or British models. Many Irish place names also have a final stress, reflecting Gaelic origins, as in *Belfast*, though anglicization to *Belfast* is now common.

Postponed stress is also a noticeable feature of Scots, Caribbean, and Indian English. But the effect has been taken much further in Irish than in Scots English, and something more fundamental seems to be afoot in the case of India and the Caribbean. It has also been around in Ireland for a long time, as can be seen from the metrical patterns of pre-20th-century rhyming verse ('So therefore I awaited with my spirits elevated'). The origins of the effect are unclear, but it is thought that part of the answer may lie with the Irish schoolmasters who became early agents of anglicization, and who were often unsure how polysyllabic words should be pronounced.

GRAMMAR

The features described earlier on this page are only a few of the distinctive grammatical features found in Hiberno-English. All of the following will also be encountered, though there is considerable geographical and social variation. The verb phrase, in particular, displays a number of idiosyncrasies.

Verb phrase

- Several features affect verbal aspect, such as a wider use of the progressive form (*Who is this car belonging to?*, *Who is it you're wanting?*) and the use of the present tense instead of the perfect (*She's dead these ten years*, i.e. 'has been dead'). One of the most distinctive features of Hiberno-English is the use of *after* to express such meanings as recency and completed event: *They're after leaving* (=They've just left'), *They were after leaving* (=They had just left').

- Copula and auxiliary *be* are used in distinctive ways, chiefly expressing contrasts of habitual action and continuity: *be* is found with forms of *do* (*It does be colder at nights*) and also, especially in the north, with an -s ending (*I be walking, She bees walking*). Some dialects allow all three patterns: *She's tired, She be tired, She do be tired*.

- Auxiliary usages often vary: *will* for *shall*, *used be* for *used to be*, *amn't* for *aren't*. Forms of *be* may replace *have* with verbs of motion in a past-time context (*He is gone up* for *He has gone up*), an interesting parallel with such languages as French.

- There are some distinctive imperative constructions: *Let you stay here a while, Let you be coming up to see me*. The progressive form is common with negatives: *Don't be troubling yourself*.

Other areas

- Definite article: *That's the grand morning, I had a few jars over the Christmas, The wife (= 'my wife') will be expecting me*.

- Prepositions: *till* is often used for *to/until*, as in *It's a quarter till'two; for tican* be heard for *in order to*, as in *in/went for ti milk the cow*. *On* and *of* are often affected (*You've lost my pen on me, Aren't you a slob of a cat, What age of a man was he?*), and there are some interesting sequences (*if he didn't take the legs from in under me*, i.e. 'He knocked me down'). *From* can be heard in the sense of 'since' in Ulster. *He's been here from he left the Navy*.

- Certain constructions show a Gaelic influence on word order. Cleft sentences of the following kind are typical: *It's meself was the brave singer, Is it out of your mind you are?* There is an interesting double example in *It's thinking I am that ifs unyoke him we'd better do* ('I think that we had better unyoke him').

- Some plural pronouns or demonstratives are followed by *is*: *Youse is very funny, Them cars is great, Our'ns is fit for anything*.

- *And* is used as a subordinate clause marker, as in *It only struck me and (= 'when', 'while') you going out of the door*. Sometimes the exact Standard English equivalent is unclear: *How could you see me there and (= 'when', 'If', 'seeingthat?') I to be in bed at the time?*

Vocabulary

- There is a huge regional lexicon, which includes such items as *blather* talk nonsense; *bold* naughty, *cog* (to) cheat; *delph* crockery; *freet* superstition, *garda* police; *glit* slime; *handsel* New Year's gift; *hogo* bad smell; *insleeper* overnight visitor; *kink* fit of coughing; *mannerly* well-mannered; *widow-woman* widow.

- The suffix *-een* is used as a diminutive form, expressing smallness or familiarity, as in *children*, *girleen*.
- Gaelic influence can be seen in such words as *backy* lame; *bosthoon* clown; *cleeve* basket; *glow* noise; *keerogue* cockroach; *kyoch* diseased; *prockus* mixture; *sleeveen* sly one, *spalpeen* rascal.
- Several Scots words are found in Ulster, such as *clarty* dirty; greet weep; wee small.

Idiomatic Expression

- The variety has many distinctive idioms, such as *He'd put the day astray on you* ('He would waste your day'), *You'll knock a while out of it* ('It'll last you for a while'), and *He's the rest of yourself* ('He's related to you').
- As with Australian English, there is a great deal of vivid figurative language: *as mean as get out*, *as often as fingers and toes*, *as fat in the forehead as a hen*, *as sharp a tongue as would shave a mouse*. Lengthy, often exaggerated expressions are common: *That I may live long and have my eyesight and never see hide or hair of you again*.
- Proverbial wisdom is widely employed: *Charity is a slap in the mouth*, *There's a truth in the last drop in the bottle*.

Discourse patterns

The variety is renowned for some of its conversational features.

- Questions in general are rarely answered with a straight yes or no, but recapitulate the auxiliary.

A: *Will you ask John for me?*

B: *I will/I will not*

- Rhetorical questions are usual: *Now isn't he a fine looking fellow?*, *What did we want only to get our own?*

- A common practice is to reply to a question by using another question:

A: *Can you tell me where's the post office?*

B: *Would it be stamps you're looking for?*

Irish English Abroad

In view of the extensive migrations of the Irish over several centuries, it is not surprising to find evidence of Hiberno-English around the English-speaking world. Signs of its arrival in England can be seen especially in the dialect of Liverpool, and its influence has been found in a number of modern North American dialects and in parts of the Caribbean. It also played an important role in the emergence of the new varieties of English in Australia and New Zealand. Patterns of linguistic change are complex, as people are

influenced in the way they speak by all kinds of considerations; in particular, it is difficult to be sure of the role that pronunciation features play when a minority dialect emerges in a new linguistic setting. Nonetheless, linguists have pointed to words, constructions, and patterns of discourse in these varieties which can plausibly be argued to derive from Hiberno-English.

- *Youse* ('you' plural), is widespread in Ireland, and is also found in Liverpool, Glasgow, Australia, and many parts of North America.

