



A SURVEY OF MODERN ENGLISH

THIRD EDITION

Stephan Gramley, Vivian Gramley,
and Kurt-Michael Pätzold

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A Survey of Modern English

A Survey of Modern English covers a wide selection of aspects of the modern English language. Fully revised and updated, the major focus of the third edition lies in Standard American English and British English individually and in comparison with each other. Over and beyond that, this volume explores other Englishes around the world, including those of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa as well as numerous varieties spoken in southern, eastern, and western Africa, south and southeast Asia, and the Pacific. The main areas of investigation and interest include:

- pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary;
- multiple facets of English dialects and sociolects with an emphasis on gender and ethnicity;
- questions of pragmatics as well as a deeper look at English-related pidgin and creole varieties.

This authoritative guide is a comprehensive, scholarly, and systematic review of modern English. In one volume, the book presents a description of both the linguistic structure of present-day English and its geographical, social, gender, and ethnic variations. This is complemented with an updated general bibliography and with exercises at the end of each chapter and their suggested solutions at the end of the volume, all intended to provide students and other interested readers with helpful resources.

Stephan Gramley is Studiendirektor associated with the Department of Linguistic and Literary Studies at Bielefeld University, Germany.

Vivian Gramley is a senior lecturer for English linguistics in the Department of Linguistic and Literary Studies at Bielefeld University, Germany.

Kurt-Michael Pätzold is a former senior lecturer in the Department of Linguistic and Literary Studies at Bielefeld University, Germany.



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A Survey of Modern English

Third Edition

Stephan Gramley, Vivian Gramley,
and Kurt-Michael Pätzold

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For Hedda

and for Jerome

with thanks for their unparalleled patience



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Preface

A Survey of Modern English has grown, over many decades, from a vague idea in the late 1970s, by way of our German-language book *Das moderne Englisch* (1984), the first edition in 1992 and the second edition in 2004, to what it is here. A somewhat late parallel to this long span of years can be seen in the authors' names. A new and younger colleague, Vivian Gramley, has become an essential part of the team: a new generation for a regeneration of the *Survey*. Unfortunately, this has been accompanied by the retreat of Mike Pätzold, who has left the active work to us but has left his name and his influence in many parts of the text. As with the second edition, our main aim has been to update, sometimes expand, sometimes abridge, and, in any case, write a differently structured volume.

Whom this book is for. This edition is, like its predecessors, the product of teaching the subjects treated here to several generations of students in Bielefeld. We need, therefore, to thank them for reminding us again and again of their real needs: a view of the language related to what they know, explanations for phenomena that are new to them, insights into structures difficult to analyze immediately, and descriptions of varieties of English never before (or at least not extensively) encountered. It is because of our students that we have tried to be as comprehensive as possible but to be as straightforward in explanations as we could be while avoiding unnecessary terminology. Where we have used the terms of the field, we have tried to be clear about what they designate either by using short glosses or by providing a more extensive discussion.

What this book is about. This is a book about the English language as it exists today. In Chapter 1, on standards and variation, which stands apart, we set the scene by looking at ways in which people view and have viewed English, what kinds of attitudes they have toward the language, and the type of variation which may be found in it. It is also the only chapter which goes into the historical dimension of the language at any length.

Part 1. This is the beginning of our survey of the current language, and each of the chapters in it deals with an important aspect of the linguistic system of English: its vocabulary (Chapter 2), its pronunciation and spelling (Chapter 3), and its grammar (Chapter 4).

Part 2. English is more than just a linguistic system. It is also a language used by all sorts of people in all sorts of situations, as we see in the two chapters of this part. Chapter 5 explicates how people use the language depending on what purposes they are pursuing and whom they are communicating with. This includes questions of medium, style, purpose, addressee, subject matter, and more. It deals with English as used in the modes of writing and speech. Some of the topics are English for *Specific Purposes*, speech acts, ways of analyzing conversation, and discourse markers.

English is used by the young and the old, by women and by men, by the rich and the poor, by people of all shades of skin color, by the lesser and the highly educated, and so on. The linguistic products of these speakers is what we trace out in Chapter 6, where we look at how strongly the factor of gender and the factors of power and solidarity and considerations of politeness are reflected in speakers' language.

Part 3. Beyond the variation just touched on, English is also realized as an assortment of national and regional varieties. This includes not only the British Isles (Chapter 7), North America (Chapter 8), and the two in comparison (Chapter 9) but also Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (Chapter 10) – all countries with a significant number of speakers of General English as a native language. In addition, English is also the native or primary language of millions more in the Caribbean, Papua New Guinea, and marginally West Africa; however, the language most frequently spoken there is a creolized variety (Chapter 11). In a number of countries in West, East, and Southern Africa, in South and Southeast Asia, and in the Pacific (Chapter 12), there are again millions of users of English as a Second Language (Chapter 12). We have only drawn the line at looking at English as a Foreign Language, not because this does not belong but because it is too mammoth a task to include in this book. Within all the areas outlined above, there is also a diversity of regional, social, and ethnic varieties of the language, and we have endeavored to provide a glimpse at some of these as well.

Further reading, exercises, and the bibliography. All the chapters end with a set of relatively limited recommendations for further reading. The full references can be found in the bibliography at the end of the book, which has been brought up to date to take account of developments over the past fifteen to sixteen years. We have added exercises to the end of every chapter (with a key containing suggested solutions at the end of the book) in hopes that this may help students make more concrete contact with the materials presented.

Index with a glossary function. You can access the material in this book more easily by making good use of the index, which is intended to take over some of the functions of a glossary. In the index, those page numbers which offer definitions or discussions of linguistic terms are given in bold type.

We have always had our students in mind as we have made the often hard choices about what to include and what to leave out. Needless to say, the choices could have been different and not everyone who uses this book will agree one hundred percent. Nor, we know, will everyone agree with us in all of our interpretations. That said, we hope that our book in its new shape will continue to be found useful as an introduction to modern English and would be grateful for any suggestions for its improvement. In any case, we would like to extend our thanks to our departmental colleagues and others for their warm support.

SG and VG, February 2020

The English language

Standards and variation

1.1 STANDARD ENGLISH (StE)

There is little explicit agreement about just how StE should be regarded. Almost everyone who works with English assumes at least implicitly that it exists, but the descriptions which have been made of it – for example, in dictionaries, grammar books, and manuals of style – indicate that there is a certain amount of diversity in people’s ideas about StE. Yet there *are* dictionaries, grammars, and manuals of style, and what they document – some would say prescribe – is what is most often understood by StE (see §§1.3 and 1.4).

A standard language is used as a model in the speech community at large. In §1.3, you will read about four defining characteristics involved in the process of standardization: selection, acceptance, elaboration, and codification. That this is necessary is evident in the cases of so many indigenous languages in Third World countries (Chapter 12) which for lack of an indigenous standard have adopted a standardized European language such as English, hoping in this way to ease the path to “economic prosperity, science and technology, development and modernization, and the attractions of popular culture” and paying the price of some loss of self-expression and some diminishment in feelings of cultural worth (Bailey 1990: 87). The result is that “the old political empire with its metropolis and colonial outposts has nearly disappeared, replaced by a cultural empire of ‘English-speaking peoples’” (ibid.: 83). This quotation indicates that the move to English or, some might say, its imposition can also be overdone if English becomes the instrument of cultural imperialism. In order for English to occupy a more deeply rooted position within postcolonial societies, it must draw on the everyday usage of its speakers, and this includes the recognition not only of nonstandard forms but also of nonnative ones. While this is a current which moves contrary to StE in ENL (English as a Native Language) countries, it is also one which is likely to invigorate English worldwide and make it more flexible.

To look at this from another angle, StE is “the kind of English which draws least attention to itself over the widest area and through the widest range of usage” (Quirk and Stein 1990: 123). It is most clearly associated with the written language, perhaps because what is written and especially what is published is more permanent and is largely free of inadvertent slips and is transmitted in spelling, which is far more standardized than pronunciation is. Compare the relatively few AmE-BrE differences in orthography (§9.3.6) but the numerous national and regional accent standards (Chapters 3, 7–12). Two criteria may help us understand what it is that “draws least attention to itself” over the widest geographic spread and stylistic range. For one, there is the criterion of educated usage, sometimes broadened to include common, colloquial usage and probably most reasonably located somewhere between the two (§1.4). The other criterion is appropriateness to the audience, topic, and

social setting. However these criteria are finally interpreted, there is a well-established bias toward the speech of those with the most power and prestige in a society. This has always been the better-educated and the higher socio-economic classes. The speech – however varied it may be in itself – of the middle class, especially the upper middle class, carries the most prestige: It is the basis for the overt, or publicly recognized, linguistic norms of most English-speaking societies. This is not to say that working-class speech or, for example, what is called British Black English (§7.5.4) or African-American English (AAE) (§8.5.2) are without prestige, but these varieties represent hidden or covert norms in the groups in which they are current. For a member of such a group not to conform to them would mean to distance themselves from the group and its dominant values and possibly to become an outsider. Language, then, is a sign of group identity. Public language and the overt public norm are what determine StE.

Although a great deal of emphasis has been put on *what* StE is, including lists of words and structures often felt to be used improperly (§1.2), it is perhaps more helpful to see *how* language use is performed. One approach is to see accommodation as a process which helps speakers communicate in a manner which is (1) socially appropriate (whether middle class or working class), (2) suitable to the use to which the language is being put (its register), and (3) clear. This means that while we, the authors, recognize the effects of the varying characteristics of users as well as the diverse uses to which the language is put, we will, nevertheless, orient ourselves along the lines of educated usage, especially as codified in dictionaries, grammars, phonetic-phonological treatments, and a wide assortment of other sources. In doing this, we are more Anglo-American than Antipodean, more middle than working class, and look more to written than spoken language – except, of course, in the treatment of pronunciation (Chapter 3) and spoken discourse (Chapter 5).

The third criterion listed above, clarity, is often evoked by alarmists. Its loss, resulting in the demise of English, is foreseen and lamented by popular grammarians and their reading public. This is best treated in connection with the question of language attitudes.

1.2 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

People evaluate language either positively or negatively, and the language they pass judgment on may be their own, that is, that of their own group, or it may be the language of others. It may be spoken or written, standard or nonstandard, and it may be a native, a second, or a foreign language variety. Whatever it is, an evaluation is usually reached on the basis of only a few features, which are very often stereotypes which have been condemned or stigmatized as “bad” or have been stylized as “good.” And because language is such an intimate part of everyone’s identity, the stance people take in regard to their own and others’ language frequently leads to feelings either of superiority or of denigration and uncertainty.

These feelings are strengthened by the attitudes prevalent in any given group. Sometimes a whole group can be infected by feelings of inferiority. It is reported, for example, that “there is still linguistic insecurity on the part of many Australians: a desire for a uniquely Australian identity in language mixed with lingering doubts about the suitability and ‘goodness’ of [AusE]” (Guy 1991: 224). Many Australians seem to feel that a middle-class British or Cultivated Australian accent is somehow better, and they rate speakers with a Broad AusE accent less favorably in terms of status and prestige though more highly as regards solidarity and friendliness (Ball, Gallois, and Callan 1989: 94). In England, the attitudes people have toward RP (“Oxford English” or “the Queen’s English”; §7.3.1) may vary from complete identification including all sorts of attempts at emulation to rejection of it as a “cut-glass accent” or as talking “lah-di-dah” (Philp 1968: 26).

Few people would hold up RP as a worldwide model, and most seem to accept the many different English pronunciations used, hoping to understand them, joking about unexpected or odd differences, yet involuntarily and inadvertently judging people's character by the attitudes which these accents call forth. Matched-guise tests, for example, have revealed many such attitudes. In these tests, people are asked to judge the personal features of speakers on the basis of their accent. In reality a single speaker has been recorded rendering a standardized text with various accents. The intention is to eliminate the effect of individual voice quality by using the same voice in each guise. Although there is the danger that such speakers will, in some cases, unwillingly incorporate mannerisms not attributable to a given accent and thus prevent a fair comparison, the results have revealed such things as the tendency of English speakers in England to associate speakers of RP with intelligence, speakers of rural accents with warmth and trustworthiness, and speakers of non-RP urban accents with low prestige (with Birmingham at the bottom). GenAm speakers enjoy relatively much prestige in England but are rated low on comprehensibility (Giles and Powesland 1975). In the United States *network English* (GenAm) – the variety probably most widely used in national newscasting – has high prestige; Southern accents, in contrast, have little standing outside the South; AA(V)E (African American (Vernacular) English) has negative associations for Whites.

Evidence for the way in which accent stereotypes support conventional views of the world is supported by research on children's shows in American television and movies (Dobrow and Gidney 1998; Lippi-Green 2012; Fattal 2018 for the following). Analyses of accent use show a distinctive *us vs them* perspective (GenAm vs. BrE, German, Eastern European, and nonstandard or regional AmE accents), "The most wicked foreign accent of all was British English."¹ Take the example of *The Lion King*, where "Mufasa is heroic and steadfast, while Scar is cynical and power-hungry." The study points out,

Mufasa has an American accent, while Scar, the lion of the dark side, roars in British English. In a climactic scene in which Scar accuses Simba of being the "murderer!" responsible for Mufasa's death, the final "r" in his declaration floats up into a sky bursting with lightning

Furthermore, "Scar's minions, the hyenas, spoke in either African American English or English with a Spanish accent." In sum, "Foreign accents and non-standard dialects were being used to voice all of the 'bad' characters"; additionally, "German and Slavic accents are also common for villain voices."

With the enormous variety of feelings and the strength language attitudes have, it is natural to ask where all this comes from. Fundamentally, attitudes are anchored in feelings of group solidarity or distance. It is normal to identify with your own group; therefore, what is really curious is why some people have such negative attitudes toward the speechways of their own group. To a large extent this is the result of the explicit and implicit messages which are constantly being sent out in the name of a single set standard. When this standard came into being in the centuries after 1600, it was the educated, upper-class usage of Southern England that was adopted. The force of the Court, the Church, the schools, and the new economically dominant commercial elite of London stood behind it, and it was

1 "Speakers of British English are portrayed dichotomously as either the epitome of refinement and elegance or as the embodiment of effete evil," the study [Gidney and Dobrow (1998)] concludes. "What general sociolinguistic theory would suggest ... is that American adults tend to evaluate British dialect ... as sounding smarter" (qtd. in Fattal 2018).

supported by the authority of a huge and growing body of highly admired prose (above all the King James (Authorized) Version of the Bible of 1611). It was felt that a command of “proper” language was necessary to be counted among this privileged elite. This led to increasing codification and to the growth of a new class of grammarians who prescribed the standard. In this atmosphere keeping the standard became and still remains something of a moral obligation for the middle class and those who aspire to it; the bible of this cult is the dictionary; its present-day prophets (“pop grammarians” such as Edwin Newman and Richard Mitchell), but also the authors of popular manuals of style (such as Burchfield or Gower in Great Britain or Wilson Follett in the United States) condemn, in the tradition of prescriptivism, the three “deadly sins” of improprieties, solecisms, and barbarisms.

Improprieties chiefly concern similar words which historically had distinct meanings but are commonly used as if identical. Most people, for example, use *disinterested* as if it were an alternate form of *uninterested*. *Imply* and *infer*, *flaunt* and *flout*, *lie* and *lay*, and many other pairs are often no longer distinguished in the way they once were. In a similar vein, *hopefully* as a sentence adverb (e.g., *Hopefully, you can follow this argument*) is widely attacked. Some of the many improprieties – often named are malapropisms – are due to ignorance or carelessness, but others are fully within the current of a changing language which dictates that when enough (of the “right”) people are “wrong,” they are right (Safire quoted in McArthur 1986: 34).

Solecisms comprise what is felt to be violations of number concord (*A number* [singular subject] *of people are* [plural verb] *in agreement*²), the choice of the “wrong” case for pronouns (*It's him* or ... *between you and I*), and multiple negation (*They don't have none*). These are all phenomena which somehow are considered to have to do with logic. A singular pronoun such as *everyone* is said to logically demand continued reference in the singular (*Everyone forgot his/her lines*). But there is just as much logic in recognizing the notional plurality of *everyone*, “all people”; hence, why not *Everyone forgot their lines*? The point is that an appeal to logic is not enough. Most people accept and use *That's me* (say, when looking at an old photograph of themselves) rather than the grammatically “logical,” but unidiomatic *That's I*. On the other hand, educated people would be hesitant to use multiple negatives (*Nobody didn't do nothing*) except in jest although they have no trouble understanding them. Multiple negation is, to put it directly, socially marked; it is nonstandard. In this case the purist's idea of good English is also in line with what this book considers to be StE.

Barbarisms include a number of different things. They may be foreign expressions deemed unnecessary. Such expressions are regarded as fully acceptable if there is not a shorter and clearer English way to the meaning or if the foreign terms are somehow especially appropriate to the field of discourse (*glasnost*, *Ostpolitik*). *Quand même* for *anyhow* or *bien entendu* for *of course*, in contrast, seems to be pretentious (cf. Burchfield and Simpson 2002). But who is to draw the line in matters of taste and appropriateness? Other examples of “barbarisms” are archaisms, regional dialect words, slang, cant, and technical or scientific jargon. In all of these cases the same questions ultimately arise. A skilled writer can use any of these “barbarisms” to good effect, just as avoiding them does not make a bad writer any better.

Descriptive linguists, in contrast to the prescriptive grammar purists just treated, try to do precisely what the term indicates: describe. The aim is to discover how the language is employed by its users whatever their gender, age, regional origins, ethnicity, social class, education, religion, vocation, and so on. Explicit evaluations are avoided, but implicit ones, centered on educated middle-class usage are almost always present, since this provides the usual framework for reference and comparison. It is in this tradition that this book has been written.

2 Many people, the authors included, regard *a number of people* as notionally plural.

1.3 THE EMERGENCE OF STANDARD ENGLISH

Although the focus of this book is on a synchronic presentation of present-day English, it is useful to take a glimpse at its diachronic (historical) development, since this makes the existence of the countless variants which are present in the varieties of modern English more understandable. In this section we will trace out some of the factors which led to the emergence of the form of English commonly called StE. Standardization generally proceeds in four stages: selection, acceptance, elaboration, and codification.

Selection. At the center of the process of standardization lies power, be it military, economic, social, or cultural. Those groups in a society which are the most powerful (richer, more successful, more popular, more intelligent, better looking, etc.) will be emulated according to the maxim: “Power attracts.” As England began to develop into a more unified political and economic entity in the late medieval period, the center of power began to concentrate more and more in London and the Southeast. The Court had moved from Winchester to London by the end of the 13th century. Gradually the London dialect (or more precisely that of the “East Midlands triangle”: London, Oxford, and Cambridge) was becoming the one preferred by the educated. This was supported by the establishment of printing in England in 1476 by William Caxton, who used an Eastern Midlands regional base in his work. Furthermore, this was a wealthy agricultural area and a center of the wool trade. With its commercial significance the London area was also becoming more densely populated, thus gaining in demographic weight. It was therefore inevitable that the English of this region would become a model with a wider geographic spread and eventually be carried overseas. Today it continues to exert considerable pressure on the regional dialects of England, which as a result are converging more and more toward the standard.

In this process variant forms were in competition with each other (§7.3.6: and Figure 7.1 on the Great Vowel Shift). But by the end of the 16th century the preferred dialect was that of London, which existed in two standards: a spoken one and the written “Chancery standard.” The latter moved more quickly toward what would be Standard English, while the former was slower to lose its Middle English features. Chancery also differed from popular London speech by adopting characteristics from the Northern dialects: Two of the best known are the inflection of the verb in the third person singular present tense and the personal pronoun for the third person plural. This explains why we have Northern *does* and not Southern *doeth*, even though the latter is familiar to many people even in the 21st century from the King James (Authorized) Version of the Bible. The Southern third person plural pronouns were *hy*, *here*, and *hem*; the Northern and Midland forms, which show the influence of the Vikings’ language, Old Norse, give us the present-day *th*-forms (*they*, *their*, and *them*).

Acceptance. One historian of English, Leith, credits the acceptance of the Eastern Midland variety not so much to its use by the London merchant class as by its adoption by students from all over England who studied at Cambridge or Oxford. This gave the emerging standard an important degree of social and geographical mobility. A further significant point was “its usefulness in communicating with people who spoke another dialect.” Premier, however, among the reasons for its adoption was surely its political usefulness as an instrument and expression of the growing feeling of English nationalism as well as its employment at the royal court. Finally, we might mention its use by influential and respected authors, starting with Chaucer and continuing with such early modern writers as Spenser, Sydney, and, of course, Shakespeare (cf. Leith 1983: 36–44).

The incorporation of characteristics of the Northern dialect in the emerging standard was made possible by the extremely fluid social situation in the 14th century, which started out with a rigidly structured society, but one which was changed by the population losses of the Black Death, which killed 30–40% of the English population, and the Hundred

Years' War, which cost the lives of much of the old nobility. Henry VII sought to fill offices increasingly often with people from the middle classes who gave their own speech forms greater public currency. "Most of the northern forms seem to be working their way up from the bottom, probably moving up into the upper-class sociolect as speakers of the dialect move into the upper class" (Shaklee 1980: 58).

Elaboration. This term describes the spread of the use of the new standard into ever more domains of use, including those such as law and the Church, which were previously reserved for Latin or French. In 1362, for example, Parliament was opened for the first time with an address held in English (instead of French), and in the same year English was adopted as one of the languages of the courts. A century later the establishment of Caxton's press and the translation of the Bible into English continued the functional spread of the language.

As English expanded in the number of functions it might be expected to fulfill, there was a parallel expansion in the linguistic means required to carry this out. Most obviously the vocabulary necessary for this grew. The classical languages were the chief sources of the new words and provided English with the means for stylistic differentiation – as between the more common everyday words of Germanic (Anglo-Saxon) origin and those from Greek, Latin, and French. For more detail and examples, see §2.2.2.

Codification. At the beginning of the 17th century grammarians were still relatively open to regional forms, but by the end of the century these forms were seen as "incorrect." Now grammarians "were prescribing the correct language for getting ahead in London society, and standard English had risen to consciousness" (Shaklee 1980: 60). In their attempts to codify, the grammarians were continually trying to fix what was, by its nature, constantly changing. They thought that if they could record correct usage completely enough and teach it with rigor, it could be maintained unchanged. This did not work in earlier centuries and does not work today. The discrepancy between the grammarians' rules and actual usage continues unabated to this day, and so the standard must and will change.

As the language grew more complex and the possibilities for making stylistic distinctions increased, but also as the number of people who aspired to use this new standard grew, there was an enormous need to know just what it consisted of, hence the advent of dictionaries, grammars, and books on orthoepy (the study of correct pronunciation). The best known of the early dictionaries was that of Samuel Johnson, who produced his monumental two-volume *Dictionary of the English Language* in 1755. This dictionary stands at the beginning of a long tradition of lexicography which includes the incomparable 12-volume historical *Oxford English Dictionary* (1928; plus supplements; now in an internet edition) as well as hundreds and hundreds of further general and specialized dictionaries. The question of how to pronounce words "properly" was approached by numerous orthoepists, such as John Walker, whose *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791) lent weight to the tendency to pronounce words in accordance with the way they were spelled, the so-called spelling pronunciations. Here, too, tradition has continued both with pronouncing dictionaries, now generally including at least the two major standard pronunciations, the Received Pronunciation (RP) (§7.3.1) of England and the General American³ (GenAm) of North America, and with linguistic descriptions such as those in the tradition of Daniel Jones and A.C. Gimson (cf. the latter's *Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*). Grammar and usage were approached in grammar books by such venerable, though also prescriptive, grammarians as Bishop Lowth (1762) and Lindley Murray (1795). The latter's grammar became the school standard and went through innumerable editions.

3 The term and the question of just what GenAm is used for is subject to a fair amount of critical discussion; see, for example, Kretzschmar (2008: 37).

The writing of grammar books also includes such monumental linguistic works as Otto Jespersen's seven-volume *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (1909–1949) or the *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* by R. Quirk and colleagues (1985). More recently, the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* by Douglas Biber et al. (1999) continues this tradition, based here on an extensive corpus of written and spoken usage in a variety of registers and usage drawn from BrE, AmE, and other varieties.

1.4 STANDARD AND GENERAL ENGLISH (GENE)

Before looking at StE and GenE we need to point out that both are dialects of English but not dialects in the full sense of the term, which includes not only a description of vocabulary and grammar but one of pronunciation as well. StE and GenE are special cases. For one, since they are used widely everywhere in the English-speaking world, they may be described in terms of their grammar and vocabulary only and not according to their pronunciation. Both StE and GenE are, namely, pronounced with a great variety of different accents while staying within certain grammatical and lexical bounds. In contrast, the local speechways of the traditional dialects of Great Britain are all associated with specific local, dialect pronunciations. While StE in England can, in principle, be spoken with any accent, it is closely, though not necessarily, associated with one particular accent, Received Pronunciation (RP). RP and General American (GenAm) are the two standard reference accents on which the description of pronunciation in Chapter 3 is based.

The Emergence of RP is one of the results of the process of standardization. It arose, relatively late, in the middle of the 19th century in the great public schools⁴ of England, where it was and still is maintained and transmitted from one student generation to the next without being deliberately taught (Abercrombie 1965: 12). It is maintained by virtue of the prestige and power of its speakers, who have traditionally formed the social, military, political, cultural, and economic elite of England (and Great Britain). It is, for example, still practically a prerequisite for entry into the diplomatic service. As such it is a socially rather than regionally based accent. Although it has considerable (overt) prestige, there are signs that it is giving way to a more regionally based pronunciation, that of the London-area lower Thames Valley, a variety (involving more than just pronunciation) sometimes termed Estuary English (cf. Rosewarne 1994; see also §7.5.4).

In none of the other English-speaking countries is there anything quite like RP. There is arguably a pronunciation which is recognized as the national standard in Scotland, the United States, Canada, South Africa, and so on, but in all of these cases the basis of the standard pronunciation is regional and not social. Australia, however, comes close to the English situation because none of the three pronunciation types usually recognized, Cultivated, General, and Broad, are regionally based.

Standard English is a relatively narrow concept as compared with General English, and the type of language associated with it is closely associated with a fairly high degree of education. It represents the overt, public norm. StE is that variety of English which is usually used in print and which is normally taught in schools and to nonnative speakers learning the language. It is also the variety which is, in principle at least, spoken by educated people and used in news broadcasts and other similar situations. The difference between standard and nonstandard, it should be noted, has nothing, in principle, to do with differences

4 In Great Britain public schools are not state-run but private schools.

between formal and colloquial language. StE has colloquial as well as formal variants (Trudgill 1974: 17). An example of StE is the negated third person singular present tense form of the auxiliary *do*, which is *doesn't* (e.g., *He doesn't care what you do*). This stands in contrast to Non-Standard General English (NSGenE) *He don't care what you do*.

General English includes a wide spectrum of varieties which are widely used and understood. It is only the traditional dialects (of the British Isles; see below) and the English creoles (see below and Chapter 11) which do not belong to General English, since utterances rendered in them are not widely understood outside their immediate speech community.

If within the framework of GenE a speaker chooses a nonstandard variant, we can assume that they will be understood by other speakers of GenE. What is particularly significant about their choice is that the speaker's violation of the overt norms of StE is most likely a sign of their solidarity with a speech community more local in character than the global StE-speaking community. In this sense NSGenE represents a covert norm. However, since the possible variants of GenE include the forms which are used in StE, we can conclude that GenE is the more general term and includes StE. We have already seen one example above (the third person singular present tense form of the auxiliary *do*). A further example is sentence negation, which in NSGenE has a variant with double negation, viz. *He don't care about nothing you do*, which is commonly used (especially for emphasis). StE rules double negation strictly out, allowing only *He doesn't care about anything you do*. Here is a short list of further nonstandard features of GenE (cf. Gramley 2012: §10.4):

- nonstandard past and past participle forms (*they come to see us yesterday; you done a good job; have you went to see them yet?*)
- widespread use of *ain't* for *be* and the auxiliary verb *have* (*I ain't interested; he ain't comin'; we ain't seen him*)
- *never* for (*did*) *not* (*Did you take them sweets? No, I never*)
- various nonstandard relative pronouns such as *what* or *as* (*he was the man whatlas did it*) or none at all as the subject of a restrictive relative clause (*he was the man did it*)
- the demonstrative determiner *them* (*where did you get them new glasses?*)
- the reflexive pronouns *hissself* and *theirselves* (*he hurt hissself playing football*)
- no plural form after numbers (*she's five foot five tall and weighs eight stone*)
- not quite so widespread is the use of the ending {s} for all persons in the west of England (*I likes it, you likes it, she likes it, ...*), but the lack of any {s} in East Anglia (*she like it*).

Traditional Dialect is a term which covers varieties which have the same historical roots as GenE but evolved in enough isolation from GenE that they are likely to contain features so different from GenE that they are difficult (or impossible) for outside speakers of GenE understand. See the examples given in Table 1.1 (further examples from the English West Country dialect in §7.5.1 and Lowland Scots in §7.5.2).

English creoles (Chapter 11) are hybrid languages whose lexicon comes predominantly from the English superstrate, its lexifier, used by the more prestigious and powerful members of a speech community. These creoles show evidence of substrate influence, that is, the linguistic practices of the large but largely powerless speakers who carry the pronunciation habits and grammatical features of their original native language(s) into the creole. The new creole language which emerges (often via an intermediate pidgin) may have features so different from General English as not to be comprehensible to GenE speakers.

Figure 1.1 shows schematically the relationship between GenE and StE, which is included within GenE as well as the more marginal traditional dialects and English-lexifier creoles.

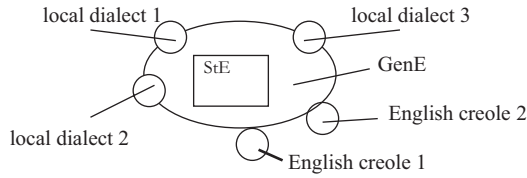


Figure 1.1 The relationship between GenE, StE, and the traditional dialects

Table 1.1 Examples of StE, NSGenE, traditional dialects, and English creoles

	<i>StE</i>	<i>NSGenE</i>	<i>Traditional dialects</i>	<i>English creoles</i>
Vocabulary	<i>eat, must</i>	<i>eat, got to</i>	<i>eat, mun</i>	<i>njam, mos</i>
Pronunciation	ju: mʌst i:t it ʌp	jə gɑ:rə i:t it ʌp	ðə mʊŋ ɡer it etn	jʊ mɔs 'njam it 'a:f
Grammar	you mustn't go	you don't gotta go	you haven't got to go	yuu na mos gu

Adapted from Wells (1982: 4); supplemented from Beal (2008: 387) and Rickford (1987: 148).

The examples in Table 1.1 illustrate these four types of English. That part of GenE which is standard (i.e., StE) speaks for itself. This is supplemented by an NSGenE example, in this case perhaps more typical of American usage. The traditional dialects are illustrated with an example from the North of England (Wells for vocabulary and pronunciation, and Beal for grammar). To exemplify English creoles a broad variety of Jamaican Creole (pronunciation) and Guyanese Creole English (grammar) has been selected.

The vocabulary example of *eat* illustrates the fact that there are great similarities in the core vocabulary of GenE and the traditional dialects while Jamaican Creole diverges in adopting a West African (Wolof or Fula) word. The second vocabulary example shows that NSGenE tends to avoid the older modal auxiliary *must* and to prefer the newer semimodal (*have*) *got to*; traditional dialect *mun* stems from ON *monu* “must” and so provides evidence of an early influence differing in overall effect from the emerging Southern English standard. Jamaican Creole *mos* stems from English *must* with simplification of the final consonant cluster.

The pronunciation given follows the RP modal in the StE column, GenAm in the NSGenE column, the pronunciation of Northern England in the traditional dialects column, and Jamaica in the English creoles column.

The grammar examples are the most complicated because the effect of negation varies so much that serious misunderstandings are possible. StE and the traditional dialect examples both mean “you may not go”; the NSGenE one means “you may go,” but GenE speakers would understand the traditional version as “you may go.” The Guyanese Creole English example also means “you may not go.”

We can compare StE, GenE, traditional dialect, and English creoles in regard to five criteria which are sometimes applied to language varieties: historicity, vitality, autonomy, reduction, and purity.

Historicity is similar for the first three in the sense that they all may be traced back to earlier stages of the language, though with differences as the example of *mun* shows. English creoles (Chapter 11) are the most dramatically different in this point because they are the product of a historically relatively late process largely independent of the historical dialects of English.

Vitality is a characteristic of StE, GenE, and English creoles, all of which have expanding groups of speakers. Only traditional dialects differ here since they are involved in a general pattern of decline.

Autonomy, which refers to whether the variety is regarded (by users at large) as an independent language, is doubtless the case for StE, which, in fact, is very often regarded as *the* language. In contrast to this some people regard GenE as somehow imperfect or “sub-standard” and see the traditional dialects as antiquated. English creoles are sometimes mistakenly regarded as non-languages.

Reduction includes reduction of status or form. Standard English has lots of “dialects” and a well-developed vocabulary of technical and similar terms; and it can be used in numerous registers (styles). It is certainly not reduced. This cannot be claimed for GenE, the traditional dialects, and English creoles, which are used for communication in fewer domains or areas of activity.

Purity is perhaps the one point where the traditional dialects have it over StE. While StE includes hundreds and thousands of borrowings from other languages, the dialects are generally regarded as pure – at least if we can find those mythical older, rural, uneducated, immobile speakers who still speak broad, or “pure,” dialect. Creoles with their mixed origins are regarded as the very opposite of purity.

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND VARIATION IN GENERAL ENGLISH: DIATYPES AND DIALECTS

The very point of choosing GenE as the framework for this book is the fact that English consists of multiple types of variation. While Part 1 is largely oriented toward the vocabulary, pronunciation (in the reference accents, RP and GenAm), and grammar of StE, Part 2 extends this perspective by examining variation according to the use to which the language is put (diatypes and registers) and the way in which language varies according to features of its users (dialectal and sociolinguistic variation).

Variation is central to numerous sociolinguistic concerns, all of which deal with the social aspects of a language. Sociolinguistics describes how social identities are established and maintained in language use. The area itself can be divided into the macro-level of the sociology of language, “... primarily a sub-part of sociology, which examines language use for its ultimate illumination of the nature of societies” (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 5) and sociolinguistics proper, which is sometimes seen as involving the “micro” patterns of language use in context: “... part of the terrain mapped out in linguistics, focusing on language in society for the light that social contexts throw upon language” (ibid.).

The sociology of language has to do with such “external” questions as language planning and language policy: the domains, uses, functions, and relative prestige of a language and its varieties in a society. Concretely, this has to do with what kind of language is used in schools/education, the media, administration, and so on. The sociology of language also covers such areas as language birth, maintenance, shift, and death, pidgins and creoles, and language imposition, as well as monolingualism, bilingualism, and diglossia. This final point, diglossia, is the use of two languages or distinct varieties of one single language. The diglossically High language or variety is associated with power and is found in written literature and is employed by state institutions. The other is the low variety and is associated with solidarity and is used in everyday, colloquial communication.

Sociolinguistics proper examines the languages used by various groups – be they based on age, class, ethnicity, region, gender, or something else. It looks into questions of group identities within societies, and how variation in pronunciation, grammar, lexis, and

pragmatics (communicative strategies, speech acts) correlates with membership in such groups and with the stance any given person is taking in the one or the other social situation (cf. Chapter 6). While the external perspective is more a matter of policy, the internal is more one of solidarity.

1.5.1 Power and solidarity

Language policy and planning. Both the external and the internal perspectives involve the central dimensions of social power and social solidarity. It is the aim of much language policy to create communities of solidarity and national identity, an important goal in many of the more newly independent states of Africa and Asia (Part 3: Chapter 12). Yet the instruments used are clearly ones of power, be they military, economic, social, or cultural. The power of the state (or some other comparable institution) is the guarantor of an effective language policy: The goal is a reinforcement of the feeling of solidarity with the group in power, no matter whether its base is a region, a caste, a class, an ethnic group, or some other group (including the usually dominant male gender). Frequently language policy is enforced by the school system (access to literacy in the diglossically High language); other instruments are religious institutions, the military, or the marketplace. In many parts of the world where English is used it is a highly political question what language(s) road signs are in (e.g., English and Gaelic in Northern Ireland or English and French in Canada). For many citizens in these countries it is more than a symbolic point for state documents and information to be easily available in more than just English (e.g., voting ballots in the United States in Spanish, Chinese, and so on, all depending on the demographic character of the local population).

Within the global context the imposition of English is of great relevance. Planning recognizes the importance of acceptance, which means coming to terms with the following:

- Linguistic assimilation: How likely is the adoption of a language (such as English) by everyone in a given society?
- Linguistic pluralism: Can different language groups/varieties coexist?
- Vernacularization: Is there a language/variety which can serve as the vernacular?
- Internationalization: What level of language uniformity is necessary to guarantee access to science and technology, international contact, and communication on a wide-spread basis?

Historically some of the most important factors involved in language imposition have been military conquest, a long period of language imposition, a polyglot subject group, and material benefits in adopting the new language. In the modern world further factors include urbanization, industrialization/economic development, educational development, religious orientation, and political affiliation. The change from one language to another involves the central phenomena of bilingualism and code-switching, which are prominent in numerous societies where English is used (cf. Part 3). Attitudes within the various communities help decide which languages will be maintained and which may eventually die.

In sociolinguistics, solidarity is perhaps more prominent than power, yet the relationships between the various groups are very frequently governed by the relative power of the groups. Within the dominant groups in a given society there are conventions concerning what is politically correct, which is one of many ways of maintaining existing power relations: The dominant group defines what groups exist and how they should be regarded. In the United States, for example, the predominant, though not exclusive, ethnic-racial

division is the White-Black divide (also Hispanic and Native American). South Africa under apartheid had a division into Black, Coloured, Asian Indian, and White. For many years – but no longer – derogatory terms for American and South African Blacks (cf. derogatory AmE *nigger* or patronizing *darkie*, *colored* or derogatory SAfE *kaffir*) were accepted, and they helped to cement attitudes on the part of both the dominant and the dominated. It is the relatively more powerful groups who are the source of overt norms. Public language is middle-class language, is men’s language, is White language, is the language of the relatively older (but only up to a certain age, after which increasing – or even abrupt – powerlessness sets in). Note, too, that certain text types are favored (e.g., scientific, legal, economic ones). Often certain accents are given preference (e.g., RP, General Australian, GenAm, Scottish Standard English).

The characteristic features of the language of a given group are determined by in-group solidarity and its covert norms. In the case of slang, the factor of solidarity is primary; slang is a case of group resistance to the language of power. Much the same is true of tabooed language as well as of many secret languages. Of course, the in-group language may, by chance, be the same as the powerful language of the overt norm; this “default” language – like it or not – is, in countries like the UK, the United States, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, most typically that of White, middle-class, males.

1.5.2 Diatypes

Uses are treated under the label “diatypes,” which differ according to the purpose or function of a text, its mode or medium, that is, whether it is written (§5.3) or spoken (§5.4), its style or tenor (formal, informal, slangy, scholarly, stodgy, flip, vulgar, conservative, etc.), and its topic or field of discourse. These four criteria are those recognized as the major aspects of what are called registers (§5.1). Just what is to be understood under the concept of “text” is discussed at length in §5.2. For the moment, the diversity which lies behind the idea of register can be briefly illustrated using two short texts. The first is a scholarly text; the second, small talk.

Text 1.1: Scholarly prose

The fifth hypothesis to be investigated is motivated by extralinguistic reception concerns. When a new word appears in a language, not only its structural, that is, phonological, orthographical, and semantic, attractiveness is gauged, but also its usefulness for communicative purposes. This phenomenon has been studied in linguistics as “nameworthiness” (Downing 1979: 838; cf. “usefulness” in Aitchison 1994: 157) from the perspective of the concept or “semantic need” (Kjellmer 2000: 221) from the perspective of the coiner. (from: D. Kerremans. *A Web of New Words*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2015, p. 21)

Text 1.2: Small talk

Christine came in holding the new baby while John was in the kitchen making him a cup of tea. “This is Imogen,” she said.
“Oh,” said Will. “Right.” What was he supposed to say next? He knew there was something, but he couldn’t for the life of him remember what it was. “She’s ...”

No. It had gone. He concentrated his conversational efforts on Christine. “How are you, anyway, Chris?”

“Oh, you know. A bit washed out.”

“Been burning the candle at both ends?”

“No. Just had a baby.”

“Oh. Right.” ... “That would make you pretty tired, I guess.” ...

John came in with a tray and three mugs of tea.

“Barney’s gone to his grandma’s today,” he said, for no reason at all that Will could see.

“How is Barney?” Barney was two, ...

“He’s fine, thanks,” said John. “He’s a right little devil at the moment, mind you, and he’s not too sure what to make of Imogen, but ... he’s lovely.”

...

“What about you, anyway, Will?”

“I’m fine, thanks.”

“Any desire for a family of your own yet?”

...

“Not yet,” he said.

“You are a worry to us,” said Christine.

“I’m OK as I am, thanks.”

“Maybe,” said Christine smugly. ...

...

“We were wondering,” said John, “whether you’d like to be Imogen’s godfather?”

(from: Nick Hornby, *About a Boy*, Penguin, 1998, pp. 8–11)

If we apply the four register criteria, we can clearly see that Text 1.1 is focused thematically on a hypothesis, while 1.2 remains on a level of interactional exchange in which more or less polite formulas about personal well-being are employed until the point where John touches on the business he wants to pursue, that is, about Will becoming a godfather. The style differs most obviously in the choice of vocabulary: Text 1.1 uses precise, technical terms while 1.2 uses vague expressions like *washed out*, *he’s lovely*, or the idiom about burning candles at both ends. Text 1.1 is clearly expository in purpose, namely, explaining a hypothesis, while 1.2 serves the purpose of reestablishing or maintaining social contact. The final point, medium, differs as well inasmuch as 1.1 is written scholarly prose while 1.2, though written as part of a novel, is intended to evoke spoken language.

1.5.3 Dialects

The second dimension in Part 2 is dialect, which is oriented more toward the social features of users than toward texts. Basic to any observation about language users is how much power and prestige they have and how much cohesion they feel toward the groups they identify with.

In sociolinguistics we correlate social/group features with the language the speakers or writers use. Gender is one such social feature (§6.3). However, gender alone does not determine linguistic behavior, but rather it is more fundamental social relations which are mirrored in gender: power, solidarity, and identity/stance. In short, the male-female divide

is characterized largely (though surely not exclusively) and probably most definitively by a power differential while relations within each of the genders are often determined by solidarity. Of course, this does not mean that male-female relations cannot also be characterized by a high degree of solidarity. Furthermore, there are obviously male-female relationships in which the female is the dominant and more powerful figure. However, at a deeper societal level male dominance and power is almost an absolute – at least in Western society. This, we might say, lies in the basic economic hegemony of males in Western society, which is resistant to change, but may be covered over, even when superior female intelligence manifests itself, when individual females have better jobs than individual males, when females withhold sexual favors, when females are more wealthy, famous, or successful (and so on). One of the things that sociolinguistics does, we see, is to offer a reflection of society and its inequalities.

The complementary relationship, solidarity, is more likely to characterize interpersonal relationships by reciprocity, by a more or less balanced mutuality. One instance of this is the use of slang.

The type of language referred to as *slang* is more than a level of formality. That is, slang cannot be understood simply as informal, colloquial, careless, sloppy language even though these notions are indelibly connected with the idea of slang in many people's minds. Slang is, rather, first and foremost, group language. This restriction – at least in its origins – is the key feature of slang. That is, slang has an extremely important social function to fulfill with regard to the groups that create it: it helps to establish solidarity and is associated with group identity. An elderly White American woman who talks about *dissing* (“to show *dis*respect toward someone”) may be using (relatively) recent slang, but she is violating numerous restrictions on its use, chief among which is that this is typical of young Black males. While slang usage such as this may drift upward into the language of the more powerful and outward into that of out-group users, this is far from automatic; and by the time this happens, the original group will probably have long since turned to a different expression.

(Gramley 2001: 207f)

It is with all these remarks in mind that the reader should set out in the exploration of Modern English, as it is presented in this book.

1.6 EXERCISES

1.6.1 Exercise on prescriptive attitudes

Find the (prescriptivist) mistakes in the following sentences and classify them as improprieties, solecisms, or barbarisms:

- 1 All the data has been digitalized.
- 2 Andrea said she would ask either Lou or Jan or Lee.
- 3 Some of them are very unique.
- 4 Sherry finally came, and, voilà, the party was a success.
- 5 Ruth inferred that my English is poorer than hers.
- 6 He left the class early because he was disinterested in the subject.

- 7 Randy did the job as well or better than Sandra.
- 8 Everyone has their own pet quibbles.
- 9 I just absolutely love her work, *ex animo!*
- 10 But between you and I most of this is just nonsense.
- 11 It was us who told Julia to come at ten.
- 12 Sheila laid down as soon as she got home.
- 13 I don't doubt but you will adjuvate such poor adnichilate orphans.
(cf. Mittins et al. 1970; Nunberg 1983)

1.6.2 Exercise on types of English

Identify each of the following as an example of StE, NSGenE, a traditional dialect, or an English creole. Explain what decided you in each case.

- a Och it's yersel', nice tae have ye hame again son, come away in.
- b and then I just laughed and then 'e – 'e just pulled me for a dance. I didn't mind dancing wiv 'im 'cause me nuo se, mi n' av notin ina my mind but to dance, and then we started to talk and all the rest of it and that's it (.) ful stap.
- c "Cool. Well, one guy ain't gonna be talking no more. You better speak to the detective. ..."
- d Once upon a time she'd arrived, the new maid, Jane Fairchild, at Beechwood just after a great gust of devastation. The family, like many others, had been whittled down along with the household budget and the servants.
- e Now me and E. speaks English. And when we went one day to a workshop ... they were looking at us like that you know [demonstrates look]. And I asked E., "Why's this people staring at us?"
- f Jus di oda day some highy tighty edicated people translate di Bible into patois. Mi understan if dem trying to increase the numba of di yardies who get fi read di Holy book.