- Positive *anymore* (as in *He fights a lot anymore*) is in some US Midland dialects. It is found in Ireland, but not in Britain.

- Sentence-final *but* (used adverbially, to mean 'though', as in *I don't want it but*), is common in Ulster, parts of Scotland and Tyneside, and in informal Australian English.

- The construction shown in *Come here till I see you* ('so that I can see you') is used in Liverpool, and often in non-standard Australian English.

- The use of *whenever* to refer to a single occasion (*Whenever I was born, I was given a special present*) is found in Ulster, and is known in New Zealand and parts of Australia.

- The emphatic affirmation *It is so* (as in A: *It's raining*. B: *It isn't*. A: *It is so!*) is common in Ireland and in informal Australian English. It may have influenced US English *It is so/too*.

- The Hiberno-English use of *mustn't* where Standard English says *can't* (*He mustn't have seen me, because he drove straight past*) is unknown in most of England (Liverpool is the chief exception), but is common in Australia and the USA.

CARIBBEAN ENGLISH

Varieties of the English language are used in many of the islands of the Caribbean Sea and in several areas of the adjacent Central and South American mainland, and the label 'Caribbean English' is used, often with more geographical than linguistic accuracy, to refer to its distinguishing properties. The situation is unique, within the English-speaking world, because of the history of the region has brought together two dimensions of variation: a regional dimension, from which it is possible to establish a speakers geographical origins, and an ethnic dimension, in which the choice of language conveys social and nationalistic identity. The interaction between these dimensions has produced a melting-pot of linguistic forms from which several varieties of varying distinctiveness and stability have emerged and now compete for survival. At least six categories of language use need to be distinguished.

Map 5. The Carribean Sea



Segmental Distinctiveness

The following vowel and consonant features will be heard in various varieties of Caribbean English, and some are quite widely represented across the region.

- The /a/ and /ʌ/ vowels merge, so that such words as *pat* and *pot* rhyme, both being pronounced with /a/, /ɔ:/ may join them, so that all three words *cat*, *cot*, and *caught* sound the same.

- The /iə/ and /ɛə/ diphthongs also merge, so that such pairs of words as *fear* and *fare* sound the same.

- RP /eɪ/ (as in *cake*) is /ie/ in some areas (e.g. Jamaica), but otherwise becomes the monophthong /e:/; similarly /əʊ/ (as in *coat*) is /uo/ in Jamaica, but /o:/ elsewhere.

- RP /θ/ and /ð/ are usually replaced by /t/ and /d/, so that *tin* and *thin*, for example, are both /tm/.

- Some varieties pronounce /r/ after vowels in such words as *car* and *hard*; this is normal in Barbados and the Virgin Islands, and is also often heard in Jamaica and Guyana.

- Final consonant clusters are commonly simplified, especially if they end in /t/ or /d/: *best*/best/, *walked*/wɔk/.
- The 'dark' articulation of /l/ in such words as *feel*/and *build* (in RP) is widely replaced by a 'clear' quality.
- Consonants are often assimilated or elided to produce such forms as *already* /a:redi/ and *yesterday* /jeside/. Forms such as *ask* /aks/ and *sandals* /slandaz/ show another common feature — metathesis.

Grammar and Vocabulary

There are few obvious signs of distinctive grammar in the more standard varieties of Caribbean English, other than those features which betray the influence of a Creole variety. Linguists have, however, noted high frequencies of certain forms, such as a tendency for *would*-to replace *will* (*I would go there tomorrow*), for *get* to be used as a passive (*It get break*, meaning 'it was broken'), and for questions to be marked by intonation rather than by inversion (*You going home?* for *Are you going home?*). It is also likely that search will one day bring to light more subtle patterns of syntax which colour West Indian speech, such as distinctive uses of *if*, *so*, or *well*.

Vocabulary, on the other hand, is as usual a powerful regional differentiator. Each of the islands has a wide range of distinctive lexical items, often relating to its fauna and flora, or to its folk and religious customs. A few of these items have entered Standard English for example, *calypso*, *guppy*, *dreadlocks*, *rasta* — but for the most part the vocabulary is regionally restricted. In an informal survey of three lexical projects (Jamaica, Bahamas, Trinidad and Tobago) one researcher found only about 20 per cent of shared vocabulary. For example, a dictionary of Jamaican English (with some 15,000 entries) includes *duppy* ('ghost'), *ganya* ('cannabis'), *susumba* (a type of plant), *sweet-mouth* ('flatter'), and *watchy* ('watchman'). On the other hand, *boar-hog* ('boar'), *roti* (a type of bread), and *congolala* (a type of medicinal plant) are not to be found in this dictionary, but in Trinobagian (Trinidad and Tobago) English. Lexical diversity is a major feature of Caribbean English.

Creole Characteristics

Despite the existence of many political and cultural differences, and the considerable geographical distances separating some of the countries involved, there are striking similarities among the English-based Creole languages of the world. This identity can be seen at all levels of language structure, but is most dramatic in relation to grammar. It can be explained, according to the 'Creole hypothesis', as a consequence of the way these languages have developed out of the kind of Creole English used by the first black slaves in America and the Caribbean. This language, it is thought, was

originally very different from English, as a result of its mixed African linguistic background, but generations of contact with the dominant white English population have had an inevitable effect, drawing it much closer to the standard variety. There are certainly many differences between the various Caribbean Creoles, and between these and the varieties of Black English Vernacular used in the USA and the English-based Creoles of West Africa; but the overall impression is one of a 'family' of languages closely related in structure and idiom.

Pidgins and Creoles

A Creole is a pidgin language which has become the mother tongue of a community — a definition which emphasizes that pidgins and Creoles are two stages in a single process of development.

A pidgin is a system of communication which has grown up among people who do not share a common language, but who want to talk to each other, usually for reasons of trade. Such languages typically have a limited vocabulary, a reduced grammatical structure, and a narrow range of functions, compared to the languages from which they derive. They are used only when they need to be, as a 'contact language' in circumstances where communication would not otherwise be possible. They are the native languages of no one.