1.6.3 Exercise on register

Characterize the following text by applying the four register criteria, function, style, medium, and field.

RAVISHING WOMAN BUSINESS EXECUTIVE (49), sensual, merry, creative and optimistic fond of horse riding, tennis, nature, art, with a passion for writing and wide horizons would like to meet 45/60 yr old man combining humour and happiness here or at the other end of the world. ...

1.6.4 Exercise on gender, ethnicity, and class

The following text represents an intersection (coming together) of gender, ethnicity, and class. What clues can you find to identify each of these?

He in there, alright, ... Don't need to see him. You can smell him. ... Ain't nobody from no Goldman. That's Jack in there. ... Damn right, it is., ... Yo, Jack!

FURTHER READING

General Graddol, Leith, and Swann (1996) offers an introduction to a variety of aspects of English, both historical and present-day.

Standards and standardization for various approaches, see the individual contributions in Bex and Watts (1999) and Hickey (2012) or the book-length treatment in Milroy and Milroy (1999).

Sociolinguistics a good introduction is Mesthrie et al. (2008) or Wardhaugh and Fuller (2014).

Language attitudes a classical study of attitudes and accommodation is Giles and Powesland (1975).

Dialects useful introductory books are Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt (2012), Wells (1982) (accents only), Linn (1998).

Part 1

English as a linguistic system



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Vocabulary

In this chapter, the words of the modern English language, including multiword units like idioms and proverbs, will be at the center of discussion. The perspective used looks at English vocabulary from various points of view: the concept of *word* and the relationship between words and meaning; important information about dictionaries; the structure and development of the English vocabulary; new words in the (social) media and the Internet, euphemisms, nonsexist language, and word formation; how words meanings change; and multiword units.

Words and meaning. In general terms, English has a remarkably large vocabulary. This is due to its history of intense contact with other languages, the large number of people who regularly use the language, the wide diversity of domains the language operates in, and its current status as a worldwide lingua franca. One way to estimate the extent of the English vocabulary is to look at the major unabridged dictionary of the language and at corpus studies of it. The vocabulary of the English language is conveniently recorded in dictionaries. The *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* – in the second edition of 1989 and the third on-line edition – is the most comprehensive. As large as it is there are many words and phrases that are missing, even though it is being up-dated continuously at quarterly intervals. According to such mammoth dictionaries, including both *Webster 3* (1961) and *OED 2* (1989), the number of words lies between 300,000 and 450,000. The more recent *OED-online* (at: www.oed.com/; also as a CD-ROM edition) had 617,500 entries at its inception in the 1990s and continues to add new words (§2.2.5). We should not forget that dictionaries do not and cannot fully record actual usage. For this reason, linguists draw a distinction between dictionaries, which are only incomplete recordings of the English vocabulary, and its total word stock, which they refer to as its lexis or lexicon. To keep this in perspective, we need to note that a native speaker will actively use between 10,000 and 60,000 words depending on education (Minkova and Stockwell 2008: 462).

It is not only because new words are coined all the time that it is impossible to say precisely how many words there are in English but also because of the vagueness of the everyday term *word*. For example, how often is the word *dictionary* used in the preceding paragraph? *Dictionary* (with a capital <D>) and *dictionary* (with lower case <d>) are each found once while there are four examples of *dictionaries*. If we say that there are three different words (*Dictionary*, *dictionary*, and *dictionaries*), we are simply referring to the physical shape of words such as the black marks that appear on paper. Linguists have coined the term “word form” for this use of *word* (word forms are conventionally quoted in italics). In our example we are dealing with six separate word forms. When word forms are written,

they are easy to identify because of the spaces between words¹; in the spoken language, such distinctions are harder to make. As a result, written and spoken word forms will not always stand in a one-to-one relationship, cf. *want to* (two written words) vs. /wɑ:nə/ (one phonetic word).

From a different point of view, we might say that there are only two examples of *dictionary*, one in the singular and the other in the plural. Linguists use “word” to refer to this second, grammatical use (no special conventions). If we say, finally, that there are four occurrences of the single word *DICTIONARY*, we are basing our answer on the fact that though different words and word forms are involved, they all carry the same meaning. Word forms seen from the meaning point of view are called “lexemes” or “lexical items” (and are given in small caps). As lexemes can have many meanings, the need has been felt for a term which refers to each individual meaning. This is called a “lexical unit.” The lexeme *old*, for instance, represents at least two different lexical units. This becomes clear when you think of the opposite of *old*: One antonym is *young*, but *old* in *my old boyfriend* contrasts with the antonym *new* rather than *young*. What we find as main entries in dictionaries are lexemes, while each of the various meanings listed in these entries are lexical units. All this said, we will generally use the everyday term “word” in this book.

Words (in whichever sense) are not the smallest meaning-bearing units that are recognized in linguistics. Word formation goes beyond words like {star} (called free morphemes because they can stand alone) and also recognizes forms like {-dom}, which are bound morphemes (note: morphemes are conventionally set in braces or curly brackets), which cannot stand alone even though they convey meaning. Moving in the other direction, we discover combinations of more than one word, the so-called multiword units (e.g., idioms like *to pull someone’s leg* or proverbs such as *he who pays the piper calls the tune*), which linguists also regard as lexical items (§2.5). Dictionaries, consequently, face the question whether to include only free morphemes or also bound morphemes, idioms, and proverbs in their entries.

In the case of *dictionary*, there is likely to be universal agreement that it is a word (in each of the senses), not least because it is easy to state its meaning. It is different for words like *the*, *mine*, or *upon*. These grammatical or closed set items (most prominently articles, pronouns, and prepositions) have grammatical functions rather than lexical meanings. An example is the *to* in *he likes to play chess*. Indeed, such items are also called function words because their grammatical function is the most important aspect of their meaning. Lexical words, in contrast, have a distinctly lexical meaning and are members of the classes noun, verb, and adjective and include many adverbs: these word classes do not have a limited set of members but may be constantly added to. Such lexical items are therefore often called open-class items. Grammatical words can have weak stress and occur with high frequency; lexical items have strong stress and may have inflections.

The association of the word form *dictionary* with meaning is unproblematic because there are only one or two meanings (lexical units) involved. There are, however, many words which have a great number of meanings. Different linguists and lexicographers have different views on how many lexical units or lexemes some of them may have. Table 2.1 shows how three dictionaries, namely, a lengthy one: *Collins English Dictionary* (CED) 12th ed. (Glasgow: HarperCollins, 2014); a desk dictionary: *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (COED) 11th ed. (Oxford: OUP, 2004); and a learner’s dictionary: *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDOCE) 5th ed. (Harlow: Pearson/Longman, 2009), deal with a more complicated example, viz. *romance*.

1 There are difficulties with compounds: sometimes written together, sometimes with a hyphen, sometimes as two words, cf.

Table 2.1 Some dictionary entries for *romance*

	<i>CED</i>	<i>COED</i>	<i>LDOCE</i>
<i>romance</i> (noun)			
atmosphere (romantic, idealized) of love	+	+	+
Inclination for adventure, mystery, and so on	+	∅	∅
mysterious, excited, sentimental quality of a place	+	∅	+
love (affair)	+	+	+
literary genre/work	+	∅	+
<i>narrative characteristic of life far from the everyday</i>	+	+	∅
<i>medieval tale</i>			
short (Spanish) narrative epic or historical poem	+	∅	∅
story, film, and so on dealing with idealized love	+	∅	+
exaggeration, falsehood	+	∅	∅
language family (capitalized)	+	+	+
piece of music	+	+	∅
<i>romance</i> (adjective)			
relating to, dealing with romance	+	∅	∅
relating to the Romance language family or a word from one of them (capitalized)	+	+	∅
<i>romance</i> (verb)			
to exaggerate	+	+	+
to invent or write extravagant/romantic fiction	+	+	∅
to be romantically involved with someone	+	∅	+
to have romantic thoughts	+	∅	∅
(of a couple) to engage in romantic behavior	+	+	∅

+ = given; ∅ = not given.

The major difference in the treatment of meanings is that the CED, a really comprehensive dictionary, has considerably more subentries than the other two, which – although aimed at different sets of users – have a comparable number of subentries.

Spoken vs. written language. Relatively little research has been carried out on spoken-written lexical differences. Biber et al. (1999: 65f) have found that nouns are most common in news reports, less so in academic writing, and least frequent in conversation; adjectives are more highly represented in academic prose while rare in conversation; verbs and adverbs are most frequent in conversation and fiction, with the 12 most frequent verbs being far more common in conversation than in any other register. Conversation and academic prose differ distinctly in that scholarly writing, but not spontaneous speech, uses large numbers of verbs formed with derivational affixes, the most frequent of which being the suffix {-ize/-ise}.

Written language is primarily message-oriented, often involving specific lexis. Spoken language is primarily listener-oriented and uses vaguer vocabulary. Thus, writing is characterized by well-established language that shows precise technical and specialized vocabulary items, such as polysyllabic hard words, while speech prefers short or monosyllabic words. Indeed, spontaneous conversation can be characterized by three lexical features: *imprecision*, *intensification*, and *neologisms*, which are not exclusive to the spoken medium, but are rather a combination of the colloquial and the informal.

Imprecision, often due to emotional factors, loss of memory, and lack of concentration or due to the informality of the situation or of the subject under discussion, is visible in items like *things*, *thingy*, *whatsit(s)*, and so on, where a more exact word is either not available to the speaker or simply not necessary. Other imprecise items include vague, summary

phrases at the ends of lists like *and stuff/things*, *that sort of thing*, and *and so on and so forth*. There are also vague generic terms and collective nouns like *heaps of*, *bags of*, and *oodles of* used in positive contexts, while *for anything* and *for the world* are found in negative contexts (*I wouldn't go there for the world*). Finally, there are many ways of expressing the concept of approximation in English. Particularly common are *about* and *or so*, while *odd* as in *sixty odd people* is fairly common in conversation. The suffix {-ish} (as in *Meet you sixish*) is infrequent and found only in spoken language (conversation and fiction), while *approximately* is generally restricted to academic writing.

Intensification, the second feature of lexical items typical of informal spoken English are words and phrases that express a high or exaggerated degree (called hyperbole). Examples are adverbs and adjectives like *absolutely*, *definitely*, *horrible*, and *terrible*, and vogue words like *ace*, *brill(iant)*, *cool*, *great*, *super*, and *smashing*. The turnover among these words is rapid: As they are overused and lose their force, speakers have to find replacements.

Neologisms, whether new meanings and new word formations, are most often created on the spur of the moment and are unlikely to be recorded in dictionaries. Frequently used word-formation elements are {non-}, {mega-}, and {semi-}, as well as the suffixes {-y} (see Text 5.2), {-like}, and {-wise} (e.g., *Weatherwise*, *we can't complain*).

2.1 LEXICAL MEANING AND DICTIONARIES

The kinds of meaning examined in this section are part of what is known as lexical semantics. This is concerned with referential relationships, that is, kind of events and entities lexical words designate, but also with similarity and difference in meaning within semantic fields of words. This includes sense relations such as the question of polysemy vs. homonymy, but also synonymy, hyponymy, meronymy, antonymy, and taxonomies (cf. Kearns 2008 for a somewhat expanded view).

2.1.1 Lexical relationships

Polysemy and homonymy. Table 2.1 mirrors the difficulties involved in deciding whether to view a word form which has several meanings as a case of polysemy, that is, one single lexeme with many related meanings or as one of homonymy. In the latter case, lexemes differ by historical accident, as for instance with *ball* meaning either “round object” or “occasion for dancing.” If words sound the same but are spelled differently, they are homophones (e.g., *night* and *knight*, which are both /naɪt/); if they are spelled the same but are pronounced differently, they are homographs, as with *row*, which is pronounced either as /rəʊ/ or /rɔʊ/.

Synonymy. The distinction between homonyms and polysemous items raises the question of semantic similarity and difference. Lexical units that have identical, or near-identical, meanings are referred to as (near-)synonyms. Theoretically they can take each other's place in any context, but in practice there are always differences. Take the nouns *holiday*, *vacation*, *leave*, and *furlough*, for example, which can all refer to a period of time when you do not do your usual work. Note how they differ in the words they occur with (their collocations, see §2.5.1): Sailors go on *leave*, but soldiers and people who work abroad go on *furlough*. *Leave* is often found in compounds such as *sick leave*, *maternity leave*, and *unpaid leave*. *Vacation* is used in AmE like the GenE *holiday(s)* and can refer in both BrE and AmE to the time when no teaching is done at colleges and universities, although the informal short form *vac* for a university break (as in *long vac*) is restricted to BrE. It is usual

to say that synonyms share their denotation, or central meaning, while they differ in their connotations, whether regional, social, stylistic, or temporal aspects.

Hyponymy and meronymy. Other relationships between words in word fields include hyponymy, or inclusion, which relates a general to a more specific term (e.g., *flower*) on the higher, more abstract level, and *fuchsia*, *marigold*, and *rose* on the lower, more particular level. Lexical units like *flower* are called superordinate terms, while the more specific terms are (co)hyponyms. Meronymy, in contrast, is a part-whole relationship with the parts being different from the (superordinate) whole, as in *church* versus such parts of a church as *aisle*, *transept*, *chapel*, and *steeple*.

Opposition is a relationship involving a variety of contrasts in meaning, including simple antonyms, gradable antonyms, and reverses.

Simple antonyms (or complementary or binary pairs) are *either-or* oppositions: if one member is not the case, then the other is. Examples include *male-female* (of the higher animals) or *true-false* (of statements). Also *dead-alive*, *hit-miss*, and *pass-fail*.

Gradable antonyms (a.k.a. (polar) antonyms), in contrast, include a whole range of terms with two poles as opposites (e.g., *hot* and *cold*, with *warm*, *lukewarm*, and *cool* taking up positions between the extremes). Because this type of opposition is gradable, you can be *very tall* or *kinda young* or *smarter* than someone else or even the *tallest* of all. The negation of the one does not necessarily mean the opposite, for it could be somewhere in between, as with *not smart*, which does not necessarily mean *dumb*. Antonyms are not only gradable but also relative. That is, what is tall for a human being will be short for a giraffe. Furthermore, sometimes one of the two terms is considered more basic (e.g., *old* rather than *young* [*How old are you?*] or *tall* rather than *short* [*How tall are you?*]). You should remember that the same word form can be antonymous with more than one other word form: *old-new* (*car*) and *old-young* (*man*). This makes it clear that semantic relationships hold between lexical units, rather than lexemes.

Reverses (also: reversives and antipodals on an axis) refer to movements in opposite directions (*come-go*; *ascend-descend*) or to processes which can be reversed (*separate-mix*; *freeze-thaw*), but also doing and undoing things. **Converses** are similar to reverses (showing directionality: *buy-sell*, *give-take*), but are also transactional as in *doctor-patient*. Converses describe the same process from different points of view (e.g., *student-teacher*, *in front of-in back of*). The sentence *she is his wife* can be changed to produce the correlate *he is her husband*.

Taxonomies (a.k.a. taxonomic sisters) are members of (sometimes closed and sometimes open) word fields, each member of which excludes the others. The relationship between the days of the week, the months of the year, color terms, or breeds of animals (*angora*, *tabby*, *Siamese*, etc.) is called incompatibility, or heteronymy, and involves more than two members of a category which share one or more meaning elements and are mutually exclusive. Taxonomies can be natural kinds (like animals) or human artifacts (like vehicles). Furthermore, taxonomies may include the specialized vocabulary for the generic, the adult female, the adult male, and the young of animal types (*human*: *woman*, *man*, *child*; *cow*: *cow/heifer*, *bull*, *calf*). See §5.2.1 for semantic relationships at work in texts.

2.1.2 The mental lexicon

It has been said that all dictionaries are out of date as soon as they are published: this is so because no dictionary can hope to include all the lexemes that are stored in the brains of its speakers. The vocabulary we keep in our heads is called the mental lexicon. It is not only much larger than any published dictionary, but it is also structured quite differently:

The way it is arranged includes and goes beyond the alphabet and may be based on similarity (or contrast) in sound but, above all, meaning. This means that the brain stores not only synonyms and antonyms but also syntactic and pronunciation variants, and information on the currency, frequency, and social acceptance of lexemes such as the age, gender, and social status of the (usual) users of an item.

Aphasia, which results from injury to some part of the brain, shows that words are stored differently. Broca's aphasia in one area affects vocabulary, while grammar, including grammatic function words, suffers under Wernicke's aphasia, which occurs in a different area of the brain. A thesaurus-like storage principle (§2.1.3) groups content words in fields. Some clues as to the principles according to which they are stored in the brain may be revealed by spoonerisms (in which sounds or words are exchanged), as seen when a German friend of one of the authors, returning from a visit to the United States, remarked that he had gotten to know the "American lay of wife." There are also such pronunciation slips as *sappy hex* for *happy sex*. Principle: injury and glitches make the structure of the brain clearer. The mental lexicon is a complex, comprehensive, and ever-changing structure that no print or electronic dictionary can compete with even though thesauruses and learner dictionaries make use of some nonalphabetical structural principles.

2.1.3 Print and online dictionaries

An important general distinction is that between print dictionaries and those in the Internet. Electronic dictionaries save space on your book shelves and tend to be quicker to use while perhaps giving less physical pleasure. What is crucial to realize is that there are different types of on-line dictionaries. One type, often available for free, offers the text of a printed dictionary on-line. Some can only be used to access main entry words. Others make full use of the electronic medium by including visual and video materials and allow users to search for words in the complete text of the dictionary. The two major groups of dictionaries for the purposes of this book² are those that are published with a native-speaker audience in mind and those that are meant for people whose first language is not English.

Dictionaries for scholars and native speakers

Historical dictionaries. The *OED* represents an outstanding historical lexicographic achievement. It offers the most up-to-date linguistic research into every aspect of lexemes: the history and present state of their spelling, pronunciation, and meaning, together with their relationships with words in other languages and many examples, fully dated, referenced, and arranged chronologically within each entry. The third edition makes up for former shortcomings with, for instance, better coverage of folk language, colloquialisms, native-speaker varieties of English around the world and more careful and updated etymologies.

² In this *Survey*, we are concerned with general rather than special dictionaries. The latter include not only historical ones like the *OED* but also dictionaries of national varieties, regional Englishes, creoles, dialects, ESP (= English for Specific Purposes), abbreviations, clichés, colloquialisms, etymology, euphemisms, foreign words, grammar, hard words, idioms, names, new words, phrasal verbs, phrases and quotations, pronunciation, proverbs, slang, spelling, and usage.

Desk dictionaries. For everyday use large, unabridged dictionaries are too unwieldy and extensive. In their place users turn to desk (BrE) or college (AmE) dictionaries, of which the American ones included entries for people, places, and events (so-called encyclopedic entries) long before their British counterparts, some of which still do not have this type of information.

Conceptual dictionaries and thesauruses, a.k.a. word finders, word/language activators, word menus are orientated toward the meaning chiefly based on synonymy. Only the index, which is a complete list of all the words treated, is arranged in alphabetical order with references to the fields in which they occur in the main, thematic part of the thesaurus. In Roget's *Thesaurus*,³ the first full-fledged work of this kind, we find under 990. *Temple* – in a vast list – synonyms such as *pantheon*, *shrine*, *mosque*, *pagoda*, and *joss-house*.

The thesaurus type of dictionary is typical of native-speaker dictionaries in that it usually gives long lists of words without illustrative examples or other information on how to use them.⁴ Consequently, thesauruses are for people who already know English; they cannot be recommended to learners of English, who need to be shown how words behave in context so that they can use them appropriately.

Nonnative speaker dictionaries

Learner dictionaries. Desk dictionaries for people with English as their first language (or L1-dictionaries) have word lists (referred to as the macrostructure) in excess of 150,000 items and usually give the etymologies. Dictionaries for foreign learners (or L2-dictionaries), on the other hand, do not offer etymologies nor do their word lists exceed 100,000 words and phrases. Native-speaker dictionaries are meant for people who want to find out the meaning, pronunciation, and spelling of words they do not know. In contrast, dictionaries for nonnative speakers, while giving similar semantic, phonetic, and orthographic help, also include information on how a word behaves syntactically, what word combinations or collocations it enters into, and how it differs from words with similar meanings (synonym discrimination). While both dictionary types give usage labels to indicate whether a word is formal or informal, taboo or vulgar, the learner dictionaries take greater care to explain the meaning of words in simple English, often using a restricted number of words to do this (between 2,000 and 3,000 items). They also provide (sentence) examples and give both the British and American English pronunciations and where necessary the equivalent term in the other variety (e.g., “UK pavement, see *sidewalk* U.S.”). Special usage notes demonstrate standard usage and warn against the nonstandard use of words. To make a pointed, if not wholly accurate contrast: L1-dictionaries rest content with helping you to find out about words (here we speak of decoding dictionaries), while L2-dictionaries take much greater pains to help you produce correct and idiomatic English (production dictionaries, also referred to as encoding dictionaries).

Dictionaries of word combinations have a much-reduced macrostructure, that is, fewer entries, but offer a detailed microstructure, which lists the most important lexical and syntactic combinations and often also a good selection of fixed expressions including phrasal verbs, which are an important, because very frequent, type of verb in English.

3 Published by P. M. Roget (*Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, 1852), available in many revised and expanded editions.

4 Exception: the *Longman Lexicon* which offers further context.

Dictionaries of cultural literacy. Language is, of course, only one aspect of the culture of the countries where English is spoken. If you want to understand English-language texts, you also need to be aware of people, places, events, the arts, and leisure activities, allusions to, or quotations from, mythology, the Bible, Shakespeare, and so on, and the meanings and connotations they have for native speakers.

2.2 GROWTH AND STRUCTURE OF THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY

2.2.1 Core and periphery

The vocabulary of English can be usefully divided into a core and a periphery, whereby the one obviously shades into the other. This division is based on distinctions in frequency, grammar, meaning, etymology, and syllable structure. The core consists, for one thing, of the especially frequent form or function words, that is, words which chiefly signal grammatical functions. The second group of words included are the semantically indispensable content or lexical words (ones such as *bread, water, food, kitchen, eat, sleep, dream, wake, and run*).

The periphery consists almost exclusively of the lexical words, which grow less frequent the farther from the core they are. According to the criterion of etymology, the core is strongly Germanic in origin and these words are often monosyllabic. In the Brown Corpus (1961), the six most frequent words are *the, be* [various forms], *of, and, a, and in*. There are only four words among the one hundred most frequent ones which are not Germanic: *state, people, use* (v.), and *just*. The Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus (LOB, originally 1961) lists only *very* and *people*. The later British National Corpus (BNC, 1980s and early 1990s) gives for the spoken part: *very, people, and really* (465) and for the written part: *people, very, and just* (cf. Minkova and Stockwell 2008: 461–467). “Words from the realm of ideas, art, science and technology, and specialized discourse generally, reside in the more peripheral layers. There, the proportion of borrowed words increases” (ibid.: 467).

The English vocabulary, as with all languages, grows either by borrowing from external sources or by internal means, using English word-formation processes and, sometimes, by a combination of the two. English has changed dramatically over the course of the centuries from a language whose lexis was almost completely Germanic (in Old English (OE) times, that is, up to about 1100) to one which has taken in words from all the major languages of the world. Foreign influence also shows up in loan translations or calques, for example, the word *loan translation* itself, which is an exact translation of German *Lehnübersetzung*; in loan words, in instance the word *calque*, which comes directly from French; as well as loan shifts, where only the meaning, but not the form, has been borrowed, as when OE *cneoh* “farm hand” took on the ModE meaning of *knight* under the influence of Old French *chevalier*.

2.2.2 The three layers

By far the most important sources of nonnative items in English are French and the classical languages, Latin and Greek. Together they give us three historical layers: an Anglo-Saxon, a French, and a classical one, each with its own characteristics. French loans made their way into the language especially prominently in the 13th century as a consequence of the

Norman Conquest of England in 1066. Although French borrowings were originally part of the class dialect of the new rulers, they have in the meantime largely lost their connotations of prestige and social superiority and have become part of the central core of English lexis. French-derived words are prominent for instance in the fields of art and architecture; fashion; religion; hunting, war and politics; and food and cooking. English often uses Anglo-Saxon words for raw materials and basic processes, while words for finished products and more complicated processes come from the French. A classic example of this, mentioned by Sir Walter Scott in his novel *Ivanhoe*, is the encounter between Wamba, the jester, and Gurth, the swineherd:

“Why, how call you those grunting brutes running about on their four legs?” demanded Wamba.

“Swine, fool, swine,” said the herd, “every fool knows that.”

“And swine is good Saxon,” said the Jester; “but how call you the sow when she is flayed, and drawn, and quartered, and hung up by the heels, like a traitor?”

“Pork,” answered the swineherd.

“I am very glad every fool knows that too,” said Wamba, “and pork, I think, is good Norman-French; and so when the brute lives, and is in the charge of a Saxon slave, she goes by her Saxon name; becomes a Norman, and is called pork, when she is carried to the Castle-hall to feast among the nobles.”

(Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 1815, p. 120)

The Anglo-Saxon animal terms *swine*, *cow*, and *calf* stand in contrast to their meat to be eaten, *pork*, *beef*, and *veal*. English was retained for more humble everyday occupations (*baker*, *miller*, *smith*, *weaver*, *saddler*, *shoemaker*, *wheelwright*, *fisherman*, *shepherd*, etc.), while the names of professions likely to serve more patrician customers such as *barber*, *tailor*, *butcher*, *mason*, and *carpenter* come from French.

While French contributed a great many terms from the realms of power and the higher life styles, classical loans have provided English as well as most other (European) languages with countless technical terms in all branches of human knowledge, a need that was strongly felt by English humanists of the 16th century, who wanted English to become a medium capable of expressing the most refined thoughts, on a par with Latin and Greek. *Lexis*, *lexeme*, *lexical*, *lexicographer*, *diction(ary)*, and *vocabulary* are all derived from Latin and Greek elements, while the rarer items *word book* and *word stock* are Germanic in origin.

An illustration of the interplay between Anglo-Saxon, French, and Latin/Greek is provided by kinship terms. Closer relations are designated by Germanic words (*mother*, *father*, *brother*, *sister*, *son*, *daughter*), while more distant relatives have designations borrowed from French (*uncle*, *aunt*, *niece*, *nephew*) and the more abstract adjectives come from Latin (*maternity*, *avuncular*, *paternal*, *fraternity*, *sorority*, *filial*) (Finkenstaedt and Wolff 1973: 121–128). The only Germanic adjectives which are at all common are *fatherly*, *motherly*, *brotherly*, and *sisterly*.

To sum up this discussion: Most of the basic terms, simple and derived, are Germanic, stylistically neutral, and often associated with positive feelings, while the more peripheral and abstract terms come from French and Latin, are often found in formal contexts, and carry specialized meanings. The three layers differ significantly in their share of the vocabulary and their frequency of use. It has been calculated that the majority of words, 64%, in the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* come from Latin, French, and Greek, while the Germanic element amounts to no more than 26%. Yet when we look at the items actually used in writing and speaking, we find that the front runners are native English words. Of the roughly 4,000 most frequent words, 51% are of Germanic origin and 48% of Latin and

Romance origin, while the Greek element is negligible. The 12 most frequent verbs in the *Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus* are all Germanic – *say, get, go, know, think, see, make, come, take, want, give, and mean*. This shows the paramount importance of the inherited Germanic vocabulary in the central core of English. In contrast, the more formal the style and the more specialized and remote from everyday experience the subject matter, the higher the number of nonnative loans. In everyday language, English words will often be preferred because they are vague and therefore cover many shades of meaning, while loan words tend to be more precise and restricted and, as a result, more difficult to handle. When faced with the choice between *acquire, obtain, and purchase*, on the one hand, and *buy or get*, on the other, most people will go for the shorter Germanic words. In formal situations, it may seem appropriate to *extend a cordial reception*, while in less stiff, that is, warmer, more human, and more emotional, situations you will *give a warm welcome*.

2.2.3 Hard words and their consequences

Several reasons have been put forward for the difference between overall distribution and actual use of the vocabulary. The emotional and everyday character of the native words makes them the words of choice for most situations. Above and beyond this, the presence in the language of words from Germanic, French, and the classical languages means that English can have two or three different lexemes to express a given meaning. This wealth of expression is a welcome resource for highly educated people, but it poses problems for the average native speaker. (This is, incidentally, also one reason for the historical advent of English dictionaries at the end of the 16th century: they started as word lists that explained these difficult hard words to people with little formal education.) In addition, many classical borrowings are

- difficult to pronounce, for example, the stress changes between *'photograph* and *pho'tographer*, and *photo'graphic* or the vowel shift between the <a> in *vane* /eɪ/ and *vanity* /æ/;
- difficult to spell, the initial consonant in *fantasy* vs. *phantom* or the “silent” letters in *paradigm* (vs. *paradigmatic*) or in *pneumonic* or in *isthmus*;
- difficult for people without a knowledge of Latin because they often cannot easily relate the common Germanic noun or verb to the classic adjective it is paired with, for example, the noun *finger* and the adjective *digital* or the verb *hear* and the adjective *auditory*.

Verbs like *defer, prefer, and infer* or *assist, desist, and insist* have to be learnt separately because English does not have the roots *{fer} or *{sist}. This also goes for such formally similar items as *pathos, pathetic*, and the combining form {patho-} (as in *pathogen* or *pathological*). There can, clearly, be no doubt that hard words pose major problems. One consequence of these difficulties is the use of malapropisms, as when Constable Dogberry tells Governor Leonato in *Much Ado About Nothing*, “Our watch, sir, have indeed *comprehended* two *auspicious* persons” (i.e., *apprehended* two *suspicious* persons) (Act 3, Scene V). Another is folk etymology, in which foreign forms are changed to resemble English words or morphemes, as in *crayfish* for French *crevisse* “crab” or *causeway* for French *chaussée* “dam or raised road.”

Another way of dealing with hard words is to shorten them and make them into monosyllables, which themselves are very characteristic of English: the most frequent two hundred words in English consist overwhelmingly of one syllable. Relatively few have two syllables (forty in AmE, twenty-four in BrE), and a handful of trisyllabic forms (three in

AmE, two in BrE), while only AmE has a single four-syllable item, the word *American* itself. Consequently, clippings like *condo* < *condominium*, *pram* < *perambulator*, or *pro* < *professional* fit a well-established pattern. It is not unlikely that some zero-derived forms, especially when they consist of one syllable, can also be explained as a means of avoiding overly formal Latinisms, for example, *Petrarch's climb in 1353 of Mount Ventoux*, where *climb* is used instead of *ascent*.

A similar case is the practice of avoiding polysyllabic Latinisms, by going for the shorter native forms but with the addition of native elements to create new meanings. This has resulted in multiword verbs, or phrasal verbs, and the nouns derived from them, such as *A war would clearly set back the process of reform* and *the breakdown in talks represents a serious setback in the peace process*. Indeed, so strong is the pull of these phrasal formations that even some simple one-syllable verbs have formed new phrasal counterparts, often apparently without much of a meaning difference, as between *meet* and *meet up* (cf. *They met (up) again for a glass of wine in the hotel bar*).

Another aspect of this preference, perhaps sometimes the result of the avoidance of hard words, is phrases which consist of a general purpose or light verb such as *do*, *give*, *have*, *make*, *put*, or *take* plus a noun or prepositional phrase rather than using a simple verb (cf. *do one's hair* [rather than more precise *comb*, *bush*, *wash*, etc.], *give something a try* [in place of simple *try*], *have a think* [for *think*, *reflect*, etc.], *make a photo* [not *photograph*], *put someone on hold* [for which there is no simple equivalent], and *take a shower* [instead of simple *shower*]). As we can see, English sometimes prefers a phrase even where there is a synonymous simple verb.

There is, moreover, the use of proper names for concrete nouns, for instance, *china* (rather than *porcelain*), *Kleenex* (instead of *tissue* or *paper handkerchief*), *magnet* (from Magnesia, a city in Asia Minor), or *bowie knife* (from Jim Bowie, early associated with such a knife). These are designated as toponyms (place names) or eponyms (a name associated with the noun in the process of *antonomasia*⁵). Examples of toponyms are *cashmere*, *champagne*, *damask*, *denim* ("of Nîmes" in France), and *jeans* (< Genoa). A classic example of the latter is *sandwich*, which is said to have been devised by the Earl of Sandwich (also *colt*, *stetson*, *macintosh*, etc.).

2.2.4 Present-day loans

It would seem that many new loan words refer to new things for which a foreign term is taken over (so-called cultural borrowings). Loan words were imported in the past because the terms arrived with new imports (cf. Scandinavian *ski*, Russian *vodka*), or because of the tendency to complete word families (the Scandinavian verb *die* complemented the Old English adjective *dead* and the noun *death*). In more recent times, English has increased its range of donor languages, the main contributors in the modern period being French, Japanese, Spanish, Italian, Latin, Greek, German, African, Yiddish, Russian, and Chinese. The share of Indo-European loans has dropped in comparison with earlier times. The prominence of the Asian and African source languages is something qualitatively new. Often, loans change in form and, particularly, in spelling. Finally, only the three major open word classes are represented, with nouns dominating massively over few adjectives and even fewer verbs (for more detail, see Cannon 1987).

⁵ Antonomasia is also used for the reverse process in which a proper name is replaced by a characteristic description; for example, for *Shakespeare*, we can say *the Bard*.

2.2.5 New words

For all that was said in the previous section, it is the native processes of derivation and compounding that make up the majority of new words, and this leads to the conclusion

that English has turned inward to its own resources for new words and new readings. As it is the Latin of the twenty-first century, required in all fields of science, required worldwide in travel, politics, and global communication, perhaps this inner-directed expansion is to be expected.

(Minkova and Stockwell 2008: 480)

The first full-length study of neologisms (Cannon 1987) examined 13,683 new items, while Ayto (1999) affords decade-by-decade insights into what were the most important developments in the 20th century. Typical lexical growth areas of the 1980s were the media, computers, finance, money, environment, political correctness, youth culture, and music; the 1990s saw significant lexical expansion in the areas of politics, the media, and the Internet. A good way of following the trends in the growth of the vocabulary is to check on the additions made to the OED, which appear quarterly at: <https://public.oed.com/updates/>. In the first edition of this book, we sketched some of the new environmental lexis; in the second edition, we gave a brief description of developments in the media and the Internet. In this edition, we have made a random selection of items from the OED source just mentioned for the first quarter of 2018. The items listed below represent not only a variety of vocabulary-building processes but are also a good illustration of the time-dimensions involved in the lexicographic (or dictionary-writing) process, between the time a word is first observed and the point at which it is prominent or frequent enough to be added to the OED:

- 1 **chaebol**: a large South Korean business conglomerate, usually owned and controlled by one family; the Korean word consists of *chae* “wealth” + *bol* “faction, clique” (attested from the 1970s in English)
- 2 **deglobalization**: the reversal or decline of globalization (first attested in 1968; notably more common over the past two decades)
- 3 **mansplain**: the way a man explains something “needlessly, overbearingly, or condescendingly, especially to a woman, in a manner thought to reveal a patronizing or chauvinistic attitude” (*LiveJournal* in August 2008)
- 4 **me time**: time devoted to doing what one wants (typically on one’s own), as opposed to working or doing things for others, considered as important in reducing stress or restoring energy (first attested in Rebekah Dunlap’s *Helping yourself with Cosmic Healing* (1980)), cf. more recent *#MeToo*.
- 5 **ransomware**: malware designed to block access to applications or files on a computer system until a sum of money is paid (dates back to at least 2005)
- 6 **selfy**: *n.* a photo of oneself (already in the *OED* since 2014, but previously listed only as *selfie*)
- 7 **snowflake**: as a derogatory term has become prominent on social media in recent years (roots in more positive connotations going back to 1983); it is metaphor based on the uniqueness of every snowflake
- 8 **swag**: *n.*², a new entry derived from *swagger* and used in slang for “bold self-assurance in style or manner,” or “an air of great self-confidence or superiority” (from Jay-Z’s

2003 *Black Album*): A glossarial example of the word from the previous year, in a self-described dictionary of hip-hop terminology, defined *swag* as simply “walk.”

- 9 **Titanian:** *adj.*³, “of or situated on Titan, the largest of Saturn’s moons,” as in “the Titanian atmosphere consists predominantly of nitrogen gas.” This is the OED’s third homograph for *Titanian* (the first refers to the Titan gods of Classical mythology; the second, to the element titanium).
- 10 **Tommy John:** a new eponym used (especially in the phrase *Tommy John surgery*) for a surgical operation involving replacement of a ligament in the elbow; it is derived from the name of a former professional baseball pitcher who was the first person to receive the surgery, in 1974.

The processes⁶ are (1) a loan word via borrowing from Korean, (2) semantic reversal via prefixation, (3) blend via clipping and combining of two independent words, {man} + {explain}, (4) compounding via the first-sister principle, (5) compounding via a pseudo-combining form, (6) diminutive-formation via ellipsis and suffixation, (7) semantic pejoration via metaphor, (8) shortening via back-clipping, (9) adjectivization via suffixation, and (10) antonomasia via generalization of an eponym.

2.2.6 Euphemisms and politically correct language

Euphemisms are the result not of changes in the real world but of changes in the conscience of a society in areas where it feels guilt or is afraid to talk about a taboo subject. These areas have traditionally been the human body, death, sex, violence, and money. But other fields are also involved, for example, prisons, which have become *correctional centers* or *rehabilitative correctional facilities*, and menial jobs, so that servants can be referred to as *domestic engineers*, and refuse/garbage collectors as *disposal operatives* (BrE) or *sanitation engineers* (AmE). These euphemisms soon lose their force and new ones have to be created that are (as yet) free of the guilty or embarrassing association, and in this way euphemisms increase the word stock of English. Not only are euphemisms the cause of increased lexical turnover, but they can also cause the loss of a lexical unit. A recent case is that of *gay*, both noun and adjective, which is currently used almost exclusively to mean “homosexual” and has almost completely lost its older sense of “happy.”

PC language. While euphemisms are universal, politically correct (PC) language (especially nonsexist language; §6.3.2) is employed to different degrees in English-speaking countries. It was first developed, and is most regularly and frequently used, in the United States, particularly in official documents while Britain and other nations are less keen to right past wrongs in the language they use. A well-known case is the terminology for people “of African heritage” in the United States. Some prefer to be called *African American*, a word which has (partially) replaced *Afro-American*, which (partially) replaced the term *black*, which (partially) replaced *Negroes*, which in turn largely replaced *colored* and a number of further terms. For people with disabilities new phrasal adjectives like *hearing-impaired*, *mentally/physically challenged*, and *visually impaired/challenged* have been coined. This process of being perhaps overly careful not to step on anybody’s toes is also made fun of (cf. *residentially challenged* [= homeless], *vertically challenged* [= short] or *financially challenged* [= poor]).

6 Word formation processes are elaborated further in §2.3; semantic and pragmatic shifts in meaning, in §2.4.

2.3 WORD FORMATION

Word-formation processes account for almost 80% of the new lexical items in Cannon's material (1987: 279), as compared with new meanings (14.4%) and borrowings (7.5%). In this section we will look at the most productive word-formation processes only, using the two operations of deletion and combination as the basis of the present treatment (see Algeo 1978; see also Table 2.2):

Cannon found that composite forms, which consist of both derivations and compounds, take the lion's share at 54.9%, followed by shifts (19.6%) and shortenings (18%), a ranking confirmed by Algeo (1998). Compounds (4,040, of which 3,591 are nouns) are the oldest and largest class.

Minor word-formation types are blends (§2.3.2), shortenings (clippings, acronyms, and abbreviations; §2.3.3), word-manufacture, and echo words.

Although these minor types of word-formation may not be linguistically very important arising, as they do, at the point where system gives way to random creativity, they are nonetheless of increasing importance in the lexicon of modern English in terms of the sheer number of new forms created by them.

(Bauer 2008: 503)

Here we will add just a short note on word-manufacture, which refers to words made up without using pre-existing lexemes (e.g., *Kodak*, *Exxon*); but which sometimes generate new suffixes (e.g., *rayon*, *nylon* [suggesting *cotton* and *chiffon*], then extending to *Orlon*, *Dacron*, *Dralon*), thus producing a "semi-meaningful element, somewhere between a phonaestheme and a morph" (ibid.: 498) and on reduplication or echo words, which are rhyme-motivated (*namby-pamby*) or ablaut⁷-motivated (*shilly-shally*). Rhyme-motivated ones are still productive (*dream team*, *fag hag*, *gang-bang*); ablaut is not (ibid.: 498, 503).

Shifts and blends, as well as acronyms and back-formations (§2.3.3), are processes that few native speakers are aware of. Not many people will know, for instance, that the verb *beg* is derived from *beggar* by back-formation, or that *smog* combines *smoke* and *fog*. Speaking synchronically, we could analyze the *beg-beggar* relationship like any other pair such as *lie-liar* or *bake-baker* and assume that the noun *smog* is an unanalyzable addition to the lexicon. In contrast, composition, derivation, and shortening, at least where the source forms continue to be used, are more obviously processes even to the lay person who only knows the contemporary language.

The following discussion relies heavily on Cannon's findings, but does not always adopt his categories. Furthermore, not all the examples found in the following pages will become a permanent part of the English language. Nevertheless, they illustrate certain trends and structural possibilities which are currently found in English.

Table 2.2 Word-formation processes

<i>Process</i>	<i>Combination</i>	<i>Deletion</i>	<i>Example</i>
Shift	–	–	<i>Google</i> (noun) to <i>google</i> (verb)
Blend	+	+	<i>chilax</i> < <i>chill(l)</i> + (<i>re</i>) <i>lax</i>
Shortening	–	+	<i>app(lication)</i>
Composite forms	+	–	<i>hashtag</i>

⁷ A reminder: ablaut involves vowel change as seen in items like *sing-sang-sung* and *song*.

2.3.1 Shifts

Shifts, like blends, are typical of English and were made possible through the increasing loss of inflectional endings in the Middle English period (1100–1500). Shifts are lexemes that have been assigned a new word class without change in the form of the underlying lexeme. Various terms are used to refer to this process: functional shift, conversion, multiple class-membership as well as zero derivation. The last term has been coined in recognition of the fact that this process can be seen as a kind of derivation without an affix. While the adjective *humid* becomes a verb by adding the morpheme {-ify} to become *humidify*, the adjective *wet* becomes the verb *wet* “make wet,” as in *wet a paper towel before wiping the counter* without any change. In some cases, it is impossible to decide which word came first, but in other cases we can look the words up in the OED and compare the dates of the earliest uses. Also, the source word is usually part of the definition of the later, derived item (*to party* “have a party”; or *a swallow* “the amount that you can drink in one swallow”). Conversion most often produces new nouns; verbs (most of which are shifts from nouns) are second most frequent; and adjectives are the least frequent.

- Nouns: the *commute* is too long; healthy *eats* (= food); give me a *for-instance*; the replacements were a ragtag bunch of *has-beens* and *never-wases*; let’s have an *update* on the traffic situation
- Verbs: The package had gone off to be fingerprinted and *DNA’d* and I was still being questioned; my mom *parented* six kids in Queens; could you *video* the show for me at 7 p.m.?
- Adjectives: He was a *can-do* guy; it was a *fun* party

This is perhaps a good place to mention secondary shifts, in which word forms move from one subclass to another within the same word class. Thus, *press* as in *the American press* or *meet the press* is a mass (noncount) noun, but the word can also be used as a count noun (*how many press [=journalists] were there?*). *Okay* has been in adjectival use for a long time, usually in predicative position (cf. *don’t worry, she’s okay*), but it is now found in attributive position as well, that is, before a noun: *Don’t worry, Mom. I’m having an OK time.*

Two productive processes of secondary shift relate to verbs. First, the formation of new transitive verbs from intransitive ones where the new verb has a causative meaning. I grabbed him by the arm and *hurried him along* (= got him to hurry up); a shudder *chattered* my teeth and *shivered* my shoulders. Second, a large number of intransitive verbs are formed from transitive ones, with a passive meaning. The best-known example is perhaps the verb *sell*, as in *the book sells well*, which is also found in a more complex structure like *the novel has sold a million copies* (= a million copies of the novel have been sold). There are various labels for these verbs, among them medio-passive (§4.3.4) and notional or adverbial passive, the last because they often take an adverb of manner (*I don’t anger/bruise/frighten easily*).

2.3.2 Blends

Blends (also called telescope or portmanteau words) are the fusion of the forms and meanings of two lexemes. The first item usually loses something at the end, and the second, something at the beginning. Traditionally, blends have had at least one shared element (e.g., *motel* < *motor* and *hotel*) but more recent formations show no common elements (e.g., *hangry*: a 21st century blend of clipped *h(ungry)* and *angry* meaning “bad-tempered or irritable as a result of hunger”(earliest known appearance dates from 1956 in the journal

American Imago). Blends are characteristic of English even though they represent a mere 1% of new formations in Cannon's corpus. Blends are very popular in journalism, advertising, and technical fields (especially names) and tend to belong to a more informal stylistic level. The majority of portmanteau words are nouns, with fewer adjectives and verbs:

Verbs:	<i>gues(s)timate</i> < <i>guess, estimate</i> <i>skyjack</i> < <i>sky, hijack</i>
Adjectives:	<i>glitzy</i> < <i>glitter, ritzy</i>
Nouns:	<i>Chunnel</i> < <i>Channel, tunnel</i> <i>edutainment</i> < <i>education, entertainment</i> <i>stagflation</i> < <i>stagnation, inflation</i> <i>three-peat</i> < <i>three, repeat</i> (winning a competition three times)

2.3.3 Shortenings

Of the many processes which come under the heading of shortenings we will give examples for back-formations, initialisms, clippings or stump words, and ellipses. The smallest group is back-formations, which have supposedly lost an affix or inflection (which historically was never there), as in *edit* < *editor* and *buttle* < *butler*. The major traditional class change found in back-formation (in Cannon's material) is noun to verb; the remaining examples are new nouns and adjectives. The major patterns in the corpus are loss of {-ion} (e.g., *intuit* < *intuition*), {-er} or {-ing} in nouns, and loss of {-ic} in adjectives to form new nouns. The most striking of the new formations are perhaps the result of the loss of {-y} (*complicit, funk, glitz, laze, raunch, sleaze*), the loss of a presumed prefix as in *ept* (< *inept*) and *flappable* (< *unflappable*), various additions after shortening (especially <-e> in spelling: *back-mutate, decapitate, enthuse*), and the rare loss of a root in *hyper* (< *hyperactive*). Native speakers get a lot of fun out of creating new back-formations which may one day make it into the dictionaries: "It had been a rough day, so when I walked into the party, I was very *chaland*, despite my efforts to appear *gruntled* and *consolate*. I was *furling* my *wieldy* umbrella for the coat check when I saw her ... She was a *descript* person, a woman in a state of total *array* ..." (our italics; *chaland* is formed from *nonchaland*, *wieldy* from *unwieldy*, etc.; Burridge and Mulder 1998: 120).

Initialisms are historically the most recent group; two types are usually distinguished, acronyms and abbreviations. Though both consist of a number of first letters, acronyms are pronounced as words (they are also called syllable words) whereas abbreviations are pronounced as a series of letters (letter words). Well-established acronyms are *laser* (< light wave **amplification by stimulated emission of radar**) and *scuba* (< self-contained **underwater breathing apparatus**); more recent are *AIDS* (**acquired immune deficiency syndrome**), *dinky* (< **dual income, no kids** + {-y}), *nimby* (< **not in my backyard** + {-y}), *WYSIWYG* (= **what you see is what you get**) and *yuppy* (< **young urban professional** + {-y}). Canon counts 153 acronyms (all but four of them nouns) as opposed to 460 abbreviations. Of the latter, all but three are nouns, consist for the most part of three letters, are usually spelled with capital letters, and belong to fields like chemistry, health, transport, the military, computers, and education. Examples are *AI* (Amnesty International; artificial intelligence); *ATV* (all-terrain vehicle in AmE; Associated Television in BrE); *BP* (beautiful people, AmE; British Petroleum, BrE); *CAD* (computer-aided design); *CR* (consciousness raising).

Clippings. There are two major types of clipping, front- and back-clipping, and two less common types, mixed (both back and front together) and medial. Back-clipping is most frequent, while medial and mixed shortenings, though not uncommon, are less frequent.

Mixed:	<i>comp</i> < (<i>ac</i>) <i>comp</i> (<i>any</i>); <i>van</i> < (<i>ad</i>) <i>van</i> (<i>tage</i>)
Medial:	<i>vegan</i> < <i>veg</i> (<i>etari</i>) <i>an</i> ; <i>veggies</i> < <i>veg</i> (<i>etabl</i>)(+ <i>i</i>) <i>es</i>
Front:	<i>fiche</i> < (<i>micro</i>) <i>fiche</i> ; <i>foil</i> < (<i>hydro</i>) <i>foil</i> ; <i>hood</i> < (<i>neighbor</i>) <i>hood</i>
Back:	<i>autoland</i> < <i>auto</i> (<i>matic</i>) <i>land</i> (<i>ing</i>); <i>detox</i> < <i>detox</i> (<i>ification</i>); <i>flip</i> < <i>flip</i> (<i>pant</i>); <i>glam</i> < <i>glam</i> (<i>orous</i>); <i>limo</i> < <i>limo</i> (<i>usine</i>); <i>lit</i> (<i>erary</i>)- <i>crit</i> (<i>icism</i>); <i>metro</i> < <i>metro</i> (<i>polytan</i>); <i>rehab</i> < <i>rehab</i> (<i>ilitation</i>)

See also §2.4.1: Ellipsis.

2.3.4 Composite forms

These can be roughly divided into compounds and derivations. Compounds consist of two or more free morphemes, which can be either simple (as are the morphemes in *book token*) or complex (as in *childhood sweetheart*). They are usually classified in semantic and syntactic terms. There are two types of semantic compounds, one where the compound as a whole is equivalent to (at least) one of its parts and the other where this is not the case. An example of the first type is *goldfish*, which is a kind of fish, and *house party*, a kind of party. These compounds are called endocentric as opposed to the other type, called exocentric, where the compound meaning is “idiomatic,” that is, where it is not equivalent to any of the constituent free forms. Take, for example, the word *redcoats*, which refers neither pieces of clothing nor colors, but to English soldiers of the 18th and 19th centuries (who wore red uniforms). Cannon has counted 3,579 new endocentric compounds as against only 461 exocentric ones.

Syntactic compounds come in three types. Noun compounds constitute the by far most frequent group (3,591), followed by adjectives (290) and verbs (135). Within noun compounds, the structure noun + noun is more than twice as common as that of adjective + noun. Also frequent are those beginning or ending with a particle (*hookup*, *standoff*). The frequency of compound nouns depends on the text type: in AmE for instance they occur far less frequently in conversation than in news reports.

Phrasal verbs are another frequent type of syntactic compound. In them a simple verb combines with a particle (*churn out*). In the 44 million-word Lancaster Corpus of 20th-century English, these verbs are most common in fiction and conversation, as is to be expected from their colloquial nature and their use as imperatives, but are rare in newspapers and scholarly writing. The most frequent phrasal verbs are formed by the lexical verbs *take*, *get*, and *put*, and the most common particles are *up*, *out*, and *on*. See any of the numerous dictionaries of prepositional and phrasal verbs to get a better idea of the vast number of such items in use (e.g., Courtney 1983; Cowie and Mackin 1993; Sinclair 2011).

Derivations. There are almost as many derivations as compounds. They are made up of one or more free morphemes and at least one bound morpheme (e.g., *handyman* < {hand} + {y} + {man}). Bound morphemes in word-formation are called affixes, of which prefixes come before, and suffixes after the free form. There are no infixes in Standard English (affixes that are inserted into word forms), but highly informal English does know a few cases of insertion. Examples are usually of an objectionable (vulgar, obscene) nature:

The world is full of lunatics and madmen and I've got to go see *Miss Saifuckinggon*.
 (Helen Fielding, *Bridget Jones: The Edge of Reason*, 2009, Pan Macmillan)

She growled at him for phoning so late, three-goddam-thirty in the morning!
 (Carl Hiaasen, *Strip Tease*, 2010, Knopf Doubleday Publishing)

Derivations with prefixes are more frequent than those with suffixes. The main types of bound forms used in technical terms are combining forms, which are especially common in the language of science and technology (cf. §5.3). We will first look at combining forms.

Combining forms make up only 2% in Cannon's corpus, yet they are interesting because of their status between bound and free morphemes. They differ from affixes in that they tend to be of a technical nature (they are usually derived from Latin or Greek), are more recent, and can combine with other combining forms without any free morpheme (as in *Afrophile*, *Anglophone*, *hologram*, *speleology*, and *telethon*). The distinction between affixes and combining forms is, however, far from clear (see below: "final combining forms").

Initial combining forms can be joined with established English words (*biochemistry*, *teleconference*, *ethnolinguist*), sometimes in a shortened form, as in {e-} from *electronic* (*e-bike*), {eco-} from *ecological* (*eco-activist*, *eco-freak*), or {Euro-} < *Europe(an)* (*Eurocheque*, *Eurocrat*).

Final combining forms often follow an initial combining form; for example, {-logy} requires an initial combining form like {psycho-}, {socio-}. *Infanticide* and *astronaut* are therefore regularly formed but what are we to make of *pigeoncide* and *spacenaunt*, where the forms combine with a free morpheme (*pigeon*, *space*) of a nontechnical nature? Many linguists therefore regard {-cide} and {-naut} as suffixes, a label also applied to {-thon} and {-aholic/-oholic}. That is because they may combine with (English) free morphemes: {-thon} originates from *marathon* and indicates something of particularly long duration, as in *talkathon* (= long debate or discussion), *walkathon* (= long-distance walk) or *rompa-athon* (= an extended period of play). The second, {-aholic/-oholic}, comes from *alcoholic* and has resulted in such words as *chocoholic*, *computerholic*, *spendaholic*, *shopaholic*, and *workaholic*, all of which suggest addiction.

Prefixes and suffixes occur frequently in less technical items. Suffixes often lead to a change in word class, as can be seen in {abnormal}+ {-ity}, where an adjective becomes a noun. Prefixes, in contrast, do not, as we see in {pre-} + {install}, where both *install* and *preinstall* are verbs. In 20th century English, academic writing has the most derived nouns, followed by news reportage and fiction, while spontaneous conversation has hardly any, preferring simple nouns.

In initial affixations, there are more new items containing combining forms than prefixes. There is a strong word class link between combining form and nouns, on the one hand, and prefixes and verbs and adjectives, on the other. Never before have so many combining forms in initial position been used in English. The most frequent of them are {micro-}, {bio-}, and {immuno-}. For example:

{micro-}: *chip, code, floppy, mesh, surgery, wave*
 {bio-}: *degradable, degrade, diversity, engineering*
 {immuno-}: *assay, chemistry, deficiency, suppression*

The few remaining native prefixes, {un-} and {mis-}, though widely present in Modern English, show low rates of productivity. More productive, though less frequent in absolute terms, are prefixes of Latin and French origin including {anti-}, {non-}, and {de-}, for example:

{anti-}: *convulsant, depressant, hero, nuclear*
 {non-}: *art, Black, degree, event, hero, sexist, starter*
 {de-}: *regulate, selection, toxification*

In Cannon's corpus the ratio between final combining forms (407) and suffixes (906) is reversed. All but one of the 407 new formations involving combining forms belong to

the sciences. The most frequent ones in Cannon's corpus are {-ology/-ologist}, {-in} (e.g., *sit-in*), {-genic}, {-meter}, and {-emia}. However, other combining forms are similarly productive and often quite common; see for example:

- {-gate} "major political scandal," from the second element of *Watergate*: *Irangate*, *Koreagate*
- {-scape} from the second element of *landscape*, as in *moonscape*, *seascape*, *street-scape*, *mindscape*, and *dream-scape*
- {-speak} "language of," used in a slightly derogatory way (cf. Orwell's *newspeak*: *artsspeak*, *computerspeak*, and *winespeak*)

There are more than twice as many different suffixes (98) as prefixes (42), but they are less productive (only thirty-one occur as many as seven times vs. twenty-five prefixes with at least eight occurrences). Most productive is native {-er} (*backpacker*, *butterflyer* "a swimmer swimming the butterfly," *car pooler*, *flasher*, followed by nonnative {-ist} (*dartist*, *kineticist*), and {ism} (*ableism* "discrimination against handicapped people," *ghettoism*, *middle-of-the-roadism*), then {-ize}, {-ic}, {-in(e)}, and native {-y}. Native noun suffixes like {-ster}, {-ly}, {-ship}, {-dom}, {-ish}, and {-hood} are hardly productive in present-day English and have been supplanted by suffixes from Latin and French.

Biber et al. (1999) offer this list of relatively productive suffixes (again in decreasing order of frequency): {-ition}, {-ity}, {-er}, {-ness}, {-ism}, and {-ment}. Among these six suffixes two, {-ity} and {-ness}, are special because they stand in competition with each other. The first of the two has been inherited from Latin and occurs only with Latinate roots; the second, "the most productive suffix of all" (Plag 2008: 546) is a native suffix which is unrestricted since it can occur with Latinate and non-Latinate roots (Blevins 2008: 530). The two may show little or no difference in meaning: how does *naiveness* differ from *naivity*? Yet: "*-ness* formations tend to denote an embodied attribute, property or trait, whereas *-ity* formations refer to an abstract or concrete entity" (Plag 2008: 553). *Humbleness* characterizes someone who is humble in that the person is not-arrogant or low-standing while *humility* is the quality or state of being humble and may carry connotations of social or religious character.

2.4 SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC SHIFTS IN MEANING

Meaning will be understood in this section in the wider sense of the usage conditions of lexemes, which include not only semantic shifts but also grammatical and pragmatic shifts (see Algeo 1998: 66ff). A shift is called pragmatic, for instance, when a word is "upgraded" from slang to colloquial to neutral, as has happened to *mob*, a shortened form (<Latin *mobile vulgus* "excitable crowd") which, although condemned by Swift in the 18th century, has established itself by now as a part of stylistically neutral English. The opposite has happened to *governor*, which developed a colloquial sense in the 19th century ("a person in authority, one's employer"), often spelled <guv'nor> or shortened to <guv>, especially as a form of address. Beside shifts in the level of formality there is the criterion of acceptability. There is disagreement about, for example, whether *hopefully* as a sentence adverb (*Hopefully, you'll enjoy the break*), *like* as conjunction, or *flammable* ("easily set on fire" for historically correct *inflammable*) are fully acceptable. In addition, there are changes in the geographical status of items, where we can observe that nowadays AmE items are accepted in ever increasing numbers into other national varieties, while there are far fewer British English – items like *fridge* (= shortened from *refrigerator*) that have made it into AmE.

2.4.1 Processes of meaning change

Most **semantic changes** take place in small steps that can often be traced. Meanings are usually related by way of association, either because of their similarity or their nearness (*contiguity*). These associations can involve either the form of lexemes or their meaning; consequently, there are four different processes of meaning change (see Table 2.3).

Folk etymology relates to the substitution of forms that speakers cannot (or can no longer) analyze by ones that are morphologically transparent. This has happened to ME *bridegome* (< *bride* “bride” + *gome* “man”), where the second element ceased to be understood and was altered to *groom*. A more complex example is the verb *depart* “separate,” which was used in the wedding ceremony ... *till death us depart*. This meaning of *depart* became obsolete and the verb was reanalyzed as *do* and *part*, and later the word order was regularized (*till death do us part*). Though of considerable historical interest, folk etymology has never been a productive process.

Ellipsis. In the cases of ellipsis, new words have been formed by leaving out one of the two original words while the remaining part maintains the meaning of the whole. This is an extremely common process, typical of colloquial and informal English: *Alzheimer’s*, *Parkinson’s* < ~ *disease*; a *nonprofit* < ~ *organization* (US); *anchor* < *anchorman* or *-woman*; *daily* < ~ a *cleaning woman* or ~ *newspaper*; *life* < ~ *sentence*, as in *he got life*; *mobile/cell* < ~ *phone*.

Metaphor. This usually involves deletion and/or addition of meaning elements (semantic features). *Mafia* as in *literary-mafia*, *mental health-mafia*, or *office mafia* is no longer restricted to the meaning element [organized crime] and is now applied to any group that exerts an apparently sinister influence. When *dove* is applied to a politician, the meaning element “peaceful” stays, but the feature [animal] is replaced by [human]. *Bank* in *blood-bank* or *bottle bank* has kept the element “collection point,” but has obviously lost the financial meaning. The language of computers is full of metaphors (cf. *breadboard* “board for making a model of an electric circuit”; *mouse* “small device which controls the cursor”; and *window* “any of the separate data displays on a single video screen”). Metaphorical extension is also found in verbs: you can *launder* money, not just articles of clothing; you can *nurse* a drink and *park* chewing gum and even babies. Indeed, metaphors are as indispensable as our daily bread (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Metonymy. A common type of metonymy is that of a proper name which comes to be used as the generic term for a commodity produced by a firm (cf. *Xerox* or *Kleenex*). Other types of metonymy can be seen in *the leadership* “the leaders” (abstract for concrete); *save someone’s pocket* “save someone money” (receptacle for content). Compare also *a fare* (from money to passenger), *a gossip* (from person to activity), and *a shot* (as in *he is a good/poor shot*; from act to person).

Table 2.3 Processes of meaning change

	<i>Similarity</i>	<i>Contiguity</i>
Form	folk etymology	ellipsis
Meaning	metaphor	metonymy

2.4.2 Types of meaning change

Besides the four associative processes just discussed there are four types of meaning change which describe the semantic results: specialization (or narrowing, restriction), generalization (or widening, extension), deterioration (or pejoration, catachresis) and (a)melioration (a change for the better). Specialization and generalization are changes in the denotative meaning of words, while deterioration and amelioration are more likely to concern affective, connotative meaning. Cannon has found that generalizations are more numerous than specializations, and ameliorations outnumber pejorations. Also, most changes in his corpus are from concrete to abstract meanings. In this process nouns provide almost two-thirds of the new meanings; the remainder are verbs and adjectives.

Specialization and generalization. The adjectives *straight* and *bent* have, in informal BrE, taken on specialized sexual meanings, with *straight* moving from “conventional, respectable” to “heterosexual,” and *bent* from “curved” > “morally crooked” > “homosexual.” Similarly, *glove box* has developed from “a box for gloves” to “a chamber with sealed-in gloves for handling radioactive material” (via metaphor). Finally, *wet* “feeble, weak” (informal BrE) refers to people without a strong character after having been first applied to Conservative politicians who were suspected of liberal tendencies (via metaphor). One and the same lexeme can undergo both these processes, witness *girl*, which in Middle English referred to young people in general. Its present meaning is restricted to the female sex, but can be extended to refer to adult women. Recent semantic broadening has taken place in the phrase *you guys*, which is no longer restricted to men and can refer to mixed company, or even women only. *Sell-by* (also *best by*) *date* also shows an extended meaning (via metaphor) in *Kennedy kept [J. Edgar] Hoover on past his sell-by date*.

Amelioration and pejoration. The phrase the *state of the art* was originally a typical (sub) title in a report on what had been achieved in a particular field. The adjective *state-of-the-art* has ameliorated from being neutral and merely descriptive to denote the latest, and therefore the best of its kind (*state-of-the-art technology*). *Exposure* (= revelation of an embarrassing truth) is no longer always something to be feared (cf. *he had, in a few short days of intense exposure, become a folk hero*). *Cowboy*, on the other hand, has come via pejoration to refer to an unscrupulous businessman with little qualification. *Mental* has developed the additional meaning of insane (*he's gone completely mental*).

Meaning and society. Changes in the affective meaning of words often reflect changes in the evaluation that societies, or certain powerful groups in society, put on them. Some words referring to low social status have come to express low moral evaluation, as in *churl*, *knave*, *villain*. High status terms, conversely, now express moral approval (e.g., *free*, *gentle*, *noble*) (see Hughes 1988 for more examples). To get publicity in the media nowadays, even if unfavorable, is regarded by some people as desirable, which could explain the revaluation of *exposure*. English is, in fact, rich in examples of lexemes referring to members of minorities or powerless groups that have undergone pejoration (e.g., Blacks, homosexuals, women). Homosexuals have more or less successfully fought this by consciously using *gay*, and Blacks, with the slogan *Black is beautiful*. The attempt to reverse the semantic status imposed by the power elite can also be seen in the recent meanings of *bad* “really good” (*he's a bad man on drums, and the fans love him*), *tough* (“excellent”) and *mean* “skillful, formidable” (*she plays a mean game of chess*).

Meaning and the language system. Semantic change is not only conditioned by changes in society but sometimes also lies in the language system itself, which may set the scene for some meaning changes. When semantic fields adopt new members, or when established members develop new meanings, this often has consequences for other members of the field. The OE and early ME term for animal, *deer*, changed to its present meaning of “ruminant animal,

hooved, antlered, and with spotted young” under the pressure of the loans *beast*, *creature*, and *animal*. In addition, when one lexeme develops a meaning that makes it a member of a new field, then other members of the original field can develop similar meanings. *Mad* and *crazy* mean not only “insane” but also “wildly excited,” which is now one of the meanings of both *daft* and *mental* (as in *she is mental about punk rock*) in BrE. Some cookery verbs when accompanied by human beings as objects have developed meanings in the field of inflicting pain, discomfort, or punishment: *grill* can mean “interrogate,” *fry* “electrocute,” and *roast* “ridicule or criticize severely or mercilessly” (see Lehrer 1984 on lexical fields).

2.5 WORDS IN COMBINATION

Words are not independent of each other and can indeed come together to form new lexemes. The subject of this section is lexemes that consist of more than one word form, and in the case of collocations, more than one lexical unit. These multiword units are well-established and well-known to members of the speech community and are in constant use, so much so, in fact, that their use is often criticized as clichéd. They are often contrasted with creative, original language such as can be found in fictional texts:

Her clothes smell faintly of the Smeaths’ house, a mixture of scouring powder and cooked turnips and slightly rancid laundry

(Margaret Atwood, *Cat’s Eye*, Abacus, 1989, p. 52)

Alex was scared stiff and Joseph was scared sober for what would happen when Nora came to collect him.

(Christopher Nolan, *Under the Eye of the Clock*, London Pan, 1988, p. 20)

The combinations *rancid butter* and *scared stiff* are what one would expect while *rancid laundry* and *scared sober* are highly unusual. This chapter cannot go into the creative, unconventional use of language, which is characteristic of literary fiction, where authors often attach greater importance to expressive language than to the desire to simply make themselves understood in conventional language. What is important in our context is that authors expect readers know the established forms and, of course, appreciate them and adaptations of them.

We divide fixed expressions into two groups. Some of them express speech acts like promises, warnings, and requests (treated in §5.4.2). Others, treated here, do not. We distinguish between expressions equivalent to an independent sentence (or not). A further point is the semantic criterion of idiomaticity, that is, whether the meaning can be deduced from the meaning of the individual words (literal) or not (idiomatic). Finally, we look at expressions which are used in set social situations (pragmatic idioms) (see summary Table 2.4 at the end of this chapter).

Mention can only be made in passing of lexical bundles, which are well-trying combinations of three or more word forms used as building blocks in discourse, spoken as well as written. Bundles can be incomplete (e.g., *in addition to ...*, *the point of view of ...*) or structurally complete (*in the same way*, *in the present study*, *on the other hand*); they occur in academic prose, as in the examples cited, or in spoken discourse (e.g., *I don’t know how .../ what with ...; what’s the matter with ...; are you talking about ...*). Furthermore, a complete list of fixed expressions would also include traditional phrases like similes, both explicit: *as blind as a bat* or *as proud as a peacock* and implicit: *pitch black*, *squeaky clean*, or *snow white*; slogans, such as *In God we trust* or *Fridays for future*, which have a definite purpose, and quotations, (e.g., *Truth is generally the best vindication against slander* [A. Lincoln]), which have a known author. In this chapter we will not look at these further, nor at such discourse structuring devices as *well*, *I see*, *like you know* (see §5.5.2).

Fixed expressions are routine or stereotypic forms that are found in many areas of life, such as art, behavior, visual images, or politics. Many of them are criticized as clichés by writers on good English who charge that people do not think when they use expressions like *acid test*, *psychological moment*, or *leave no stone unturned*. While this is no doubt true, it cannot be denied that few people have the time and energy to always be original. Indeed, consciously thought-out language is unusual and sometimes inappropriate. Redfern lists funerals, disasters, testimonials, letters of references, and the like, which rely on such clichéd expressions (1989: 20ff). In everyday life, fixed expressions and clichéd language are not only unavoidable but can actually be assigned a more positive function, for example, small talk:

... chatter ... indicates the dread of silence: clichés stop us thinking of nothing, of nothingness. If not life enhancing, they are life-preservers. “Phatic speech”, speech used as social cement ... is not necessarily empty speech ... It can be sorely missed, conspicuous by its absence.

(Redfern 1989: 22)

Not only does clichéd language help us to avoid awkward silences, but it also has a warm, familiar ring about it. By using clichés we signal that we have acquired part of the culture of a given speech community and are, or are on the verge of becoming, one of its members. Far from breeding contempt, clichés help to create in-group feelings of sympathy, solidarity, and good will.

What can speakers do to escape being criticized for using clichés? The minimal strategy is to show that they are aware of the stereotypic nature of an expression and thus distance themselves from it. This is done, for example, by using such expressions as *proverbial* before nouns (*you were as blind as the proverbial bat*). For more examples, see §2.5.5. Adding distancing comments allows writers to have their linguistic cake and eat it, too: they use them as a foil that everybody knows, while at the same time changing them in ways that showcase their brilliant, inventive wit. Ian Fleming, the creator of James Bond, has written novels with titles like *Live and Let Die* or *You Only Live Twice*, but play with clichés is also found in restaurant names and, above all, in journalism. Burrige and Mulder (1998: 119) report these punning names: *Beau Thai* (< bow tie), *Eaternity* (< eternity), and *Wok Inn* (< walk in). The *Economist* used *Tyre Straits* (< dire straits) for a report on a row over the recall of tires. An article in the same magazine on exaggerated wage demands had the heading *The sin of wages*, a witty reversal of the biblical *the wages of sin*. In summary, clichés are employed universally and need not be avoided in situations where they fulfill important goals and may be used creatively. Each example of a cliché needs to be judged on its individual stylistic and intellectual merits.

2.5.1 Collocations

Definition

The term collocation is used differently by different linguists.⁸ As employed in this chapter, it refers to combinations of two lexical items both of which make a distinct semantic contribution, belong to different word classes, and show a restricted range. These criteria

⁸ The term has been used by other linguists to refer to combinations of three and more lexemes, as in *need badly* + a noun like *drink* or *money*. *Collocation* is also used to refer to combinations of lexical and grammatical items such as phrasal and prepositional verbs like *put on*, *put up with* or *proud of*, *interested in* as well as verb complement constructions (e.g., *finish/avoid* + verb-ing), in which case the term *grammatical collocation* is sometimes employed.

(two items, not more; two lexical items, not grammatical words; independent meaning) distinguish collocations from other word combinations such as idioms or proverbs. Consequently, *delicate situation* (adjective + noun) is a collocation while *touch and go* (verb + verb) is an idiom.

Meaning. The most important point about collocational meaning is that each lexeme makes an independent contribution to the meaning of the whole. This may be the expected meaning or an idiomatic one. Take the adjective *white*, for example, the central and most frequent meaning of which is the designation of a color as in *white paint* or *white snow*. Clearly, we are dealing with a different meaning in *white coffee* (“with milk”), *white grape* (which looks more green than white), or *white wine*. Even more remote from the central meaning are *white lie* (“harmless”) or *white night* (“sleepless”). In *white horses* (“foam-topped waves”) and *white coal* (“water as source of energy”) we have what looks like exocentric compounds with metaphoric use of both adjective and noun. The combination of two lexemes can even appear to be contradictory at first glance, as in *rain solidly*, where *solidly* means “continuously.” Most research has concentrated almost exclusively on collocations of simple, nonidiomatic lexemes like *river-rise*, *agree-entirely*, or *fine-heavy*. Note that collocations will be quoted in this form from now on, base first followed by its collocators).

Word classes. One of the criteria for collocations is that lexemes belong to different word classes, as in *demand-meet* (noun-verb), *hopes-high* (noun-adjective), and *apologize-profusely* (verb-adverb). The different-word-class criterion together with the lexical-items-only criterion excludes important noun-noun combinations like *a pack of lies*, *a pride of lions* (collectivizer + noun), *a cake of soap* or *a speck of dust* (quantifier + noun), or binomials like *bed and breakfast* or *bacon and eggs* (§2.5.3).

Range. The number of lexemes (or collocates) that occur together (or collocate) with the lexeme under discussion (the node) determine a given lexeme’s range. Lexemes like *need*, *condition*, *standard*, or *requirement* have few adjectives and verbs that combine with them, for example, *meet*, *satisfy*, *fulfil* + *requirement*. It is usual to distinguish such *restricted collocations* from free combinations or *unrestricted collocations*, in which lexemes combine with a wide range of collocates.

Fixed (unique, frozen) collocations have nodes with only one or few collocates: the two items like *a house on fire* and *famously* (in the sense of “very well”) seem to be the only collocates which occur with *get on*. Other examples are *ajar* plus *door* (*the door stood ajar*), *kick* and *foot*, *nod* and *head*, and *shrug* and *shoulders*, *sorely* (“very much”) and *miss* (“feel the loss of”). Frozen collocations are not numerous, and it would, in general, be rash to say that the range of any one of them is limited to one collocate only as lexemes can extend their range and, in the end, individual usage varies. *Ajar*, for instance; also combines with such other nouns for hinged opening as *gate*, *lattice*, *window*. Note also that frozen collocations are frozen only when considered from the lexeme that has been mentioned first in the examples above. The nodes *door*, *foot*, *head*, *get on*, and *miss* do, of course, enter into many collocations other than the ones cited; their collocates (*ajar*, *kick*, *nod*, etc.), however, are limited. It is also important to distinguish between the lexical units of the same lexeme. *Nod*, for instance, means “move one’s head up and down” and enters into the unique collocation mentioned; but it also means “indicate by nodding,” as in *nod one’s agreement*, *approval*, *greeting*, and so on. Having made these distinctions, we need to add that nobody has specified yet what “limited range” means in absolute numbers. In summary, the features of collocations include the following:

- 1 **Fixedness.** Collocations show various degrees of fixedness, as just indicated.
- 2 **Morphology.** In some collocations the adverbs are not formally marked by the {-ly} morpheme: *drunk-blind*; *forget-clean*; *naked-stark*; *sober-stone cold*.

- 3 **Substitutability.** Some lexemes can be replaced by synonyms; for example, *hardened criminal* is found side by side with *confirmed criminal* and *hardened outlaw*, though **hardened burglar* or **hardened murderer* are not found. *Conditions* can be *met*, *ful-filled*, or *satisfied*. *Conflict* collocates with *end*, *settle*, and *(re)solve*, though not apparently with **finish*.
- 4 **Additions.** Additions, most often pre- or postmodifiers, are normal (added here: *continually growing*): *Asia's top chocolate producers can't meet the continually growing demand*
- 5 **Deletion.** Although deletions are not impossible, they are much rarer than additions: *I have not got the faintest/foggiest* (omitted: *idea*)
- 6 **Displacement.** Personal pronouns may replace the actual collocational items: *Her heart wasn't very strong and her life assurance premiums weren't cheap. It can't have been easy to meet them.* (P.D. James, *Death of an Expert Witness*. London: Sphere, 1981, p. 324).
- 7 **Separability.** In contrast to the majority of collocations, some bound collocations are not frequently separated (e.g., *foot the bill*, though *foot that enormous bill* does not seem to be impossible).
- 8 **Distribution.** Finally, the word order or distribution of lexemes in collocations is relatively free: *they met their demands; their demands, which were not met completely; ... and it was these last demands which the parents did not want to meet.* Syntactic transformations are thus possible and do not change, or destroy, the meaning of collocations. On the whole collocations are less fixed than pragmatic idioms and the other types of expression discussed in this chapter.

Conditions and restrictions in collocations

In this section we discuss what influence syntax, phonology, and semantics have on the formation of collocations. As we will see, all three levels of linguistic description have some role to play, but their influence is far from all-pervasive.

Grammar plays a part in the acceptability of at least some collocations. While the collocations *he drinks heavily*, *he is a heavy drinker*, and *he put in some heavy drinking* are grammatically acceptable, the collocation **the drinker is heavy*, **heavy drink* or **heavily drunk* are not, at least not in the relevant sense of *heavy* in the collocation, that is, amount of drinking. **The bachelor was confirmed*; **the criminal was hardened*, and *the pursuit was hot* are also unacceptable. And clearly *odd* in *his socks are odd*, has a different meaning than it does in *odd socks*.

Phonology and personal tenor seem to have a more definite and far-reaching influence. Take for instance *highly*, an intensifier of high degree typically used in academic prose. Here the phonology seems to require its collocates to be made up of more than one syllable (e.g., *authoritarian*, *centralized*, *fragmented*, *intelligent*, *publicized*, or *selective*, but not **highly mad* or **highly cold*). *Dead*, although also a high-degree intensifier, collocates with words that are similarly short and informal (e.g., *boring*, *certain*, *drunk*, *stupid*, *sure*, *tired*, and *worried* but not with **mature*, **positive*, **exhausted*, or **intoxicated*). When, nevertheless, *dead* is found in collocations with words of three and more syllables, these tend to be stylistically neutral or informal, like *embarrassing*, *horrible*, and *threatening*.

While there seems to be no reason why *night* should collocate with *fall* rather than with *break*, which is what *dawn* does, this does not mean that semantics plays no role at all. Sometimes a verb demands not just one specific lexeme but a whole class of semantically similar nouns, for example, *spend*, which combines with numerous nouns which designate

periods of time such as *day, evening, holiday, hour, life, and spare time*. Similarly, some adverbs show a semantic bias in their collocates; for example, *a bit* and *a little* tend to enter into collocations with adjectives that express something negative (*a bit dull, frightened; a little drunk, jealous, plump, tetchy, unkind*), while *highly* collocates perhaps more often with neutral or positive items (e.g., *accomplished, committed, educated, individual, likely, mobile, organized, paid, recommended*). In a classic study based on questionnaires (Greenbaum 1970), it was found that with the degree adverbs studied, the choice of collocates is determined by semantic considerations in the majority of cases. *Utterly* and *completely* take pejorative verbs and adjectives (*detest, despise, indefensible, unsuccessful*), and *completely* collocates in addition with *forget* and *ignore*. In contrast, *greatly* and (*very*) *much* are found above all with verbs and adverbs of positive attitude: *greatly* and *much* combine with *admire* and *enjoy*; *very much* is more frequent with *like* and *enjoy*, and *greatly* also collocates with adjectives of attitude, many of them past participles like *appreciated, beloved, exaggerated, and missed*.

2.5.2 Idioms

Definition of idiom

An idiom is defined linguistically as a complex lexical item which is longer than a word form but shorter than a sentence and which has a meaning that cannot be derived from the meaning of its component parts. Clearly, meaning is the decisive, if not the only, criterion for idioms. The word forms in an idiom do not constitute independent lexical units and do not make an individually definable contribution to the meaning of the whole, but contribute to one overall unitary meaning. A test for a semantic constituent is that of recurrent semantic contrast (see Cruse 1986: 26–29). If a lexical element can be replaced meaningfully by a different one, it is a semantic constituent. In the sentence *you need not jump down my throat* (= “criticize me so fiercely”), take *need* and substitute for it the semantically different, but syntactically identical item *may*. This changes the meaning of the sentence, of course, but produces an acceptable sentence (cf. *they need/may not sit the exam*) and that is the point. The same test shows that *you* is also a semantic constituent, but that *throat* is not since it is semantically unacceptable to say **you need not jump down my wind pipe*. In other words, there is a unitary, idiomatic meaning which depends on [JUMP DOWN + a possessive determiner like *my/someone’s* + THROAT]. In other sentences where no idiom is involved *throat* and *wind pipe* can appear in the same syntactic position, that is, they are in paradigmatic contrast (cf. *he hit me on the wind pipe/throat*). Similarly, in the expression *to kick the bucket* it becomes clear that *kick the bucket* is an idiom because *kick* cannot be replaced by *hit*, nor can *pail* replace *bucket*.

Idioms vary in the difficulty of decoding them, being more or less semantically opaque. Many idioms originated in metaphors which some speakers recognize while other speakers remain unaware of their origin. Thus, *bury the hatchet, give somebody the green light, and gnash one’s teeth* are likely to be generally intelligible to many, but hardly anyone will know that *white elephant* (“an expensive but completely useless object”) supposedly derives from the practice of a king of Siam who gave white elephants to people he wished to ruin financially.

Many idioms have two meanings, a literal and an idiomatic one (e.g., *kick the bucket, go to the country, pull someone’s leg*). In such cases it is the context which determines which meaning is intended. When a literal reading does not make sense in terms of the world as we know it, it is likely that we are dealing with an idiom. This applies to *jump down someone’s throat, fly off the handle, and cats and dogs* (in *rain cats and dogs*). Irregular syntax can

lead to the same conclusion, for example, the definite article must appear in *kick the* (not: *a*) *bucket* and *fly off the* (not: *a*) *handle*. The definite article normally has the function of indicating that an item has already been mentioned or is considered unique in the context of discourse. Neither of these conditions is fulfilled in the case of the idioms just cited. Idioms can also be phonologically irregular in that they have an unpredictable stress pattern. In free syntactic groups, the last lexical item usually carries the tonic stress (e.g., *they ran into the 'house*). This is not so in *like a 'house on fire, you can say 'that again, learn the 'hard way*, and *have a 'bone to pick with someone*, all cases where the most highly stressed word is not the final lexical word. In addition, idioms are often signaled by slight pauses or a clear intake of breath in connected spoken discourse.

Classifications of idioms

Idioms have been classified in a variety of ways:

- according to the image or picture they evoke. For example, *pull someone's leg* or *that is rather a mouthful* are both body idioms without, of course, referring literally to the body (for further examples see Seidl and McMordie 1988: §9);
- according to various syntactic criteria. Here we find the question of whether they are formed
 - in accordance with the rules of present-day English or not. An example where this is not the case is *The sooner the better*, which is a minor sentence type, one which has no verb;
 - according to their part of speech, that is, nominal (*black market, red herring*), adjectival (*down-to-earth, happy-go-lucky*), or verbal (*go in for, put up with, cook the books, blow one's top*);
- according to the transformations they allow. Fraser sets up a so-called frozenness hierarchy, in which idioms fit into six groups, ranging from those which are totally frozen, that is, admit no transformation at all (e.g., *bite off one's tongue* and *face the music*), to those which show almost no restrictions. The more syntactically frozen, the greater the semantic opacity (cf. Fraser 1970).

Idioms generally resist the isolation of one word for emphasis, for example, in a cleft-sentence construction (**it was her throat that he jumped down*) as well as adjectival and adverbial modification (**He jumped down her sore throat*) because both operations presuppose that *throat* is an independent semantic constituent, which it is not. For the same reason, substitutions are not usually possible in idioms (cf. **kick the pail, *inter the hatchet, *leap down someone's throat*). Insertions, however, are possible in some cases (they are printed in bold): *that rings a faint bell; he is going to come a hell of a cropper; the recipes are no great culinary shakes*.

2.5.3 Binomials

Binomials, like collocations, consist of two word forms (cf. Norrick 1988), which belong to the same word class and are linked by a grammatical item, frequently *and*. Each can be independently meaningful (as in *bed and breakfast* or *hire and fire*), or they can be idiomatic (*bag and baggage, by and by, head over heels*). There are also three-member combinations (trinomials, e.g., *left, right, and center* or *hook, line, and sinker*), but they are much less numerous. The constituents can be identical, as in *face to face* and *so-and-so*. The basic

structure can be expanded (cf. as when a preposition precedes them [*from rags to riches, by fair means or foul*] or a determiner does [*every Tom, Dick, and Harry*]). Binomials often preserve words which are rare (e.g., *hale* in *hale and hearty*) or only survive in the binomial expression (e.g., *kith* in *kith and kin*). The collocative potential of binomials varies as with other lexical combinations. *Bed and breakfast, high and mighty, and odds and ends* enter into free combinations, while *high and dry* collocates with *leave someone ~*, and *hook, line, and sinker* follows *believe, accept, fall for, swallow, or take (something) ~*.

Syntactically, the two constituents belong to the same word class and can have syntactic functions which none of the constituents could have on their own; for example, the three nouns *hook, line, and sinker* function as an adverbial (*he accepted the story hook, line and sinker*), while the two adverbs *so-and-so* form a noun phrase (cf. *what do you think of that old so-and-so?*).

The fixed expressions we are dealing with in this section are called irreversible binomials because their word order is, in contrast to collocations, completely unchangeable. This is no doubt connected to the fact that the second (or third in trinomials) constituent is usually phonetically weightier than the first, *bacon and eggs* being one of the few exceptions. Also, none of the items can be exchanged for synonyms: there is no **help and abet* or **aid and help* or **kith and relatives*. Insertions are possible, though infrequent: *they really offered a marvelous bed and an even better breakfast* is a possible expansion of *bed and breakfast*, as is *they do excellent bacon and not bad eggs*. On the other hand, **this is all an important part and even more important parcel of the whole initiation process* is not acceptable. This example would suggest that the nearer the binomials are to the idiomatic end of the semantic scale, the more fixed they become. The fixed nature of many binomials is heightened by meronymy or parts of a whole (*lock, stock and barrel*), assonance (*down and out*), or alliteration (*safe and sound*). Rhyme is also not uncommon (cf. *hire and fire, make or break, town and gown, and wine and dine*).

Semantically, the two halves of binomials exhibit the whole spectrum of possibilities. They can consist of two near-synonyms, which often complement or intensify each other (e.g., *rules and regulations, fuss and bother, and over and done with*). They can also stand in semantic opposition to each other, as in *assets and liabilities, give or take, and war and peace*. More generally, binomials range from completely transparent (*aches and pains; bits and pieces*) to semitransparent (*room and board; by hook or by crook*) to opaque or completely idiomatic (*spick and span; by and large; on the up and up*).

2.5.4 Pragmatic idioms

In this section we discuss lexical items and expressions whose use is determined by a particular social situation. We refer to them as pragmatic idioms although there are many other terms like routines, social formulas, or gambits. Pragmatic idioms are not to be confused with pragmatic markers or expressions, often called discourse markers, like *well, you know, I mean*, and so on (§5.5.2).

Among the many situations in which stereotypical, or routinized, language is used are the beginnings (greetings, introductions) and endings (leave-takings) of social encounters and letters, eating and drinking, and all sorts of business transactions, such as, for example, in a shop (*Can I help you? Next, please*), in a café (*black or white?*), or wine bar (*white or red?*). In contrast to the other types of fixed expression discussed in this chapter, pragmatic idioms often need the situational context in order to be understood correctly. *Black or white?* in a different context (e.g., *Was the waiter Black or White?*) has a completely different meaning. Difficulties in the semantics sometimes results from ellipsis: *Say when* is

presumably shortened from *Say when I am to stop pouring* or the like. In addition, expressions may be regionally marked, such as *Straight or handle?* (referring to whether a customer wants a glass with or without a handle in a British pub), or *Time, gentlemen, please* (landlord's call to get his customers to drink up and leave the pub). Another instance can be seen in *Enjoy!* used by people about to start their meal – the nearest that English gets to *bon appetit*, *buon appetito*, or *Guten Appetit!*

The case of salutations. Situations differ in the degree to which the language used in, for example, greetings is predetermined. In many cases there is no choice, as in formal letters, where people have to use *Dear* even when they have anything but friendly feelings for the addressee. In other situations such as the electronic media, numerous more informal options are available like *Hi, Ms. Gramley*. Many situational idioms show a weakened meaning. This is obvious in both the *Dear*, as discussed, and in *How are you?*, which is usually no more than a ritual recognition of the hearer's presence and does not express a deep-felt interest in their well-being.

When someone first meets someone else and introductions are made various opening gambits can be used. How do these expressions differ from one another? First, they belong to different levels of style or personal tenor (§5.1.2), running from formal *How do you do?* and stiff *I have been looking forward to meeting you (for some time)*, to relatively neutral *Nice/Pleased to meet you*, to informal *Hello* or *Hi*. *How do you do?* is growing increasingly rare, not least because of the growing informality of English. It is also felt to be typical of a certain social class (upper-middle to upper), while *Pleased to meet you* is not so socially restricted.

How do you do? is, semantically, an extreme case in that it is difficult to state what, if any, meaning it has besides its pragmatic function in the context of introductions. Rather than state its meaning, many dictionaries simply remark that it is used by people who meet for the first time. To use such a pragmatic idiom appropriately it is, in addition, also important to know the full communicative ritual. If introductions are made by a third party, and one speaker says *How do you do?* the second person will, in most cases, reply with the same phrase, and the two will shake hands, which is the expected nonlinguistic behavior. In other words, the correct convention requires you to know that *How do you do?* is both the second and third step in a sequence involving three parties (the person introducing and the two being introduced to each other) plus the handshake. However, the increasingly informal social atmosphere in the English-speaking world has caused a relaxation of these conventions and it is not uncommon for people to reply with other phrases than *how do you do?* and to refrain from shaking hands. When it is used, speakers may try to make it less distant and formal by combining it with a more casual *Hello* or *Pleased to meet you*. *Hi* and *Hello*, besides being informal, also differ from *How do you do?* in that they can be used when meeting the same person(s) on a later occasion (often with an added *again*, as in *Hi! Hello (there) again*), while *How do you do?* can only be used once.

To sum up, a full description of pragmatic idioms has to take into account not only their register characteristics, especially personal tenor/style, and their syntactic and semantic peculiarities, but also the social conventions expected.

2.5.5 Proverbs and commonplaces

Proverbs, like binomials and idioms, are folklore items and have no known authors. As far as the users of both proverbs and commonplaces are concerned, it can be said that they are associated with the older rather than the younger generation. Three patterns of commonplaces are distinguished: tautologies (*A man's gotta do what a man's gotta do*; *Orders are*

orders), truisms (*We only live once*), and (trite) sayings based on everyday experience (*Accidents happen; You never know; It's a small world*). The pattern of tautologies is particularly productive. Proverbs, on the other hand, are well-established and traditional and are recorded in many collections and dictionaries. They survive because of their formulaic expression and memorable form; commonplaces flourish in everyday communication.