It has often happened that, within a multilingual community, increasing numbers of people begin to use a pidgin as their principal means of communication. This causes a major expansion of the grammar and vocabulary, and of the range of situations in which the language comes to be used. The children of these people come to hear it more regularly, and in due course some of them begin to use it as a mother tongue. When this happens, the language is known as a Creole.

The process of creolization is the most important linguistic element in the history of the Caribbean, with all the former colonial languages giving rise to Creoles. The process of decreolization is also apparent, when Creoles come into contact with standard languages and are influenced by them.

Some Grammatical Features

Although Carnival revellers in Jamaica and London have different accents and use different vocabulary, they are firmly linked by a core of common grammar. The grammatical features which distinguish Caribbean Creoles from each other are few, and unlikely to interfere with intelligibility — or, at least, no more than we might expect to find between regional dialects anywhere. The following sentence from Jamaican Creole looks very similar when it is 'translated' into Guyana Creole.

Standard English

He used to go to school every day last year, now sometimes he goes and sometimes he doesn't go.

Jamaican Creole

Him go a school every day last year, now sometime him go, sometime him no go.

Guyana Creole

Him a go a school everyday last year, now sometime him a go sometime him naa go.

The following features of Creole grammar will therefore be observed in many varieties though the similarities may sometimes be obscured by regional variations in pronunciation or (in written form) by different systems of spelling. The exact form taken by the various grammatical particles can also vary a great deal. In the following examples a slightly modified Standard English spelling is used to permit a clearer focus on the grammatical issues.

Syntax

- There is no concord between subject and verb in the present tense: *She sing in de choir.*

- There are no forms of *be* as copula or auxiliary:

Dem ready, She a nice person.

- Serial verbs are commonly used: *Take it go, He talk say you stupid, Dem go try get it.*

- A verb may be brought to the front of a sentence for emphasis — a common feature of West African languages: *A talk Mary talk make she trouble* ('Mary talks too much and that makes trouble for her').

- Passive constructions are avoided: *De grass cut* (= 'has been cut'), *Dis record play a lot* (= 'is played a lot').

- Adjectives are routinely used in adverbial function: *'I like it good, She sing real sof.'* The use of the *-ly* ending is rare.

Nouns

- Nouns often do not use *-s* to mark a plural: *two book, dem creature.*

- Particles may be used to mark plurality: *The rabbit dem eat it all, George dem went* (= George and his gang went').

- Possession can be expressed by juxtaposing the noun phrases (*dat man house*) with no apostrophe *s'*, or (in Caribbean Creoles) by adding a *fi* particle: *De coata fi me* ('the coat is mine').

Pronouns

- No case distinctions are used in pronouns: *She see he come, take be coat and go; Carry dat book to she teacher.*

- Several pronouns have alternative forms such as (for I) *mi* and *a*, (for he) *im* and *i*, (for you plural) *yu* and *unu*, and (for they) *de* and *dem*.

- In some varieties (such as Gullah and West African Pidgins) male and female third person pronouns are not distinguished: *so one day Partridge take her head an'stick he head unduh he wing.*

- In Rastafarian speech, I is considered a syllable of special, mystical significance and often appears in unusual contexts as in West Indian poet Dennis Scott's line 'Seals every I away from light' (*More Poem*, 1982) where there is a play on words between I and eye.

Verbs

- Past tenses are expressed using the base form without an ending: *Mary go last week.*

- *Did* is often used as a past tense marker with stative verbs: *He did know she name.*

- Particles such as *da*, *di*, or *a* are used to mark continuous actions *David a go* ('David is going'), *She da work now* ('She's working now'). In much US Black English the particle is *be*: *Sometime dey be goin' to see her.*

- Completed action is expressed by *done*: *I just done tell dem, We be done washed all dose cars soon.*

- A verb is negated by inserting a *no* particle: *They no want it now.* Multiple negation is used for emphasis: *Ain't nobody found no money in no box.*

- Auxiliary *do* is not used along with a question word: *How they get that?, Why you hit him?*

- Past tense can be expressed using *been* or a variant form: *We been see him* (= *we saw him*) This kind of construction is less common in UK West Indian Creole where *been* tends to be replaced by *did* or *was*.

In addition Creoles are noted for their readiness to create new words using affixes (*no jokifying*) and through conversion: *Alt dis murder and kill mus stop*. Reduplicated forms are common: *picky-picky* (choosy), *one one* ('all alone'), *mess mess* ('we and sloppy'). There may also be doubling of grammatical items: *only but, or either, dis here an plus*, as well as in such constructions as *Bill he gone*. Repetition frequently an important rhetorical effect: *They jus eat eat eat, An'it go far far far before we stop it.*

AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

Australia is a vast country (the sixth largest in the world by area), with large tracts uninhabited, and nationwide communication dependent on transportation lines or the media. It has a relatively recent history of European settlement, with close political ties to Britain, and a pattern of early population growth in which pioneers moved out from a single point (Sydney), retaining their links with central government. The country now has a chiefly urban population, with most people living in the fertile areas near the coast;

four cities (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth) account for over half of the population. In all of this there are interesting parallels with earlier developments in Canada.

These factors combine to promote an initial impression of Australian English as a variety with little internal variation — an impression (as in Canada) reinforced by the ‘single voice’ of the country’s radio and television and the standard language of the press.

Phonetic Features

The whole basis for the auditory impression of a distinctive Australian accent lies in the vowel system - and especially in the way diphthongs are handled. The consonant system of Australian English is different only in minor respects from that found in RP, and raises little of regional interest.

- RP /i/ and /u/ (as in *see*, *do*) are heard as diphthongs /əi/ and (much less often) /əu/, respectively. This effect is marked in the broad accent, and increasingly less so along the continuum from general to cultivated. The effect on /i:/ is particularly striking as a marker of Australian accent.

- RP /ei/, as in *say*, is given a more open first element, sometimes fairly front, sometimes further back. It is widely heard in the name *Australia*, and in the greeting *g'day* /gə'dai/. It is this variant which motivates the ‘Strine’ label for Australian English.