Form. Commonplaces are usually complete sentences, but this is not always the case with proverbs, where shortened versions are quite common. Some structures used in proverbs are no longer productive such as *Handsome is as handsome does* "what counts is not appearance etc. but one's actions" or the minor sentence type in *Like father, like son* "a son will resemble his father." In contrast, truisms regularly conform to the syntactic rules of contemporary English. Proverbs also undergo shortening, addition, variation, or transposition without this necessarily affecting their intelligibility. As a result, collections of proverbs often list a number of variant forms, which shows that variability is one of their characteristic traits. Transformations such as cleft-sentence constructions, for example, do not change proverbs out of all recognition (cf. *it is while the iron is hot that it should be struck*), in contrast to most idioms which would become meaningless if changed in this way or allow only a literal reading (e.g., *It is the bucket that he kicked*). The acceptability of this variability is presumably the case because they are so well known that even fragments and alterations in form are easily associated with the original form and, indeed, appreciated for their novelty, by speakers and addressees alike (e.g., "I will write a long letter to my old mucker in Melbourne, I thought, and *kill two birds with one tome*." [our italics] [Michael Frayn, *The Trick of It*, Viking, 1989, p. 17], where *tome* is used instead of *stone*). The proverbial saying differs from a proverb in that it is never equivalent to a sentence or an utterance. In the following three examples, for instance, a subject is needed to form a sentence: *hit the nail on the head*, *bury the hatchet*, and *carry coals to Newcastle*. The vocabulary used in proverbs tends to be Germanic or at least every day-English lexis and is more varied than that of truisms.

Proverbs as a class are not completely frozen as is shown by the possible alterations just mentioned. This includes, for example, expressions that mark proverbs as such and show distance to them (e.g., [*as*] *they say, it is said, or as the proverb goes*, which can precede, interrupt, or follow the respective proverb, e.g., "... the man ... took his mother's life insurance policy and unloaded every nickel of it ... *Easy come, easy go*, as the old saw says ..." [our italics]; Paul Auster, *Timbuktu*, Faber & Faber, 1999, p. 76). Some of these expressions like *proverbial, everlovin'* and (*good*) *ol'* "can be inserted before any stressed noun phrase in a proverb ..." (Norrick 1985: 45) (e.g., *The proverbial pen is mightier than the sword*). Proverbs show structural patterns as well as prosodic features not (typically) found with commonplaces, like its two-part structure, alliteration, assonance, rhyme, and lexical repetition: *Once bitten, twice shy; Easy come, easy go; A friend in need is a friend indeed; All that glitters is not gold*.

Meaning. Both proverbs and commonplaces are concerned with general rather than specific meanings, which is why the past tense is not normally found with them. Proverbs make a claim to wide but perhaps not universal validity, while commonplace remarks are expected to apply everywhere and at all times. Proverbs are therefore sometimes syntactically restricted, which shows up, among other things, in the use of restrictive relative clauses (cf. *He who pays the piper calls the tune*). Truisms do not have this feature (cf. *You/we (all) live and learn; You only live once; Business is business*). Many proverbs are metaphorical and may pose problems for understanding while commonplaces are usually literal and easy to process. Proverbs also allow features like hyperbole, metonymy, and paradox.

Proverbs contain "... a good dose of common sense, experience, wisdom and above all truth" (Mieder 1989: 15). One perhaps surprising aspect of the folk wisdom of proverbs

is that they express the complexities of life in proverbs which may contradict each other: compare *Opposites attract* vs. *Birds of a feather flock together*; or: *Fine feathers make fine birds* vs. *Clothes do not make the man*. In addition, proverbs are said to have a didactic tendency: they suggest a course of action. This is sometimes expressed directly (*When in Rome do as the Romans do*; *People in glass houses should not throw stones*), but more often indirectly (*The early bird catches the worm*).

In sum, commonplaces are complete sentences, fall into three classes (tautologies, truisms, and sayings), claim universal validity, and are nonmetaphorical, which explains both why they are easy to understand and why there is no need to list them in dictionaries. Proverbs are traditional, express general ideas, and show nonliteral (metaphorical, metonymic, hyperbolic, or paradoxical) meaning; they can be added to, transformed, and abbreviated. Proverbs are frequency complete sentences but needn't always be.

Fixed expressions have numerous functions. They generally make people feel at ease and create an in-group feeling. This nearness between the sender of a message and its addressee can make it difficult for the addressee to disagree with the sender. Idioms, binomials, and proverbs provide stylistic variety and lend emphasis to statements. It has also been suggested that speakers use idioms to organize their discourse and to make evaluations. Proverbs and commonplaces have manifold uses such as "... to strengthen our arguments, express certain generalizations, influence or manipulate other people, rationalize our own shortcomings, question certain behavioral patterns, satirize social ills, poke fun of [sic] ridiculous situations ..." (Mieder 1989: 21).

Table 2.4, in conclusion, is intended to remind you of the fixed expressions dealt with in this section and help you recall some of their major features.

Table 2.4 Fixed expressions in English

	<i>Expression</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Fixed</i>	<i>Literal</i>	<i>Scope and other features</i>
1	Collocations	<i>meet needs</i>	some variability	yes	two lexical items from different word classes (e.g., Adj + N)
2	Idioms	<i>a white elephant</i>	usually	no	part of a sentence only
3a	Binomials	<i>bacon and eggs</i>	yes	yes	two or three same-class lexical items (N-N, V-V, Adj-Adj); may rhyme, use assonance, be alliterative, meronymic, etc.
3b	Binomials	<i>head over heels</i>		no	
4	Pragmatic idioms	<i>How do you do?</i>	yes	functional	complete utterance, contextually determined
5a	Proverbs	<i>Money is the root of all evil.</i>	some variability	may be metaphoric, metonymic, hyperbolic, paradoxical	typically a full sentence
	Proverbial sayings	<i>... as they say</i>	yes	yes	sentence fragment
5b	Commonplaces		yes	yes	full sentence
	• Tautologies	<i>Enough is enough.</i>			
	• Truisms	<i>That's life.</i>			
	• Sayings	<i>Opposites attract.</i>			

2.6 EXERCISES

2.6.1 Exercise on word forms, lexemes, lexical words, grammatical or function words

For the following sentence indicate the number of

- word forms:
- lexemes:
- lexical or content words:
- grammatical or function words:

After she had gone to sleep, the little girl dreamed in an exciting dream that she went from her bedroom to the dining room, where she was going to get a new girl's bike.

2.6.2 Exercise on etymology

Give the etymological source of the following words:

- | | |
|-------------|-------------|
| a) buckaroo | f) orange |
| b) bungalow | g) skunk |
| c) cardinal | h) tea |
| d) dollar | i) verandah |
| e) ketchup | j) yob |

2.6.3 Processes of word formation

Tell what kind of process is involved in each of the following items:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. It's a good <u>read</u> . | 10. The <u>UN</u> is sending a peace-keeping force. |
| 2. Won't you have a <u>beer</u> ? | 11. It gave me a feeling of <u>warmth</u> . |
| 3. Give an example of an <u>infix</u> . | 12. There was an <u>ecocatastrophe</u> on the coast. |
| 4. A <u>mob</u> of young people was passing by. | 13. What a <u>snafu</u> ! |
| 5. When are they <u>televising</u> it? | 14. You're my <u>blue-eyed</u> baby. |
| 6. See you this <u>after</u> ! | 15. L.A. had a <u>smog</u> alert. |
| 7. They had a <u>snowball fight</u> . | 16. She's <u>squirrel food</u> . |
| 8. <i>Friends</i> is my favorite <u>sitcom</u> . | 17. They have a new <u>laptop</u> . |
| 9. How does your new car <u>drive</u> ? | 18. The coach <u>worked</u> the players hard. |

2.6.4 Inflection and derivation

Divide the following words into morphemes and label each as a root (R), an inflection (I), or a derivational morpheme (D). See §4.1 for information on inflections.

antifreeze	blue-eyed	bookkeepers	deflowered
employee	lampshade	liveliest	referring

2.6.5 Morphological structure

Circle the word which does not belong in each of the following sets of words because of its morphological structure. Here is an example:

candy dandy handy randy

Handy has been circled because it consists of two morphemes while the other three have only one morpheme.

- | | | | |
|------------|---------|---------|---------|
| a) finger | ringer | singer | stinger |
| b) folly | holly | lolly | wholly |
| c) nice | lice | rice | vice |
| d) dish | finish | radish | reddish |
| e) repay | repeat | retain | reverse |
| f) aged | blessed | learned | naked |
| g) climber | comber | limber | bomber |
| h) dearer | farther | riper | waver |

2.6.6 Meaning relationships: synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, meronymy

Using the terms introduced (synonymy, partial synonymy, incompatibility, complementarity, antonymy, converseness, meronymy, hyponymy) label the following pairs of words according to which type of meaning relationship you think they exemplify.

1. animate-inanimate
2. begin-start
3. give-take
4. husband-wife
5. window-door-roof
6. move-jog
7. scream-whisper
8. silence-noise
9. smart-dumb
10. sweet-sour
11. tall-short
12. truck-lorry
13. vehicle-bicycle

FURTHER READING

Lexicology and word formation the following offer good introductions: Adams (1977, 2016), Bauer (1992, 2008), Blevins (2008), Lipka (2002), Marchand (1969), Plag (2003).

Mental lexicon for a solid initiation see Aitchison (2002).

English vocabulary overviews from different perspectives are available in Cannon (1987), Gramley (2001), Katamba (2004), Minkova and Stockwell (2008).

Lexical semantics among the introductions to (lexical) semantics the following are good starting points: Cruse (1986), Kearns (2008), Lyons (1995), Saeed (2015).

Words in combination the following offer insights into various aspects of this wide field: Cacciari (1993), Cowie (1998), Fernando (1996), Moon (1998), Norrick (1985), Pätzold (1998), Redfern (1989).

The pronunciation and spelling of English

This chapter deals with the phonology of English together with a certain degree of phonetic detail and the essentials of English orthography. Naturally, a treatment of this length cannot take the place of a text book in phonetics and phonology or a manual of spelling. Its aim is rather to present fundamental and systematic characteristics of as well as tendencies in the development of English pronunciation and to give the principles of English spelling in outline.

3.1 THE PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH

In order to talk about the sound structure of English it is necessary to make certain abstractions from actual sounds. This means that the detailed differences in pronunciation, that is, the varied phonetic realization, of the many speakers and the many varieties of English (idiolects, dialects, network standards, registers, etc.) will be less at the center of attention than what these various pronunciations share. Those detailed differences are dealt with in an acoustic, auditory, or articulatory description of a particular variety, something which the discipline of phonetics provides. Instead, we assume a system that ignores the exact phonetic details of actual speakers but focuses rather on the meaningful sound contrasts or oppositions of the spoken language of as many varieties as possible. This is, then, a sketch of the phonology of English.

Fortunately for such a description, the inventory of the phonemes of those forms of English which speakers of Standard English (StE) use all over the world reveals only relatively small differences. This observation relies on the recognition of “standard” pronunciations, above all, of the widely accepted ones called Received Pronunciation or RP (in England; §7.3.1) and General American (GenAm; §8.3.1) in North America, both of which are used as reference accents for pronunciations in dictionaries and most phonetic treatments of English. These and other standard accents such as Cultivated Australian (§10.3.1), Conservative South African English (§10.3.3), or Scottish Standard English (§7.3.3) are in many respects artificial; for example, they gloss over a great many differences based on the class, gender, age, or region of the speakers. General American, for one, is ill-defined in the extreme and covers a wide of array of geographical areas. Furthermore, many linguists reject its use even though for the sake of convenience and clarity we will continue to employ it in this book. RP is also far from uniform: It is frequently divided into “conservative,” “advanced,” and “affected” types, which correspond at least partly to age (§7.3.1). While studies all over the English-speaking world have revealed class and gender distinctions in pronunciation, speakers everywhere, nevertheless, seem to recognize the existence of

pronunciation norms and even to agree to an astonishingly high degree on what they are. This is not the case with numerous nonstandard dialects such as Lowland Scots (§7.5.2) or pidgin and creole Englishes (§11.3) and only to a limited extent in English as a Second Language varieties (§12.3). It is because of this that we feel justified in proceeding as we do and outlining here, based on RP and GenAm, what we call “the pronunciation of English.”

Segmental sounds. It is possible to divide every linguistic utterance completely up into sequential sound segments which belong to a limited inventory of distinctive sounds. This limitation is the case because every language (variety) uses a small set of sounds only and does not draw on all possible human speech sounds. Sounds in this sense, which belong to one language variety, are called phonemes, and they are conventionally enclosed in slanted lines (e.g., /m/ for an “m” sound as in *mat*). The concept of the phoneme is quite useful because it provides an abstract level of description which embodies the systematic sound contrasts of the language without becoming lost in minute phonetic detail. Nevertheless, it is not so abstract that it does not reflect the actual sounds of the language.

Segmental sounds are divided into vowels and consonants. A vowel is defined, from an articulatory *phonetic* point of view, as a sound which is produced without audible constriction or obstruction of the airflow along the central line of breath from the lungs through the mouth (vocal tract). To this must be added the *phonological* (also called *phonemic*), or structural observation that vowels always form the center (nucleus) of a syllable. All other sounds are consonants, which then occupy the margins (onset and coda) of a syllable. Phonetically, this means only sounds which are produced with friction or blockage; but phonologically it includes any sounds which are peripheral to the syllable. Note that these two approaches do not lead to the same results. In this description, the phonemic view will generally be favored.

The syllable. In English the default makeup of a syllable is Consonant-Vowel-Consonant (CVC). The first consonant(s) form the onset, and the vowel together with the final consonant(s) are the rime or rime, with the vowel being the nucleus and the final consonant the coda as in /mæt/. This syllable structure is the one underlying the phonemic observation of vowels and consonant irrespective of their phonetic realization. This basic structure can be both expanded (e.g., *strings* /strɪŋz/ resulting in CCCVCC) and reduced (e.g., *bee* /bi:/ resulting in CV, an open syllable) (cf. Hammond 2006; Figure 3.1).

For English it is possible to postulate 24 consonants (see Table 3.1 on p.58) as well as 16 vowels (in GenAm) or 20 (in RP). Each of these phonemes is fully distinct from each of the others within its system. The idea behind the concept of the phoneme is that it designates the smallest unit of sound which causes a potential difference in meaning. This principle can be demonstrated through the use of what are called minimal pairs: If two words which differ in regard to one sound only have different meanings, then the two differing sounds

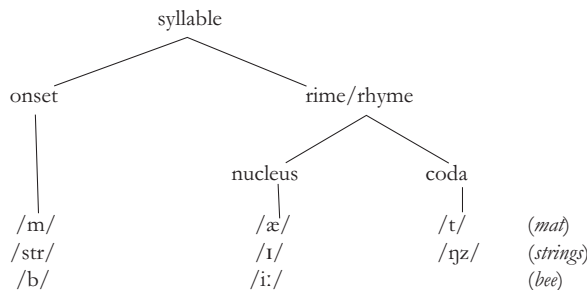


Figure 3.1 The English syllable

Within the system of English consonants, three features, the distinctive features, are sufficient to distinguish all the consonants from each other:

- 1 force of articulation (hard or fortis versus soft or lenis) or phonation mode (voiced vs. unvoiced/voiceless),
- 2 place of articulation, and
- 3 manner of articulation.

Lenis is regularly associated with voicing (vibration of the vocal cords) and fortis with voicelessness. This makes the phoneme /m/ from <mat> above a voiced bilabial nasal.

For the vowels three features are also sufficient to make all the necessary distinctions of English:

- 1 the height and
- 2 the horizontal position of the tongue at its highest point as well as
- 3 the complexity of the vowel (short vs. long or diphthongized).

The distinctive features of each vowel and consonant make them unique and distinct from other vowels and consonants. These features have been chosen in such a way that they reflect the systematic, phonological oppositions within the sound system of English.

In the sense of phonetics, or actual articulation, any particular phoneme may sound very different from one occasion to another. In particular, the phonetic environment in which a phoneme is produced may lead to noticeable differences in actual pronunciation. However, as long as the exchange of one such variant for another does not cause a difference in meaning, each of the realizations may be regarded as one and the same phoneme. Varying pronunciations of each “single sound” are known as the allophones of a phoneme. It is usual to enclose the symbol for an allophone in square brackets, [].

A readily observable example of an allophone is /l/, which may be pronounced as a clear [l], as in *million* (it has some of the quality of the vowel /ɪ/ as in KIT associated with it). This pronunciation typically occurs when /l/ precedes a vowel in RP. However, the /l/ may be dark [ɫ], as in *pull*, which means it has some of the sound quality of the vowel /ʊ/ as in FOOT. This is the way an /l/ is pronounced in RP when it is not followed by a vowel. The difference between the two is easy to hear, but even if they are exchanged one for the other, the words in which they occur do not become different words or unidentifiable sound sequences. The distribution of clear and dark /l/ is different in GenAm.

This is not always unproblematic, because in some accents of English (Cockney, various areas in the United States), [ɫ] moves from being velarized to completely vocalized, that is, realized more or less like the vowel /ʊ/. *Bill* /bɪl/ with vocalized /l/ is realized phonetically as [bɪʊ]. The open question is whether the [ʊ] that has replaced the /l/ is now simply an allophone of /l/ or is part of a new diphthong /ɪʊ/. In any case there is the possibility that new homophones (words which sound alike, but carry different meanings) may be created. The following words may, for example, be pronounced similarly in Cockney: *Paul's* and *pause* with [o:] or [ɔʊ] as [po:z] or [pɔʊz] (cf. Wells 1982: 311, 316). What, in any case, is noteworthy is that the phonemic consonant /l/ at the margin of the syllable has been turned into a phonetic vowel in pronunciation, turning the syllable from a checked (closed) to an unchecked (open) one.

3.2 THE CONSONANTS

The inventory of English consonants has remained stable to a remarkable degree over several hundred years. As a result, it is the consonants which contribute most to the

phonological unity of the English language in its many and often quite different-sounding accents throughout the world. The consonants may be divided up into the types outlined in the following.

Semi-vowels or **approximants** a.k.a. **frictionless continuants** are consonants which are usually produced without audible friction in, or stoppage of, the air coming from the lungs. This makes them, phonetically, vowel-like. However, they do not form the center (nucleus) of a syllable but are peripheral; that is, they are found initially (in the onset) or finally (in the coda). In this phonological sense, they are consonants. The semi-vowels of English include /w/, /r/, and /j/, though each also has variants (allophones) which involve friction and/or stoppage, for example, flapped or trilled/rolled /r/. /h/ may also be said to belong here; for, although it is not sonorous (that is, it is not produced with vibration of the vocal cords), but is voiceless, it has as many variants (or allophones) as there are vowels which may follow it. For this reason it will be called a voiceless vowel (i.e., it is whispered). However, it is also often termed voiceless glottal fricative, which would put it in the group of obstruents below.

The sonorant consonants are those which are articulated with partial closure of the respiratory passage and vibration of the vocal cords. In English they are the nasals /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ and the lateral /l/. Sonorants are usually found at an initial or a final position in the syllable. However, under certain circumstances they may also be syllabic, that is, central to a syllable. This is, for example, true of the /l/ in *bottle* [t̪] (the small stroke under the *l* indicates that it is syllabic, which means that it has taken over the function of the nucleus of the syllable, a position normally occupied by a vowel). In this sense sonorants sometimes, and only in final unstressed syllables (as in *button* or *bottom*), resemble vowels phonologically.

The obstruents, finally, are the “true” consonants, which are produced with friction (the fricatives) /f/, /v/, /θ/, /ð/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /s/, and /z/ or complete closure and blockage of the air stream (stops or occlusives or plosives), /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, and /g/, or a combination of the two (the affricates), /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. Obstruents are always peripheral to (at the margins of) to the syllable.

Phonologically, the system of English consonants is characterized by a high degree of symmetry. Twenty-four (with /hw/ twenty-five) consonants can be distinguished according to three distinctive features, as mentioned above. These are

- 1 place of articulation, of which there are four main ones: lips (labial); alveolar ridge (alveolar); the post-alveolar region (a.k.a. alveolo-palatal or palato-alveolar); and the soft palate or velum (velar) itself and one less frequently used one, the teeth (dental) (and possibly the Adam’s apple or glottis (glottal) in the case of /h/) as well as possible combinations such as labio-dental involving the lips and teeth as with /f/ and /v/;
- 2 manner of articulation, of which there are seven types: stop or plosive, affricate, fricative, nasal, lateral, semi-vocalic, and voiceless vocalic; and
- 3 force of articulation or phonation mode, which distinguishes soft or lenis from hard or fortis. This distinction generally coincides with voicing, that is, the distinction between voiced and voiceless/unvoiced. This third opposition involves only the stops, affricates, and fricatives, that is, the obstruents. In describing a consonant the usual order is force/voicing, place, and manner (e.g., a fortis/voiceless, alveolar stop which is unambiguously a /t/).

Despite the stability of the system mentioned above many of the phonemes listed in this chart are involved in a noticeable process of change in the one or the other variety of English somewhere in the world. The most prominent cases involve /t/ (§§3.2.2, 3.2.4–5, 7.3.5, 8.3.1, 9.3.3, 10.3.1, and 10.3.3).

For the positioning of the semi-vowels, see below: semi-vowels.

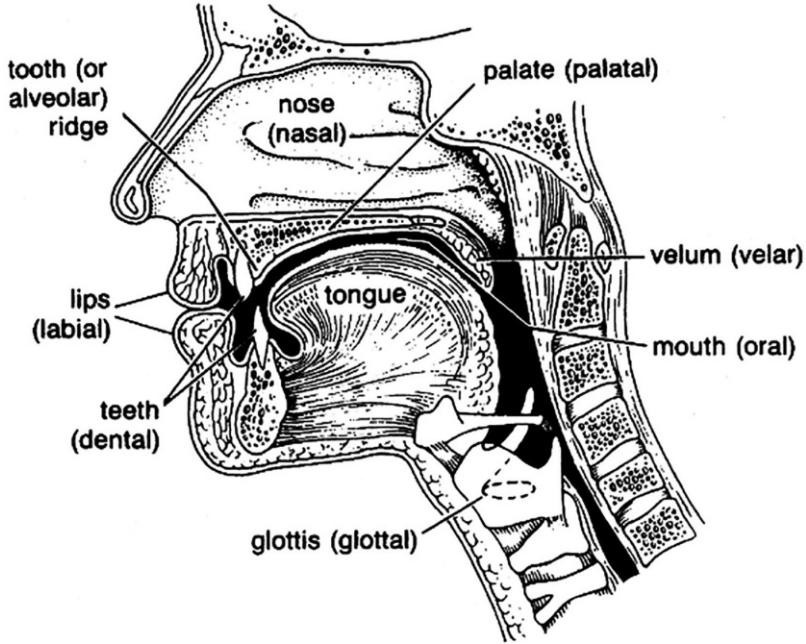


Figure 3.3 The organs of speech

Table 3.1 The consonants of English

<i>Manner</i>	<i>Place</i>									
	<i>Labial</i> ¹		<i>Dental</i> ²		<i>Alveolar</i>		<i>Post-alveolar</i> ³		<i>Velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
stop/plosive ⁴	p	b			t	d			k	g
affricate ⁴							tʃ	dʒ		
fricative ⁴	f	v	θ	ð	s	z	ʃ	ʒ		h
nasal		m				n				ŋ ⁵
lateral ⁶						l				ɫ
semi-vowel ⁷						j ⁸		r		w
voiceless vowel ⁹								h		

¹ /p, b, m/ are bilabial; /f, v/ are labiodental.

² /θ/ is called “theta”; /ð/ is called “eth” or “barred d.”

³ There is a strong tradition in North America to use č, ǰ, š, ž (c-wedge, j-wedge, etc.; the wedge is called “hachek”) for tʃ, dʒ, ʃ (“esh” or “long s”), and ʒ (“yogh”).

⁴ The left-hand symbol in each pair represents the fortis or voiceless phoneme; the one on the right, the lenis or voiced one. Sometimes /h/ is regarded as a (voiceless) glottal fricative.

⁵ /ŋ/ is called “eng.”

⁶ [l] and [ɫ] are allophones of /l/.

⁷ /hw/ is present in some accents (e.g., Scottish English).

⁸ In North American traditions, often <y>.

⁹ /h/ is realized in numerous positional variants (see above: semi-vowels).

3.2.1 Manner and place of articulation

Obstruents. The high degree of symmetry in the occurrence of the stops and the fricatives is very noticeable. There are four pairs of stops and four of fricatives if the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, which consist of a close connection of a stop and a homorganic fricative (one produced at the same place or organ of speech), are counted with the stops. There has long been discussion about whether /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are each a single phoneme or a combination of two. Phonologically, however, the freedom with which both may appear initially (*cheese, job*), medially (*bachelor, major*), or finally (*rich, ridge*) in words is a small indication of their unitary (one-phoneme) status.

Nasals. The nasals (called nasals because the air stream is released through the nose) do not occur in lenis-fortis (voiced-voiceless) pairs, for they are sonorants and therefore are, phonologically speaking, always voiced. There are only three nasals since the post-alveolar /ɲ/ of Spanish (*mañana*), Italian (*senior*), or French (*compagnon*) is not phonemic in English; instead, the analogous sound in English is seen as a sequence of two phonemes /nj/ as in *canyon* /kænjən/. Furthermore, the phoneme /ŋ/ is not fully equivalent to /m/ and /n/ since it cannot occur initially in a word, nor does it occur after all the vowels of English (in RP it follows /ɪ/, /æ/, /ʌ/, and /ɒ/; in GenAm /ɪ/, /æ/, /ʌ/, /ɑ:/, and /ɔ:/, cf. *sing, sang, sung, song*, the latter with /ɑ:/ or /ɔ:/ in GenAm depending on the region).

The lateral. The lateral /l/ (called a lateral because the speaker's breath is released around the sides of the tongue) differs from the preceding examples of manner of articulation because clear [l] and dark [ɫ] are allophones which do not stand in phonemic opposition to each other. Indeed, there are accents such as those of southern Ireland or the southwest of England, in which clear [l] appears exclusively, and other areas, such as Scotland and much of the United States (§9.3.2), in which only dark [ɫ] occurs. RP is, as previously mentioned, characterized by the complementary distribution of the two allophones. This means that in one set of circumstances only the one may occur and in another set of circumstances only the other. Concretely, clear [l] is used before vowels (e.g., *look, teller*), while dark [ɫ] appears before consonants (e.g., *help*) or at the end of a word (e.g., *goal*); this includes syllabic [l] as in *bottle*.

Semi-vowels. The semi-vowels are difficult to adapt to the scheme of classification used here because they are, phonetically speaking, not consonants at all, but vowels which occur in the typical position of consonants, peripheral to the syllable. In many classifications /w/ and /hw/ are classified as bilabial. The rounding of the lips which is typical of /w/ and /hw/ is, however, of secondary importance and need not be present. Note that prevocalic /r/ is often produced with lip-rounding as well. The criterion which has been used in positioning the semi-vowels in the chart is the position of the tongue: /j/ corresponds to the high front vowel /i/, because it has the same sound quality as /i/. /j/ differs only inasmuch as it is extremely short (nonsyllabic). Like /i/ it requires a tongue position close to the alveolar ridge; hence it has been classified as alveolar. /r/ corresponds to the central vowel /ɜ:/, which is more or less post-alveolar; and /w/ corresponds to /u:/, a high back vowel, which takes a tongue position close to the velum.

The voiceless vowel, /h/, occurs only before vowels and has a different resonance depending on what vowel follows it, hence the term "voiceless vowel." Preceding /i:/, as in *heat*, /h/ is [i̥]; preceding /æ/, as in *hat*, it is [æ̥], and so on. The small circle ("under-ring") indicates devoicing; it is "whispered."

The glottal stop, [ʔ], does not have the status of a phoneme but is so obvious in some accents of English that it will be treated below in §3.2.4.

3.2.2 Force of articulation and voicing

All of the obstruents are members of pairs of phonemes which share the same features in regard to place and manner of articulation (cf. Table 3.1). However, the members of each pair differ from each other in that the one is pronounced with more force or energy (“hard,” “fortis”) and is always voiceless, that is, the vocal cords do not vibrate while it is being pronounced; the other member of each pair is pronounced with relatively less force or energy (“soft,” “lenis”) and is often, though not always, voiced. The nasals, the semi-vowels, and the lateral are always regarded phonologically as voiced, and, indeed, they usually are voiced phonetically as well. However, in a voiceless environment they may, as a matter of actual phonetic realization, become devoiced (e.g., *flee* [f|i:] or *twice* [twaɪs]). /h/ is always voiceless. The voiced obstruents are fully voiced only in a voiced environment, such as between two vowels (e.g., /v/ in *giving* or /d/ in *sadder*). At the beginning of a word the sonority or voicing sets in in the course of articulation, which means that voicing may be incomplete. In word final position the voicing may be missing completely. In both of these cases the lack of voicing is generally not noticed because the distinction between the obstruent pairs is maintained more by force of articulation than by voicing. The /v/ of /larv/ is, for example, seldom voiced. The contrast to the /f/ of /laf/ is maintained rather because /v/ is lenis while /f/ is fortis. Furthermore, the length of the vowel differs since stressed vowels are longer before voiced than before voiceless consonants. In addition, the opposition between the “voiced” and the “voiceless” stops in initial position is supported by the aspiration which is associated with the fortis as opposed to the unaspirated lenis phoneme. In English no stops are aspirated after an /s/, as mentioned in §3.1.

In AmE and increasingly in AusE and in IrE the distinction between voiceless /t/ and voiced /d/ is neutralized in intervocalic position (provided the following syllable is unstressed); both are pronounced with voicing. Pairs of words such *latter-ladder* cannot, for this reason, be distinguished on the grounds of sonority or force of articulation.

3.2.3 Restrictions in distribution

The system of 24 consonants which has been assumed here does not mean that the consonants are all fully equivalent. The infrequency of /ŋ/ in comparison to /m/ and /n/ has already been pointed out and the same is true of /ʒ/ in comparison to /ʒ/. /h/ occurs only before vowels. In much the same way initial /ð/ is restricted to the so-called grammatical or function words, which include pronouns (*they, thou*, etc.), the definite article (*the*), the demonstratives (*this, that, these, those*), and basic adverbs such as *there, then, and thus*. In addition, /ð/ never occurs directly before another consonant within the same syllable. The only exception is where an inflectional ending follows, but here the /ð/ is separated from the following consonant by a morpheme boundary, as in *smoothed*, or *paths, path's*, or *breathes*.

3.2.4 Consonant changes

/hw² is the only consonant which seems to be disappearing. Many speakers today use /w/ where once /hw/ was pronounced. In this way numerous <w-> and <wh-> words have become

1 Both are actually flapped/tapped, much like an /r/ with a single flap. Consequently, they are represented as [r].

2 Here /h/ occurs before the semi-vowel /w/.

homophonous, so *wear* and *where*, *wheel* and *we'll*, *which* and *witch*, and so on. Nonetheless, many speakers still use /hw/ as an emphatic variant of /w/ (in American textbooks often represented by /ʍ/), as in *Why?! /hwai/*. As a result, there are cases in which people have been known to produce an unhistorical /hwəʊ/ *wow!* (Metcalf 1972: 33). The /hw/-/w/ opposition is still maintained in some American and British regional accents (e.g., the Northern dialect area in the United States (recessive) and Scotland in Great Britain).

Especially noticeable is the disappearance of non-prevocalic <r> in many accents of English. While /r/ is pronounced wherever it is written in GenAm, in Irish English, in Scottish English, and in various parts of the southwest of England, it is missing in such accents as RP, the English of New England, wide areas in the American South (–although it is being “restored” in many white Southern speech communities³ (Thomas 2008–), Australia, and New Zealand. In these latter accents /r/ can occur only before a vowel. In talking about this split in the accents of English, it is convenient to speak of rhotic and nonrhotic accents, that is, those which have and those which have not retained /r/ in all positions.

In those accents which have retained non-prevocalic /r/ the quality of this phoneme differs considerably. In America, Northern Ireland, parts of Scotland, and the English southwest this /r/ is realized chiefly through the quality of the preceding vowel, which is *r*-colored. In parts of southern Ireland and Scotland the /r/ may be rolled at the tip of the tongue, that is, a trilled [r], or a flapped [ɾ].⁴

Just as non-prevocalic *r* has become vocalic (“*r*-colored vowels”), so too is non-prevocalic /l/ not only dark [ɫ], as mentioned above, but completely vocalic [ɚ] or unrounded [ɻ] in such widely separated accents as Cockney and Southern American: The tongue no longer touches the top of the mouth; instead, only the dark resonance of the back vowel which is associated with it remains (cf. the examples of homophonous *Paul* and *paw* given above for Cockney).

One of the stereotypes of BrE for an American is H-Dropping, and, indeed, this is regularly the case not only for much of BrE, but for much of AmE as well as far as the change from /hw/ to /w/ is concerned. Beyond this, although an <h> is written in such words as *her*, *him*, *he*, all native speakers drop the /h/ when these grammatical words are unstressed (in their so-called weak forms). The stereotype which the Americans mean is the loss of /h/ in such lexical words as *hat*, *house*, *horse*, which are stressed. In a great many urban working-class accents of England (but not of Ireland and Scotland) these words are pronounced ‘at, ‘ouse, ‘orse.

The simultaneous pronunciation (coarticulation) of /t/ and the glottal stop [ʔ] is typical of many urban accents of Great Britain and of GenAm as well. In BrE, however, it very often happens that /t/ is completely replaced by [ʔ]. It is this phenomenon which explains the humor of the remark of a Glaswegian: “My name’s Pa’erson, with two ts” (McIntosh 1952: 53). In present-day RP a /t/ is frequently realized as a glottal stop before consonants (except for /l/) as in *hot day* /hɒʔdeɪ/.

The two dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are often replaced by other fricatives. When this happens voicing/force of articulation retains its original distribution. The Cockney accent realizes the pair as /f/ and /v/ (*muvver* for *mother*; *nuffink* for *nothing*). New Yorkers often use /t/ and /d/ (*tanks* for *thanks*; *dis* for *this*) or the affricates [tθ] and [dð]; many African Americans in the United States have /d/ at the beginning of a word and /f/ and /v/ at the

3 Southern African Americans are much more tenaciously nonrhotic despite small signs of class-oriented shifts to rhoticity (McLarty, Jones, and Hall 2019: 91, 100).

4 Consequently, the trilled or rolled [r] and the flapped [ɾ] are obviously not semi-vowels.

end (*dem* for *them*; *wiv* for *with*). In Ireland it is common to hear dental [t̪] or the affricate [tʰ] and dental [d̪] or the affricate [dʰ] for /θ/ and /ð/ (the <θ>, which indicates dental articulation, is called a “bridge”). In addition, and independent of this, almost all speakers pronounce words like *clothes* or *months* without /ð/ or /θ/, namely, as /kləʊz/ or /klɒʊz/ and /mʌns/ when they are speaking casually.

Almost all accents of English have the pronunciation /ju:/ for the spellings <u, ui, ew, iew/ieu, eu, ue> unless the preceding consonant is dental or alveolar. (An exception is the traditional accent of East Anglia, in which the /j/ simply does not occur for these spellings (e.g., *pew* /pu:/). When there is a preceding dental or alveolar consonant (/s/, /z/, /n/, /t/, /d/, /l/, and /θ/) as in *suit*, *exuberant*, *new*, *tune*, *dew*, *revolution*, *thews*, most accents of AmE have /u:/. This is called Yod-dropping. The pronunciation varies between /u:/ and /ju:/ in RP (§9.3.3).

Consonant + /ju:/. The sequence /h/ + /j/ as in *pew* [p^hju:], *cue* [k^hju:], *Hugh* /hju:/, and so on is realized as [ç] (the sound of <ch> in German *ich*). (In *pew* and *cue* the [h] is the result of aspiration following /p/ and /k/ in word initial position.) [ç] is basically a voiceless fricative allophone of /j/; however, because of the meaningful opposition *who-Hugh-you* [hu:]-[çu:]-[ju:] this [ç] has marginal phonemic status.

3.2.5 Phonological processes

Palatalization. Wherever historical /j/ has occurred before an unstressed syllable, but especially in the suffixes {-ion} and {-ure} some degree of palatalization of preceding /s/, /z/, /t/, and /d/ has taken place everywhere in the English-speaking world, though not always in a fully predictable way. Such palatalization means that /s/, /z/, /t/, and /d/ are pronounced slightly farther back (at the palate rather than the alveolar ridge), as in the following examples:

	Unpalatalized	Palatalized
-ion:	/s/ (<i>missile</i>)	/ʃ/ (<i>mission</i>)
	/z/ (<i>fuse</i>)	/ʒ/ (<i>fusion</i>)
	/t/ (<i>motive</i>)	/tʃ/ (<i>motion</i>)
-ure:	/s/ (<i>fissile</i>)	/ʃ/ (<i>fissure</i>)
	/z/ (<i>please</i>)	/ʒ/ (<i>pleasure</i>)
	/t/ (<i>advent</i>)	/tʃ/ (<i>adventure</i>)
	/d/ (<i>verdant</i>)	/dʒ/ (<i>verdure</i>) (GenAm only; elsewhere: /dj/)

In many accents the process of palatalization has been uneven (§9.3.3).

Simplification of final consonant clusters. Whenever several consonants occur together at the end of a word, one of them is frequently left out. In the case of the few words which according to the spelling and the phonotactics of English can have a cluster of four consonants, such simplification is very common; for example, *exempts* or *twelfths* are simplified from /egzɛmpts/ and /twelfθs/ to /ɪgzɛmps/ and /twelfs/. In addition, it is relatively normal, especially in casual speech, to drop final consonants in shorter clusters when the following word begins with a consonant as well; for example, *west side* becomes *wes' side* [wes:aɪd] and *left leg* becomes *lef' leg* /lefleg/.

Assimilation. A number of the cases of consonant loss or change so far described are really cases of assimilation. A large part of the allophonic variation in English is due to this. The loss of the aspiration of fortis stops in word final position, often to the point

of being unreleased (no plosion), or the voicing and flapping of intervocalic /t/ in AmE may, for example, be explained in this way. In the former case assimilation is in the direction of a pause or silence; in the latter, /t/ adapts to the sonority of the preceding and following vowels. These allophones are not consciously noticed as is also the case with the following: Alveolar /s/, /z/, /t/, /d/, and /n/ are dental [s̪], [z̪], [t̪] [d̪], and [n̪] next to /θ/ or /ð/, as in *this thing*, *widths* or *right there*. In addition, the /t/ may have nasal release [tⁿ] (the air is released through the nose) before a nasal as in *button* and lateral release [t^l] before /l/ as in *bottle*. Or: /k/ and /g/ are pronounced with closure further forward against the palate when a front vowel follows (*king*, *get*) than when a back one follows (*could*, *good*).

Assimilation is also involved in palatalization. Indeed, whenever the pronunciation of one sound becomes in some way similar to that of a neighboring sound, it is possible to speak of assimilation. Often only one single feature is changed. The following are well-known examples in modern English of assimilation which occurred long ago and have remained frozen or irreversible:

- a change in voicing and force of articulation: in *have to* “must” /hæftə/, where the /v/ of *have* has become a voiceless, fortis /f/ due to the influence of the following /t/;
- a change in the manner of articulation: the original /d/ of *soldier* has become /dʒ/ under the influence of following /j/: (RP) /səʊldʒə/ and (GenAm) /soʊldʒər/. This is a case of palatalization; both the place and manner of articulation have changed.

Other instances of assimilation are dependent on the style of speech. What in careful, formal style is (RP) /ðis hɪə/ or /wʌt du: ju: wʌnt/ and (GenAm) /ðis hɪr/ or /wʌt du: ju: wɑ:nt/ become (RP) /ðɪʃiə/ or /wʌtʃə wʌnt/ and (GenAm) /ðɪʃɪr/ or /wədəjə wɑ:nt/ in the casual style of colloquial language.

Morphophonemic alternations. If assimilation were seen as a purely sound-conditioned phenomenon, many cases of alternation in form could not be explained because they are limited to certain grammatical and lexical classes of words. The form /beɪ/ *bay*, for example, is given the ending /z/ in order to form the plural *bays*. Since it is not possible to have a fortis /s/ here, this appears to be a case of assimilation to the preceding vowel. However, since there is also the word /beɪs/ *base*, in which there has not been a similar instance of assimilation, it becomes clear that the /z/ of *bays* is a case of assimilation restricted to particular circumstances. It involves only the inflectional ending and is therefore termed morphophonemic. It can be illustrated by the following examples.

- (a) The ending {s} (for the regular plural and the possessive of nouns and for the regular third person singular of the present simple form of the verb) as well as the {d} (for the past tense, the past participle forms of regular verbs and the derivational morpheme {d} as in *blue-eyed* or *heavy-footed*) are realized in differing ways depending on what phonological environment they occur in. The morpheme {s} is realized as

- | | |
|-------|--|
| /-ɪz/ | when the word to be inflected ends in a homorganic fricative (/s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /tʃ/, and /dʒ/) (e.g., <i>mixes</i> /mɪksɪz/, <i>bushes</i> /bʊʃɪz/), |
| /-z/ | when the word to be inflected ends in any other phonologically lenis or voiced phoneme including a vowel (e.g., <i>boys</i> /bɔɪz/, <i>lugs</i> /lʌgz/, <i>child's</i> /tʃaɪldz/), |
| /-s/ | when it ends in any other phonologically fortis or voiceless phoneme (e.g., <i>bikes</i> /baɪks/, <i>raps</i> /ræps/, <i>life's</i> /laɪfs/). |

The morpheme {d} is realized as

- /-ɪd/ when the word that is to be inflected ends in a homorganic (alveolar) stop (/t / or /d/), (e.g., *headed* /hedɪd/, *heated* /hi:tɪd/),
- /-d/ when the word to be inflected ends in any other phonologically lenis or voiced phoneme including a vowel (e.g., *allowed* /əlaʊd/, *rammed* /ræmɪd/, *saved* /seɪvd/),
- /-t/ when it ends in any other phonologically fortis or voiceless phoneme (e.g., *licked* /lɪkt/, *brushed* /brʌʃt/).

Exceptions include such common, but irregular forms as *wife-wives* or *burn-burnt*.

- (b) Lexical words of Latin origin are the second example of morphophonemic alternation. This has to do with the numerous words which end in the syllable /-ɪk/. Such words as *public* and *historic* show a change from /k/ to /s/ when a suffix beginning with <i> or <e> is added. This alternation is due to assimilation processes in Latin and does not apply to words of Germanic origin (cf. RP):

<i>public</i> /'pʌblɪk/	<i>publicity</i> /pʌb'ɪsɪtɪ/
	<i>publisher</i> /'pʌblɪʃə/ (here also palatalized)
<i>historic</i> /hɪs'tɔrɪk/	<i>historicity</i> /hɪstə'rɪsɪtɪ:/

but no such alternation in the following words:

<i>stick</i> /stɪk/	<i>sticker</i> /stɪkə/
<i>picnic</i> /'pɪknɪk/	<i>picknicker</i> /'pɪknɪkə/

English spelling, though inconsistent, makes the semantic-etymological relationships involved in words derived from the Latin clear inasmuch as the letter <c> can represent both /k/ and /s/.

The vowel alternation between words *humble* and *humility* (/ʌ/~/ju:/) or *vane* and *vanity* (/eɪ/~/æ/) and many further pairs is a further case (see, for example, Bermúdez-Otero and McMahon 2006).

3.2.6 Phonotactics

Phonotactics is concerned with how sounds are distributed, that is, where in word they can occur (beginning, middle, end), which phonemes can occur together, and in what relative order. Several facets of distribution (involving /ŋ/, /h/, /ʒ/, and /ð/) have already been mentioned. To round out the picture in this area a few examples of regular combinations of sounds will be presented.

It is not possible, for example, to begin an English word with a combination of nasal and stop (e.g., **mbit* /mɪt/ or **dnime* /dnɪm/). <pn->, <gn->, and <kn-> are, as is well known, only written: The stops are not pronounced. In the middle or at the end of a word combinations of nasal plus stop are completely unproblematic in the case of the fortis stops and of /d/, while nasal plus the lenis stops /b/ or /g/ can only appear in the middle of a word (cf. Table 3.2).

The phonotactics of English permits consonant clusters in which the semi-vowels /j/, /r/, and /w/ and the lateral /l/ can occur after almost all the stops and some of the fricatives at

Table 3.2 Final and medial nasal-stop clusters

	<i>Voiceless stops</i>	<i>Voiced stops</i>
Labial	<i>camp</i> /-mp/ <i>camping</i> /-mp-/	<i>bomb</i> /-m/ <i>bombing</i> /-m-/ but <i>bombard</i> /-mb-/
Dental	<i>Lent</i> /-nt/ <i>Lenten</i> /-nt-/	<i>land</i> /-nd/ <i>landing</i> /-nd-/
Palatal	<i>think</i> /ŋk/ <i>thinker</i> /-ŋk-/	<i>long</i> /-ŋ/ <i>longing</i> /-ŋ-/: but <i>longer</i> /-ŋg-/ (yet <i>singer</i> : /-ŋ-/)

Notes: Before the inflectional ending {-ing} <mb> and <ng> are pronounced without the stops /b/ and /g/. The <g> of <ng> is pronounced when followed by the comparative and superlative endings {-er} and {-est} as in *stronger*, *younger*, or *longest*. The <g> is not pronounced before the agent ending {-er} as in *singer*, *wringer*, *banger*, and so on. In *bombard* /m/ and /b/ occur in two different syllables; cf. also *iambic*; /-mb-/ does not occur within the same syllable.

the beginning of a word (e.g., /pr-/ /br-/ /fr-/ /tr-/ /dr-/ /θr-/ /ʃr-/ /gr-/ and /kr-/). Only /s/ can occur before /p/, /t/, /k/, /m/, /n/, and /l/ at the beginning of a word. At the end of a word considerably more combinations are possible. A large number of these consonant clusters are due to morphological endings like {d} or {s} discussed above or the {-th} (= /θ/) of many derivations (e.g., *twelfth*, *width*, *depth*).