- RP /əu/, as in *so*, is heard with a much more open and fronted articulation in the broad accent, and to a lesser extent in the general accent. The cultivated accent tends to use the same kind of variation as is heard in RP, with front or back mid-open qualities, more clearly symbolized as /ou/ or /ɐu/.

- The first element of RP /aɪ/, as in *my*, is given a back, open quality, /ɒɪ/, in the broad and general accents.

- The first element of RP /əʊ/, as in *now*, is produced at the front of the mouth, in broad and general accents, and often raised in the direction of [æ].

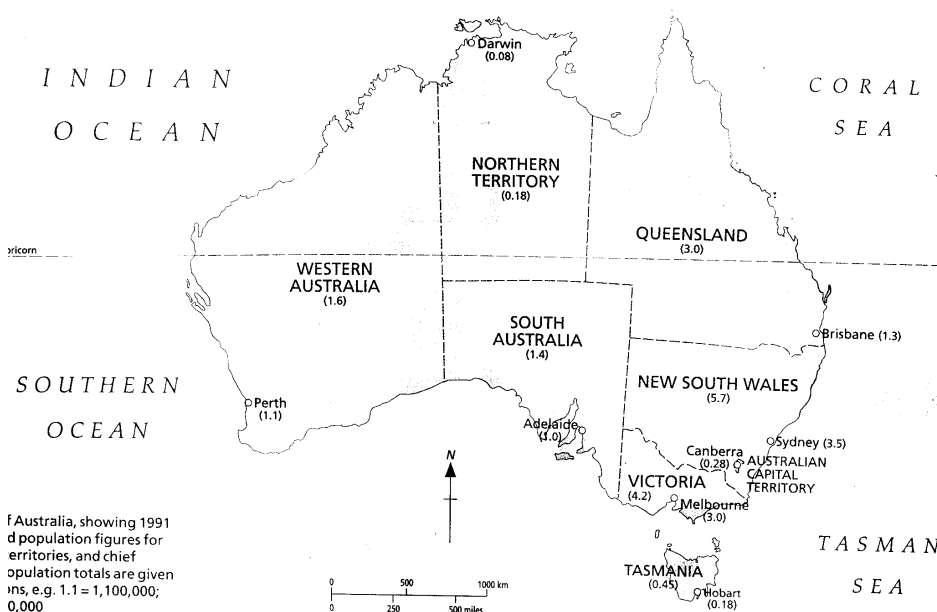
- A central vowel /ə/ often replaces /ɪ/ in an unstressed syllable *hospital* /hospətl/, *because* /bikəz/.

- Vowels next to a nasal consonant tend to retain the nasality more than in RP such words as *down* and *now* are often strongly nasalized in the broad accent, and are the chief reason for the designation of this accent as a ‘twang’.

The phonetic basis for the three accent types emerges from a consideration of these qualities. The broad accent makes much use of tongue movements which are more open or further forward than the RP norms. The cultivated accent is, literally ‘further back’.

The sources of the Australian accent have also attracted study in recent years. It is assumed that much of its character stems from the speech of the original settlers most of whom came from the London area, and also from the Midlands and Ireland. For example, some of the distinctive diphthongal qualities of broad Australian speech, with their more open first elements (in such words as *say*, *so*, *sigh*, *sow*), are close to those heard in Cockney English. However, the exact way in which these accents mixed to produce a distinctive accent (noticed as such within 30 years or so of the first settlement) is not easy to establish.

Map 6. Australia.



Grammar and Vocabulary

There are no clear examples of distinctive regional usage in Australian English grammar — though there are hints of Irish influence in some colloquial forms (about 30 per cent of the population were of Irish origin by 1890). Examples include *youse* ('you'), *mustn't* (= 'can't'), adverbial *but*, some idioms (*Good on you*), word-final *-o(h)*, as in *smoko* ('break'), and the generally vivid rhetorical speech style. Other examples of colloquial word formation are found in such forms as *arvo* ('after noon') and *Aussie* ('Australian').

At a lexical level, a very different picture presents itself. It has been estimated that there are over 10,000 lexical items of Australian English origin,

some of which have become part of World Standard English (e.g. *flying doctor*, *pavlova*). Many are to do with the biogeography of the region and associated farming or mining practices: *banksia* (tree), *barramundi* (fish), *black swan*, *brush* (dense vegetation), *bush* (natural vegetation) and such derivatives as *bushman* and *bushranger*, *galah* (bird), *mallee* (tree), *outback*, *overlander*, *quandong* (tree), *station* ('ranch'), *walkabout*, *waterhole*, *wattle* (tree), *witchetty grub*.

Among many general words are *BYO* ('bring your own', i.e. drink to a restaurant), *footpath* ('pavement'), *frock* ('dress'), *goodday* ('hello'), *lay-by* ('hire purchase'), *paddock* (a field of any size), and *weekender* ('holiday cottage'). Well-known slang items include *beaut* ('beautiful'), *biggie* ('big one'), *cobber* ('friend'), *crook* ('unwell, irritable'), *dinkum* ('genuine.true'), *do a U-y* ('do a U-turn'), *drongo* ('fool'), *joker* ('person'), *larrikin* ('hooligan'), *poofter* (an effeminate male), *sheila* ('girl'), and *pommy* (an English immigrant), along with its derivatives (e.g. *Pommyland*, *whingeing Pom*).

Australian English is famous for its vivid idioms -though many display literary creativity rather than everyday frequency: *bald as a bandicoot*, *scarce as rocking-horse manure*, and *look like a consumptive kangaroo*. Domestic idioms-such as *bring a plate* ('bring some food to share') or *full as a goog* (literally 'egg', i.e. 'drunk') - have been neglected by comparison, though some have been brought to outside attention through television commercials, as in the case of *amber* fluid for 'beer' (known from 1906). There are also important differences in the force of some expressions compared with British English, notably the 'routine' use of *bloody* and *bartard*.