3.3 THE VOWELS

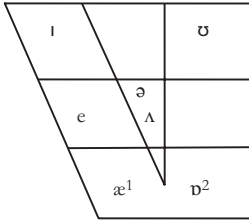
Each of the vowels of English can be distinguished by three features, height of the tongue, horizontal position of the tongue, and the complexity of the vowel. In this brief presentation of the vowels, 20 in RP and 16 in GenAm, first the distinctive features and then the status of non-prevocalic <r> will be examined.

We might note in passing that the nasality of a vowel (as in French for example) does occur in English; however, it is peripheral since its presence varies individually. Although it is typical of many varieties of AmE, it does not appear to be phonemic (distinctive) in any of them, but is found as a result of coarticulation (compare <heed> [hid] and <need> [nīd]). Another nondistinctive feature is lip rounding. It is characteristic inasmuch as the front vowels are spoken with spread lips; the central ones with neutral lips and the back ones with rounded lips.

3.3.1 Position of the tongue

The sound quality of each vowel of English is determined by the horizontal position of the highest point of tongue, which can be in the front, center, or back of the mouth (the oral cavity). Three vertical levels are recognized: high, mid, and low. Theoretically, a combination of these dimensions could provide for nine possibilities. However, among the short vowels of English only six of these are realized. A further short vowel is /ə/ (often called schwa) also occurs, but it is essentially different from the other six since it is always unstressed. See Figure 3.4.

The system of the short vowels of English is of significance because it is the short vowels which have remained relatively stable over several centuries. With notable and clearly defined exceptions the short vowels are phonotactically limited to occurrence in checked



¹ /æ/ is called “ash.”

² /ɒ/ is not present in GenAm.

Figure 3.4 The short vowels

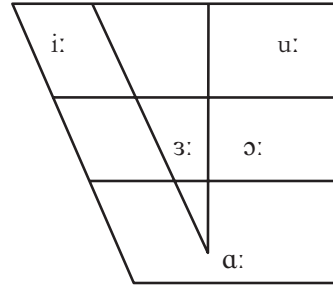


Figure 3.5 The long vowels

syllables, that is in syllables which end in a consonant. This means that words cannot end in short vowels without a following consonant. Unstressed schwa /ə/ is not restricted in this manner. As a result, there are no words of the form /be/ or /sæ/.⁵

The notable exception to this phonotactic regularity is the use in RP (and the accents of Northern England) of the vowel /ɪ/ as the realization of final <-y> or <-ie> in words such as *lazy* or *Suzie*. Most other accents (in southern England, North America, Australia, etc.) have long /i:/ here, and RP does increasingly often as well. The vowel /ə/ is the form which many vowels may be regarded as “taking” when they occur in unstressed syllables in the natural flow of speech. Schwa is never stressed. Because of the high incidence of unstressed syllables in English it is easily the most frequent vowel in the language.

3.3.2 Complexity: length and diphthongization

Every deviation from the short nature of a vowel will be regarded here as a case of complexity. Length is one such deviation. Length is indicated by <: >. Since, in addition, the long vowels (Figure 3.5) have a distinct tendency in many varieties of English to be at least somewhat diphthongized, there is some justification for grouping length and diphthongization together. In addition, the short vowels are produced without special muscle tensing of the tongue (i.e., they are lax) while both the long vowels and the diphthongs are tense. The degree of diphthongization varies considerably, but it is usual to speak of three long closing diphthongs and two slightly diphthongized closing ones. Closing refers to the closing movement of the mouth during the articulation of these diphthongs. The arrows in Figure 3.6 show the direction of the movement from the first to the second element of the diphthongs.

The two slightly closing diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ (RP) or /oʊ/ (GenAm) are realized in many varieties (e.g., Standard Scottish English) or in certain phonetic environments (especially before fortis stops) in GenAm as long monophthongs (e.g., *gate* [gæt:] or *goat* [go:t]). Three further diphthongs, /aɪ/, /aʊ/, and /ɔɪ/ are pronounced as diphthongs in almost all accents. The centering diphthongs (cf. Figure 3.7) are present in RP but not in GenAm.

⁵ Only **interjections**, which seem to be able to lie outside the system allow this (e.g., *bah* (what a sheep says): /bæ/). Other exceptions: *vroom* (how a car speeds off) has /vr-/ , a phonotactic violation; *ugh* (in one of its pronunciations) is /ax/, which includes a fricative not otherwise present in RP or GenAm; *whow* (emphatic *wow*) with otherwise nonsystematic /hw/.

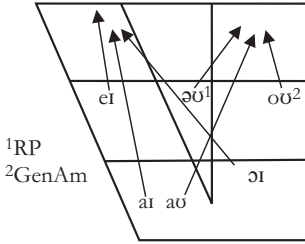


Figure 3.6 The closing diphthongs

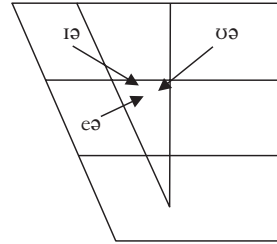


Figure 3.7 The centering diphthongs (RP only)

In addition to the phonological differences in length which are of central importance here, there are also nonphonological length differences. All vowels, whether short or complex, are relatively shorter when followed by a fortis consonant and relatively longer when followed by a lenis one or, for those where this is possible, when no consonant follows (in free or unchecked syllables). For this reason, the /eɪ/ of *late* is shorter than the /eɪ/ of *laid* or the even longer /eɪ/ of *lay*; the /æ/ of *back* is shorter than that of *bag*. This length difference may sometimes be used to distinguish *writer* from *rider* in GenAm, where both words have a voiced and flapped /d/ (= [ɾ] in the middle). Since the /d/ of *writer* was historically a /t/, this means that for some (but not all) speakers the /aɪ/ of *rider* may be longer than the /aɪ/ of *writer*. Otherwise, the two words are indistinguishable. The same distinction may differentiate other pairs such as *latter* and *ladder*. It is not, however, clear how reliably such differences in length are perceived in normal speech.

3.3.3 Non-prevocalic /r/

Up to this point a system of 17 (RP) or 16 (GenAm) vowels has been assumed. This system and the comparability of these two standard accents become considerably more complicated when non-prevocalic *r* (traditionally termed “postvocalic” *r*) is included. Non-prevocalic *r* refers to an orthographic <r> which is not followed immediately by a vowel (either within the same word or linked to an initial vowel in the following word); instead, it is followed by a consonant (*hard*) or comes at word-end (*here*).

In the rhotic accents orthographic <r> is regularly pronounced in all environments. In many such accents the vowel system is noticeably simplified in the sequence vowel + /r/. (Note: this does not apply to all rhotic accents, for example, not to Scottish English.) In GenAm the oppositions are neutralized that otherwise exist between /i:/ and /ɪ/, between /eɪ/, /e/, and /æ/, between /ɔ:/ and /oʊ/ and between /u:/ and /ʊ/ when /r/ follows. This leads to a system of just ten pre-rhotic vowels (see Table 3.3).

Furthermore, in GenAm /r/ usually has the features of a vowel (it is a semi-vowel). (An actual consonant, such as rolled [r], occurs in few accents of English.) Combinations of vowel + /r/ in GenAm are often really phonetic diphthongs whose final element is an *r*-colored schwa. This means the schwa has the sound quality of a retroflex [ɻ] – produced with the tip of the tongue curled back toward the rear of the mouth – or a constricted [ɹ] – articulated with lateral tension of the tongue). It is sometimes written with the symbol [ɚ]. This is the case, for example, with *fear* /fɪr/ = [fɪɚ] or *cure* /kjʊr/ = [kjʊɚ]. The central vowel /ɜ:/ is *r*-colored without the need for a schwa [ɜ:] (e.g., *purr* /pɜ:r/ = [pɜ:ɚ]). This can be the case with /ɑ:/ + /r/ as well, which may show up as [ɑ:r], as in *car* /kɑ:r/ = [kɑ:r].

Table 3.3 The vowels of General American and RP

Full system			Before <r> [in RP: before <r> + consonant or zero]		
GenAm	RP	key word	GenAm	RP	key word
/i:/	/i:/	<i>bead</i>	/ɪr/ (or /Iɪr/)	/ɪə/	<i>beard</i>
/ɪ/	/ɪ/	<i>bid</i>			
/eɪ/	/eɪ/	<i>bade</i>	er/ (or /Er/)	/eə/ (or /eə/)	<i>bared</i>
/e/	/e/	<i>bed</i>			
/æ/	/æ/	<i>bad</i>			
/ɑ:/	/ɑ:/	GenAm: <i>bod(y)</i> RP: <i>bar</i>	/ɑ:r/	-	<i>barred</i>
-	/ʊ/	<i>bod(y)</i>	-	/ɑ:/	
/ɔ:/	/ɔ:/	<i>bawd</i>	/ɔ:r/	/ɔ:/	<i>bored</i>
/oʊ/	/əʊ/	<i>bode</i>			
/ʊ/	/ʊ/	<i>Budd(ha)</i>			
/u:/	/u:/	<i>booed</i>	/ur/ (or /Uɪr/)	/uə/ (also: /ɔ:/)	<i>boor</i>
/ʌ/	/ʌ/	<i>bud</i>	/ɜ:/	/ɜ:/	<i>bird</i>
/ə/	/ə/	<i>baba</i>	/əɪ/	/ə/	<i>barbered</i>
/aɪ/	/aɪ/	<i>bide</i>	/aɪr/, /aɪ ^ɪ ər/ ¹	/aɪə/, /a:ə/, /a:ɪ ² /	<i>buyer</i>
/aʊ/	/aʊ/	<i>bowed</i>	/aʊr/, /aʊ ^w ər/ ¹	/aʊə/, /a:ə/, /a:ɪ ² /	<i>bower</i>
/ɔɪ/	/ɔɪ/	<i>Boyd</i>	/ɔɪr/, /ɔɪ ^ɪ ər/ ¹	/ɔɪə/, /ɔ:ə ² /	<i>Boyer</i>

¹ The triphthongs /aɪr/, /aʊr/, and /ɔɪr/ (= [aɪə], [aʊə], and [ɔɪə]) are not stable and are therefore often pronounced as two syllables. This may result in an epenthetic [j] or [w] (= conditioned by movements necessary in articulation). Bronstein also counts [eɪə] as in *mayor* and [oʊə] as in *blower* as triphthongs (1960: 201).

² There is a strong tendency toward simplification of the triphthongs in RP, called smoothing. Instead of the possible further triphthongs /eɪə/ or /əʊə/ one finds smoothed diphthongs as in the words *player* /e:ə/ or *mower* /ɜ:ə/ or the monophthongs /ɛ:/ or /ɜ:/ respectively.

Table 3.3 shows the full GenAm and RP systems of vowels on the left in comparison to the restricted system of vowels that occurs before non-prevocalic *r*. Note that the neutralized vowels may be transcribed in capital letters, to indicate their status as archiphonemes.

In the left-hand column there are only 15 phonemes because /ɜ:/ appears exclusively before an /r/ in GenAm. In RP and the nonrhotic accents there is also a reduced vowel system where non-prevocalic spelling-only <r> is involved. Instead of the sequence “vowel + /r/” RP has

- vowel + schwa: ɪə, eə, ʊə, aɪə, aʊə, ɔɪə (including smoothed variants)
- a long vowel alone: ɑ:, ɔ:, ɜ:
- schwa alone: ə

The six sequences of vowel or diphthong + /ə/ are termed centering diphthongs or triphthongs because in each case their final element consists of the central vowel schwa.⁶ This suggests that /r/ turned into /ə/ or, to put this somewhat differently, that GenAm /r/ and RP /ə/ are somehow equivalent in words with a postvocalic <r>. Such an assumption is, however, questionable in a synchronic description of present-day RP (and other nonrhotic accents). The reason for this is that both /ɪ/ and /ɪə/ (the stressed vowels of *mirror* and *nearer* respectively) as well as /eə/, /eɪə/, and /æ/ (*merry*, *Mary*, and *marry*, respectively) appear in

⁶ Note the tendency toward monophthongization: /e/ realized as [ɛ:]; more recently /ɪə/, as [ɪ:] and /ʊə/, as [ʊ:] or as /ɜ:/.

opposition before a following (intervocalic) /r/ in RP. Note that the schwa of the centering diphthongs is present together with /r/ in *nearer* (/nɪəɹə/) and *Mary* (/mɛəri:/). Consequently, it cannot be seen as a replacement for /r/. Furthermore, /ɑ:/ as in *bar*, /ɔ:/ as in *bore*, and /ɜ:/ as in *purr* are all monophthongs without a second schwa-element which might be thought to “replace” the /r/. When these forms occur prevocally as in *barring*, *boring* and *purring* the /r/ is realized. The oppositions /i:/-/ɪ/ and /eə/-/eɪ/-/æ/ only occur, however, before a prevocalic, that is, intervocalic /r/:

<i>spirit</i>	/ˈspɪrɪt/	- <i>spear it</i>	/ˈspi:ɹɪt/
<i>Harry</i>	/ˈhæɹɪ/	- <i>hairy</i>	/ˈheəri/
<i>herring</i>	/ˈhɛrɪŋ/	- <i>hair ring</i>	/ˈheəriŋ/

In GenAm *spirit* and *spear it* are indistinguishable, but *marry* and *Harry* with /æ/ are often (regionally) distinguished from *Mary/merry* and *hairy* with /eɪ/.

3.3.4 Comparing accents across varieties

Much of what has just been introduced is of service in comparing the pronunciations of different varieties of English. Following Wells (1982: §1.3) accents may be compared

- phonetically, that is according to the sound quality of a phoneme (e.g., RP [əʊ] vs. GenAm [oʊ]),
- phonemically, which means looking at the whole system of sounds, for example noting that Scottish StE (SSE) maintains the /hw/-/w/ distinction (*where* ≠ *wear*) while RP and GenAm do not,
- phonotactically, namely, the possible combinations of phonemes, as when RP does not allow /r/ + a consonant while GenAm does (*court*: RP /kɔ:t/, but GenAm /kɔ:rt/),
- individual words which differ without any system such as RP *privacy* with stressed /ɪ/, but GenAm with stressed /aɪ/,
- by lexical sets, viz. how the vowel phonemes are distributed according to whole sets of words, whereby each lexical set is named according to one illustrative word which stands for a whole set of further words which have the same stressed vowel; the KIT set contains all the words which have the KIT-vowel, in this case [ɪ] in most varieties.

Because this book makes wide use of the lexical sets, we give the original list (Wells 1982: 120 et passim) here, which contains the following sets:

KIT	BATH	THOUGHT	NEAR	Plus the unstressed vowels:
DRESS	CLOTH	GOAT	SQUARE	<i>happy</i>
TRAP	NURSE	GOOSE	START	<i>letter</i>
LOT	FLEECE	PRICE	NORTH	<i>comma</i>
STRUT	FACE	CHOICE	FORCE	
FOOT	PALM	MOUTH	CURE	

Various linguists have found it convenient to introduce further lexical sets. One such innovation takes account of the phoneme /aɪ/ when followed by a voiced or an voiceless consonant. The voicing of the consonant determines how the preceding vowel will be realized. The set of words with a voiceless consonant are then the PRICE set; those followed by a voiced consonant, the PRIDE set. PRIDE vs. PRICE is useful in the American South [a] vs. [aɪ] and parts of Canada [aɪ] vs. [əɪ].

Table 3.4 A structural comparison of RP and GenAm vowels

	<i>Short vowels</i>		<i>Long vowels</i>			<i>Closing diphthongs</i>			<i>Centering diphthongs</i>	
	<i>front</i>	<i>back</i>	<i>front</i>	<i>center</i>	<i>back</i>	<i>front</i>	<i>back</i>		<i>front</i>	<i>back</i>
RP	KIT	FOOT	FLEECE		GOOSE				NEAR	CURE
	DRESS	STRUT		NURSE	THOUGHT	FACE		GOAT	SQUARE	
	TRAP	LOT		BATH		PRICE	CHOICE	MOUTH		
GenAm	KIT	FOOT	FLEECE		GOOSE					
	DRESS	STRUT		NURSE	THOUGHT	FACE		GOAT		
	TRAP- BATH			LOT		PRICE	CHOICE	MOUTH		

The structural differences between the two vowel systems⁷ used here can be summed up in the following chart using Wells' lexical sets. RP-type varieties include the structurally similar vowel systems used throughout most of southern England and Wales. The GenAm types do not include the ever more-widely spreading low back (THOUGH-LOT) merger and ignores some current changes like back-vowel fronting (§§8.3.1–2). Note that three levels of height are indicated by the relative position, for example, KIT and FOOT as high, DRESS and STRUT as mid, and TRAP and LOT as low (Table 3.4).

Regardless of how the individual phonemes actually sound (their phonetic realization) this chart shows that GenAm does not have the low back rounded vowel /ɒ/. It is replaced by the LOT-vowel, which has been included among the long vowels⁸ of GenAm. There it “replaces” BATH, which is included with the TRAP-vowels in GenAm. The only other noticeable difference lies in the phonological lack⁹ of centering diphthongs in GenAm.

3.3.5 Transcriptional systems

Depending on the purpose which is being followed as well as the phonetic features which are considered important, the symbols used for a broad or phonemic transcription of the vowels of English vary considerably. Naturally, an analysis based on RP will differ from one based on GenAm for the simple fact that the number and sound quality of vowel phonemes will be different. Many dictionaries use symbols which are close to the sounds suggested by the spelling of English (e.g., <o> for /ɒ/ or /oʊ/ and <a> for /æ/). For use by nonnative speakers most learner's dictionaries employ a system based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Table 3.5 provides a synopsis of the symbols used for the vowels of English in a number of important works.

3.3.6 Phonetic variety in the area of the vowels

The intention up to now has been to present the vowels as phonemes. However, it is important not to forget that the phoneme is an abstract concept and that there are a large variety of differing realizations of each phoneme. It is this variety in pronunciation which

7 Stressed vowels only, that is, this does not take account of unstressed vowels such as /ə/ or /ɪ/

8 The TRAP-vowel in some varieties of North American English shows a split between long and short.

9 The case can be made that GenAm has r-colored phonetic diphthongs corresponding to the RP centering ones.

Table 3.5 Transcriptional Systems

Key words	Wells (2008)		Lexical sets (Wells 1982)		Labov (2010) (Trager/Smith)	SAMPA 1995	American Dictionaries
	RP: left	GenAm: right	RP	GenAm			
short vowels	<i>kid</i>	i	i	KIT	i	I	i
	<i>kedje</i>	e	e	DRESS	e	E / e	e
long front up-gliding diphthongs	<i>cat</i>	æ	æ	TRAP	æ	{	a
	<i>cod</i>	ɒ	-	LOT, CLOTH	o	Q	ä
long front up-gliding diphthongs	<i>cud</i>	ʌ	ʌ	STRUT	ʌ	V	ə
	<i>could</i>	ʊ	ʊ	FOOT	u	U	ü
long back up-gliding diphthongs	<i>keyed</i>	i:	i:	FLEECE	iy	i:	ē
	<i>cade</i>	eɪ	eɪ	FACE	ey	eɪ	ā
long in-gliding diphthongs	<i>clayed</i>	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	CHOICE	oy	Oɪ	oi
	<i>Clyde</i>	aɪ	aɪ	PRICE	ay	aɪ	ī
long back up-gliding diphthongs	<i>cued</i>	ju:	ju:	USE	iw	aɪ	yü
	<i>cooed</i>	u:	u:	GOOSE	uw	U	ü
prethotic vowels	<i>code</i>	ɔʊ	oʊ	GOAT	ow	@U	ō
	<i>cowed</i>	əʊ	əʊ	MOUTH	aw	aU	äu
long in-gliding diphthongs	<i>cad</i>	-	æ	BATH	æh	ɜ:	a
	<i>cawed</i>	ɔ:	ɔ:	THOUGHT	oh	O:	ò
prethotic vowels	<i>card, cod</i>	ɑ:	ɑ:	PALM, BATH	ah	A:	ā
	<i>cleared</i>	ɪə	ɪr	NEAR	ihr	I@	ir
long in-gliding diphthongs	<i>cared</i>	ɛə	eɪ	SQUARE	ehr	e@	er
	<i>curd</i>	ɜ:	ɜ:r	NURSE	ahr	ɜ:	ər
unstressed vowels	<i>card</i>	ɑ:	ɑ:t	START	ahr	A:(r)	är
	<i>cured</i>	ʊə	ʊr	CURE	uhr	U@	ür
long in-gliding diphthongs	<i>cord</i>	ɔ:	ɔ:r	FORCE, NORTH	ohr	O:@	ör
	<i>c'ld</i>	ə	ə	comma	ə	@	ə
long in-gliding diphthongs	<i>kerfuffle</i>	ə	ər	letter	ər	@r	ər

The key words given in the second column have been selected to come as close as possible to the distinctions embodied in minimal pairs. The symbols in the third column are from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and are used today in virtually all British dictionaries – and elsewhere. Columns four and five contain the identifying words from Wells' lexical sets. A comparison of the two columns reveals that RP and GenAm agree to a large extent about which words have which vowels in their stressed syllables. For historical reasons some once unified sets have divided and changed differently in American and British English; hence the divergences. This has affected chiefly the low front and the low back vowels. Some American linguists use a modified Trager/Smith system (column six, here largely as in Labov 2010), which is based on systematic considerations concerning English phonology: (1) single elements for short, simple vowels; double symbols for complex vowels, which are a combination of a simple vowel and (2) a high front element (/y/), (3) a high back element (/w/), (4) an element of length (/h/), or (5) vowels followed by an /r/. The unstressed schwa /ə/ is used in virtually all the systems of transcription. The one exception is SAMPA ("Speech Assessment Methods Phonetic Alphabet") in column seven, which differs because it employs only symbols that are available in the ASCII system, where, for example, there is no <ə>. SAMPA makes transcriptions via e-mail possible. The symbols in the final column (from *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* 10th ed., 2001, edited by F.C. Mish) are typical of many dictionaries intended for native speakers in North America, where the symbols (i.e., letters) suggest common English spellings modified by such traditional conventions as diacritical marks.

often makes it difficult to understand an unfamiliar accent of English. To illustrate this, this section will take an exemplary look at one phoneme, /aɪ/, which will serve to show how varied actual pronunciation can be.

The phoneme /aɪ/ varies noticeably in the one or the other accent in one or more of the following four ways:

- 1 retraction (movement toward the back) of the first element;
- 2 raising of the first element;
- 3 a split of the single phoneme into two distinct allophones in complementary distribution;
- 4 weakening of the second element, resulting in some cases in a monophthong.

Retraction of the first element is noticeable especially in London Cockney and in the less prestigious accents of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Here the first element is frequently a backed, open and, in some areas, slightly rounded vowel, resulting in something like [ɔɪ]. The settlement history of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa from the late 18th century on with a large number of immigrants from the home counties (around London), where Cockney is centered, offers an explanation for this wide-ranging similarity. Some other independent reason must, however, be found to explain why [ɔɪ] is also the pronunciation traditionally found on the Outer Banks, the barrier islands off the coast of North Carolina, which were settled considerably earlier. A degree of retraction, though less extreme, is, by the way, also sometimes to be found in RP: [aɪ]. This is perhaps indicative of the way in which RP may develop – after all, various other developments in RP were first (and more extremely) observed in Cockney/London English before they became the accepted realization in RP.

Raising of the first element is to be found in Norwich, in the far north of England, in Wales, in Ireland, in New England, and in Barbados and the Bahamas. The quality of the phoneme may be symbolized as [ʌɪ] (Norwich, Barbados, the Bahamas), [ʌɪ] (Ireland), [əɪ] (the far north of England), or [əɪ] (Wales, New England).

A **split** is associated with raising in Canadian English (Canadian Raising; §8.3.2) and in parts of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida (the Tidewater South). Here [ai] or [aɪ] occur before a voiced-lenis consonant. In the environment of a following voiceless-fortis consonant the pronunciation of /aɪ/ is [aɪ] (Canada) or [a:ə] (e.g., Virginia) or [a:ɪ] e.g., South Carolina). This means that the vowels in *rice* and *rise* are clearly different:

<i>rice</i> [ɪəɪs]	<i>rise</i>	[ɪaɪz] (Canada)
		[ɪa:əz] (Tidewater Virginia)
		[ɪa:ɪz] (Tidewater S.C.)

A split of /aɪ/ is also the case in Scotland and the Ulster Scots areas of Northern Ireland. In Scotland a pronunciation without raising, [ae], is used in final position, before a voiced-lenis fricative, or before /t/, as in *buy*, *prize*, or *fire*. Otherwise [ʌɪ] or [əɪ], for example in *wipe*, *tribe*, occurs. Morphological boundaries also play a role here, which is the reason why, for example, *tied* [taed] and *tide* [tɪd] constitute a minimal pair.

Monophthongization. In a final group of accents /aɪ/ is realized as a monophthong. Many speakers in the American South have exclusively [a(:)] or lightly diphthongized [a^ɛ]. However, other more prestigious accents of the South do not have [ae] or [aɪ] before voiceless-fortis consonants (Bernstein 2006). For speakers of the latter type there is thus a split of /aɪ/ as illustrated by the two vowels of *night time* ['naɪt:am]. A further example of monophthongization of /aɪ/ may occasionally be found in Cockney; this leads to pairs such as *laugh* = *life*, both as [lɑ:f].

3.4 SUPRASEGMENTALS

The suprasegmentals are those aspects of pronunciation which are realized over a range of more than one segmental sound. We will be concerned here with juncture, stress, rhythm, and intonation.

3.4.1 Juncture

Juncture is the suprasegmental area which, perhaps, has the most to do with the segmental phonemes. Basically, it has to do with the way neighboring words and sounds are joined. A word sounds different depending on whether it is enunciated very carefully as a single word or uttered in the flow of speech. When a pause follows a word, there is what is called open juncture; otherwise, there is closed juncture. The distributional differences between clear [l] in prevocalic position and dark [ɫ] before consonants or open juncture as well as various cases of assimilation which have already been discussed are part of the area of juncture. When one word ends with a consonant and the next begins with a vowel, the final consonant of the first word is normally bound to the second word in what is often called liaison (or linking). When liaison does not occur, the speaker of English often uses a glottal stop [ʔ] to separate the two sounds. Glottal stops are particularly common in emphatic speech.

A recent study in of hiatus in several varieties of BrE, that is, the linking of two words the first ending in a vowel and the second beginning with one, show that the default means of linking is by inserting a glottal stop and that this is being readily adopted in speech communities in which numerous varieties of English are in contact, but that more traditional means are also employed:

- 1 a high back/rounded vowel is linked using [w], as in *show us* [ʃəʊ^wʌs] (cf. also Table 3.3);
- 2 a high front/unrounded vowel using [j] as in *see us* [siː^jʌs] (cf. also Table 3.3);
- 3 a nonhigh vowel initiates /r/ (in nonrhotic accents), both (a) linking r, as in *share it* /ʃeəri^t/ and (b) intrusive r after /ɑː/, /ɔː/, and /ə/, as in *saw us* [sɔːrʌs] (Britain and Fox 2009: 179–182).

The **linking /r/** occurs in several nonrhotic accents, especially RP. (The American South, while nonrhotic, does not have a linking /r/). This means that a word-final postvocalic <r> is pronounced if the following word begins with a vowel. By itself or before a word that begins with a consonant the word *Peter* takes the form /pi:tə/; *Peter Andrews*, however, appears with a linking /r/ as /pi:tərændruːz/. For some speakers the pattern of the linking /r/ leads to the articulation of /r/ where no <r> occurs in the spelling. This is especially the case following /ɔː/, /ɑː/, and /ə/ and is referred to as intrusive /r/, as in 3 (b) above. Not all speakers of nonrhotic accents share this pattern, and for many speakers it is looked down upon.

Juncture seldom has a phonemic function. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to provide examples of minimal pairs such as *an oat-a note*, which are distinguished, it seems, on the basis of juncture and syllable boundaries.

3.4.2 Stress and rhythm

The phenomenon of stress is difficult to define acoustically. Functionally, it serves to emphasize something against the background of its environment. This can take place in the form of “pitch, intensity, duration and vowel quality, with stressed syllables tending to have higher pitch, higher intensity and longer duration” (Plag, Kunter, and Schramm

2011). Usually, two or three, sometimes four distinct levels of stress are recognized, viz. primary <'>, secondary <,>, tertiary (not used in the following), and unstressed (unmarked). Stress has an immediate influence on how a phoneme is realized inasmuch as unstressed syllables tend to have schwa. Note that the initial vowel of 'atom is (stressed) /æ/, while the unstressed first syllable of a'tomic is /ə/. The weak stress of some syllables can lead to an identical realization of otherwise differing words (e.g., *drive* and *derive* may both be /draɪv/). Naturally, these words are hardly likely to occur in contexts in which they might be confused, and even if they did, speakers could easily remedy the possible confusion by using a more careful pronunciation of *derive*, /də'raɪv/.

Aside from its influence on the realization of phonemes, stress has two further important functions. For one thing it differentiates lexical pairs such as 'Main ,Street and ,main 'street or 'pass on ("to judge" as in *We didn't feel capable of passing on her qualifications*) and ,pass 'on ("hand to the next person") as in *Pass the book on to Mira when you're finished with it*.

Second, it marks (in connection with intonation) the word which carries the syntactic or sentence stress. In the careful style of spoken prose (e.g., a speech read at a meeting or the news read on radio or television), this is usually the last lexical word (noun, full verb, adjective, or adverb) in a clause. Most frequently the rheme (§5.3.1), or that part of the sentence which contains new information, carries the stress. If a different word, for example, a function word such as an article, a pronoun, an auxiliary verb, a preposition, or a lexical word besides the final one is to be stressed, this will be a case of contrastive stress. This means that the item which carries the stress is consciously emphasized in opposition to what might otherwise be the case, for example, *Jerry doesn't eat pickled herring (even though Diane does)*.

The connection between rhythm and stress is an important feature of English. All lexical words carry primary or secondary stress. The pattern which arises from this series of stresses provides the skeleton of English rhythm; all the remaining syllables are (relatively) unstressed. English is, for this reason, referred to as a stress-timed language as compared to a syllable-timed language (such as Spanish). It is often suggested that English has largely even rhythm, or isochrony, with each of the stresses occurring at relatively equal time intervals.

Most lexical words contain only one stressed syllable. The vowels in the remaining, unstressed syllables tend to be reduced to a schwa. This makes for notorious spelling problems for native speakers of English, who have difficulty remembering how to spell these unstressed vowels. For example, is it <attendence> or <attendance>? (the latter). Yet, because there can be shifts in the syllable which carries the stress, the full value of many of these unstressed vowels must be restored, as when 'Jefferson with final /-sən/ becomes Jeffer'sonian with final /-'sɒni:ən/, while *Dickens*, also with a final schwa /-ənz/ becomes Dic'kensian with final /-'enzi:ən/. In the following some of the endings which cause a change in stress are listed. We begin, however, with examples of derivational suffixes which cause no change and then go on to some which do cause one as well as a few which sometimes do and sometimes do not.

Stress neutral (the addition of the suffix does not affect the placement of stress):

- + {-ment}: 'govern, es'tablish, pro'nounce, reas'sure, a'gree
- + {-ship}: am'bassador, 'scholar, pro'fessor, 'workman
- + {-ness}: 'happy, satis'factory, 'genuine, 'literal, 'yellow, 'neighborly
- + {-al}: de'ny, ap'praise, with'draw, re'fuse, re'mit, ac'quit

Stress switch:

- + {-ation}: con'tinue-continu'ation; 'justify-justifi'cation; ac'cuse-accu'sation
- + {-ic(al)}: 'photograph-photo'graphic; 'analyze-ana'lytic; 'acid-a'cidic;
'ocean-oce'anic
- + {-ity}: 'lethal-le'thality; 'universe-uni'versity; u'nanimous-una'nimity
- + {-y}: 'photograph-pho'tography; a'ristocrat-aris'tocracy;
'democrat-de'mocracy

Uncertain behavior:

- + {-ous}: 'courage-cou'rageous; 'moment-mo'mentous; 'outrage-out'rageous
But: 'prosper-'prosperous; 'mountain-'mountainous
- + {-ive}: 'subject-sub'jective; 'object-ob'jective
But: 'substance-'substantive; 'predicate-'predicative; 'lucre-'lucrative

Weak forms. One of the further consequences of the stress patterns of English is that monosyllabic, nonlexical, that is, grammatical or function, words are usually fully unstressed. They are, for this reason, termed weak forms. In the normal flow of speech, that is, if they are not in a position in the sentence (such as final) where they cannot be reduced, the vowels of these words are rendered as schwa or the words are contracted. Here are some examples with their reduced forms indicated:

- Pronouns: *he* /i:/; *him* /ɪm/; *you* /jə/; *her* /ə(r)/ (e.g., *Did you see 'er?*); and so on
- Determiners: *the* /ðə/; *alan* /ə(n)/; *some* /səm/; and so on
- Auxiliaries: *shall* /ʃəl/; *will* [ɪ]; *can* [kən]; *is* /z/ or /s/; *are* /ə(r)/; *have* /əv/ (e.g., *should've*); and so on
- Conjunctions: *or* /ə(r)/; *that* /ðət/; *and* [ən] (e.g., *rock 'n' roll*)
- Adverbs: *then* /ðən/; *there* /ðə(r)/
- Prepositions: *at* /ət/; *for* /fə(r)/; *of* /əv/ or /əl/ (e.g., *helluva* or *kinda*); *to* /tə/ or /tə/ (e.g., *tuh leave*); and so on

Under contrastive stress it is possible that normally weak forms may carry stress as well.

3.4.3 Intonation

The final major area of phonology is intonation or the use of changes in the pitch of the voice (high or low). There are numerous variations in the details of its use from region to region. Nevertheless, the basic function of intonation is probably very similar for most, if not all, varieties. Intonation has an affective, a grammatical, and a discourse function. Thus, it is possible to use the same sequence of words to express a wide range of feelings such as joy, indifference, and sarcasm by employing what often amounts to only the finest of differences in intonation (emotional prosody). Intonation can also be used grammatically to signal whether a particular sequence of words is to be understood as a statement or a question, as a list of single features or a combination of common characteristics (linguistic prosody). Finally, it has also been pointed out that intonation is used pragmatically to add "specific interactional [discourse] significance to lexico-grammatical items" (Coulthard 1987: 46).

English employs four basic intonational contours, referred to as **tones**. They are:

[1]	fall	↘
[2]	rise	↗
[3]	fall-rise	↘↗
[4]	rise-fall	↗↘

There are numerous variations which can occur, but which cannot be presented here, touching, for example, on the intensity, duration, and range of the pitch change. Pitch change usually occurs within a single syllable, which is called the nucleus, tonic syllable, or tonic segment. It may, however, be spread over further syllables which follow the actual nucleus and are called the tail or the enclitic segment. This is especially the case for the complex tones (tones 3 and 4), where the speed of the fall or rise and the abruptness of the change from fall to rise or from rise to fall is involved. If one or more stresses are present, the whole stretch from the first stressed syllable (the head) to the nucleus is called the body (sometimes simply the head). For example, in answer to the question with rising intonation, *When did they leave?* [2], someone might say *They left at five* [1]. Here *five* would be the nucleus with a fall; *left* is the head; *at*, the body (alternatively *left at* is the head); and *They*, the prehead. In a simplified reply consisting only of the words *At five*, *At* is the prehead; *five*, the nucleus; and there is no head or body.

The affective function of a low pretonic and relatively level nucleus might be to convey lack of interest. In *They left at five* [2] a jump from a high prehead to a low head leading into a rise on the nucleus could signal mild astonishment, as if to say “Didn’t you know?” Almost needless to say, the number of variations that actually may occur are so great that there has been little agreement about what the significant contours are, what meaning they convey, and why this is so.

There do, however, seem to be some things of significance which can be said. One has to do with the general meaning of rises and falls, and the other has to do with how intonation serves to structure information in discourse as when a fall to low signals that “a particular mini-topic is ended” (Coulthard 1987: 60).

The general meaning of falling and rising intonation. Halliday’s analysis and interpretation of the intonation of English comes to the following conclusion: “Tone marks the kind of activity involved, by a complex pattern built out of a simple opposition between certain and uncertain ... If ... certain, the pitch of the tonic falls; if uncertain, it rises” (1973: 124).

In this way it is possible to understand both the affective and the grammatical functions of intonation as aspects of the same general criterion. A series of examples may serve to clarify this.

Statements are usually spoken with falling intonation [1] because they express certainty; if, however, the speaker is less certain or wants to appear less certain or dogmatic, this attitude can be conveyed by means of a final rise, as in *It’s getting pretty late* [3] as opposed to the same with [1]. In principle, more and more native speakers are using a rise in intonation for their statements, something that has come to be known as “uptalk” (cf. Warren (2016) for an extensive discussion).

A **yes-no question** is in order if a speaker is not sure whether something is the case or not. The appropriate intonation will normally be rising [2]. Even a sentence without the inversion of subject and auxiliary verb will probably be interpreted as a question or at least as contradiction, astonishment, or the like if it is uttered with rising intonation, as with *It’s getting pretty late* [2].

Wh-questions differ from *yes-no* questions in containing a premise which is in any case asserted. In the question *Where is your sister?* [1], the assumption is made that you do, indeed, have a sister. For this reason, *wh*-questions always contain an assertion, and it is

understandable that they take falling intonation. However, a low rise at the end is not unusual: it permits a question to sound opener and friendlier, less absolute. Thus, a low rise together with the sequence of words *When are you going home?* [2] is less certain than the same with falling intonation [1]; the result is that the speaker comes across as politer and friendlier, because a rise [2] leaves more room for the addressee to answer freely, even, for example, by perhaps remarking that he/she is not planning to go home at all right now (on politeness see §6.5.2).

An interesting alternative to Halliday's general principle is that of Brazil, which can be stated as follows:

We can generalize ... that a basic function of the fall-rise tone is to mark the experiential content of the tone unit, the *matter*, as part of the shared, already negotiated, common ground, occupied by the participants at a particular moment in an ongoing interaction. By contrast, falling tone marks the matter as new.

(Coulthard 1985: 105)

In these terms a statement with falling intonation, *It's getting pretty late* [1] is rather more preemptory because it *proclaims* something new to the hearer. The same statement with fall-rise [3] creates more social solidarity because it *refers* to common knowledge. When applied to questions, the same principle is valid. A referring tone, [2] or [3], "projects the speaker's wish to have his assumptions confirmed with respect to a truth which he presents as having been negotiated"; proclaiming tones, [1] and [4], "project a wish that the respondent should provide a selection from a so-far unnegotiated set" of choices (Brazil 1985: 171). In this sense, *wh*-questions usually have falls because the information asked has normally not yet been negotiated. Rising *yes-no* questions suggest: "I think I know the answer: please tell me whether I am right" (*ibid.*: 172f). Perhaps the greatest disadvantage to this approach is that it applies better to RP than to other accents of English. The widespread use of [3] described here is, for example, relatively unfamiliar in American English as well as in areas in the British Isles outside southern England.

The approach espoused by Brazil includes the idea of pitch concord, which helps to predict what type of response will follow. A nucleus which falls from a high or mid pitch level will suggest a response which starts on the corresponding level. A rise which ends high or mid will tend to have a similar effect. Ending a statement at a mid-level pitch has the effect of asking for agreement [3] (a common ground is assumed); ending it at a high level would tend to call forth a definitive statement [1] (*yes?* or *no?*). A fall to low or a rise from low does not have the same constraining effect on the response: the hearer is free to respond as they wish or not at all. Note that in BrE a perfunctory *Thanks* which falls to low releases the other from any obligation to reply and may therefore terminate an encounter. In AmE in the same situation *Thanks* is more likely to end at mid or even high, which allows for the more usually American *You're welcome* or the like.

Tonality. The information expressed by a sentence may be affected not only by the choice of tones and by the distribution of stress in the sentence, that is, tonicity, but also by the number of intonational contours present in a clause (according to Halliday: tonality). Tonality affects the structure of information. When a simple sentence or a single clause corresponds to a single intonational contour, Halliday speaks of neutral tonality, which is the "normal" or unmarked case. However, an intonational contour can be longer or shorter than a clause.

Nonrestrictive (or nondefining) **relative clauses**, for example, can have their own separate contour, something which is not possible with restrictive (or defining) relative clauses, which must share a contour with the sentence they are embedded in. If someone has only one brother, then the sentence given below is nondefining and may appear as either (a) or

(b), that is, either with or without a separate contour for the nonrestrictive relative clause, and the (b) version will be with a comma. If the speaker has several brothers, the relative clause serves to identify which is meant and is therefore defining; hence, only one contour, as in (b), is possible (and the comma is not permitted):

- (a) That's my brother [1], who lives in Oregon. [1]
- (b) That's my brother (,) who lives in Oregon. [1]

Alternative questions have different interpretations depending on which contours they have and whether or not they have more than one contour. *Can you speak Spanish or French?* may have the following interpretations depending on the tones and the tonality:

- 1 Can you speak Spanish or French? [2] neutral: "Can you speak either one?"
- 2 Can you speak Spanish [2] or French? [1] "Which of the two?"
- 3 Can you speak Spanish [2] or French [2] "Or maybe another one?"
- 4 Can you speak Spanish [1] or French [1] "Do you know any foreign languages at all?"

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the relationship between tone, tonicity, and tonality is complex and that the global interpretations presented here are far from being universally accepted. Despite the fact that intonation and stress are of central importance, not enough is known about either. Both contribute to the expression of speaker attitude and speaker intention and to the information structure of the sentence; however, tempo and voice quality are two further factors, not dealt with here, which play a similarly significant role.

3.5 THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH

Orthography refers to the set of conventions which are employed when writing a language. Since written conventions are not sufficient to express all the information which the spoken word transmits and because the written language has a long tradition and a set of regularities of its own, the two systems, that of speech and that of writing, correspond only imperfectly (for more discussion, see §5.1.4). To begin with, almost everything which is written is a part of Standard English (StE) and presumes a certain minimum degree of education. In addition, the written language cannot match the many elements which in the spoken language identify the emotional state and the regional and social origins as well as the gender and age of the speaker.¹⁰ When such information about language users is to be expressed in writing, it is best done explicitly, for example, by saying in so many words that someone is a male or a female, is tired, angry, happy, or is old, young, poorly educated, etc. Clearly, everything which has to do with accent and voice quality is lost in the written language. Only the choice of vocabulary and use of syntax remain as elements of style which may contain hints as to region, class, gender, or age. Both the matter of accent and voice as well as factors influencing handwriting find much application in the areas of forensic and clinical linguistics.

10 Of course, handwriting may offer some hints and young children as well as less highly educated writers of the language may be fairly readily identified. Some (especially fictional) writers also use dialect spellings for the regional and/or social classification of people.

3.5.1 Punctuation

As one part of orthography punctuation serves two main purposes:

- it separates units;
- it specifies grammatical function.

Punctuation is governed largely by conventions but individual preference is also important.

The separating function is probably clear without further explanation. Included here are indentation or free lines to mark paragraphs, spaces between words, and the full stop (BrE) or period (AmE) [.] , the semicolon [;], the comma [,], the m- and n-dash [— / –], brackets (BrE) or parentheses (AmE) [()], and so on. Commas, dashes, brackets/parentheses, and inverted commas (BrE)/quotation marks (AmE) [“...” or ‘...’] are generally used in pairs when they mark embedded material.

The grammatical function of punctuation includes the following: the use of the question mark [?], the exclamation point/mark [!], the apostrophe ['] as a marker of the possessive case, underlining (in handwriting) or italics (in print) for emphasis or to mark the use of linguistic material or foreign words as well as other less central conventions.

3.5.2 Spelling

English spelling has a bad reputation. This is partly because numerous words have more than one spelling, partly because many phonemes can be represented by a whole series of different graphemes (units of spelling consisting of a letter or sequence of letters), and partly because one and the same grapheme may represent various phonemes. Emery (1975) quotes the following sentence:

In a *cozy* house *cater-cornered* from the palace a *finicky caliph* who maintained that a *jinni* had revealed to him the secrets of the *cabala*, spent much of his time smoking *panatelas* – sometimes *kef* – and training his pet *parakeet*.

Emery remarks that if all the permutations and combinations of different spellings for the nine words in italics as given in five different American dictionaries were added up, there would be 11,197,440 different *correct* versions of this sentence (Emery 1975: 1f).

This kind of variation is interesting to note but is basically trivial. For the spelling of English is fundamentally based on phonemic principles. However, there is a very imperfect degree of correspondence between sound and sign due to such factors as

- historical spellings which have been retained (e.g., *cough*, *plough*, *knight*, *write*),
- etymological spellings (e.g., *subtle* and *doubt* with a despite the lack of /b/ in the pronunciation; this is done on the model of Latin *subtilis* and *dubitare* even though older English had *sutill/sotil* and *doute* without a), and
- a variety of foreign borrowings (e.g., *sauerkraut*, *entrepreneur*, or *bhang*).

The spelling of the consonants. The situation is less complicated in the area of the consonants than with the vowels. In most cases there is a fixed correspondence between one letter and one sound; <k> represents /k/ and , /b/. The exceptions are relatively few and

easy to remember: the <k> of <kn-> (*know, knife*, etc.) and the or <-mb> (*comb, lamb*, etc.), for example, are never pronounced.

When there is no letter available in the Latin alphabet to represent a particular phoneme, a combination of two letters is used, for example, the graphemes <th>, <ch>, <sh>, or <zh> (<zh> in foreign words for /ʒ/ although here the spelling of the foreign word may have been retained as in *rouge* /ru:ʒ/). The fact that <th> is used for both /ð/ and /θ/ and that <ch> is used for /tʃ/, /k/, and /ʃ/ is, of course, inconsistent, but the principles behind this are easy to grasp.