Australian English does not have a great deal of Aboriginally-derived vocabulary (except in place names see opposite). At the time of European settlement, the Aborigines were nomadic, and contact was occasional; as a result, hardly any native words came into English, apart from some plant and animal names (e.g. *dingo*, *koala*, *kook-aburra*, *wallaby*). Among the exceptions are *boomerang*, *corroboree* (a ceremonial dance), and *cooee* (a loud call to attract attention), along with *within cooee* ('within earshot'). A similar situation is found in New Zealand with Maori.

Variation

The amount of regional lexical variation within Australia is unknown, but is certainly larger than is traditionally thought. There are several clear examples, such as *bardf* (a type of grub) in Western Australia, *mainlander* in Tasmania (someone from mainland Australia), and *evening* in Queensland (any time after midday). There are also many unclear examples, such as the regional constraints (if any) governing the choice of *downpipe* and *spouting*, *gumboots* and *Wellingtons*, *topcoat* and *overcoat*, or *washer* and *facecloth*.

American English (AmE) is making inroads into the British English (BrE) model in varying degrees across the country. It is evident in such

words as *caucus* (in politics), *sedan* (BrE saloon), *station wagon* (BrE estate car), *truck* (BrE lorry), and *high school* (BrE secondary school). On the other hand, BrE influence is evident in *class* (AmE grade), *cinema* (AmE movies), *petrol* (AmE gas), *boot* (AmE trunk), and *tap* (AmE also faucet). Spelling is also mixed (*defence* alongside *program*), though there is a traditional preference for British English forms. However, the Australian Labor Party uses the AmE spelling, and studies show considerable variation across states and between age groups in such cases as *centre/center* and *colour/color*. The situation is fluid, and looks likely to remain so.

NEW ZEALAND ENGLISH

New Zealand English is the dark horse of World English regional dialectology. It has long been neglected, mentioned only in passing as part of a treatment of Australian English, or assumed by outsiders to be identical with it in all salient respects. During the 1980s, however, this state of affairs began to change, with several studies focusing directly on the variety, and taking into account the unique features of the New Zealand sociolinguistic situation. The results of this interest suggest that there is a great deal that the study of New Zealand English can contribute to our understanding of linguistic variation and change, and — more excitingly — that some of its most distinctive developments have yet to take place.

Several elements in the country's social history have already had linguistic consequences. New Zealand English is different from other first-language varieties around the world in that it has been subject to four kinds of pressure. In addition to the problems faced by speakers of many varieties of how to deal with the competing influences of British and American English, New Zealanders have to work out how to deal with Australian English and how to handle their linguistic relationship with the Maori (who comprise some 12 per cent of the total population).

- Studies of language attitudes in New Zealand show that British Received Pronunciation is still the most highly rated accent, in terms of such values as educatedness and competence. However, local accents rate more highly than RP in terms of solidarity and social attractiveness.

- There is a real question of whether the people, as New Zealand linguist Allan Bell has put it, are falling 'out of the British frying pan into the American fire'. US accents have been ranked highly in some attitude studies, and there are signs of US influence in pronunciation and vocabulary.

- The question of an emerging variety of Maori English is controversial, and results of studies on listeners' ability to recognize a Maori accent are mixed. However, there has been a major shift of attitude in recent decades,

so that items of Maori provenance are now being created with levels of prominence and sensitivity that have been missing in the past.

With British, American, Australian, local English, and Maori resources all available as input, there is a uniqueness about the New Zealand sociolinguistic situation which makes it more than likely that a distinctive variety will eventually emerge.

Pronunciation

Several features of Australian English accents are also found in New Zealand, such as the tendency to turn /i:/ and /u:/ into diphthongs (as in *mean* /mæn/, *shoot* /ʃʊt/), and the use of /s/ in unstressed syllables (as in *rocket* /rɒkət/. It is unclear whether this similarity stems from a parallel development to what took place in Australia (a 'mixing-bowl' theory, in which several British accents merged) or — politically an unattractive option — whether it is due to the direct influence of Australian English. On the other hand, some of the broader features of Australian pronunciation are not as noticeable in New Zealand.

The threefold distinction between cultivated, general, and broad has been widely used in the analysis of New Zealand speech. The three types are not as perceptible as they are in Australia, but there is certainly evidence of social stratification — for example, in the way some people's accents are close to RP, while others are distant from it. That there must be an emerging New Zealand accent is also suggested, ironically, by the way conservative speakers have come to condemn 'ugly' or 'defective' local speech in the letter columns of the press. The following are some of the features which have attracted attention.

- /ɪ/ as in *fish* tends to move towards [ə] — a contrast with Australian, where the movement is towards [i]. In popular representations, such as cartoon captions, the difference is often shown in the spelling. New Zealanders often think of Australians as saying 'feesh and cheeps', whereas Australians believe New Zealanders say 'Sudney' for *Sydney*.

- /e/ has a closed articulation, moving towards [i], so that *yes* is heard as 'yis'. Likewise, /a/ is around the position of *so* that outsiders may mishear *bat* as *bet*.

- The vowels in such pairs as here /ɪə/əʊ/ *hair* vary greatly, and have merged many speakers, especially in broader accents. One linguist found evidence of this merger in the name of a hairdresser in downtown Wellington: *Hair Say*. But not everyone in New Zealand would appreciate this pun, as evidently the direction of the merger (whether here comes to sound like *hair* or vice versa) is subject to considerable variation.

- /ɑ:/ is generally maintained in such words as *castle* and *dance*. It is common /æ/ in Australia.

- There is a tendency to maintain the voiceless/voiced contrast between such pairs as *whales* and *Wales*, especially in formal speech. However, it seems to be falling out of use among younger people.

- /l/ is much 'darker' in quality than in RP., in all its positions. In final position it is often replaced by a vowel.

- Several individual words have local pronunciations. The name of the nouns is often heard with a short /i/: /zɪlənd/ not (as in RP) /zi:lənd/, though this attracts some social criticism. The first syllable of geyser has /ai/ not /i:/. *Menu* often has /ɪ:/ not /e/. *English* is often heard without the /g/. *Spectator* is stressed on the first syllable.

- The high rising intonation is a noticeable feature of Australian and New Zealand speech. It is said to be more frequently used in New Zealand, and there is speculation that it may have originated there, transferring to Australia-via Sydney (which has many New Zealand residents).

Vocabulary

The existence of a common lexical word-stock between Australia and New Zealand should not be underestimated. Hundreds of 'Australianisms' are known and used in New Zealand. However, many more will not be found, because of the obvious differences in cultural history and biogeography. For example, Australia's penal history brought terms to that country which have played no part in New Zealand's history, and the large 'outback' Australian vocabulary is either irrelevant or differently applied (e.g. *bush* is usually dense forest in New Zealand).

The biggest lexical difference between the two countries is undoubtedly to do with Maori loanwords, but there are several other words which have come to be particularly associated with New Zealand (a few have further usage elsewhere). They include: *Aucklander* ('inhabitant of Auckland'), *bach* ('holiday house'), *barnes walk* (a diagonal walk at traffic lights), *chilly bin* ('insulated food/drink box'), *chocolate fish* (a type of sweet), *dwang* ('timber floor strut'), *fizz boat* ('speed boat'). *Golden Kiwi* (the name of the National Lottery), *lamburger* ('burger made from minced lamb'), *section* ('building plot'), *superette* ('small supermarket'), *swannie* (a type of jacket), and *wopwops* (a derogatory term for the suburbs).

Among idioms claimed for New Zealand are *hook your mutton* ('clear out'), *have the wood on* ('have an advantage over'), and *at a rate of knots* ('very fast'). Among discourse patterns is the reply to 'How are you?' - often, 'Good, thanks'.

A few terms of New Zealand origin have become part of World Standard English. The most famous is undoubtedly *All Blacks* (the New Zealand international rugby team), with its chief stress on the first syllable.

Regional Variation

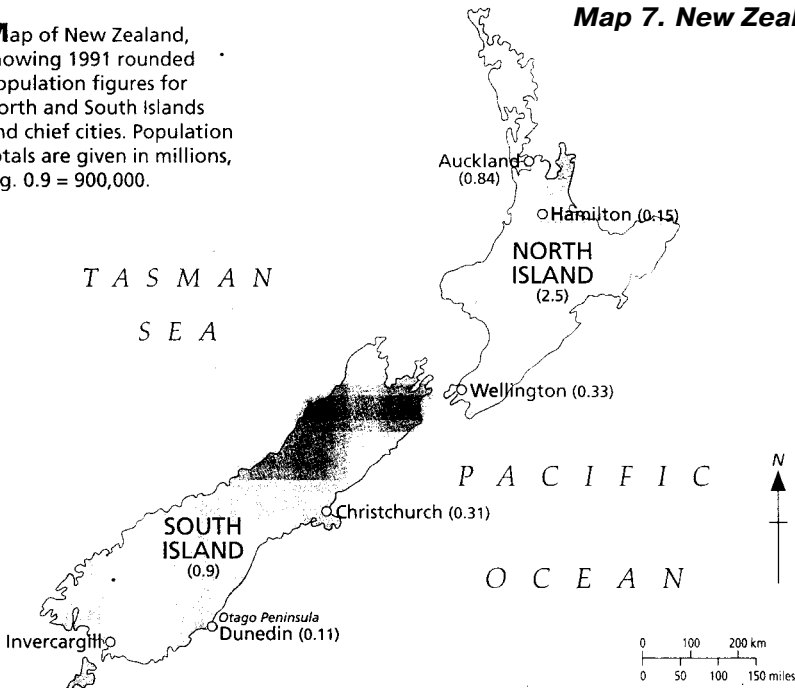
There seems to be little clear evidence of regional variation within New Zealand, though local people believe that they can hear such distinctions (e.g. between North and South Island, or West and East Coast), and it may be that such dialects are emerging. However, the few controlled studies of the ability of New Zealanders to identify regional characteristics have not so far shown clear results.

In pronunciation, there is one notable exception. Like Australians, New Zealanders do not pronounce /r/ After vowels; but the 'Southland burr' is found in the speech of those living in the southern part of the country, where such place names as Kelso and Invercargill signal the presence of major Scottish settlement. There are now also signs of the use of /r/ after vowels in some young New Zealanders elsewhere, which may be due to the influence of American English.

In vocabulary, several Scottish expressions, such as *slaters* ('woodlice'), have been recorded in the Otago region. There are also sporadic reports of North Island / South Island variants, such as Southern *quarter* (a loaf of bread) vs Northern *half*, and of West Coast regionalisms, such as *crib* ('miner's lunch') and its derivatives (e.g. *crib tin*). As in other countries, there are probably many local lexical variations waiting to be recorded.

Map of New Zealand, showing 1991 rounded population figures for North and South Islands and chief cities. Population totals are given in millions, e.g. 0.9 = 900,000.

Map 7. New Zealand.



Maori Influence

In 1987 the Maori Language Act gave official status to Maori, and led to a much greater public profile for the language, with several consequences for English.

- Maori pronunciation is now increasingly used for words of Maori origin - a policy followed by the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation. Thus, words spelled with <wh> such as *whanau*, traditionally pronounced as /ʍ/ or /w/ by English speakers, are now being given the Maori sound, /f/. There are several other points of difference, such as the use of initial /ŋ/, as in *Ngaio*. and a long /a:/ vowel before /ŋ/, as in *hangī*.

- There are also moves to devise an English orthography which better reflects the Maori sound system, such as spelling long vowels with a macron or a double letter (as in *Maori* or *Maaori*).

- Maori has also had a small effect on local English grammar. It does not use a plural ending on nouns, and this is increasingly becoming the preferred form in loan words. Maori itself is an example (replacing Maoris).

- New Zealand has more loan words from Polynesian languages than any other variety of English, but only a handful (such as *kiwi* and *kaori*) are known outside the country. Cultural traditions, fauna, and flora provide important lexical growth points: *hapuku*, *kahawai*, *tarakihi* (types of fish), *rata*, *rimu*, *maire* (types of tree), *moa*, *kea*, *tui* (types of bird). Such words increasingly appear without a gloss in English publications in New Zealand. As with Australian Aboriginal languages, Maori place names are widely used, and some personal names are well known (*Ngaio*, *Kin*).