<th>. Initial <th> represents

- /ð/ in grammatical or function words, that is, pronouns (*they, them, their, this, that*, etc.), the basic adverbs (*then, there, thus*), or the definite article (*the*);
- /θ/ in all the other (lexical) words (e.g., *thing, think, theatre, thunder, thin*);
- /t/ in a few exceptional cases such as *Thomas, thyme, Thames, Thailand*.

In the middle of a word <th> is /ð/ if it is followed by <e(r)> as in *leather, weather, father, brother, either, other*, and so on. Only a few words of Greek origin such as (*a*)*esthetic, anthem*, or *ether* are exceptions to this. When no <e> follows, <th> is /θ/, as in *gothic, lethal, method, author, diphthong, lengthy*, and *athlete*. Exceptions with /ð/ are the result of inflectional endings which have been added on, especially. <ing> (e.g., *breathing* [from *breathe*]), but also exceptions such as *worthy* (from *worth*).

At the end of a word /ð/ is sometimes marked by a following silent <e> (e.g., *seethe, bathe, breathe, teethe, clothe*), but individual words such as *mouth* (verb) are not differentiated in this way. There is also an alternation between voiceless/fortis singulars and voiced/lenis plurals for some nouns. For example:

path /θ/	paths /ðz/
bath /θ/	baths /ðz/
mouth /θ/	mouths /ðz/

However, there are also numerous exceptions to this (e.g., *math-maths*, both with /θ/ or *lath-laths*, both with either /ð/ or /θ/).

<ch>. The use of <ch> for three different phonemes can be explained by reference to the history of the language: words which were present in Old English have <ch> at the beginning of a word to represent /tʃ/ (e.g., *cherry, cheese, church, cheap*). Words which entered the language from French after the Middle English period are by and large pronounced with /ʃ/ though spelled with <ch> (e.g., *chalet, champagne, chef, Chicago, chic*). In learned words, finally, which ultimately stem from Greek or Latin, <ch> is pronounced /k/ (e.g., *chaos, character, chemistry, chorus, chord*).

Two letters are sometimes used for a single consonant phoneme when one would be sufficient. For example, final /k/ can be spelled <k>, <c> or <ck> (*took, tic, tick*); <g> and <gh> both stand for /g/ (*ghost, goes*); <j>, <g>, <dg> all represent /dʒ/ (*jam, gem, bridge*); <f> and <ph> are both possibilities for /f/ (*fix, phone*); and <s> and <ss> may be used for /s/ (*bus, dress*), just as <z> and <zz> may be for /z/ (*fez, fuzz*). The reasons for this are sometimes of an etymological nature (e.g., <ph> for /f/ in words from Greek). Often, however, the use of a single graph or letter versus a digraph (a two-letter combination) is important because it provides information about how the preceding vowel grapheme is pronounced, as will be illustrated in the following.

The spelling of the vowels. When one of the single letter-vowels of the alphabet, namely, <a, e, i/y, o, u>, occurs singly (i.e., neither doubled nor together with another letter-vowel as in <ee, ie, ea>, etc.) and is the vowel of a stressed syllable, its phonemic interpretation is

signaled by the graphemic environment. When a single letter-vowel is followed by a single letter-consonant plus another letter-vowel, it has the phonemic value of the alphabet name of the letter, that is, “long” <a> = /eɪ/, “long” <e> = /i:/, “long” <i> = /aɪ/ (also for <y>), “long” <o> = /əʊ/ (RP) or /oʊ/ (GenAm) and “long” <u> = /ʃu:/, as in the words *made*, *supreme*, *timel/thyme*, *tone*, and *mute* (see Table 3.6).

When, however, two letter-consonants or one letter-consonant and the space (∅) at the end of a word follow, the letter-vowels are interpreted (in the same order) as /æ/, /e/, /ɪ/, /ʊ/ (RP) or /ɑ:/ (GenAm), and /ʌ/. Examples are *mad(den)*, *pet(ting)*, *hit(ter)*, *hot(test)*, and *run(ner)*. In a number of words <u> is not /ʌ/ but /ʊ/ (e.g., *bush*, *push*, *bull*, *pull*, *bullet*, *put*, *cushion*, *butcher*, *puss*, *pudding*). It is interesting to note that in all those words where /ʊ/ rather than /ʌ/ occurs there is a /p/, /b/, /ʃ/, and /tʃ/ immediately next to the vowel and each of these consonants is pronounced with lip-rounding, as is /ʊ/. This seems to be a necessary, though not a sufficient condition since quite a few words with the same neighboring sounds have central, unrounded /ʌ/. Note, for example, *put* /ʊ/ vs. *putt* /ʌ/ or *Buddha* /ʊ/ vs. *buddy* /ʌ/ (see Tables 3.7 and 3.8).

Table 3.6 The “long” vowels: spelling and pronunciation

Spelling	Pronunciation	Examples	Some exceptions
<a> + C + V	/eɪ/	rate, rating	have, garage
<e> + C + V	/i:/	mete, scheming, extreme	allege, metal
<i/y> + C + V	/aɪ/	ripe, rhyme, divine	machine, river, divinity ^a
<o> + C + V	RP /əʊ/ GenAm /oʊ/	joke, joking, verbose	come, lose, gone, verbosity ^a
<u> + C + V	/ʃu:/	cute, renewal	

^a Words which end in {-ity}, {-ic}, {-ion} (*divinity*, *mimic*, *collision*) have a short vowel realization of <a, e, i, o, u> as a result of historical processes (cf. Venezky 1970: 108f).

Table 3.7 The “short” vowels: spelling and pronunciation

Spelling	Pronunciation	Examples	Some exceptions
<a> + C + C/∅	/æ/	<i>rat</i> , <i>rattle</i> ¹	<i>mamma</i>
<e> + C + C/∅	/e/	<i>set</i> , <i>settler</i>	-
<i/y> + C + C/∅	/ɪ/	<i>rip</i> , <i>ripping</i> , <i>system</i>	-
<o> + C + C/∅	/ʊ/ RP /ɑ:/ GenAm	<i>comma</i>	<i>gross</i>
<u> + C + C/∅	/ʌ/ /ʊ/	<i>cut</i> , <i>cutter</i> <i>put</i> , <i>bush</i> ²	<i>butte</i>

¹ In RP and RP-like BrE numerous words follow a special rule for <a>; see next table.

² See text for discussion.

Table 3.8 Words with /ɑ:/ in RP (all of which have /æ/ in GenAm)

Spelling	Examples	Some exceptions (all with /æ/)
<a> + <f>	<i>after</i> , <i>daft</i>	<i>baffle</i> , <i>raffish</i>
+ <s>	<i>ask</i> , <i>pass</i>	<i>gas</i> , <i>as</i> , <i>basset</i>
+ <th>	<i>path</i> , <i>rather</i>	<i>math</i> , <i>hath</i>
<a> + <m> + C	<i>example</i> , <i>sample</i>	<i>ample</i> , <i>ramble</i>
+ <n> + C	<i>advance</i> , <i>trance</i>	<i>random</i> , <i>Atlantic</i>
<a> + <l> + <f>	<i>half</i> , <i>calf</i>	<i>Talmud</i> , <i>almanac</i>

In a final set of circumstances an <r> follows the letter-vowel. In such cases a whole new system of correspondences applies. One type involves <r> followed by two letter-vowels (e.g., *various*) or a single letter-vowel and a space (*Mary*); a second type provides for <r> followed by a letter-vowel plus a letter-consonant (*arid*) or double <rr> (e.g., *marry*); and a third type has <r> followed by a letter-consonant or a space (∅) (*part, mar*) (see Table 3.9).

There are, of course, numerous exceptions to these rules, as has been indicated. In addition, there are all those representations of vowels which make use of combinations of two letters (digraphs). Venezky (1970: 114–119) refers to these as “secondary vowel patterns” and distinguishes between major correspondences and minor correspondences.

Major correspondences include the use of <ai, ay, ei, ey> for /eɪ/ (*bait, day, veil, obey*) or of <ea, ee> for /i:/ (*each, bleed*) or of <oo> for /u:/ (*boot*).

Minor correspondences involve such “exceptions” as <ai> for /eɪ/ (*said*) or <oo> for /ʊ/ (*book, good, wool, foot, etc.*).

Spelling reform. English spelling seems to be regular and systematic enough to resist any serious attempts at reform. Nevertheless, two important tendencies may be noted. Popular spellings – especially in America and in the language of advertising – affect numerous words, in particular ones with <-gh> such as *do-nut* (*doughnut*), *nitelite* (*nightlight*), *thru-way* (*throughway*), but also such expression as *kwik* (*quick*) or *krispy kreme* (*crispy cream*). Besides these unofficial reforms, a certain regularizing tendency has been standardized

Table 3.9 (a–c) The pronunciation of vowels before <r>

(a)				
Spelling	RP	GenAm	Examples	Some exceptions
<ar> + V + (V/∅)	/eə(r)/	/er/	<i>ware, wary, warier</i>	<i>are, aria, safari</i>
<er> + V + (V/∅)	/ɪə(r)/	/ɪr/	<i>here, cereal</i>	<i>very</i>
<ir /yr> + V + (V/∅)	/aɪə(r)/	/aɪr/	<i>fire, inquiry, tyre</i>	-
<or> + V + (V/∅)	/ɔ:(r)/	/ɔ:r/	<i>lore, glorious</i>	-
<ur> + V + (V/∅)	/jʊə(r)/	/jʊr/	<i>bureau, spurious</i>	<i>bury, burial</i>

(b)			
Spelling	RP and GenAm	Examples	Some exceptions
<ar(r)> + VC	/æ/	<i>arid, marriage</i>	<i>catarrh, harem</i>
<er(r)>	/e/	<i>peril, errand</i>	<i>err</i>
<ir(r) / yr(r)>	/ɪ/	<i>empiric, irrigate, lyric</i>	<i>squirrel</i> (GenAm)
<or(r)>	/ɒ/ RP		
	/ɑ:/ or /ɔ:/ GenAm	<i>foreign, oriole, borrow</i>	<i>worry, horrid</i>
<ur(r)>	/ɜ:/	<i>burr, furry, purring</i>	<i>urine</i>
<urr> + V (monomorphemic)	/ʌ/ (RP only)	<i>hurry, turret</i> (RP)	<i>furry</i>

(c)			
Spelling	RP and GenAm	Examples	Some exceptions
<ar> + ∅/C	/ɑ:/	<i>par, part</i>	<i>scarce</i>
<er>	/ɜ:/	<i>her, herb</i>	<i>concerto, sergeant</i>
<ir /yr>	/ɜ:/	<i>for, bird, Byrd</i>	-
<or>	/ɔ:/	<i>for, fort</i>	<i>attorney</i>
<ur>	/ɜ:/	<i>cur, curd</i>	-

in AmE spelling with the leveling of <-our> to <-or> (*honour* > *honor*), <-re> to <-er> (*centre* > *center*), and so on (§9.3.6).

Spelling pronunciations. Spelling also exerts a certain influence on speech habits so that so-called spelling pronunciations come into existence. Traditional /'fɔ:ri:d/ (RP) or /'fɔ:rəd/ (GenAm), for example, become /'fɔ:hed/ (RP) or /'fɔ:rhed/ (GenAm); and the previously silent <t> in *often* is pronounced by many speakers. Of this Potter writes, "Of all the influences affecting present-day English that of spelling upon sounds is probably the hardest to resist" (1979: 77).

There are, in other words, tendencies for people to write the way they speak, but also to speak the way they write. Nevertheless, the present system of English spelling has certain advantages:

Paradoxically, one of the advantages of our illogical spelling is that ... it provides a fixed standard for spelling throughout the English-speaking world and, once learnt, we encounter none of the difficulties in reading which we encounter in understanding strange accents.

(Stringer 1973: 27)

A further advantage (vis-à-vis the spelling reform propagated by George Bernard Shaw) is that etymologically related words often resemble each other despite differences in their vowel quality. For example, *sonar* and *sonic* are both spelled with <o> even though the first is pronounced with /əʊ/ or /oʊ/ and the latter with /ɒ/ or /ɑ:/.

3.6 EXERCISES

3.6.1 Exercise on minimal pairs

For the following word pairs decide whether they constitute a minimal pair. Making a broad/phonemic transcription can be of help here.

Minimal pair (yes/no)	your transcription
<i>cease-seize</i>	_____
<i>love-shove</i>	_____
<i>aisle-I'll</i>	_____
<i>noose-nose</i>	_____
<i>coup-cue</i>	_____
<i>discussed-disgust</i>	_____
<i>curb-kerb</i>	_____

3.6.2 Exercises on distinctive features

Exercise a: Provide three distinctive features for each of the phonemes below.

- /æ/ :
- /dʒ/ :
- /θ/ :

Exercise b: Provide the phoneme for the distinctive features given.

a voiced, velar stop:	//
a long, mid, central vowel:	//
a short, high/close front vowel:	//
a voiced, labial nasal:	//
a diphthong moving from low front to high front:	//

3.6.3 Exercise on spelling and pronunciation

In the following sets of four words circle the “odd one out” in phonetic/phonological terms.

Example:

	cough	<u>bough</u>	rough	tough
a.	b <u>u</u> shes	br <u>u</u> shes	cr <u>u</u> shes	thr <u>u</u> shes
b.	ab <u>u</u> se (v.)	cho <u>o</u> se	loo <u>o</u> se	lo <u>o</u> se
c.	<u>ch</u> ap	<u>ch</u> ef	<u>ch</u> ip	<u>ch</u> op
d.	<u>cu</u> rry	<u>h</u> urry	<u>s</u> orry	<u>w</u> orry
e.	adv <u>i</u> ce	dev <u>i</u> ce	prec <u>i</u> se	rev <u>i</u> se
f.	de <u>a</u> d	fe <u>a</u> t	he <u>a</u> d	le <u>a</u> d (metal)
g.	<u>Th</u> ailand	<u>Th</u> ames	<u>Th</u> omas	<u>Th</u> oreau
h.	l <u>in</u> ger	hun <u>g</u> er	wr <u>in</u> ger	you <u>n</u> ger
i.	att <u>o</u> rney	h <u>o</u> rny	<u>j</u> ourney	w <u>o</u> rd
j.	c <u>o</u> ve	w <u>o</u> ve	gl <u>o</u> ve	st <u>o</u> ve

3.6.4 Exercise on stress

Circle the syllable (and only that syllable) in each of the following words/phrases which carries the primary stress in present-day RP or GenAm

Arabic	category	economy	semester
hotel	relax	restricted	antipathy
Brooklyn Bridge	homogeneous	Berlin	serenade
serendipity	thermometer	Anglicism	Hyde Park Corner

3.6.5 Exercise on /ŋg/ vs. /ŋ/

Explain the difference in pronunciation (/ŋg-/ vs. /ŋ/) in the two items below.

/fɪŋgər/

/sɪŋər/

3.6.6 Exercise on silent

Put the sixteen words below in the appropriate column:

amber, *bumble*, *chamber*, *climb*, *comb*, *crumble*, *limb*, *lumber*, *plumber*, *ramble*, *number* (adj.), *number* (n), *sombr**er**somber*, *symbol*, *succumb*, *womb*

 is pronounced	 is not pronounced

FURTHER READING

The concept of GenAm is discussed critically in Van Riper (1986); both **GenAm** and **RP** are treated in Wells (1982).

Phonetics and phonology is treated in readable introductions in Carr (1999), Roach (2001), and Collins and Mees (2003); for **phonetics** see *Gimson's Pronunciation of English* = Cruttenden (2014); a general treatment – differing in some points from this chapter – is MacMahon (2006); see Clark, Yallop, and Fletcher (2007) for a more advanced introduction.

Pronouncing dictionaries of English include the useful volume by Wells (2008).

Stress For a general introduction, see Brinton (2000). For a detailed treatment of word stress, see Fudge (1984) and Poldauf (1984).

Intonation is covered by Brazil, Coulthard, and Jones (1980), Brazil (1985), Cruttenden (1986), and Halliday (1970, 1973); for a more recent differentiated view see Maidment (1990). Coulthard (1985, 1987) integrate intonation in discourse.

Spelling and punctuation many modern monolingual dictionaries of English give the rules and conventions of English punctuation; special books include Carey (1972); see also Salmon (1988), Carney (1994), and Venezky (1970) for an excellent structural overview of spelling; also Venezky (1999).

Grammar

This chapter deals with the grammatical structure of StE. It is, however, impossible to do this without, on the one hand, making comments on other aspects of English such as phonology, lexis, and text types, and without making at least occasional reference to regional and social variation in syntax and morphology (specifically) treated in Chapters 7–12. The following pages will concentrate on a presentation of English grammar which begins on the level of word classes (§4.1), moves on to make some observations about functional word groups or phrases (§§4.2–4), and then explores the fundamental syntactical relations of English at the clause or sentence level (§4.5). The first level, that of the word, is concerned with an identification of word classes or parts of speech, and it briefly reviews the inflectional morphology of English. The second step introduces functional phrases and then looks more closely at the verb phrase (VP) and the noun phrase (NP). The third stage goes more extensively into the way sentences in English are constructed; it identifies and comments on the various clause elements and both how clauses vary and how they are combined into more complex structures (cf. Aarts and Haegeman 2008).

4.1 WORD CLASSES

Within English grammar nine word classes are traditionally recognized: nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, and articles/determiners. While this division is useful, it also has several drawbacks. Among the advantages is the fact that these classes are familiar and widely used – including their employment in the description of numerous other languages – and the fact that their number is manageably small. What is problematic is that many of these parts of speech include subclasses which are often dramatically different from each other. As a result, it is sometimes difficult to find a clear common denominator and to make definitive judgments about class membership.

Open classes and closed sets. One of the most noticeable disparities within the traditional classes is that between open classes and closed sets. This is the case, for example, with the verb. Most English verbs are lexical items, which means that they prototypically have relatively concrete content and often but not always can be easily visualized (e.g., *run*, *read*, *stand*, *investigate*, *take out*, *consist of*). New verbs can be added to the language, and the meanings of old ones can be extended as needed to name new concepts such as *bio-degrade* or *recycle*. These are examples which show that lexical verbs are part of an open class – open because this class is open for new members. Other verbs belong to groups which may not be added to in this way; they are parts of closed sets. Prominent examples are the auxiliary verbs, both nonmodal (*be*, *have*, *do*) and modal (chiefly *will*, *would*, *shall*,

should, can, could, may, might, and must). This class does not readily accept new members and the items in these sets may be listed in their entirety. Furthermore, none of them are easy to picture: for they are not content or lexical words. They are commonly referred to as function, grammatical, or structure words because they carry grammatical meaning.

Nouns consist exclusively of lexical words since the grammatical words with a noun (or nominal) function have traditionally been separated out into the class of pronouns. Adjectives are also a lexical class, but adverbs consist of both lexical and functional items. Prepositions are usually regarded as grammatical, but there is, in fact, a wide range of types within this class stretching from the highly grammatical (e.g., *of*) to the highly lexical (say, *to the left of* or *at the foot of*). Conjunctions and articles/determiners are functional classes, though conjunctions have important lexical dimensions (time, cause, concession, condition, etc.). Interjections, finally, are a ragbag of linguistic and nonlinguistic items; they include single nouns and verbs (*Hell! Damn!*), phrases and clauses (*Good morning! Break a leg!*), special interjectional items (*Wow! Whew!*), and sounds such as whistles, coughs, and sighs. They may mark surprise, disgust, fear, relief, and the like; or they may function pragmatically as greetings, curses, well wishes, and so forth. They will not be considered any further since they are governed less by syntax and morphology than by expressive and situational demands.

Morphological and syntactic criteria. Word classes may be determined by their possible inflectional morphology and syntactic position. Morphology is the more restricted criterion since several of the word classes have no inflections at all (conjunctions, prepositions, and articles). Not even all nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs can be inflected. In the sections on the individual parts of speech, the inflectional paradigms will be presented in tables.

Syntactic position means that the part of speech of a word (its word class) can typically be identified by where it may occur. Concretely, a noun can appear by itself immediately after an article (*the lamp, an expression, a book*). Prepositions appear before nominal expressions (*after the show, because of the accident, in spite of them*). Adjectives may appear after articles and before nouns (*the red car, an unusual sight, a heavy load*). There are some problems involved in this way of defining word classes. Not all members of each class conform to the positional criteria. For example, some nouns are seldom if ever preceded by an article (proper nouns like *Holland* or *Lucy*; nominalized forms such as gerunds like *working* or *being happy*). Some prepositions follow their objects (*two years ago*). Some adjectives are not used attributively (**the ajar door*). Furthermore, there is overlap since, for example, some nouns take the same position as adjectives (*the dilapidated (adj.) house* vs. *the brick (noun) house*). Similar objections apply to positional definitions of the other parts of speech. Furthermore, each of the definitions presumes an understanding of some of the other word classes. What this means is that we are dealing with somewhat vague classes grouped around prototypical members of the various word classes.

4.1.1 Nouns

At the center of the class of nouns are those items which fulfill the positional requirements just discussed; added to this is the typical inflection of a noun (possessive {s}, plural {s}). In addition, we can use semantic criteria: a noun is the name of a person, place, or thing. Yet there are also innumerable abstract nouns, that is, ones which are not designations for concrete persons, places, or things (e.g., *truth, warmth, love, art*). Nouns can, consequently, be grouped according to two dichotomies: concrete vs. abstract and count vs. mass nouns (ones not normally used to designate individual, countable units). Words that conform to

Table 4.1 Noun inflections

	Singular		Plural	
Common case ^a	<i>president</i>	/ˈprezədənt/	<i>presidents</i>	/ˈprezədənts/
Possessive case	<i>president's</i>	/ˈprezədənts/	<i>presidents'</i>	/ˈprezədənts/

^a **Common case** in the table contains all the nonpossessive occurrences of the noun such as what is traditionally called the nominative/subject or accusative/object case.

these characteristics are prototypical nouns. They may be simple, consisting of one word (*bird, book, bay*), or complex (*string bean, sister-in-law, sit-in*). Grouped around them are further items which conform only partially yet are regarded as nominal because they can occur in the same position as the kind of phrases nouns occur in, namely, noun phrases, or NPs (§4.4), for example nominal *that*-clauses (§4.5.2), for example *I saw my friend* and *I saw that my friend had come*, where both *my friend* and *that my friend had come* are objects of the *saw*. It is this functional similarity which serves most broadly to define the limits of the class of nouns.

Inflection. Nouns which are prototypically concrete (“persons, places, things”) and, as such, refer to objects which can be counted usually take the inflectional ending {s} for plural number. Inasmuch as they refer to an animate being, they take a further inflection for possession (also {s}). This results in the paradigm presented in Table 4.1:

There are also a small number of inflectional exceptions in plural formation (*child/children, man/men, deer/deer, goose/geese*, etc.). Nonanimate nouns are seldom found in the possessive (exceptions are time expressions: *a day's wait*).¹ Numerous mass or noncount nouns have no plural (e.g., *snow, water, accommodation*, “lodgings” [always singular in BrE but usually plural in AmE], *information, advice, furniture*), though the latter three are frequently pluralized in nonnative second language varieties of English in Africa and Asia (e.g., §12.4.2).

4.1.2 Pronouns

Those words which can replace noun phrases (NPs) are called pronouns. They are a closed class, and they are divided into several well-known subsets: the personal (including reflexive and intensive pronouns), impersonal and reciprocal, demonstrative, relative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns.

The personal pronouns are used to distinguish the speaker (first person), the addressee (second person), and a further or third party (third person). They have a, for English, fairly elaborate set of case, number, and gender forms (see also §6.3) (Table 4.2).

Case in English does not reflect grammatical function (subject, object) in strict fashion. Predicate complements after copular verbs (*be, seem, appear, become*, etc.) occur most frequently and naturally in the object case (*That's me in the picture*). This may well be the case because the position after the predicator (= the verb) is the typical object position. Object case forms can be subjects as well, especially if two are joined together (e.g., *Me and him, we're going for a swim*), even though such forms are often regarded as nonstandard and the subject-forms (*He and I...*) are preferred by prescriptive grammarians. This may be attributed to the disjoined or disjunctive position of the two object form

¹ Mair and Leech point out a small trend away from the *of*-genitive “back” to the *s*-genitive (2008: 333f).

Table 4.2 The English personal pronouns

	<i>First person</i>		<i>Second person</i>	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
nominative/subject	<i>I</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>you</i>
accusative/object	<i>me</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>you</i>
possessive	<i>mine</i>	<i>ours</i>	<i>yours</i>	<i>yours</i>
reflexive/intensive	<i>myself</i>	<i>ourselves</i>	<i>yourself</i>	<i>yourselves</i>
	<i>Third person singular</i>			
	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Plural</i>
nominative/subject	<i>he</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>they</i>
accusative/object	<i>him</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>them</i>
possessive	<i>his</i>	<i>hers</i>	<i>its</i>	<i>theirs</i>
reflexive/intensive	<i>himself</i>	<i>herself</i>	<i>itself</i>	<i>themselves</i>

pronouns in the example. Finally, the object form occurs as a disjunctive pronoun when the pronoun stands alone (e.g., Q: *Who did that?* A: *Me.*) (but *I did*, where the pronoun does not stand alone).

Two further sets of pronouns are closely related to the personal pronouns. The first is the third person singular pronoun *one*. It is used for general, indefinite, human reference and frequently includes the listener implicitly, as in *One does what one can*. It is often regarded as socially affected. Like the other indefinite pronouns which end in *-one*, it has a possessive (*one's, everyone's, someone's, no one's*). It differs from the other indefinite pronouns, however, in also having a reflexive form: *oneself*.

The second type consists of the reciprocal pronouns *each other* and *one another* (which are virtually interchangeable²). They have possessive forms (*each other's, one another's*) but no reflexive, which is logical since they function much like reflexives, referring to a previous referent. In contrast to the reflexives, reciprocal pronouns must have a plural subject (e.g., *we, you, or they*); the verbs they occur with express a mutual relationship (*we saw each other = I saw you + you saw me*).

Relative and interrogative pronouns, specifically *who* and *which*, are the only other pronouns which have case distinctions (Table 4.3).

The form *whom* is most likely to be found directly after a preposition (e.g., *To Whom It May Concern*). Differences according to medium are prominent. In the BNC *whom* has a frequency of 141 per million words in written English, but only 26 per million in spoken

Table 4.3 The pronouns *who* and *which*

	<i>Animate/personal</i>	<i>Inanimate</i>
Nominative/subject	<i>who</i>	<i>which</i>
Accusative/object	<i>who(m)</i>	<i>which</i>
Possessive	<i>whose</i>	<i>whose</i>

2 In prescriptively appropriate usage *each other* is used for two referents and *one another* for more than two.

English, and a rare 5 per million in spontaneous dialog (Mair and Leech 2008: 322); this confirms that *whom* is a part of formal speech (Aarts 1994).

The demonstrative and indefinite pronouns. The former are inflected for number (singular: *this, that*; plural: *these, those*). Some of the indefinite pronouns are inflected like adjectives for the comparative and superlative ((*a*) *few, fewer, fewest; little, less, least, many, more, most*); the remainder are not inflected (*some, any, both, all, each*, etc.) except for the possessive {s} with those mentioned above. One special case is that of the pro-form *one*. While the NP *the red house* is replaced by the pronoun *it*, the replacement for the single noun *house* is the pro-form *one*: *the red one*. This pro-form is inflected for number and possession like a noun (*one's, ones, ones'*), as are the forms of *other*, which may also replace single nouns, but which, unlike *one*, may not be modified by an adjective (e.g., *the (*red) others*).

4.1.3 Verbs

Lexical verbs are an open class. They occur after NPs in patterns such as *the government issued a statement; my left foot hurts*; or *that symphony is a masterpiece*. Prototypical verbs designate actions (*issued*), but verbs also refer to states (*hurts*) or relations (*is*). They inflect for person (third person singular, present tense), for tense (past) and as a present participle (*issuing, hurting, being*) and a past participle (*issued, hurt, been*). This provides the paradigm given in Table 4.4.

There are approximately two hundred irregular verbs in English (see also §9.4.1). Among other things, some verbs have no distinct past and past participle forms (e.g., *hurt, set, let, burst*). The verb *be*, on the other hand, has eight distinct forms (*be, am, are, is, was, were, being, been*).

Complex verbs are ones consisting of more than one word including the following types:

- (a) Verb + adverbial particle: *put up, set out, hand over*, and so on. For example, *put up* in *they put up my cousin* means “to provide with a place to stay.” The particle is stressed in pronunciation, which indicates that it is lexical rather than grammatical (cf. (b) below). If the verb is transitive and the direct object is a noun, the word order is variable: *they put my cousin up*. This word order is normally the only kind possible with pronouns: *they put him up* but not **they put up him*.
- (b) Verb + preposition: *look at, count on, reckon with*, and so on. For example, *count on* in *we are counting on you* means “to trust in, depend on.” The prepositional particle is not stressed, which indicates that it is more grammatical than lexical. Word order is invariable.
- (c) Verb + particle + preposition: *put up with, stand up for, run out on*, and so on. This is a combination of (a) and (b). Since the preposition is always the element before the object, word order is invariable as in *they are standing up for their rights*.

Table 4.4 Verb morphology

	<i>Irregular verbs</i>	<i>Regular verbs</i>
Infinitive and present (not third person singular)	<i>write</i>	<i>fix</i>
Third person singular present tense	<i>writes</i>	<i>fixes</i>
Past	<i>wrote</i>	<i>fixed</i>
Present participle	<i>writing</i>	<i>fixing</i>
Past participle	<i>written</i>	<i>fixed</i>

- (d) Verb + noun: *take a bath, give a talk, do (some) work*, and so on. For example, *take a bath* is one of the meanings of “to bathe.” The noun is syntactically restricted (possible are *take a bath, take two baths*, etc., but not normally? **take the bath*) (§§2.2.3 and 5.3.1 light verbs).
- (e) Verb + noun or adjective: *be a student/satisfied, become a member/langry, turn traitor/sour*, etc. A copular (linking) verb and a predicate noun or adjective express a unitary meaning, which it is generally not possible to express with a single word (but *grow red* = “to redden”).

The auxiliary verbs are, as already pointed out, a closed set of function words. The non-modal auxiliaries are *be, have*, and *do* (as an auxiliary *do* has no participial forms, only *do, does, did*). The modal auxiliaries are defective in that none of them has the {s} inflection of the third person singular present tense. The same applies to *dare, need, used (to), had better* when used as modal verbs. There are four paired sets of modals: *shall-should, can-could, will-would*, and *may-might*.

A final unusual formal feature of some of the auxiliaries is the pronunciation some of them have when combined with the contraction of *not*: *do* /du:/ becomes *don't* /dɒnt ~ doʊnt/ (the vowel of *do* becomes /ʌ/ in *does*); *will* /wɪl/ becomes *won't* /wɒnt ~ woʊnt/; *shall* /ʃæl/ becomes *shan't* /ʃɑ:nt ~ ʃænt/; *can* /kæn/ becomes *can't* /kɑ:nt/ (in RP) and /kænt/ in GenAm; *am* /æm/ becomes *aren't* /ɑ:(r)nt/ (for some speakers).

The NICE features. Syntactically, the auxiliaries differ from the lexical verbs in four ways, abbreviated as NICE. First, **N**egation: they may be negated directly (cf. auxiliary *I couldn't come* and lexical **I camen't*). Second, **I**nversion: auxiliaries may invert with the subject (e.g., in interrogatives): *Could you come?* but not **Came you?* Third, **C**ode, which refers to reduced, elliptical forms, are possible with auxiliaries (A: *Could you come tomorrow?* B: *Yes, I could*), but uncommon with lexical verbs alone (A: *Did you come yesterday?* B: *?Yes, I came*). Finally, **E**mphatic affirmation: auxiliaries can freely and easily be stressed, as in *I **could** come*, which is possible but not very common with lexical verbs alone.

NICE-use requires an auxiliary, so if there isn't one in the sentence, the dummy auxiliary *do* must be introduced. This results in negative *I didn't come*, interrogative *Did you come?*, elliptical *Yes, I did*, and emphatic *I **did** come*. The only lexical verbs which allow direct negation and question inversion are the lexical verbs *be* (***Aren't** you afraid?*) and, for some (mostly BrE) speakers, *have* (***Haven't** you an idea?*). Sometimes the verbs with the NICE-syntactic features, that is, the auxiliaries and lexical *be* or *have*, are labeled operators.

Semi-modal auxiliaries and catenative verbs. A number of verbs are semantically very much like auxiliaries. We see this in pairs like *must : have got to* (*Must we do that? : Do we have to do that?*) or *will : want* (*He won't go : He doesn't want to go*). In this book the second member of each pair is called a semi-modal. Other lexical verbs, here called catenative verbs, are, like auxiliaries, followed by nonfinite verb forms (infinitives, gerunds, participles) or by indirect statements and questions in the form of finite *that-* and *wh-*clauses (e.g., *begin to study, see a friend coming, believe that they're friendly*).

4.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives are an open class with numerous semantic subgroups (color terms, terms for size, age, weight, value, etc.). Typical adjective attributes or properties are gradability in terms of more or less. These properties and qualities may be stative, that is, not subject to willful control. An example of this is *tall*; either a person is or is not tall. It is not possible to order someone (**Be tall!*), nor can a person be temporarily tall (**She's being tall today*).

Other adjectives may be dynamic and hence subject to will (*Be careful!* or *We're being very careful with the good china*). It is chiefly dynamic adjectives which can be made into adverbs by adding {-ly}.

Adjectival qualities or properties may appear before a noun (attributively) (e.g., *an old man*). Or they may refer to a whole noun phrase (NP); in this case they appear most commonly after a copula (predicatively) (e.g., *the left-over milk turned sour*), where the adjective modifies the NP *the left-over milk*. Some adjectives can only be used attributively; others, only predicatively. Some adjectives occur after nouns ("postpositively"), either in fixed expressions (*secretary general*, *court martial*) or as the head of a complex adjectival construction (*an author famous for her/his words*).

The inflection of adjectives is restricted to those which express some kind of relative degree (gradability) and it is realized either by the endings {er}, {est} or by the periphrastic elements {more}, {most}. Only monosyllabic and some bisyllabic adjectives, those ending in an unstressed syllable (<-y>, <-ow>, <-le>, <-er>, <-ure>, e.g., *prettier*, *mellower*, *littlest*, *cleverest*, *obscurest*) take the endings (for exceptions see most grammar books): *cute-cuter-cutest*; *pretty-prettier-prettiest*; but *beautiful - more beautiful - most beautiful*. All negative forms use *less* and *least* regardless of the number of syllables (*less cute*, *least beautiful*). There are also some adjectives with irregular comparatives and superlatives (e.g., *good-better-best*, *bad-worse-worst*; *much-more-most*). A few have no comparative, but superlatives only (*inner-innermost*, *outer-outermost*, etc.). Where degree is not involved comparatives and superlatives do not exist, for example with adjectives of material (usually derived from nouns), such as *atomic*, *metal*, and *wooden*, where there is *an atomic power plant* but no **a more atomic power plant*.

4.1.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are more difficult to define than nouns, verbs, and adjectives because there are many subclasses and positional variations. Some of the basic semantic areas are those of time, place, and manner, as represented by the adverbial pro-forms *then/now*, *there/here* and *thus/so*. However, intensifiers (such as *very*, *awfully*, *hopelessly*) and conjuncts (connective adverbs such as *however*, *nevertheless*, and *furthermore*) also belong here.

Inflection is involved in two ways. First, numerous gradable adverbs are derived from the corresponding dynamic adjectives by adding the ending {-ly}. This is the case with adverbs of manner (*quick* → *quickly*), which tell how something is done (*He left quickly*). This also includes sentence adverbs, or disjuncts (*hopeful* → *hopefully*), which modify a whole sentence (*Hopefully, it won't snow*). Note that adverbs are not derived from other classes of adjectives (stative adjectives); hence there is no **oldly* or **greenly*. There are some adverbs that cannot take {-ly} because the adjective it is derived from already has this ending as in *friendly*. Here a periphrastic structure has to be used, *in a friendly way/manner*.

The second way in which inflection is involved is in connection with the comparatives and superlatives of adverbs of degree (*quickly - more quickly - most quickly*). In addition, a few adverbs have comparatives and superlatives with the endings {-er} and {-est} (*[to work] harder/hardest*); however, this is not common since these endings can only be used with adverbs which do not already end in {-ly}. Adverbial expressions derived from adjectives in {-ly} (*friendly*), {-like} (*ladylike*), {style/fashion} (*western-style*) must be constructed periphrastically (e.g., *in a friendly way/manner/fashion*, *in the style of the west*).

Some adverbs are not derived from adjectives. Generally, they belong to closed (sub-) sets, for example, time adverbs like *yesterday-today-tomorrow*, place adverbs like *here-there-yonder*, but also numerous adverbs identical in form to prepositions or derived originally from prepositional phrases (*above*, *ahead*, *behind*, *outside*, *upstairs*, etc.).

4.1.6 Prepositions

Prepositions are often close to adverbs because they, like adverbs, express time, place, and manner. In addition, they are used for degree (*over two hours, under twenty pounds, about sixty years old*) and comparison (*like, as*), subject matter (e.g., *about*), and motivation/contingency (*because, despite, in case of*). As a group they are more a closed set than an open class, but it is hard to draw the line between complex prepositions and similar constructions which are not prepositional. However, the commonest simple prepositions, *about, at, by, from, for, in, of, on, over, through, to, and with*, are clear cases, and so are such highly fixed complex prepositions as *in front of* or *in regard to*. More marginal are *at the front of* or *in sight of*. At the farther extreme are such clearly nonprepositional constructions as *in the considered opinion of* or *at the new shop of*, which consist of individual units joined by normal syntactic processes, which in the examples given is signaled in part by the presence of the article (*the*) and of an adjective (*considered, new*).

Prepositions have no inflectional morphology to define them. Perhaps the most satisfactory criterion is positional: they are followed by an NP, together with which they form a prepositional phrase (PP). This distinguishes them from (subordinating) conjunctions, which are followed by clauses (preposition: *(they came) before the party* vs. conjunction: *(they came) before we left the party*). It also tells them from adverbs, which are not followed by any particular types of word or phrase (adverb: *(they came) before*).

4.1.7 Articles/determiners and conjunctions

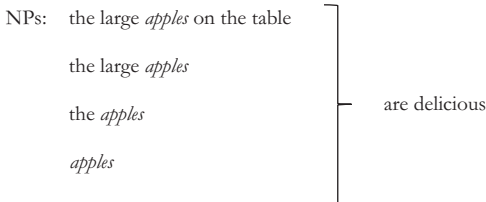
Articles and determiners may be defined positionally by their occurrence before (adjective +) noun (e.g., *the (large) basket*). Since there are only two words which are articles, definite *the* and indefinite *alan*, plus the absence of an article (= zero article), the simplest definition is to merely name them. However, a large group of determiners must be included here as well. These consist of the demonstratives *this, that, these, and those*; the possessive determiners (*my, your, our, her, etc.*); quantifiers such as *some, any, no, all, double, half, both, (n)either, each, every, many, more, most, and enough* as well as both cardinal (*one, two, three, ...*) and ordinal (*first, second, third, ...*) numerals; and interrogatives and relatives (*what, which, whose, etc.*). Many of the determiners are uncountable (*much, less (snow)* – the latter increasingly plural as well, cf. *less people*). Some are singular (*alan, every, each, this, that*), some dual (= reference to two: *both, either, neither*), and some plural (*all, many, fewer, these, those*). All these determiners share the feature of appearing before attributive adjectives as part of an NP. Furthermore, they are subdivided by position into predeterminers, central determiners, and postdeterminers (see §4.4.1).

Conjunctions are basically of two types, both relatively limited: coordinating (*for, and, nor, but, or, yet, and so*, sometimes helpfully abbreviated FANBOYS) and subordinating (*after, because, although, etc.*). They include not only single-word items but also double (correlative) forms such as *both ... and* or *(n)either ... (n)or* as well as phrasal constructions such as *ever since, in case, or as soon as*.

4.2 FUNCTIONAL PHRASES

In the preceding section the focus of attention was on individual words, even though they are sometimes actually complex (*string bean, one another, put up, ever since, etc.*). This section will point out that words do not so much occur individually as in groups of syntactically related items, called phrases. Nouns, for example, may appear in such phrasal

structures as determiner + adjective + noun + prepositional phrase (e.g., *the large apples on the table* or *a weak spot in your argument*). Phrases of this sort are referred to as noun or nominal phrases (NPs).³ An NP always consists of at least a nominal (noun or pronoun) which is its center or head. Determiners and modifiers are optional:



Three other types of phrases also consist of either single words as minimal obligatory elements (their head) or of an expansion of the head. They are the verb phrase (VP), the adjective phrase (AdjP), and the adverb phrase (AdvP). For example:

VP: *will go, would have gone, or just go*
 AdjP: *amazingly green, amazingly light green, or green alone*
 AdvP: *very gently, very gently indeed, or gently by itself*

The final type of phrase, the prepositional phrase (PP), differs from the others inasmuch as it must consist of at least two elements, a preposition and an NP. Without the preposition this would be a noun/NP; without the NP, an adverb/AdvP.

PP: *in trouble, in big trouble, in very big trouble*

In the following the chief concern will be with how phrases realize the functional elements of a sentence or clause (e.g., subject, object, predicator). These elements are realized exclusively and completely by the phrase types just enumerated. Before looking more closely at the two most important and complex phrasal types, the VP and the NP, the functional elements of English sentences as well as a typology of English sentence patterns will be introduced.

4.2.1 The predicator

Within the description of the structure of English in this chapter the clause or sentence is the highest unit. For our purposes a clause consists of a predicator which consists of at least a verb. There are, however, sentences without predicators, for example, *The sooner, the better*. These are called minor sentence types and will not be treated here. The predicator is the central syntactic element in a sentence. This is the case because it is the predicator which determines the number of complements that will occur and, indeed, whether a particular element is a complement or an adjunct (see below).

³ This book consciously does not use more abstract phrases with functional heads (DP, CP, IP, or the like) (for more on these, look at introductions to linguistics, e.g., O'Grady, Archibald, and Katamba [2011]).

4.2.2 Complements

Connected with every predicator is at least one kind of element which serves to complete the predication. Such elements are called complements. There are never more than three. A complement is a grammatically necessary part of a sentence. Without it the clause is grammatically ill-formed, which is why there must be a dummy subject in *A. Pattern V* below. This also depends on the sentence type: If any of the predicators are used in the imperative, the subject does not appear, and the number of complements is lessened by one (e.g., *Give the money to her*). Sentences in the passive voice lose one complement as the one-time subject of the corresponding active voice sentence; for example, *I gave her the money* becomes *She was given the money*. In contrast to this, there may be adjuncts, which are not grammatically obligatory. Just how many complements there are in a sentence depends on the type of verb (predicator). The major patterns are provided in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Sentence patterns

A. No complement:

Pattern V: impersonal (weather) verbs: *rain (It was raining)*, *snow (It's going to snow)*.

Regarded as having no complement on semantic grounds: the dummy subject *it* has no reference and appears because predicators in finite sentences must have (grammatical) subjects.

B. One complement:

Pattern SV: intransitive verbs: *sleep (I was sleeping)*, *leave (She left)*.

C. Two complements:

Pattern SVO: transitive verbs with an object: *read (Did you read the report?)*, *delight (The weather delighted me)*.

Pattern SVC: copular verbs with a predicate complement (a.k.a. subject complement; cf. §9.4.1: complementation)

with an NP: *be (I'm a student)*, *become (He became a bother)*, *sound (That sounds a mess)*.

with an AdjP: *be (We were tired)*, *get (They got drunk)*, *look (You look happy)*.

Pattern SVA:

with an adverbial complement (of place): *be (Who's (in) there?)*, *live (She lives in Wilmington)*, *there + be (There was no one at home)*.

The immediately preceding example (the “existential *there*” construction) consists regularly of a “dummy” subject *there*, some form of the verb *be*, followed by the “logical” subject, and an expression of place. Although verbs other than *be* may occur and the place expression may be missing occasionally, the pattern given is the predominant one.

with an intransitive verb + adverbial complement: *last + duration (The concert lasted two hours)*, *weigh + amount (My brother weighs 200 pounds)*, *cost + value (The peaches cost \$2.00)*, *walk + distance (We walked twenty miles)*.

D. Three complements:

Pattern SVOO: ditransitive verbs with an indirect and a direct object: *give (We must give her a party)*, *show (Who showed you the way?)*, *tell (I told him a joke)*.

Pattern SVOOP: ditransitive verbs with an object and a prepositional object: *give (We must give a party for her)*; *tell (I told a joke to him)*; *advise (She advised me of the situation)*

Pattern SVOA: transitive verb with adverbial complement: *spend (He spent the day in bed)*, *put (Who put the peanut butter in the fridge?)*, *treat (We treated him badly/in a bad way)*.

Pattern SVOC: transitive verbs with predicate complement (a.k.a. object complement),

with a predicate nominal (NP): *call (She called me a weakling)*, *elect (They elected her captain)*, *declare (The newspaper declared you an enemy of the people)*.

with a predicate adjective (AdjP): *call (She called me stupid)*, *make (That made me mad)*, *find (The court found them guilty)*.

(V = verb; S = subject; O = object; C = predicate complement; A = adverbial complement; O_{PP} = prepositional object).

The complements are, as the examples show, usually NPs, but in a number of cases they are also PPs and AdvPs, and, of course, the predicate adjectives are AdjPs. As a rule, subjects are NPs; direct objects usually are as well. Indirect objects vary between NPs and PPs with *to* or *for*. Adverbial complements may be PPs, AdvPs, or NPs.

Semantic roles. In addition to filling the grammatical functions of subject, object, indirect object, and predicate complement, complements also realize a variety of differing semantic roles or relations depending on the verb involved. The most common of these roles are the following, but note that the number and the names of the roles varies considerably from author to author.

Agentive: the deliberate instigator of an act or activity (*My brother has gone to Chicago*)

Beneficiary: the entity for whom an action is performed (*They had a party given for them*)

Cause: the inanimate source of an event or process (*The storm ruined the harvest*)

Experiencer (a.k.a. **Dative**): the animate subject of thoughts, feelings, sensations (*We feel it's okay*)

Factitive: the object created by the activity of the predicator (*I baked a pie*)

Goal: the endpoint of an action (*The ball hit the wall*)

Instrument: the inanimate tool used to do something (*I used a pen to make my notes*)

Location: the place in which something is situated (*London is interesting*)

Patient (a.k.a. **Objective**): the goal affected by a predication (*I read the book*)

Percept: the entity perceived or experienced (*The students were counted by the teacher*)

Recipient: the figurative goal of actions of giving, telling, or showing (*He was told to leave*)

Source: the entity from which something moves, literally or figuratively (*Our drinking water was supplied from the reservoir*)

Theme: the entity moved by an action or located in a description (*Her bike got knocked over; The car is outside*)

These roles are not necessarily associated with any particular sentence function (such as subject or object); rather, any one verb will have a certain constellation of roles associated with it. For example, the verb *make* will have an agentive (e.g., *carpenter*), a factitive (*table*), and an instrument (*tools*). The preferred subject is the agentive with the factitive as the object and the instrument as a prepositional phrase (*The carpenter made a table with the tools*). Other constellations are also possible such as passive voice (*The table was made by the carpenter with the tools*).

4.2.3 Adjuncts

The third type of functional sentence element is the adjunct. As its name suggests, it is adjoined or added to the sentence. This means that its status is one of optionality. In other words, an adjunct, however important it may be for the *meaning* communicated, is not *grammatically* necessary: if it is left out the sentence is still “well-formed.” The predicate adverbial, a complement, in *The waiter set the plate on the table* cannot be left out (**The waiter set the plate*); the adjunct of place in *I cut the meat on the table* may be (*I cut the meat*).

Adjuncts and complements are thus theoretically distinguishable by seeing whether they can be left out. In reality this criterion is extremely hard to apply. Indirect objects as complements, for example, are part of the “essential” structure of sentences with ditransitive verbs, yet they can often be left out without the sentence becoming ungrammatical (*I told (him) a joke*); the resulting sentence now has, of course, a different structure: ditransitive has become transitive.

Table 4.6 Semantic and syntactic roles

<i>The craftsman</i> [Agentive, complement (= subject)]	<i>used a special tool</i> [Instrument, complement (= object)]	<i>to cut the tiles.</i> [Patient, adjunct]
<i>The tiles were cut</i> [Patient (= subject)]	<i>by a craftsman</i> [Agent, adjunct]	<i>with a special tool.</i> [Instrument, adjunct]

Adjuncts may be realized as NPs, AdvPs, PPs, and even as subordinate clauses: *They drove the car two miles* (NP); *They drove the car too fast* (AdvP); *They drove the car to town* (PP); *They drove the car till it got dark* (subordinate adverbial/temporal clause). Adjuncts may indicate time, place, manner, means, agent, instrument, cause, condition, purpose, concession, and so on. What is a complement in one sentence may be an adjunct in another. This is a syntactical question, not a matter of semantic role as illustrated in Table 4.6.

4.2.4 Connectors

The final sentence element is the connector (or connective). It is used to connect sentence elements with each other, or to link clauses with each other. Connection can be realized by conjunctions, but also by PPs, AdvPs, relative pronoun NPs, and special elements called complementizers, which will be introduced later. Here are some short examples of all but this last type:

- Conj: *John and I played tennis* (coordinating conjunction)
I left as it was late (subordinating conjunction)
 PP: *We went skiing; in addition, we did some skating*
 AdvP: *It was cold; nevertheless, we went skiing*
 NP: *I just met someone who knows you.*

4.3 THE VERB PHRASE (VP)

The verb phrase may be subcategorized into two major types, finite and nonfinite (see Table 4.7). The difference between the two is that finite verbs always occur as clause predicators, always include tense, and usually have a (nominative) subject. For example, in *I was looking for a solution* the finite VP *was looking* is the clause predicator; it is in the past tense; and it has a nominative subject (*I*).

Nonfinite VPs, in contrast, are not main or subordinate clause predicators and need not have a subject of their own, and they cannot be marked for tense. For instance, in *He seems to like me*, where *like* is the predicator of the infinitive clause *to like me*, it has to “share” its subject (*he*) and its tense as well with *seems* (but see §9.4.1) In other cases, nonfinite forms may be modifiers instead of predicators and therefore adjectival in nature (cf. the past participle in *a broken window*; the present participle in *a raging fire*; or the infinitive in *the way to do that*). Furthermore, nonfinite forms can also be nominal in nature (cf. the infinitive subject in *To err is human ...*, the participial object in *I just quit smoking*, or the gerund prepositional object in *She is in charge of renting additional office space*).

Table 4.7 shows some of the basic differences between finite and nonfinite verb forms, whereby the nonfinite forms are only observed here in their function as complement clauses, that is, more or less like the object of the main, finite verbs they follow (e.g., A:

Table 4.7 Finite and nonfinite verb forms

<i>Finite verb forms</i>			
<i>Tense</i>	<i>Progressive aspect</i>	<i>Perfect aspect</i>	<i>Modality</i>
I <i>jogged</i> a lot last year	He's <i>jogging</i> a lot.	We <i>have jogged</i> a lot lately.	When <i>can</i> you <i>jog</i> with us?
<i>Nonfinite verb forms</i>			
	<i>Simple form</i>	<i>Progressive</i>	<i>Perfect</i>
Infinitive	I love <i>to jog</i> .	She loves <i>to be jogging</i> .	It feels good <i>to have jogged</i> .
Participle	We started <i>jogging</i> .	–	I like <i>having jogged</i> .
Gerund	He avoids <i>jogging</i> .	He was pretending <i>being</i> sick.	<i>Having jogged</i> satisfied her.

What do you want? B: *I want **them to help me***). The main verb *want* is followed by the object/complement clause *them to help me*. Gerunds and participles are sometimes put into a single basket as “*ing*-forms,” but this is not justified since gerunds generally refer to an earlier act while participles refer to an activity simultaneous with the main predicate.

The most striking differences lie in the fact that finite verbs must have tense, while nonfinite ones may not.⁴ While the core/central modal auxiliaries (*may, might, will, would, shall, should, can, could, and must*) have tense, the nonfinite verb forms cannot be marked for either tense or modality.⁵ But they can express aspect, and they always stand in a temporal relationship with the predicate they follow (which might be said to make up for part of the lack of tense).

Gerunds may be followed by *being*, therefore producing a “double *-ing*” form (*pretending being*), but participles cannot: There is no **we're starting jogging*. The following section deals with finite VPs. Nonfinite forms are taken up again in §4.5.2.

4.3.1 Finite VPs

Every finite VP consists of at least one and as many as six elements. The six can be illustrated by the following made-up and unrealistically complex sentence, in which each of the elements represents one of the grammatical choices of English in the area of the verb, always in the same relative order:

[*Henry*] *might have been being entertained* [*royally*].

might: expresses **modality**; here in the form of a modal verb followed by an infinitive; a modal verb, if present, always occupies the initial position;

might: also expresses **tense**; here the past of *may*; the first element in every finite VP must be either past or present;

4 Some approaches view the *to* of the infinitive as a marker of nonfinite inflection (Radford 1988: §6.5), which is the category which contains tense.

5 Of course, the semi-modals (e.g., *have to* or *be going to*) can appear in infinitive, participle, or gerund form.

- have*: expresses **perfect aspect**; always introduced by *have* and followed by a past participle;
- been*: expresses **progressive aspect**; always introduced by *be* and followed by an {-ing} form;
- being*: expresses **passive voice**; frequently introduced by *be*, but sometimes by *get* or *have* followed by a past participle;
- entertained*: expresses the **predication**; this may be any lexical verb.

VPs in which all five categories are represented are probably extremely infrequent. However, any combination of the categories may occur so long as the relative order is not changed. In the vast majority of cases the lexical verb will be present, but in cases of repetition, it is often elided or replaced by the pro-form *do* or in the case of inversion by *so*, as in *A: Have you turned in your paper? B: Yes, I have* [or *Yes, I have done (so)*, a form more common in BrE than in AmE, see §9.4.1] *A: So have I*. Note that more than just the lexical verb is elided (or replaced by *done* and *so*): The direct object is as well.

4.3.2 Tense

The category of tense was described above as being obligatory in the finite VP. In terms of form alone, the first element in every finite VP will be one of two tenses, present or past. In this sense a sentence with *will* (often called the “future tense”) such as *When will you get an answer?* is really present because *will* is the present tense form just as *would* is the past tense form of *will*. The same applies to all other initial forms. Hence, the present also includes, for example, *it's raining*, *it has rained*, and *it must have rained*; and the past includes *it would be nice*, *it had been nice*, and *it was nice*. Some modal auxiliaries such as *must*, *dare*, and *need* have only a present-tense form.

Concord. All the verbs of the language except the modal auxiliaries have an inflectional {s} in the third person present singular. This is all that is left in English of a system of marking agreement between subject and verb that once was very extensive. Besides the single instance, which carries no functional load, there are the further special forms of *be* (*I am*, *helshelit is*, *welyoulthey are* in the present; *Iheshelit was*, *welyoulthey were* in the past). The fact that inflection has grown so weak in modern English, has been compensated for by relatively strict word order. The subject, for instance, is usually the NP which comes directly before the VP.

The subject normally determines concord according to its own grammatical number. This is called grammatical concord. If the subject is singular, the verb is singular and if it is plural, so, too, is the verb. However, not only the grammatical number of the subject but also the concept of number which lies behind the noun subject may determine concord. This is called notional concord. Since a team consists of various members, it is possible for singular *team* to be used as a plural subject (e.g., *The team are playing Bristol next week*). This type of concord is more prevalent in BrE (especially with subjects like *government*, *committee*, and *family*) than in AmE, although it is not unknown in the latter (§9.4.1). Conjoined subjects are often notional units, such as *apple pie and cheese* or *bread and water* and may, when seen as a unit, have singular verb concord as in *Bread and water is good for you*. Plural amounts are usually singular (and sums of money almost always are), as in *\$2 is a lot*. Furthermore, a subject such as *a number of people* is usually regarded as plural according to *people* rather than singular according to *number*. The nouns *people* and *police*, although unmarked, are always plural just as apparent plurals such as *the United States* or *news* are always singular. A third principle is concord by proximity. This principle may

be partly responsible for concord of the type just mentioned, as in *A number of people are waiting*, where both the plural notion in *number* and the nearness of *people* to the verb have the same (plural) effect. Proximity is clearly the determining factor in the *there is/are* construction, in which the first noun after the verb determines the concord (e.g., *There is a plate and three forks on the table*). A second instance is with conjoined *either ... or* subjects, in which the element closest to the verb conventionally decides the concord (e.g., *Either you or I am mistaken*).

Time and tense. There is little doubt that tense is related to time. However, the relationship is not one-to-one. In everyday thinking the continuum of time is commonly divided up into three: past – present – future along an imagined timeline. Tense, as a grammatical category of English, is binary (divided into two): present and past. As a result it is not surprising that the present tense may be used for nonpresent time (see below Future), and the past tense has a function which is wider than that of marking time (see below Past).

Present is the “unmarked” tense. This may be understood morphologically as the general lack of a special ending such as the past ending {d}. However, it also has to do with the fact that the present may be used to designate something temporally beyond the present time. Note that the present may be used for past reference, though the converse (past for present) is not possible.

Present tense. (1) is an example of present tense used for general situations which extend beyond the present into both the past and the future; they sometimes include “general truths”; more suitably, they may be called characterizing statements. (2) is an example of what is sometimes called the “historical present,” which is typical of an especially immediate or vivid style of storytelling:

1 Characterization [habitual action]. *High summer and Friendship’s [name of a town] quiet. The men **tend** the shimmering fields. Children **tramp** the woods, **wade** the creeks, **sound** the cool ponds. In town, women **pause** in the heavy air of millinery, **linger** over bolts of yard goods, barrels of clumped flour.* (Stewart O’Nan, *A Prayer for the Dying*, Picador, 2000, p. 3)

2 Narration [historical present]. *But they **don’t say** anything after I **tell** them what I do, so while Tamsin and India **talk** about the celebrity chef who invented tonight’s fish and while Josh and Dan **bellow** at each other about various areas of commercial law, I **sit** silently on the sofa, slowly getting completely and utterly stewed.* (Tony Parsons, *One for My Baby*, HarperCollins, 2002, p. 157)

In addition, the present tense is used in the following ways: for reporting something just as it takes place, as in sports broadcasting or in stage directions:

3 Report [Stage Directions]. *Light **rises** on the kitchen. Willy, talking, **shuts** the refrigerator door and **comes** downstage to the kitchen table. He **pours** milks into a glass.* (Arthur Miller, *Death of a Salesman* Act I in J. Gassner (ed.) *A Treasury of the Theatre*, Simon and Schuster, 1960, p. 1068)

Present tense is employed to report or explain what one thinks or feels (4), to perform a (speech) act (5), to make comments immediately accompanying a demonstration and explain the individual acts involved (6), and even to express future time, especially in temporal clauses such as the one introduced by *before* in (7) (also see below Future):

4 Mental or Emotional State. *Between you and me, Reverend, I **do not think** the people here are looking for your kind of salvation.* (Barbara Kingsolver. *The Poisonwood Bible* HarperPerennial 1999, 140)

5a Performative Act. This includes both extremely formalized acts such as the performance of a marriage: *In the Name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I now **join** you together to live in holy wedlock as husband and wife.* (*Hymnal and Liturgies of the Moravian Church*. Bethlehem PA, 1948, p. 42)

However, it also includes more everyday acts such as explicitly apologizing, promising or, as in the following, averring:

- 5b Speech Act.** *I didn't do anything, I swear, Dad. Dad. Cross my heart and hope to die. Look – I crossed my heart.* (Roddy Doyle, *Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha*, Minerva, 1994, p. 79)
- 6 Demonstration.** *Now watch – I **drop** the tablet into this warm water, and you **see** it dissolves quite nicely.* (Joos 1968: 105)
- 7 Simple present for the future.** *To accompany me I have chosen three men. I call them together the afternoon before we **leave** [future reference].* (John M. Coetzee, *Waiting for the Barbarians*, Penguin, 1982, p. 58)

Past tense has three clearly delineated functions. The easiest to recognize is its use to mark a situation as having taken place in the past time, especially sequential narration of happenings:

- 8 Narration.** *I **took** a deep breath to ease the pressure in my chest. Then in one quick movement I **pulled** the front part of the blue cloth on to the table so that it **flowed** out of the dark shadows under the table and up in a slant on to the table in front of the jewellery box. I **made** a few adjustments to the lines of the folds, then **stepped** back.* (Tracy Chevalier, *Girl with a Pearl Earring*, HarperCollins, 2000, p. 142.)

The second function is to mark indirect speech after a reporting verb in the past tense (9). When the main verb used to introduce reported speech is in the past tense, the verbs in the reported text shift from present to past. If they are already past they simply remain past.⁶

- 9 Reported Speech.** *Joyce Johnson said she **didn't know** what had come over her last night, but she **felt** okay, though her husband **was** mad at her. He said she **had barked** like a dog.* (Garrison Keillor. *Lake Wobegon Days*. Penguin, 1986, pp. 412f.)

The final use is in unreal (10) and contrafactual (11) conditional constructions:

- 10 Unreal Condition.** *"You know, if you **weren't** so mysterious—"
"I'm not 'mysterious.'"
"If you **weren't** so secretive," Gary said, "maybe you **wouldn't** have this problem."* (Jonathan Franzen, *The Corrections*, Picador, 2002, p. 228)
- 11 Contrafactual Condition.** *The silver fox. What sort of man would write that on his car? ... If only he just **hadn't stenciled** those stupid words on the side of the van, Janine thought ...* (Richard Russo, *Empire Falls*, Vintage, 2002, pp. 64f)

What each of these three seemingly different uses of the past tense have in common is the idea of remoteness. First of all, past tense denotes remoteness in time (in 8). Secondly, what is reported is put at a distance to the person reporting (in 9). Interestingly enough,

⁶ On occasion some speakers shift a past-tense verb to past perfect (e.g., *I went*, when reported, becomes *She said she had gone*; this is often taught to learners of English in secondary schools).

the temporal backshift of indirect speech to the past need not be made when the speaker identifies with what they report. Accepted facts, for example, do not normally undergo a backshift to the past (e.g., *He pointed out that blood is* [not necessarily: *was*] *thicker than water*). In the third case, the past tense indicates remoteness to reality (in 10 and 11). A likely condition (a “real conditional”) has the present tense and differs from an unreal conditional inasmuch as there is less likelihood that the latter will be realized. Compare *If I had time, I’d write* [unreal conditional: writing is unlikely] with *If I have time, I’ll write* [real conditional: writing is more likely].

One further use of the past tense may well be related to this: the past tense for politeness (see also §6.5.2):

- 12 Politeness.** “*Dad, I was just wondering ...*” *Aaron’s voice trails off. He holds up the guitar case* (Myla Goldberg, *Bee Season*, Flamingo, 2000, p. 75).

With a first-person subject, as in this example, the past expresses more tentativeness and unobtrusiveness. This is accomplished thanks to the remoteness of the past, which puts greater distance between the speaker and his/her request (= “I was wondering, but I am not necessarily doing so any more”), which is reinforced here by the use of the progressive to indicate something ongoing and therefore less complete and definite. This distance makes a refusal on the part of the addressee easier.

Future. Tense consists, as mentioned, of only two formal options: past and present. For lack of an inflectional future tense, the language must resort to a number of different constructions to express future time, which we have chosen to illustrate from Michael Frayn’s novel *Headlong* (faber&faber, 2000), in which the conventionally moral and bourgeois protagonist finds himself trying to cheat a neighbor out of a valuable painting while betraying his wife Kate with the neighbor’s wife. The first five possibilities of expressing the future, (13)–(17), are by no means freely interchangeable. They fall more or less roughly into two groups, those which stress intention and those which express prediction. Intention is strongest with (13) and (15); prediction is more prominent with (14), (16) and (17).

- 13 *be going to.*** *I’m going to sit down beside Kate at the kitchen table and take her hand, and kiss it. I’m going to confess that I’ve behaved wrongly, and ask her forgiveness* (*Headlong*: 130). The form with *be going to* is used with willful agents to indicate that a course of action has been decided on. *Will* in the “same” sentence (*I’ll sit down beside Kate ...*) would be inappropriate because it would merely be a vague declaration. However, the full form *will*, spoken emphatically (*I will sit down ...*), might be used to indicate great determination. With inanimate or nonvolitional subjects, in contrast, *be going to* makes predictions of great certainty (e.g., the speaker and his wife about their little baby Tilda: *I get up again to go, because at any moment Tilda’s grizzling is going to change into a full-scale howl* [*Headlong*: 132]. Here again, *will* cannot be used; *going to* here expresses an inevitable consequence of the present situation).
- 14 *will and shall.*** *Then I shall tell her everything – the whole plan, with nothing kept back. Perhaps, when she sees how contrite I am, ... she’ll make a huge leap of faith and trust me to do as I think best* (*Headlong*: 130). *Will* and the less frequent *shall* (restricted to the first person; chiefly heard in southern England) make vague, relatively uncertain predictions. If someone says *she’ll make a huge leap of faith*, this is said without the certainty of *be going to*. Often this form appears after an introductory expression indicating vagueness (*I think I’ll ...*) or spontaneity as in decisions made at the time of speaking (e.g., *I jump up as hurriedly as someone with the runs. – “I’ll check Tilda,” I mumble* [*Headlong*: 27]), as well as promises, threats, and offers.

- 15 present progressive.** "... *You're selling the Giordano? How? What do you mean? Why didn't you tell me? What else have you arranged with him?*" (Headlong: 131). The progressive form is used to indicate something which is going on. If the actual or completed act lies in the future (*selling the Giordano*), then the current activity lies in the fact that a decision (= intention) to sell has already been made. This expression of the future is frequently supported by a future time adverbial. It also shows that an arrangement has been made as, for example, in meeting the buyer the following day.
- 16 will/shall + progressive.** *So if I buy them, I shall be receiving stolen property* (Headlong: 216). *Will/shall* + the progressive, in contrast, comes close to being a "pure" future since this construction is used for future situations which are set and are certain to take place as a matter of course (here indicated as a real condition) without suggesting intention.
- 17 simple present.** "*Tomorrow afternoon,*" *I assure him. "I'll put the money in your hands. You put the pictures in mine"* (Headlong: 338). The simple present (always used with an adverbial expression of future time) is another way of expressing the certainty of a future event. This is basically the report function of the present mentioned in (3) above; here, however, something in the future is being reported. This works best with verbs which express dynamic acts (*meet, depart, decide, etc.*) rather than general activities (*discuss, read, etc.*). It is widely used for events that have been scheduled (*The train leaves at 4 p.m.*).

The simple present is also the usual form found in temporal clauses referring to the future (e.g., *Before I say a word to her I'm going to have to do some careful research* [Headlong: 50]). The verb *say* is clearly future in reference; none of the other four forms could replace it. The same holds for the *if*-clauses (including ones introduced by *suppose*) of real conditionals, "*Suppose Tony Churt simply asks [not *will ask] you?*" ... "*But if he does? If he says [not *will say], 'Is this a Bruegel?'*" – "*I'll tell him the truth.*" (Headlong: 127). Only if volition is explicitly expressed does a *will* or *would* appear in the *if*-clause, *If you'd like to bring it [the painting to the dealer's] in some time ...* (Headlong: 324).

In addition, what has not (yet) taken place is regularly referred to by

- 18 other modal verbs besides will and shall:** "*Are you selling the other two pictures?*" – "*I might. I'll see*" (Headlong: 132);
- 19 semi-modal verbs:** *I remember I still haven't looked up the Giordano. But by the time the exact figures involved in the stupendous deal I'm about to do seem to me of remarkably little importance* (Headlong: 183);
- 20 imperatives and (21) numerous lexical verbs:** "*Wait, wait. What about the other two pictures we saw? Does he want you to sell those as well?*" (Headlong: 132).

4.3.3 Aspect: perfect and progressive

The tense system of English as presented in the previous section cannot really be understood without including the category of aspect. Both tense and aspect have to do with time, but in differing ways:

... tense is a deictic category, i.e. locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment ... Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situations to another time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one

situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense).

(Comrie 1976: 5)

In English there are two types of aspect, perfect and progressive (for a good overview see Binnick 2008: §§3.2–3.3).

The perfect

This form is more obviously related to tense than the progressive is. Situations which are reported in the present perfect refer, for instance, to the past. If *someone has bought a sweater*, then the act of buying is over. What is of importance as far as aspect is concerned is that the implication is different when the same act is reported in the past (*someone bought a sweater*). The difference is frequently described as involving current relevance in the case of the perfect; this is a kind of expansion of the actual event (its situation-internal time) to include the present. The past, on the other hand, need not involve such relevance. This might be explained as follows: If someone says they have bought a sweater, they are making their purchase the theme of conversation and probably expect an interested comment or question from their interlocutor (*Oh, really, show me. or: Where did you find it?*). The use of the past might, of course, provoke a similar reaction, but what it is primarily doing is reporting something which happened in the past.

There are two different ways in which the perfect may be relevant to the present. If the verb in the predicator indicates a completed act or event (*buy something, arrive somewhere, read something, meet someone, etc.*) it may be referred to as the resultative perfect. Something has happened and the results are of current or present interest (e.g., *The research focuses on the v20, a group founded by 20 vulnerable countries whose membership has since grown to 48. [Economist, August 17, 2019, p. 57]*). The other possibility is that the verb designates an activity or process which does not presuppose completeness or a conclusion (*sleep, read, live somewhere, learn, grow wise, etc.*). When there is no result, furthermore, the activity or process will be reported in the perfect progressive and will indicate something which began in the past and is still going on, as in *Some of the smaller vulnerable countries have been attempting to build climate resilience ... (ibid.)*. This is what is called the continuative perfect. While the continuative perfect may occur in both the simple and the progressive form with dynamic verbs like *attempt*, the resultative perfect can only occur in the simple form. If a verb which indicates an unfinished activity occurs in the simple perfect, it will either be nonsense (?I have slept) or will be reinterpreted in a resultative sense (*membership has grown to 48 = "it is now 48"*) (see Table 4.8 on p. 108).

Adverbial specification. The occurrence of the perfect is restricted not only by the type of verb in the predicator but also by the adverbials used. Most past time adverbials (e.g., *last year, an hour ago, formerly*) cannot occur together with the perfect; **He has done it yesterday* is unacceptable. (But: *She has talked with him in the past* – what is known as the experiential perfect – is unproblematic.) As a result, when there is an indicator of past time, current relevance cannot be expressed with the present perfect. A speaker would have to indicate relevance lexically, such as with an explicit statement (*He talked to her yesterday, which I find very interesting for us*).

Just as there are adverbials which are incongruent with the perfect, there are a few which demand the perfect. These are ones whose scope includes not only the past but also the present. The most prominent of these is temporal (not causal) *since*. Examples are *The weather has been rainy since we arrived* or *I haven't seen them since last year*. Note that both

sentences would be ungrammatical in the past tense. Occasionally *since* occurs with the present tense (*I like French cooking since our vacation in Burgundy*). It may even be used, exceptionally, with the past to avoid ambiguity, as in *I was in America since we met last* (implies one visit) vs. *I have been in America since we met last* (implies a continuous stay).

Several other adverbials have a strong but not necessarily absolute tendency toward use with the perfect; they include *still*, (*not*) *yet*, *already*, and *just*, which all refer to the recent past. Hence the perfect in *They have just arrived* is known as the perfect of recent past. This is observed more strictly in BrE than in AmE (§9.4.1). Other adverbs that demand the perfect are *so far* and *up to now* as well as adverbials of indefinite past time such as *ever* and *never* and *recently*. A few adverbials, especially those containing a referentially ambiguous use of *this*, are sometimes past in reference and demand the past tense and sometimes present in reference and allow the perfect. For example, if someone says *this morning*, and it still is the morning, the adverbial is present in scope; in the afternoon of the same day, however, it is a past adverbial.

A final remark is that the perfect is often used within texts, especially narrative or reporting texts, to provide background information:

The last three months have been hard on China's most valuable public technology companies. ... In May Alibaba and Tencent lost more than a tenth of their value ...
(*Economist*, August 17, 2019, p. 49)

The comments so far made on the perfect have been concerned with the present perfect (e.g., *have gone*). In the case of the past perfect (*had gone*) and the future perfect (*will have gone*), there are no adverbial restrictions of the types just outlined. Indeed, both sometimes express relevance in regard to a past or future time point just as the present perfect does to the present; but sometimes they are more tense-like and provide further levels of temporal differentiation, such as a “deeper” past; see, for example, the following:

The secret graveyard lay on the north side of the Nickel campus, in a patchy acre of wild grass between the old work barn and the school dump. The file had been a grazing pasture when the school operated a dairy, ...
(Colson Whitehead, *The Nickel Boys*, Fleet, 2019, p. 1)

The overall tendency has been for the frequency of the perfect to decrease, especially in AmE, yet there are reports of increase, in particular for the present perfect in a past-time context in BrE, a practice AusE has shown for a longer time including the narrative use of the perfect (Bowie, Wallis, and Aarts 2013: 319, footnote 399). Most of the fall in use between 1961 and 1991, as recorded in corpus studies, can be accounted for by relative losses in the past perfect (–34%) and nonfinite perfect (e.g., *could have done*) (–30%), perhaps because already infrequent structures tend to be lost more readily (*ibid.*: 325–338).

Progressive aspect

The progressive (or continuous) form in English is characterized by durativity, unboundedness, and its dynamic and ongoing nature. For this reason, it is closely related to the idea of incompleteness. When someone is reading a book, reading is an activity that this person is not yet finished with. When, however, someone has read a book, this is a completed act. From this distinction it is only a small step to the frequent characterization of the progressive as a form which marks limited duration. Progressive aspect is concerned with the

internal constituency of an activity such as reading – how it looks, so to speak, from the inside, when it is still going on. It therefore emphasizes the duration of an activity. When the nonprogressive form is used, an act or event is simply reported as completed, regardless of how much time it may, in actual fact, have taken. In addition, a speaker often has a choice whether they want to express one and the same happening as having temporary duration (and therefore in the progressive) or as permanent (and therefore in the simple form), as in *I am living in Utah* vs. *I live in Utah*. The simple form is the unmarked form: using it does not exclude the possibility of temporary duration, while the progressive marks this aspect of meaning explicitly. Another type of past progressive which is observable does not express incompleteness but is rather resultative, making it perfective in nature, as in *As I was just telling you, the new neighbors haven't moved in yet*. This type of progressive is considered idiomatic and uses *just* as a marker of recentness (Pfaff, Bergs, and Hoffmann 2013).

Narration and background description. Very impressive evidence for the distinction between the simple and the progressive forms can be observed in narrative texts. When someone tells what happens, one event follows the other, and each of these events is regarded as an individual step in a sequence, and each is reported in the simple form (usually simple past, sometimes historical present). What lies outside this narrative chain is background information which overlaps with the narrative events. From the perspective of these events, it is therefore ongoing and incomplete. Consequently, this background information is presented in the progressive form:

Robbie made a great show of removing his boots which weren't dirty at all, and then, as an afterthought, took his socks off as well, and tiptoed with comic exaggeration across the wet floor. ... He was play-acting the cleaning lady's son come to the big house on an errand. They went into the library together, and when he found his book, she asked him to stay for a coffee.

(Ian McEwan, *Atonement*, Vintage, 2002, p. 27)

In this passage the play-acting is the initial background activity which consists of individual acts: *made a show – took his socks off – tiptoed*. Then the narrative chain continues with: *went – found – asked*. All the acts are in the simple past and might be linked in each case by the phrase “and then”; they are treated as uniform points in a sequence regardless of whether one was longer or shorter than another. They are the focus of attention in the narrative foreground. In each case “the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle and end rolled up into one” (Comrie 1976: 3).

Stative and dynamic verbs. The use of the progressive is rendered more complicated by the fact that not every verb may occur freely in this form. Most verbs are dynamic, which means that they can easily appear in the progressive if that is what is called for. Verbs of movement are clear examples (*run, jump, build, write*, etc.), but numerous others (*read, sleep, talk*) are also dynamic even though they do not involve movement. Verbs which express states, in contrast, are largely restricted to the simple form. One of the main verbs of state is *be* (*The sky is cloudy*; not **The sky is being cloudy*). Yet almost any verb may be used in the progressive under the appropriate circumstances. With *be*, for example, we find *You're just being polite*, which indicates that the politeness of the addressee is temporary and perhaps not fully sincere. A convenient test to see whether a state verb is being used dynamically is to try it out as an imperative. If this is grammatical, the verb is dynamic (*Be polite*); if not, it is stative (**Be six feet tall*). This works like this because issuing a command presumes that the addressee has control over an action.

For the nondynamic verbs it is convenient to make a subdivision into two classes. The first of these is the private verbs, so called because they refer to what an individual alone can experience in their sensations, thoughts, or feelings. When any of these are expressed, it is essentially a report and, like all other reports, appears in the simple form. Verbs of perception, cognition, and evaluation (*see, hear; know, think, believe; want, love, etc.*) belong here. It is normal to hear a child say: *I love my mommy* while **I'm loving my mommy* is unacceptable. A verb of evaluation may be found in the progressive, but chiefly to indicate a growing intensification (*Are you smoking more and enjoying it less?*). Note, however, that some private verbs, such as *feel, itch, and ache* may be used in both forms (*How are you feeling?* or *How do you feel?*). The second subclass is that of verbs of state or stative verbs, ones which designate relationships, which are not regarded as temporary even if they eventually turn out to be so: *equal, resemble, seem, cost, depend, adjoin*, and many others. Clearly two plus two equals four, and no one would venture to say **two plus two is equaling four*.

There is an increasing tendency for native speakers of English to extend a verb's dynamic nature to stative verbs, which can also be found in Outer Circle varieties of English (van Rooy 2014). Leech and colleagues quote as examples a verb of perception: *It's like she has been born again and we are now seeing the real Steffi* [FLOB A22], a verb of cognition: *Some secret part of me is remembering them* [Frown L07], and a semi-modal: *They are now having to address issues some have avoided in the past* [FLOB F14] (Leech et al. 2009: 129f). The progressive has been continuously increasing in frequency throughout the Modern English period (since 1700) with an incidence rate of approx. 3,000 occurrences per million words by the late 1990s, most frequent in fiction and journalistic prose, least so in academic writing (ibid.: 122). This growth is perhaps most striking in the widening of its use with stative verbs.

Perfect and progressive. The progressive and the present perfect can occur together, as pointed out above. However, not every type of verb may appear in this combination. Verbs which designate undifferentiated activities, that is, activities which do not logically include the idea of completion must occur in the present perfect progressive and cannot appear in the present perfect simple. Compare *I have been thinking* vs. **I have thought*. If used in the present perfect simple, then only as expressions of general experience (*I have slept*), but people seldom say such self-evident things.

In contrast to verbs of undifferentiated activity there are verbs which are intrinsically perfective; that is, they designate an act which necessarily presupposes its conclusion (e.g., **I have been discovering the answer to the world's energy problems*). Since *discover the answer* expresses completeness, it does not fit with the idea of incompleteness contained in the present perfect progressive. The sentence marked as ungrammatical by the asterisk is, of course, acceptable if the speaker is using it to make a declaration about what that person thinks they are doing.

State verbs cannot, of course, occur in the present perfect progressive because they do not normally occur in the progressive. In addition, state verbs cannot be in the present perfect simple either, for a state is something unchanging, while the present perfect simple is used for something which by implication has been completed in the past (though relevant in the present) (cf. **I have been 6 feet tall* or **Two plus two has equaled four* or **I have known the answer*).

Most verbs, however, allow both a perfective and a nonperfective interpretation. In the former case they are examples of the resultative perfect (*I've done my homework*); in the latter they are instances of the continuative perfect (*I've been doing my homework*). Table 4.8 sums up the different verb types.

Table 4.8 Verb types and the present perfect

<i>Verb types</i>	<i>Present perfect</i>	<i>Present perfect progressive</i>
Undifferentiated activity (<i>read, sleep, dream, talk</i>)	no	yes
Perfective acts, events (<i>arrive, eat something up, find the solution</i>)	yes	no
Ambiguous for the above (<i>listen to the news, eat supper, read a book</i>)	yes [=resultative]	yes [=continuative]
State verbs (<i>know something, resemble someone, contain something</i>)	no	no

4.3.4 Voice

This category covers of the contrast between active and passive as well as the middle or medio-passive (see below). The use of the passive causes a change in perspective which affects the sentence theme. The passive is favored in informative texts, especially academic and scientific ones (§§5.1.4. and 5.3.1 + 3).

Active and passive sentences are related to each other syntactically. What is the object of an active sentence is the subject of a passive one (*Frayn wrote the story* ↔ *The story was written by Frayn*). Conversely, the subject of the corresponding active sentence, which is often the agent and is often referred to as the “logical” subject, may be expressed in a passive sentence in a *by*-PP (*by Frayn*). However, this is the case only approximately 20% of the time. There are several reasons for this low frequency. For one thing, there is the strong tradition of apparent objectivity in scholarly texts, in which the first-person point of view is regarded as stylistically inappropriate (e.g., *In this section the passive is discussed*; less formal: *In this section we will discuss the passive*). In addition, the “logical” subject may be nonexistent (e.g., *Many factors are involved in the passive*) or it may be unknown or indefinite (e.g., *Many texts are written with a high percentage of passives*).

Not every predicator can appear in the passive. Those without an object (intransitive, copular, and weather verbs) can only be active. The verbs listed in Table 4.8 as verbs of state do not have a passive (e.g., *He resembles you* but not **You are resembled by him*; *The box contains two dozen pieces* but not **Two dozen pieces are contained by the box*). On the other hand, ditransitive sentences (e.g., *We gave her the book*) have two passives, one less frequent one in which the direct object is the subject (*The book was given to her*) and a more common one in which the indirect object is the subject (*She was given the book*).

Statal and dynamic passives. While passives most frequently appear with the auxiliary verb *be*, the use of *get* is particularly important because passive constructions with *be* are often ambiguous between the occurrence of an act (the dynamic passive) and the result of such an occurrence (the statal (or stative) passive). Note, for example, that *John was hurt* can refer to a dynamic act in which someone inflicted damage or insult on John. It can also refer to the state or condition of being injured or insulted. The sentence *John got hurt*, in contrast, has only the dynamic meaning.

Despite the advantage of its clearly dynamic meaning, *get* also has a disadvantage: it may be used with only some verbs (*get married, get involved, get done*; not **get seen, *get aided, *get instructed*). *Get* is most suitable when a change of state is involved. Furthermore, style is also a factor: in more formal usage *get* is less acceptable than in casual conversation.

The *be*-passive is declining somewhat in frequency, due perhaps to the strictures against (over)using it in usage guides (Leech et al. 2009: 164). It continues to occur most frequently in academic prose representing one in four finite verbs. In conversation only 2% of the finite verbs are passives (Biber et al. 1999: 476). While the *get* passive is spreading, it is extremely rare: “*Get* occurs only in conversation, except for an occasional example in colloquial fiction. Even in conversation, the *get* passive accounts for only about 0.1% of all verbs, and so is even less common than *be* passives” (ibid.).

The semi-passive. The past participle in statal passives is essentially an adjective. This becomes clear when it is preceded by an intensifier or a modifier (e.g., *It was [completely, irreversibly] broken*). This may also apply to *get*, which is then less a passive than a copula followed by a participial adjective. Once again this can be confirmed by the fact that an intensifier such as *very*, *awfully*, or *extremely* may be used with it (*Toward midnight I got (terribly) tired*). Much the same thing is true of *become*, *grow*, *feel*, *seem*, and a number of others, which resemble the passive without being true passives.

Experiential passives. Both *get* and *have* are used in a structure in which the subject is not Agentive, but an Experiencer of a passive act: *John got/had his arm broken in the fight*. Here John did not actually do something, but only experienced it. In a different interpretation of this structure, the subject may be understood as the person who caused or instigated what was done (*John got/had his tonsils removed* “asked the surgeon to do this”).

Active constructions with passive meaning. This includes both cases in which (a) the verbs may take Patient nouns as their subjects and (b) the medio-passive in which an inherent feature of the subject is focused on.

Patient nouns. It should be pointed out that there are a number of constructions in which the subject of an active sentence is the “logical” object of the predicator. This gives these sentences a passive-like interpretation, and it is possible with such verbs as *blow*, *break*, *burn*, *open*, and *ring* (*The leaves blew in the wind* “were blown by the wind”; *The house burned down* “was burned down”).

Medio-passives. A similar pattern applies to verbs which usually occur with an adverbial. Here the Agentive can be left out and the object can then become the subject; hence, *We are selling that book awfully fast* becomes the medio-passive *That book sells awfully fast*, “is being sold fast.” This is not truly a passive, for note that the same relationship holds with intransitive *You can write well with that pen*, which becomes *That pen writes well*. Here no passive paraphrase is possible, because the subject has the semantic role of Instrument. There do not seem to be any obvious restrictions on what predicators permit this so long as they (a) designate an “inherent” property (e.g., books are for selling, pens are for writing), (b) usually contain an adverbial of manner or quantity, and (c) what is promoted to subject is an Patient or Instrument semantic role.

The communicative structure of sentences. One final, extremely important question remains: What function does the passive fulfill? In English what comes early in a sentence is its theme or topic, and what follows is the rheme (from the Greek word meaning “what is said”) or comment on this topic. Since subjects usually come at the beginning of sentences, they also normally designate the theme. Sometimes, however, the object is the theme. By using the passive the object can become the subject and take the thematic position at the beginning of the sentence. For example, in *John’s in the hospital. Someone hurt him in a fight*, the theme of the second sentence is *John*, as established by the first sentence. The two sentences have more cohesion when the expected theme comes at the beginning of the second sentence and the new material, the comment, toward the end. This can easily be accomplished with the passive: *John’s in the hospital. He got hurt in a fight*.

Other devices are also available to change the placement of elements. One of these means of highlighting information is by fronting (*Roses, I like; violets, I don’t* or *He didn’t*

go gracefully, but quickly he did go). Notice that fronting is used especially for contrast. Left dislocation is a variation on this in which the usual, or canonical, position of the element which is moved to the front/left is marked by a pronoun (cf. *Roses, I like them; John, he didn't go gracefully*). A further way to focus of an element is by means of contrastive stress, which can be indicated only imperfectly in writing by using italics or underlining for what, in speech, would be realized by loudness, pitch change, or the like (§3.4.2).

In formal writing especially but not only there, use is made of cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences. In the first type the rheme is introduced by *It is/was* and the theme follows in a relative clause (*It was my car keys which I lost*). This reversal of the usual theme-rheme order has, once again, a contrastive function. Any sentence element or part of a sentence element except the VP may be made the rheme in this way:

It is the second question which concerns us. [subject]
It is statements of this sort which the author deals with. [object]
It was in a flash that they left. [adjunct]

Even when cleft sentences take *that* as a relative pronoun and the relative clause is nondefining, they do not take a comma before the relative pronoun.

It was Susan that/who wrote the most amazing stories.
It was the lions that/which the children found most fascinating at the zoo.
It is my favorite mug that/which you just cracked.

In the pseudo-cleft construction, even a VP may be highlighted. Here the element which is to be emphasized is preceded by the appropriate sort of relative clause and the verb *be*. The element highlighted may be

a verb:	<i>What we did was (to) leave as fast as possible;</i>
a noun:	<i>The person who got hurt was John;</i>
a manner adverbial:	<i>The way (in which) he did it was by dishonesty;</i>
a place adverbial:	<i>(The place) Where we met was (in) Ohio;</i>
a time adverbial:	<i>The day (when) we left was Tuesday.</i>

There are further means of changing the order of elements in a sentence such as extraposition. For a somewhat wider review see Birner and Ward (2008).

4.3.5 Modality

Modality in English has to do with the world not so much the way it is as the way it might potentially be. This may revolve around people's beliefs about it or around their potential actions in it, focusing on possibility, necessity, permission, obligation, prediction, and volition (Leech et al. 2009: 7).⁷ There are various linguistic means of expressing this in English, for example, with AdvPs and PPs (**Probably** *he's coming*; *It's in their power to decide the issue*), with AdjPs (*It's likely that he's coming*; *They're able to decide the issue*), with NPs (*the probability of his coming*; *their capability to decide the issue*), and with VPs (*He might come*; *They can decide the issue*). In this section we concentrate on the modal and semi-modal auxiliary verbs.

⁷ See Depraetere and Reed (2006) for a review of various approaches to modality in English.

Morphology and syntax of the modal auxiliaries

Modal auxiliary verbs form a closed class whose central members are *will, would, may, might, can, could, shall, should, and must*. Somewhat less central are *need, dare, ought to, used to, and had better*. The four most common ones: *would, will, can, and could* made up 67.5% of all modal usage in the Brown and LOB corpora of 1961 and 71.9% of Frown and FLOB in 1991/2 (ibid.: 73). There are two major types and four subtypes of modality. Each has a strong and a weak pole). All of the modals share the NICE syntactic features of the auxiliaries/operators. In addition, none of the modals have the third person singular {s} (*she may, never *she mays*), and they all take the bare or unmarked infinitive except *ought (to)* and *used (to)*.

The defective nature of the modal verbs vis-à-vis lexical verbs can be seen in the fact that none of them (as modals) have either a present or a past participle. As a result, they cannot appear in the perfect, progressive, or passive. Furthermore, while four of the modals do form present-past pairs (*will-would, shall-should, may-might, can-could*), the past tense forms function as markers of past time only in the most restricted of circumstances (see below).

The more marginal modals do not always exhibit the NICE features. *Dare* and *need* do so only in nonassertive contexts, especially questions and negations. These two verbs as well as *used to* may appear with *do*-periphrasis. For example, *I needn't ask* has the same meaning as *I don't need to ask*. It seems that *need to* “arose in relative independence as part of the more recent wave of grammaticalization which has given us new semi-modals such as *want to*” (Leech et al. 2009: 94).

The semi-modals

The label semi-modal (a.k.a. semi-auxiliary or quasi-modals) is used to refer to a number of (nondefective) verbs which have meanings parallel to those of the modal auxiliaries. They include, above all: *have (got) to, (had) better, be willing to, want to, be allowed/permitted to, be supposed to, be able to, be going to, need to, and be to* (ibid.: 98). Further evidence for their auxiliary nature may be seen in the irregularity caused by the assimilation of the infinitive marker *to* with the preceding element to form a single phonetic unit. This occurs only with the “strong pole” semi-modals: strong epistemic necessity vs. weak possibility; strong deontic obligation vs. weak permission; strong dynamic willingness vs. weak ability; and strong evidential certainty vs. weak report. Consequently, we find the possibility of assimilation in the following cases of “strong” modality:

- epistemic necessity: *gonna* from *going to*; past habitual *usta* for *used to*;
- deontic obligation: *hafta* from *have to* (*has to* > *hasta*; *had to* > *hadda*), *gotta* from (*have*) *got to*, *supposta* from *supposed to*; *needa* from *need to*; *oughta* from *ought to*;
- dynamic willingness: *wanna* from *want to*;
- evidential certainty: *supposta* from *supposed to*.