Common loan words include: *aue!* ('oh, alas'), *aroha* ('love, sympathy'), *haere mai* (a greeting), *haka* (a ceremonial dance), *hongi* (the ritual of pressing noses), *huhu* (a type of beetle), *hui* (a ceremonial gathering), *katipo* (a type of spider), *kia ora* ('good health'), *moana* ('lake'), *Pakeha* ('white person'), and *whare* ('house, hut').

There are also several loan words from Samoan in New Zealand English. Examples include *a/ga* ('family'), *fale* ('house'), *faamafu* (a type of home-brewed liquor), *talofa* (a ceremonial greeting), *matai* (a titled chief), and *papalagi* ('white man').

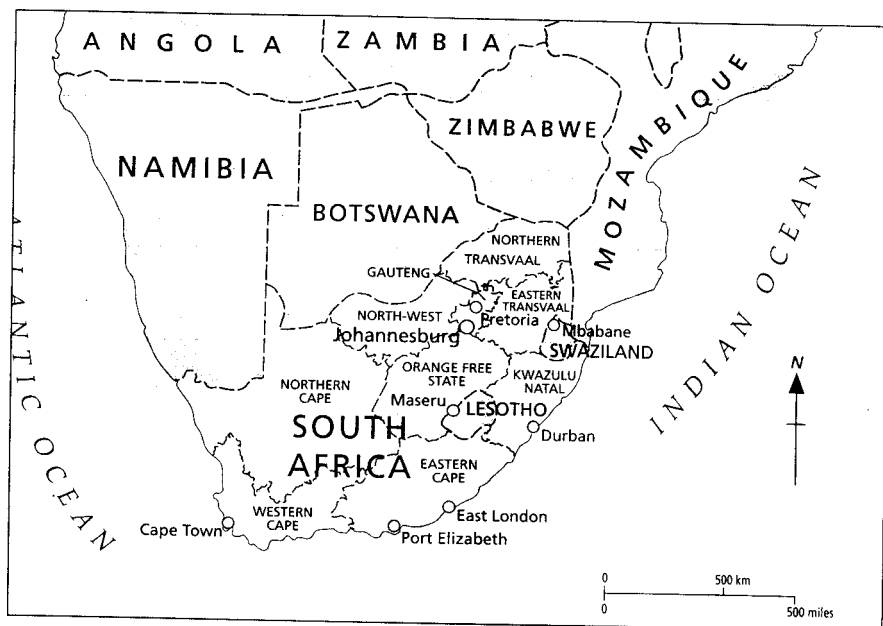
SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH

The multilingual and multicultural history of South Africa presents a situation without precedent in those parts of the world where English is spoken as a first language. Of all the countries so far reviewed in this chapter, South Africa is the only one where the language is in a minority (used as a mother tongue by about 10 per cent of the population). In addition -and in apparent disregard of this tiny figure — historical, racial, tribal, and political factors have combined to produce a sociolinguistic situation of stunning intricacy, a remarkable array of linguistic proficiency levels, and an unparalleled range of popular stereotypes about English structure and use — few of which have been systematically studied. For example, it is often claimed that people from different tribal backgrounds have different accents when speaking English, or that Coloureds have a different grammar from blacks and whites. It is not known what truth there might be in such claims.

The one factor which tends to unite the countries of southern Africa is the high status of English. It is the preferred language of public use, the media, and school instruction throughout much of the region. This is evidently also the case even in South Africa, where despite its minor rank in terms of first language, use there is a much greater degree of language shift towards English than towards the other traditionally co-official language, Afrikaans, especially among the young Afrikaner population. Studies of code-switching indicate this clearly. Over half the pupils in a 1992 investigation into language use in Afrikaans-medium high schools in Pretoria reported that they often used English words when speaking Afrikaans. The situation is an interesting reversal of the large-scale borrowing from Afrikaans by English which characterized the early years of language contact in the region.

There is a great deal of evidence supporting the recognition of a distinctive variety of English in South Africa; but this notion is relevant only for those white, Coloured, and Indian native speakers who use the language as a mother tongue. Most of the majority black population speak English as a second language, and thus have in common with people from those other nations of southern Africa where English has official status. English-speaking members of the white population who have Afrikaans as a mother tongue must also be considered in this category, as their variety of English has distinguishing features of its own. For example, mainstream South African English does not have /r/ after vowels, but this consonant is often present in speakers with an Afrikaans background.

Map 8. South Africa.



Pronunciation

There is a continuum of accents, as in Australia. At one extreme there are many older, conservative speakers, mostly of recent British descent, whose accents remain close to Received Pronunciation (RP). At the other extreme, there are broad accents, used mainly by working-class people, often with some Afrikaner background. These are the accents most often satirized as South African In between, there is a range of mainstream accents which are increasingly to be heard on radio and television The following features characterize accents towards the broader end of this continuum.

The short front vowels of RP are all raised, and the closest vowel has been centralized.

- /a/as in *pat* is raised to a mid front position [e], sounding more like *pet*.

- /e/as in *pet* moves in the direction of /i/, sounding more like *pit*.

- /ɪ/ as in *pit* is centralized, with a value between /ə/ and /ʊ/ (*put*).

However, this change depends on the nature of the preceding consonant: it does not apply after back consonants (/k,g,h/), thus there is no rhyme in this variety between *sit* and *kit*.

An ancient piece of wit helps to fix two of these changes in the ear of the outsider for South Africans, it has been said, *sex* is what you carry coal in, while *six* is needed for procreation.

Two other features are also very noticeable:

- /ɑ:/as in *star* is rounded and raised, so that it resembles /ɔ:/, sounding more like *store*.
- Several diphthongs weaken their glides, sounding more like pure vowels: *hair* with [e:], *right* and *mouse* with values near to [ɑ:].

Grammar

There are no important grammatical variations from Standard English in formal South African speech or writing, but several distinctive constructions are found in colloquial speech. For example, an object noun or pronoun may be deleted: *A: I asked for the car. B: And did you get?; A: Would you like another cup? B: I still have.* Some words may be repeated to express intensity: *now-now* ('immediately'). *Is it?* is widely used as a response tag (*A: They were here recently. B: Is it?*)

Afrikaans may have an influence, as in the use of *must* to mean 'shall' in questions (*Must I translate?*) or the nonstandard use of prepositions (*on the moment, anxious over her*). Speech which is characterized by a great deal of Afrikaans grammar and idiom is often labelled *Anglikaans*: *I've been rather very ill. I'm busy listening* (= 'I am in the process of listening'), *I'll do it just now* ('in a little while'), *I'll be by the house* (= 'at home'). *Yes-no* is an emphatic affirmative. *Jawellnofine* is an interesting construction a combination of *Ja* ('yes') *well no fine* (*no* here in an affirmative sense), sometimes used to satirize Anglikaans speech.

Vocabulary

Several words and phrases from South Africa have become part of World Standard English. Some have origins in Afrikaans or local native languages, or are adaptations of Standard English words. They include *aardvark, apartheid, boer, commando, eland, homeland, kraal, rand, spoor, springbok, trek.* and *veld*. Many of the words relating to local fauna, flora, and culture are not known outside the South African context. Local institutions and social groups also fall into this category, often providing opaque abbreviations to the outsider, as in the case of *Bop* ('Bophuthatswana'), *Tuks* ('University of Pretoria'), and *Zim* ('Zimbabwean')

Among the general items found in this variety are: *arvey* ('afternoon'), *bad friends* ('not on speaking terms'), *bakkie* (a type of truck), *bell* ('to phone'), *bioscope* ('cinema'), *bottle store* ('liquor store/off-licence'), *butchery* ('butcher's shop'), *camp* ('paddock'), *dinges* ('thingummy'), *dorp*

('village'), *fundi* ('expert'), *gogga* ('insect'), *indaba* ('meeting'), *kloof* ('ravine'), *lekker* ('nice'), *putu* (a type of porridge), *robot* ('traffic light'), *verkrampste* ('narrow-minded'), and *voorskot* ('advance pay-ment'). A few can also be found in other varieties of English, such as *advocate* ('barrister', e.g. in Scotland) and *shebeen* ('illegal liquor establishment', e.g. in Ireland).

An important source for distinctive vocabulary is the *Dictionary of South African English* (4th edition, 1991), which contains some 4,000 fully-illustrated entries. There is still much to do, in such areas as regional and ethnic lexical variation. Among regional items so far recorded are *bathing box* ('beach hut'), *monkeyface stone*, and *Tablecloth* (the cloud covering Table Mountain), all apparently local to Cape Province. Doubtless hundreds of words, including many invective terms, are also used differently among the various ethnic groups. From those which have already been noted, one word-pair must suffice as illustration: the facetious coinage *pluralstan*, made by a black journalist for the various *bantustans* (black homelands), which gave rise to plurals ('blacks') and *singulars* ('whites'). The usage is already an archaism.

South African Indian English

This variety of English illustrates the unusual socio-linguistic complexity which can be encountered in South Africa. It has been called a linguistic 'fossil', preserved by the history of segregation in the country. It dates from the period (1860-1911) when over 150,000 Indians were allowed into Natal, mainly as cheap labour to work on the plantations. Most had no knowledge of English, though a local pidgin involving English (Fanagalo) was in use from early times. From the 1950s, the language came to be taught to Indian children in schools, and within a generation a process of language shift was taking place, with English becoming the first language of the majority. It is now spoken by some 750,000, mainly in Natal.

Because these children were separated by apartheid from British children, their English (at least in informal speech) developed in very different ways from mainstream South African English. It shows some similarities with Creole languages, but it has come much closer to the standard language, having been much influenced by the model taught in schools.

The result is a variety of English which mixes features of Indian, South African, Standard British, Creole, and foreign language learning Englishes in a fascinating way.

- In pronunciation the variety is losing the retroflex consonants typical of Indian languages, but has retained its syllable-timed rhythm. It has picked up some features of South African speech, such as the raising of short front vowels, but rejected others, such as the rounding of /a:/.

• In vocabulary, well over a thousand distinctive items have been recorded in informal speech. There are loan words from Indian languages, such as *thanni* (a type of card game), *dhania* ('coriander'), and *isel* ('flying ant'), and adaptations of many native English words: *future* ('husband/wife-to-be'), *proposed* ('engaged'), *cheeky* ('stern'), and *independent* ('haughty').

Grammar

Undoubtedly the most notable feature of this variety is its syntax. Several distinctive points have been recorded.

• Reduplication: *fast-fast* (= 'very fast'), *different-different* (= 'many and different'), *who-who* (= 'who' plural).

• Rhetorical use of question-words: Where he'll do it! ('He certainly won't do it'). What I must go? ('Why should I go?'), *Rain won't make you wet, what?* ('Will rain not make you wet?')

• Pronoun omission: *If you got, I'll take; When you bought?*

Tag questions: *He came there, isn't?*

• End-placed verbs (without the emphasis associated with Standard English): *Customer you got, So rude you are.*

• Relative clauses: *I bought the things, which ones you told me; Who won money, they're putting up a factory next door* (i.e. The people who won money are...).

• Titles: *Johnny uncle, Naicker teacher.*

• Postpositions: *Durban-side* ('near Durban'), *Afternoon-time it gets hot.*

• Final use of some conjunctions and adverbials: *She can talk English but; I made rice too, I made roti too* ('I made both rice and roti'); *They coming now, maybe.*

LESSON 4

YPOK 4

Listening (a facultative task)

A Comparative Analysis of English Speaking Countries

Part I - American Speech

- A. East Coast
- B. South
- C. Rocky Mountains/West Coast
- D. Appalachian
- E. New York, Boston
- F. Black English

- G. Texas
- H. Central/Mid-West
- I. Northwest
- J. Canada

Part II - British Speech

Part III - Australian Speech

Part IV – South African Speech

Part V - New Zealand Speech

Part VI - Jamaican Speech

Part VII - Irish Speech

Part VIII - Philippine Speech

АМЕРИКАНСКИЙ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЮНИТА 2

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