This kind of reduction does not apply to other verbs followed by an infinitive; there is no **beginna* for *begin to* or **lofta* for *love to*. Nor does it apply to the “weak” semi-modals such as epistemic *be likely to* (**likelia*), deontic *be allowed/permitted to* (**alloweda*), dynamic *be able to* (**abla*), or evidential *be said to* (**saida*).

There was a “marked decline of [core] modals in the twentieth century ... largely counter-balanced by a marked increase in the semi-modals” (Biber 2004: 199f qtd. in

Leech et al. 2009: 78). Clearly, the semi-modals are gaining in popularity but “are so much less frequent than the modals: added together they are less frequent than the single modal *will!*” (Mair and Leech 2008: 327). The ratio of semi-modals to modals in the FLOB and Frown corpora is 1:5.9, but in AmE, the conversational use of the semi-modals is much more balanced at 1:1.6; in individual cases a semi-modal may be predominant: “in the American conversational corpus ... *have (got) to* is more than 10 times as frequent as *must*” (ibid.: 328; cf. also Biber et al. 1999: 199–202; Leech et al. 2009: 78f; Johansson 2013), and in spoken usage *have got to/gotta* is 45 times more frequent in the spoken parts of the Frown and FLOB than in the written parts (Leech et al. 2009: 103).

Types of modality

There are two major types of modality in English, propositional with the subtypes epistemic and evidential, and event-oriented, with the subtypes deontic and dynamic. Each has, as just said, a strong and a weak pole.

Epistemic. Propositional modality has to do with beliefs and knowledge about logically necessary (strong, especially *must, will*) or logically possible (weak, especially *may, might, could*) modality. Epistemic modality indicates the degree of probability of a fact or proposition. Take a proposition such as *Sally is 170 cm tall*. This can be viewed as relatively unlikely or convincingly plausible or, of course, somewhere between the two. Expressed with modals this produces *Sally might be 170 cm tall* at the unlikely end and *Sally must be 170 cm tall* at the pole of greater certainty. Each of these could be paraphrased as follows: *It is just possible that Sally is 170 cm tall* and *It is necessarily true that Sally is 170 cm tall*. The epistemic modals lie on a scale from low to high probability, but are too vague to allow precise calibration. *Will*, for example, makes a prediction, sometimes on the basis of evidence (*The phone's ringing; that'll be my sister*) and sometimes “out of the blue” (*It'll be nice at the party, I hope*).

Evidential. Some types of epistemic modality are based on evidence and are termed **evidential**. Here the strong pole is hearsay (cf. *It's supposed to be dry in the Sahara*). The quotative is the weak pole (cf. *That tree is said to be the tallest in the country*).

Deontic and dynamic modality have to do with the likelihood of something happening: both are event-oriented. This means that they have to do with potential actions. Strong deontic modality is centered around the obligation to do something (*must, should, have to, have got to, need to*, e.g., *You must/have to call your parents once you've arrived*) and permission to do something (*may, can*, e.g., *You may leave for home now*). If you can or may do something, that is, are allowed to do it, the possibility exists that you will carry out this action. Note, however, that *may* has declined strongly in use leaving the field of modal permission to *can* (Leech et al. 2009: 85).

If you must do something, this is an obligation or a necessity, rather than a possibility. The use of the core deontic modal *must* is, however, perceived as the threatening imposition of an obligation by the speaker. Consequently, some varieties such as Scottish English do not for all practical purposes have deontic *must* at all. “As deontic *must* is highly discourse-oriented (Palmer 1990: 69–70), its particularly steep decline since 1961 may be due to its ‘prototypically subjective and insistent, sometimes authoritarian-sounding’ effect” (Smith 2003: 263). In current English, obligation is much more likely to be expressed by *should* or *have (got) to* than by *must*. In addition, there has been a relative surge in the use of deontic *need to*, which more than doubled between Brown-LOB (1961) and Frown-FLOB (1991/92) though at a lower level than *have to* or *want to* (Leech et al. 2009: 96ff, 114ff).

Dynamic. While permission comes from outside the agent, ability (*can*) and volition (*won't, wanna*) are internal to the agent (Palmer 2001: 10). See below Subjective and Objective.

Past time and reported speech. Deontic, dynamic, evidential, and epistemic modality have different structures for expressing the past.

For epistemic modality reference to the past is realized by means of the perfect infinitive:

it may/could/must be true now → it may/could/must have been true back then

Note that all of the epistemic modals, even the morphologically past tense forms, have a present (sometimes future) meaning when used with the simple infinitive; furthermore, all of them may be used with the perfect infinitive to express conjecture about the past. In addition, the past form of the modal in connection with the perfect infinitive has a contrafactual or condition-contrary-to-fact effect, which may make them ambiguous (e.g., *they could/might have done it, [but didn't or but I don't know if they did]*).

In reported speech there is no backshift of those modals which are already past in form or which have no past form, that is, *might* remains *might* and *must* remains *must*; but epistemic *will*, *can*, and *may* can be shifted to *would*, *could*, and *might*, though this need not be the case; see, by way of illustration, the following:

A: *Will you come to class tomorrow?* Reported: *She said she would come to class the next day.*

Past evidential modality is expressed with the perfect infinitive, with the morphological past of the modal expression, or with both simultaneously

he's supposta be nice → *he was supposta be nice*
 → *he is/was supposta have been nice*
she is said to be sick → *she was said to be sick*
 → *she is/was said to have been sick*

Deontic modality. In their present tense forms the deontic modals have future or potential reference. For past time reference the semi-modals have to be used:

they should/must hurry → *they were suppostalhad to/needed to hurry*
 → *he is/was supposta have been nice*
they may/can leave → *they were allowed/permitted to leave*

The past permission meaning of *can* is only expressed by a semi-modal, as in *He was permitted/allowed to stay up late*. The “same” sentence with *could* (*He could stay up late*) has a future epistemic meaning. Likewise, the future-in-the-past of *will* must be the nonmodal *She was (not) gonna sell* and not the volitional *She would(n't) sell*.

In reported speech the morphological past-tense form of *may*, if used, does not express the idea of permission; see, by way of example, the following:

Dad: “You may stay out late tonight.”
 Daughter: “My dad said I might stay our late tonight.”

Might reports possibility. To express permission we need *be allowed/permitted*:

Daughter: “My dad said I was allowed to stay out late tonight.”

Dynamic modality. The two past tense forms *could* and *would* are the only ones which fulfill all of the remoteness functions of the past tense: past time reference, distance in reported speech, unreality in conditional sentences, and politeness and tentativeness in statements. However, past time reference is not completely unrestricted. Note that both *could* and *would* have past time reference chiefly in nonassertive contexts such as negation, reported speech, and questions (but only in their dynamic ability and volitional meanings).

I can't speak French → *Back then I couldn't speak French*
You will play a lot → *You would play a lot*

In other words, it is the ability meaning which is carried by the past negative *couldn't*. For *will*, it is the volition (rather than epistemic prediction) meaning which *wouldn't* conveys. The unnegated assertive past of *can*-ability is usually expressed not by *could*, but by *be able to* and the volition sense of *will* not by *would*, but by *want to* or *be willing to*, (negative *He couldn't solve the problem* vs. positive *He was able to ...*; and negative *She wouldn't sell her stock* as opposed to positive *She wanted to ...*).

Negation. Besides the effects of negation just mentioned for the past tense of *can* and *will*, there are some important complications that have to do with the question of whether *not* negates the modal or the following infinitive. Sometimes this is unimportant inasmuch as not having permission to smoke (*You can't smoke in here*) is what would usually be said. Having permission not to smoke (*You can not smoke in here*), which sounds strange, would very likely be interpreted just like the former utterance. Much the same applies to the *should* and *ought* of obligation. The most complicated case of negation is deontic *must*. The negation of modality is *needn't* (*You needn't go* "it is not necessary that you go"). The negation of the lexical verb, in contrast, is *mustn't* (*You mustn't go* "it is necessary that you not go").

Subjective and objective. The deontic modal *must* is subjective, which means that it imposes an obligation stemming from the speaker. This means that it is relatively forceful. Objective *have to*, in contrast, invokes an outside obligation, which takes the onus off the speaker. Certainly, the difference between the impolite sounding *You must leave immediately* and the more neutral *You have to leave immediately* is evidence for this. If, however, something pleasant is expressed as an obligation, *must* is unproblematic (*You must try our new sauna*) and can be understood as an invitation.

There are several such pairs (e.g., subjective *could* and objective *be able to*; subjective *needn't* and objective *not have to/not need to*; subjective *can* and objective *be allowed to*). The distinction, often carried by modal vs. semi-modal auxiliary, is, however, not always clearly maintained, and this can lead to ambiguity, as when the Australian prime minister said of a politician who was accused of deceiving the Parliament: *Senator Withers may have misled Parliament*. As a case of subjective modality the PM would be committing himself to this possibility; as a case of objective modality [the actual intention] the PM would merely be admitting that others had made this accusation (example from Huddleston 1984: 167).

Modality in conditional sentences

Four types of conditional sentences may be distinguished in English, and the modals play an important role in all of them. The types are given in Table 4.9.

Modals do not normally appear in the *if*-clause of type I. However, *will* may be used if it expresses not probability but volition. Generally, the modal auxiliaries are restricted to main clauses though Leech et al. report that *would* in the *if*-clause seems to be possible (2009: 63).

Table 4.9 Conditional clauses

<i>Type of conditional</i>	<i>If-clause</i>	<i>Main clause</i>
I. Real condition	present Ex: <i>If you study hard, you will/can get a good grade.</i> [= future]	<i>will</i> (or other modal)
IIa. Unreal condition	past Ex: <i>If I studied hard, I would/might get a good grade.</i>	<i>would</i> (or other modal)
IIb. Stronger unreal condition	<i>were</i> + infinitive Ex: <i>If I were to study hard, I would ...</i> [<i>were</i> is a subjunctive form indicating unreality]	<i>would</i> (or other modal)
III. Contrafactual condition (contrary-to-fact; irrealis)	past perfect Ex: <i>If I had studied hard, I would/could have got(ten) a good grade.</i>	<i>would</i> (or other modal) + perfect infinitive
IVa. Implicational condition	present past Ex: <i>If that is the evening star, it is/must be Venus.</i> <i>If you studied hard, you got/must have got(ten) good grades.</i>	present or <i>must</i> + infinitive past or <i>must</i> + perfect infinitive [modal of logical necessity]
IVb. Habitual condition (iterative)	present or past Ex: <i>If (= Whenever) I study/studied hard, I get/got a good grade.</i>	present or past
Also possible with habitual <i>would</i> :	Ex: <i>If (= Whenever) I studied hard, I got/would get good grades.</i>	

Real conditional clauses (I in Table 4.9) refer to the future. Since the modals are commonly used for future reference, they appear frequently in such sentences. *Will* is the most common, but other central modals occur in real conditional clauses as well.

Unreal conditional sentences (IIa+b in the table) differ from real ones only inasmuch as they express less likelihood of something coming about. The use of the past tense therefore fits very well as a marker of remoteness.

Contrafactual conditionals, the third type (III in the table), are used to say something about the past. Here a conclusion is drawn about a hypothetical state of affairs. The main clause always contains a modal (chiefly *would*, often *could*, sometimes *might*) plus a perfect infinitive. This combines the remoteness of the past with epistemic modality, which expresses the likelihood of something being the case if the conditions in the past were right. Since the past is not repeatable and cannot be changed, this is “contrary to fact” or contrafactual.

The **implicational and habitual conditionals** (IV in the table) state relationships in which the speaker logically and/or from experience supposes something to be true. It is basically a variant of the real condition. The *if*-clause represents not a possibility but a circumstance whose truth is not definitively known or is true only from time to time. Hence *if it's raining* implies that the speaker does not know for sure whether or not it is raining. However, if (or whenever) the condition is true, then by logical implication it is also true that *they must be getting wet*. Note that the predicator in the main clause of implicational conditionals will either be the epistemic *must* of logical necessity or it will be the straightforward indicative (i.e., *they are getting wet*).

Conjunctions. Conditional clauses have, for convenience and clarity, been referred to as *if*-clauses. While it is true that *if* is the most common conjunction employed, a variety of

others are also used (e.g., *supposing, suppose, in case, provided, allowing that, in the event that, on (the) condition that* [all stylistically formal]; *unless*: negative [= “if not,” e.g., *This can't be true unless I'm dreaming!*]; *lest* [“in order that not”; extremely formal, chiefly AmE, e.g., *Plan in advance lest ill fortune bring you to a fall* “if you do not want ill fortune to ...”]). In addition, conditional clauses may be introduced by subject-operator inversion (cf. unreal conditional *Were he to agree/Should he agree, I would be very astonished*; also contrafactual conditional *Had he agreed, ...*). Finally, *conjoined clauses* (chiefly second person and frequently imperative) may have a conditional effect (cf. [threat]: [*You*] *come here again and you'll get to know me*).

4.4 THE NOUN PHRASE (NP)

The NP can consist of up to four parts: (1) determiners with several different positional possibilities, (2) premodifiers, (3) the obligatory noun head, and (4) postmodifiers, also consisting of several possible elements. Example: (1) *the* (2) *rancid* (3) *butter* (4) *in the refrigerator*.

4.4.1 Determiners

The initial elements of the prehead are divided into those which specify (tell which of a group) or quantify (tell how many or how much). These are the predeterminers, central determiners, and postdeterminers, the last of these divided into two subgroups. In any NP there can be up to four determiners, one each from the predeterminers, the central ones, and each of the two types of the postdeterminers:

predeterminers	central determiners	postdeterminers (i)	postdeterminers (ii)	adjective	noun
<i>All/both/half</i> (<i>of</i>)	<i>this/that/those</i>	<i>first/additional/other</i>	<i>two/few/ten</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>days</i>

It makes sense that the predeterminers come first since they determine the scope of the remainder of the NP. They can be quantifiers such as *all, half, alone, third, both, double, and twice*, sometimes with and sometimes without *of* (e.g., *both (of) the students*). They include the quantifier *many* and a small set of qualifying predeterminers (*such, quite, what*), all of which may precede the indefinite article (*such/quite/what a nice day*). If they are replaced by *so, how, too* and *enough*, they modify the adjective, which is then moved in front of the indefinite article (e.g., *so/too nice a day*).

The central determiners specify the noun (tell which), as does the article in *all the fresh eggs* or *what a nice car*. There are, however, various other central determiners, chiefly the demonstrative determiners: *this, that, these, those*; the possessive determiners (e.g., *my, your, her; Ruth's, (the) boy's, whose*); indefinite determiners like *some, any, no, every, each, (n)either*; and the relative determiners *which(ever)* and *what(ever)*.

The postdeterminers are exclusively expressions of quantity. The first subgroup (i) consists of the ordinal numbers (e.g., *first, second, third*, and related items like *next, last, further, additional, and other*). After them come the second subgroup (ii) made up of the cardinal numbers and a few other quantifiers of number (*one, two, three; few, several*).

4.4.2 The order of adjectives

Following the determiners come the adjectives and participles, which are all designations of quality. The order they come in is not strictly fixed, but the dominant principle is that the more accidental, subjective, and temporary qualities are named before the more essential, objective, and permanent ones. This means that evaluative adjectives (*beautiful, important, stupid*) tend to come first, and those which name the substance out of which something is made, or the subject matter something consists of, come last (*wooden, metal; economic, religious*). In between come size (*tiny, tall, fat*), then shape (*round, flat, sharp*), then participles (*blazing, ruined*) followed first by age (*old, new, young*) and then color (*red, green, blue*). After that comes nationality or provenance (*British, American, African*) as in this nonsensical phrase: *My beautiful wooden tall sharp blazing old blue American statue ...* Gradable adjectives may be preceded by adverbial intensifiers (*somewhat, astonishingly, pretty, very*). Here are some illustrative examples. The determiners are the words before the slash; the intensifiers are *very* and *somewhat*; the remainder are adjectives (more than three or four adjectives in one NP would be rare in actual use); the nouns are set in boldface:

both my last two I very worthless old British copper pennies
all your I shapeless old-fashioned felt carpet slippers
the second dozen I small somewhat wilted yellow roses

4.4.3 The noun head

Nouns can be divided into common nouns, themselves subdivided into count, noncount, and proper nouns.

Count and noncount nouns. Count nouns are prototypical nouns because they have plurals and, in many cases, possessives. They also take all the forms of the article (*the, alan,* and zero). Noncount nouns (a.k.a. mass nouns), in contrast, have no plural or individualized singular. As a result, they cannot appear with the indefinite article (e.g., there is no **a snow*). They may, instead, have either the definite article with specific reference or zero article with generic reference (see below). Noncount nouns may be concrete and include such mass nouns as *coffee, sand, wheat, or mud*. More often, however, they will be abstract nouns such as *loudness, strength, or entrepreneurship*. Furthermore, a large group of nouns includes both concrete and abstract nouns which are sometimes count and sometimes noncount (e.g., *cabbage, denial, or sound*), as in *I bought a cabbage* (= a head of cabbage), where *cabbage* is a count noun, and *I don't like cooked cabbage*, where it is a noncount mass noun. In addition, mass nouns may be used as count nouns, when, for example, you order *two coffees* or a writer talks about the *snows of yesteryear*. Normally, however, this is accomplished by prefixing some measure or quality expression to the singular form as in *two cups of coffee, a kind of snow, or a grain of sand*. Article usage with count and noncount nouns are summarized in Table 4.10.

Generic nouns refer to typical representatives of a class. With count nouns there are three common ways in which generic reference is realized, namely the singular with the definite article (*The unicorn is a mythological beast*), the singular with the indefinite article (*A unicorn has a single horn*), and the plural with zero article (*Unicorns do not exist*). The three differ from each other in that *the* + singular refers to the class represented; it has an informal alternative with *your* (*Your unicorn is a mythological beast*). *A* + singular is used much like *any*. It may only occur in subject position. Zero article (meaning no article) and

Table 4.10 Articles with count and noncount nouns

	<i>Definite</i>		<i>Indefinite</i>	
	<i>Count</i>	<i>Noncount</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Noncount</i>
Singular	<i>the (song)</i>	<i>the (music)</i>	<i>a (song)</i>	[zero] <i>music</i>
Plural	<i>the (songs)</i>	–	[zero] (<i>songs</i>)	–

the plural, also restricted to subject position, is the same as saying *all* (or *no*, if negative). A variant of this is the definite article and plural nouns of nationality (*The Germans are orderly* = *Germans are orderly* = *All Germans are orderly*). Noncount nouns are generic when they occur without an article (*Snow is white*).

Proper nouns can be identified as those which are capitalized. Capitalization is a sign that each such noun refers to a unique entity (even if, in fact, there is more than one, say, Joe or Barbara in the world). Because the people, places, or things referred to are unique, they cannot be further specified and therefore occur without an article. There are two important exceptions to this. The first and most general is that a name of a person can occur more than once. If we want to distinguish between two people with the same name, we can specify them further by using a postmodifying phrase and saying, for instance, *the Joe I know* or *the Barbara with the red hair*. In this case plurals are also possible (cf. *the Anna's of this world*). The second exception involves places. Many place names which are derived from common nouns retain their article, so *the United States*, *the Metropolitan (Opera)*, *the Mississippi (River)*, and so on. Unfortunately, there is no easy rule to distinguish between, for example, *Buckingham Palace* (no article) and *the White House* (with the definite article). There are some rules such as mountain ranges which take an article (*the Andes*, *the Pyrenees*) but mountains which do not (*Mt. Everest*, *Mt. Rainier*).

4.4.4 Postmodifiers

The noun head can be followed by several types of modifying expression. A few adjectives can be postpositive, both fixed expressions (*secretary general*, *president elect*) and adjectives and participles with complements (*a woman true to her principles*, *a jacket made to order*). Those adverbs of time and place which can modify nouns also follow (*the valley beyond*, *that car there*, *years before*). Many of these adverbs are variants of PPs, which are the most frequent postmodifiers (*the valley beyond ours*, *a story about love and war*, *a person of distinction*). PPs themselves are sometimes, but by no means always variations of clauses, both nonfinite (*the valley situated beyond ours*, *the woman sitting beside you*, *the valley to visit*) and finite (*the valley which is situated beyond ours*, *a student who comes from Ghana*).

The relative order of postmodifiers is generally from short to long. The main exception to this is that PPs which provide information about the nature or provenance of the head noun (*a woman of virtue*, *the currency of Japan*) come before participles and adverbs (*a friend of the family waiting outside in the yard*).

Postmodifiers can be restrictive (defining) or nonrestrictive (nondefining), whereas premodifiers are more likely to be restrictive only. As restrictive elements they often introduce new and distinguishing or identifying features. On further mention these restrictive, defining elements, now known or given, may become the initial member of a compound in much the fashion of the theme-rheme, given-new distinction. For example, a program may be introduced as *a program using a computer*; further mention can then be *the computer*

program. More detail may be added as in *a computer program for the checking of spelling*, which can then lead to *the computer spelling-check program* and so on. This is parallel to the way information is introduced via a predicate complement: *Her car is black*, which then becomes *her black car*.

4.4.5 Relative clauses

The restrictive/defining vs. nonrestrictive/nondefining distinction just mentioned also applies to relative clauses. Nonrestrictive relative clauses are used if the identity of the referent is clear. If someone says, “my mother,” it is not possible to ask “Which of your mothers?”; the identity is clear, so a postmodifying relative will be nondefining (*My mother, who loves flowers, is president of the garden club*). However, if someone says “my brother” or “my sister” and has more than one, a restrictive relative clause may be necessary to identify which one of them is meant (*My sister who is at university just turned twenty, but my other sister is only sixteen*). However, the distinction between referents which are already identified and ones which need further definition is often far from clear. One result is that many writers fail to indicate the distinction, which is maintained by punctuation in writing (and potentially by tonality (§3.4.3) in pronunciation): Nonrestrictive clauses are conventionally separated off by commas while restrictive ones are not.

The nonrestrictive pronominal relatives are *who(m)*, *which*, and *whose*. Restrictive relative pronouns include these as well as *that* and zero (\emptyset), that is, no relative (e.g., *the book which/that/[\emptyset] I read*); the relative pronoun *that* always introduces a defining relative clause. Nonrestrictive relative clauses are always finite, which means that they have to have a verb which has tense. Restrictive pronominal clauses, in contrast, may be finite (*We don't like people who complain all the time*) or nonfinite (*the hotel at which to stay / the hotel [\emptyset] to stay at*), in which case a tensed verb is not necessary.

Sentential relative clauses. Only *which* occurs in this type of construction, whose antecedent is a whole clause (*Grammar is interesting, which is why I study it*). It is always nondefining, that is, the use of a comma is mandatory. This is, of course, not a postmodifier in an NP, but a kind of sentence adverbial.

A further important distinction among relatives is that there are both pronominal relative clauses, that is, ones which are introduced by a relative pronoun (*who(m)*, *whose*, *which*, *that*, and $[\emptyset]$) and adverbial ones, introduced by a relative adverb (*when*, *where*, *how*, *why*, and $[\emptyset]$).

Pronominal relative clauses distinguish what they postmodify (their antecedents) according to whether this is personal or nonpersonal. *Who(m)* is used for the former (*the friend who(m) I met*) and *which*, for the latter (*the computer which I use*). This distinction is neutralized in the possessive since *whose* refers to both (*the friend whose computer I use; the computer whose printer is so noisy*). It is also neutralized with the relative pronoun *that* (*the friend that ...; the computer that ...*). The restrictive relative pronoun does not need to appear when it is not the subject of its own clause (*the friend [\emptyset] I met; the computer [\emptyset] I use*).

The relative adverbial clauses are similar to pronominal relatives because temporal *when* is equivalent to *the time in/at which* and local *where* to *the place in/at which*. Both can be defining or nondefining, as in nonrestrictive *London, where Parliament sits, is the capital of the UK* as opposed to restrictive *The city where the meeting was held is somewhere in Illinois*. Those of manner (*how*) and reason (*why*) are always defining. If the antecedent is indefinite (*the place, the time, the way, the reason*) the relative *that* is also employed (*the last time that/when I saw you*). Manner relatives never occur with both antecedent and relative (**the way how*), but only either the one (*He saw the way I did it*) or the other (*He saw how I did it*). When

there is no antecedent, which can also be the case with time, place, and reason clauses, the adverbial relative can be considered to be fused. We speak about fused relatives because the antecedent and the relative are, as it were, fused into a single whole (pronominal) *You must return what you borrow*, "... return **that which** you ..." or (adverbial) *When they met was exciting* "**The time at which** they met" In some cases, *how*, *when*, *where*, and *why* are hard to distinguish from indirect questions (cf. *I wondered where you were*); but this is not always the case as we see in *She understood why I left early*.

4.4.6. Nominalization

While many nouns are "typically" concrete and countable, not all of them are. In addition to the uncountable mass nouns already mentioned there are many abstract designations such as *liberty*, *relationship*, or *art*. Furthermore, acts, events, activities, processes, and states, which are typically expressed by verbs, can be nominalized – that is, put into a noun form. Such forms are called nominals (in contrast to nouns). Five types of nominals will be recognized here:

- 1 derived nominals: *his refusal to come*, *the warmth of July*
- 2 action nominals: *the understanding of problems*
- 3 gerunds: *your singing popular songs*
- 4 infinitives: *for them to complain*
- 5 nominal and interrogative clauses: *that they agreed*; *whether the police know*

Nominals are somewhere between noun, on the one hand, and verb or adjective, on the other. Semantically they all refer more to time (occurrences; verb-like *agreement*) or to properties (adjective-like *hardness*) than to space (objects; noun-like *flower*).

Derived nominals and action nominals are the most noun-like. The former may be pluralized in concrete reference, for example, *the governments of the EC countries*. Note that the abstract act of *government* "governing" cannot be plural. Both (1) and (2) may be preceded by an article (*the refusal*). Furthermore, both (1) and (2) may be followed by PPs (*the interviewing of people*, *the hatred of evil*). Most important, however, both nouns and nominals form the center (or head) of NPs. For example, they may be the subject of a sentence as in *His writing of poems keeps him busy*.

The gerund and the infinitive are both particularly verb-like since they can take direct objects (e.g., *Singing songs/To sing songs is fun*). They also take the verbal categories of aspect and voice (*seeing*, *having seen*, *having been seeing*; *being seen*, *having been seen* and *to see*, *to be seeing*, *to have seen*, *to have been seeing*; *to be seen*, *to have been seen*, etc.). The gerund is perhaps more noun-like than the infinitive because only it may appear freely after prepositions (*by doing that*; but not: **by to do that*).

The gerund, infinitive, as well as nominal and interrogative clauses (*that*- and *wh*-clauses) have markers which signal the presence of a clausal nominal. For the gerund it consists of the (optional) possessive determiner (e.g., *our cooking supper* [instead of *us cooking supper*]); for the infinitive it consists of an initial *for*, which precedes the subject of the infinitive in at least some cases (e.g., *for you to type so quickly*). For the nominal clause the complementizer is the optional element *that* (e.g., [*that*] *I came*); and for the interrogative clause it is the mandatory presence of a *wh*-word (*when*, *where*, *why*, *whether*, *how they did it*, etc.).

Nominals form NPs, but they cannot freely occur in all the same places that noun-headed NPs can (few will ever appear as indirect objects). But all of them occur frequently as subjects (*To go jogging is healthy*). However, long, "heavy" nominal-clause subjects may

be moved to the end (extraposition), leaving the “dummy” subject *it* behind (e.g., *It was great that you remembered Mother’s birthday* rather than *That you remembered Mother’s birthday was great*).

4.5 THE CLAUSE

Among the phenomena relevant at the level of the clause, both finite and nonfinite, are its structure and complexity. Phenomena such as negation and word order are best observed at this level. The intriguing and complex use of gerunds, infinitives, and nominal and interrogative clauses with the verbs referred to as catenatives is an important feature of the clause. The major syntactic or sentence patterns have already been introduced (cf. Collins 2008), but illocutionary force covering traditional “mood” will be introduced (§4.5.3).

4.5.1 Complexity

Clauses can also be linked by coordination and subordination (reviewed in Huddleston and Pullum 2008). When two main clauses are connected, this is referred to as a compound sentence. Subordination may involve clause embedding. Relative clauses can expand NPs as postmodifiers. Furthermore, a subordinate (adverbial) clause may be joined to a main clause. All these are instances of complex sentences. A combination of the compound and complex sentences are referred to as compound-complex.

Two main clauses can be joined by means of the coordinating conjunctions as in *It’s warm, **and** the sun is shining*. There is also the possibility of using correlative coordinating conjunctions, in which one member comes at the beginning of the first and the other at the beginning of the second clause (***Not only** is it warm, **but** the sun is **also** shining*). Coordination can also be achieved with conjuncts, that is, adverbials which have a connecting function. They tend to be relatively formal in style. Some of the most common are *however*, *nevertheless*, and *moreover*; but there are many, many more. In writing if the two clauses do not appear as separate sentences, the convention is to use a semicolon before and a comma after them (*Conjuncts are connectors; nevertheless, they are not conjunctions*). A final means of coordinating two clauses in writing is by simply putting them next to each other and connecting them with a semicolon or colon (*The word but is a conjunction; the word however is a conjunct*).

Subordinate adverbial clauses fulfill much the same function as adjunct AdvPs and PPs. They are usually introduced by a subordinating conjunction which may express time (e.g., *when*, *before*, *as soon as*), cause (*because*, *as*, *since*), concession (*although*), condition (*if*, *supposing*), purpose (*so that*, *in order that*), comparison (*as*, *like*), and other relations. A subordinate adjunct clause may precede or follow the main clause (cf. *We went swimming as it was hot* or *As it was hot, we went swimming*). A coordinating conjunction, in contrast, may only come between the clauses it joins (*We went swimming, for it was hot*; not **For it was hot, we went swimming*).

Negation

Elements of all sorts can be negated at all levels and in a variety of different ways: words (*partisan* : *nonpartisan*; *skilled* : *unskilled*), phrases (*with malice* : *without malice*; *very carefully* : *not very carefully*), and clauses (*Someone yelled* : *No one yelled*). At the clause level, it

is normally the predicator which is negated, usually with *not*, which follows the auxiliary verb including *do* (*I went : I didn't go*) and the operators *be* and sometimes *have* (idiom-like *We haven't a clue*).

Nonassertive contexts include negation and other contexts indicating uncertainty about the truth or reality of a situation, above all, questions, conditionals, and some instances of modality. A number of vocabulary items are restricted to such contexts and are paired with others which appear in positive or assertive contexts. Such assertive-nonassertive pairs include *some* : *any*; *too* : *either*; *already* : *yet*; and *sometimes* : *ever*; see, by way of illustration, the following:

assertive	vs.	nonassertive
<i>He's already bought some</i>		<i>He hasn't bought any yet</i>
<i>They sometimes go</i>		<i>They don't ever go</i>
<i>She did it, too</i>		<i>She didn't do it, either</i>

This alternation is most stringent under negation. With questions, conditionals, and modals the nonassertive member of each pair is not always necessary (*Has He bought any yet/already?* or *Do they ever/sometimes go?*). *Either* is called for only under conditions of negation (*Did she do it, too/*either?*). In addition, all the words involving *some* and *any* are subject to complications not dealt with in this book which depend on the scope of negation.

Initial (semi-)negatives. A special effect of nonassertive elements is the occurrence of negative elements (*never, not once, at no time, etc.*) and semi-negative ones (*barely, hardly, infrequently, rarely, seldom, scarcely, etc.*) at the beginning of a sentence. When this happens there must be inversion of subject and auxiliary (*The sun rarely appeared that afternoon.* → *Rarely **did** the sun appear that afternoon.*)

Word order

The arrangement of words in sentences is one of the most important means of establishing grammatical cohesion in English. Word order is often grammatically fixed. This has been mentioned in connection with various points such as sentence patterns, the relative order of auxiliary and subject, the effect of initial negatives and semi-negatives (above), and the relative order of determiners and of adjectives. Furthermore, word order is obviously an important factor in the way in which theme-rheme works in the communicative structure of sentences. The two guiding principles of cohesion are, in brief: grammatical restrictions on word order and thematic focus.

The relative position of adjuncts. The order of adjuncts is perhaps the most difficult to present concisely. The overriding principle is that of focus. An adjunct which is supposed to carry more weight will come at the beginning (thematic) or at the end of the sentence (rhematic). Very few restrictions can prevent this from happening. This takes for granted that the element which is fronted or which occurs finally would not normally be found there. In other words, it presupposes some kind of unmarked or normal word order from which fronting or backing departs.

Adverbs which modify or comment on a whole sentence are not adjuncts, but sentence adverbs (subjuncts and disjuncts), and they usually precede it, for example, *Hopefully, it won't rain*, which means "I hope that ...". Adverbs which modify the verb, especially ones of frequency like *always, never, sometimes*, and so on precede it, as in *They never/sometimes come on time*. The usual position of adjuncts (adverbs and adverbials such as prepositional

phrases) which modify the whole VP is after the predicator and its complements: first place, then manner, and finally time (*We drove the car home* [place] *in a hurry* [manner] *before the storm broke out* [time]). There are several reasons why this pattern is seldom found. First of all, all three types of adjunct are not often likely to appear together in a single sentence. Second, manner adjuncts, especially in the form of single adverbs, such as *quickly* instead of *in a hurry*, will occur before the lexical verb (*We quickly drove ...*). Third, time adjuncts freely appear in initial position, especially if this prevents the occurrence of a series of sentence final adjuncts (*Before the storm broke out, we drove the car home quickly*). Fourth, the greater length or weight of an element will lead to its appearance closer to the end (*Yesterday we drove the car quickly to the place where we last remembered seeing the picnickers*). These are guidelines and are not absolute.

Displacement of a long element to the end of a sentence is virtually a grammatical requirement in some instances. *That*-nominal clauses and infinitives which are the subjects of sentences are often felt to be too weighty and moved to the end. When this happens they leave the pronoun *it* behind to supply the necessary grammatical subject (*It was nice that you called* or *It was great to hear from you*). With several common verbs this movement to the end of a nominal clause, called extraposition, is grammatically obligatory (*appear, seem, happen, occur, turn out*) as in *It happens that she likes you*.

4.5.2 Clause complementation

Catenative verbs are predicators which take participles, gerunds, infinitives, and nominal or interrogative clauses as complements. Examples are *I remember seeing them* (gerund), *They told you to return the book* (infinitive), *My uncle said that we should go now* (nominal clause), *I doubt whether he's right* (interrogative clause). In describing how these verbs and their nominal complements are used together it is necessary to recognize the time relationships between the predicators and their complements and to distinguish verbs by their semantic classes.

Time relations

There is a basic temporal distinction between the infinitive and the *-ing* form. Nonfinite complements which refer to a time before that of the main (catenative) predicator are exclusively expressed by *-ing* forms (e.g., *I remember doing it*; *She admits going*; *They deny being there*). An infinitive complement can indicate past relative to the main verb only by appearing in the perfect form. This is really a report of a present state resulting from a past occurrence (e.g., *We seem to have done something wrong*; *They happen to have gone*; *He is rumored to have overslept*).

Nonfinite complements which are future relative to the catenative are infinitives (*Please remember to mail the letter*; *We wish to go early*; *You promised to come*). Only a relatively small group of verbs does not follow this pattern: *recommend doing something, urge doing something*, and so on.

Those complements, finally, which designate a state or action which is simultaneous with the main verb may be followed by either. One difference between the two involves progressive aspect (*see someone leave* vs. *see someone leaving*; *begin to understand* vs. **begin knowing*, where stative *know* resists use in the progressive). A second distinction is that of factuality (past/present) vs. potentiality (future), as in *I tried smoking, but didn't like it* "actually smoked" vs. *I tried to be on time, but didn't manage to* "did not actually arrive on time."

Finite *that*-clause complements are, of course, freer in their temporal relations to the catenative they follow because they contain a finite verb. The tense of the predicator is, however, not fully free. The use of tense in indirect speech generally demands that a past tense form in the main clause be followed by past tense in the *that*-clause of the reported speech. For example, *will go* becomes *would go*; *goes* becomes *went*; *have gone* becomes *had gone*, but *went* (already past) remains *went* unless the need to differentiate different levels within the past demand *had gone*. Imperative verbs which take *that*-clause complements are usually restricted to the mandative subjunctive or the deontic modal of obligation *should* (see below *suggest*).

Verb classes

There are perhaps some 30 different classes of catenatives, each of them defined by meaning. All in all, some 500–600 verbs (not including verb + adjective combinations like *be afraid (to do something)* are involved. Some are polysemous and occur in more than one class (see below *love*, *see*, *remember*). It does not seem reasonable to attempt an even moderately complete review of the classes; however, a look at some of the more important ones can serve to clarify the way in which catenation functions. What all of these verbs and verb classes have in common is that they say something about either a state or an event, whether it existed/happened or when it began or stopped or who caused, observed, wanted, demanded it, and so on. Furthermore, as the complement observed changes, it is also possible to see that the verb itself changes classes according to the new status of the complement.

Love. There is a contrast between *I love sitting there* (“I have sat there/am sitting there/sometimes sit there and love this”) and *I love to sit there* (“I may do it [again]”). In the first instance *sitting* is a gerund and names an actual act or activity, and *love* is a verb of evaluation (also *like*, *hate*, *enjoy*, etc.). When the infinitive is used, the verb is volitional (also *agree*, *wish*, *plan*, etc.) and directed toward what is desired in the future. A final variation is *I love (it) that I am sitting here*. Here *love* is a verb of evaluation, and the *that*-clause complement is the proposition that the subject is sitting “here.” The proposition is presupposed to be factual and then positively evaluated (“I love it”). This is much like the gerund with the difference that tense and aspect can be specified in the *that*-clause complement.

See. Note the contrast between the verb of perception *see* (also *hear*, *feel*, *watch*, *smell*, etc.) in *I saw them crossing the bridge* and *I saw them cross the bridge*. In the first case it is the ongoing *activity* of crossing which is witnessed by the subject. No conclusion can be made about whether the people crossing ever got to the other side. The second case focuses on the complete *act*, namely on something done. It is clear that the crossing was finished. This is centered around progressive aspect. As a cognitive verb *see* (also *think*, *suppose*, *believe*, *recall*, *remember*, etc.) takes a *that*-clause complement (*I saw that they have found a cure for the common cold*). Here the subject did not necessarily see any direct evidence which might have led to the conclusion; instead, they may have simply read this in the newspaper and accepted it because someone said that this was the case. What is expressed is not an activity or an act which has been perceived, but a proposition.

Remember. *I remember doing my homework* (or with a subject: *I remember him doing his homework*) refers to an activity which the subject of *remember* (or someone else) carried out at an earlier time. This stands in contrast to a present or continuing state as in *I remember him to have red hair*, where a conclusion is drawn about a present state on the basis memory. In both cases *remember* is a verb of cognition. Other verbs of this class (e.g., *believe*, *find*, *know*; cf. *I believed him to be friendly*; *she found the bread to be stale*) frequently take complements of this sort, which is sometimes called the accusative with infinitive. When

the main clause predicator is put into the passive, the subject of the infinitive becomes the subject of the whole sentence (*They were seen to have crossed the bridge*). In *I remembered to do my homework*, finally, doing the homework is future relative to the remembering. In this example *remember* (“remind oneself”) is a verb of command and request (also *tell*, *direct*, *instruct*, *suggest*, etc.), as can be seen more clearly when a subject and the *for ... to* construction occurs (in those varieties of English which have such a construction): *I remembered/said/wished for him to do his homework*.

Suggest. This verb may be followed by a gerund, an infinitive complement, or a *that*-clause. In the first case (*I suggest our taking a long walk*) it is a proposal about a future activity and is unusual, as gerunds are used for future reference with only the verbs of this class (*propose*, *intend*, *recommend*, *advocate*, and *oppose*). In some varieties of English, the *for ... to* infinitive construction is possible after *suggest* (*I suggested for us to take a long walk*). The same is true of the construction with no subject and the simple infinitive (*I suggested to take a long walk*). These sentences report potential acts and have verbs of speech as their predicators. A subtype of this class contains manner-of-communication verbs such as *whisper*, *yell*, and *moan* as well as *say*, where infinitive complements are common (*He screamed (for us/to us) to pay attention*).

The mandative subjunctive⁸ is the third form which is possible after *suggest* (*I suggested that he take a long walk*), the reported form of an imperative. The mandative subjunctive is used after predicates which introduce a demand or proposal (the verbs *demand*, *insist*, *order*, *request*, etc.; the adjectives *important*, *mandatory*, *imperative*, *advisable*, and so on; and even the nouns *decision*, *requirement*, etc.). Syntactically, this subjunctive is marked by having the base or bare infinitive form after the subject in all persons (*It is desirable that helthey be informed*). Furthermore, negation is realized without *do*-periphrasis, but rather with simple preposed *not* (*I prefer that helthey not learn what happened*). In BrE the subjunctive is restricted more to formal contexts but seems to be expanding, perhaps under AmE influence (Mair and Leech 2008: 329; §§7.4.2, 9.4.1). In BrE the form with *should* is an equivalent construction (*I suggest he should take a walk*) but the indicative is found as well (*I suggest that he takes a walk*). The latter form is likely to be misunderstood in AmE as a verb of speech (*suggest* “insinuate”), which is followed not by an imperative, but by a proposition (“In my opinion this is what he did”).

4.5.3 Illocutionary force and clause types

It is well known that many a statement really pursues a different purpose than just, say, giving information. *I've just mopped the floor* may be intended as a prohibition (“Don’t walk on it yet”) or a request (“Say thanks”). In the appropriate setting the statement *It’s warm and sunny* may be taken as a question (“Shall we go for a stroll?”), itself perhaps more a directive than a question. As far as this chapter is concerned, each of the traditional moods is associated with a particular sentence type (but see §5.4.2).

The indicative occurs in declarative sentences: The subject comes first, followed by the predicator and then by whatever further complements may be called for (direct object, indirect object, predicate complement). This is the central clause-type to which all the others are related.

The interrogative (a.k.a. interrogatory) provides a variation on the declarative inasmuch as most questions involve a *wh*-question word (*who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, *why*, *how*, etc.) and

⁸ The word *mandative* contain the same root as *command* or *demand*.

auxiliary-subject inversion. For example, the declarative *She left us at noon* becomes the question *When did she leave us?* in which *do* is introduced since the declarative in the example has no auxiliary. Inversion does not always occur (*Who left us at noon?* where the *wh*-word is the subject); nor is there always a *wh*-word (*yes-no* questions such as *Did she leave at noon?*). Yet if a *yes-no* question is reported, the *wh*-word *whether* or *if* is used (*They asked whether/if she left at noon*). In reported questions there is usually also no inversion (*They asked when she left*). However, there is a tendency to retain inversion in informal usage (*They asked when did she leave*). Sometimes there is neither inversion nor a *wh*-word as in *She left us at noon?* spoken with rising intonation. In writing, direct questions always end with a question mark; indirect ones do not.

The imperative typically appears as the base form of the verb without a subject (*Speak up, please*). Imperatives are, despite the lack of a subject, clearly second person, addressed to a hearer-reader. This is evident both in reflexive forms and anaphoric pronoun reference (*Help yourself to more potatoes if you're still hungry; Give me a hand, will you?*). Imperatives never contain modals and never appear in the perfect. The progressive is possible, though infrequent (*Be working when the boss comes in*). Passives are found, but most often in the negative (*Don't be fooled by them*), or with the auxiliary *get* (*Come on! Get organized*). Note that *be* is negated with the auxiliary *do* in imperatives (*Don't be late*) and takes a tag question with *will* (*Be nice, will you?*).

Although typical imperatives are second-person forms, the construction with *let* is sometimes thought of as a first-person variant as in *Let's have a party* or as in the reflexive *Let me [Lemme] treat myself to a cup of coffee* or *Let's leave early, shall we?* with a pronoun tag. Sometimes third-person forms are also found (e.g., *If they have no bread, let them eat cake*). The negative is either *Let's not go* (AmE and BrE), *Don't let's go* (BrE) or *Let's don't go* (AmE).

The only relatively robust form of the subjunctive in Present-Day English is the mandative subjunctive, which occurs in sentences which are declarative in form, but imperative in effect. *It is important that Marie tell him* basically reports the command: *Tell him!* (addressed to Marie).

The exclamatory lies outside the declarative-interrogatory-imperative constellation since it may be imposed on practically any syntactic form if emphatic stress with strongly rising (↗) or rising-falling (↗↘) intonation is used. There is, however, one specifically exclamatory sentence type, namely, independent utterances introduced by *what* or *how* with or without a predicator (e.g., *What a day (it was)!* or *How nice (they are)!*). An exclamation point is often but not invariably used in writing. A few relic exclamatory forms are used in Present-Day English which contain subjunctive forms: *Long live the king! God bless you!* or *Would that it were true!*

4.6 EXERCISES

4.6.1 Exercise on clause analysis

Label the following on the levels: (a) parts of speech, (b) phrases, and (c) sentence elements

1. Roberta shook her great fluffy head.
2. Her cameraman was standing six feet away.
3. He would tell her the rest of the story, too.

4. Both of them looked down the street.
5. Six boys in their teens were drinking coke and smiling.

4.6.2 Exercise on clause structure

Identify clause structure (SVO, SVC, etc.) in the following sentences:

1. Tom went to the swimming pool.
2. He put on his swimming trunks.
3. Dad gave him the water wings.
4. I joined them right away.
5. We jumped in the big pool.
6. Tom called me a nuisance.
7. We had fun.
8. Tom showed me his rubber ducky.
9. We left early.
10. Dad, Tom, and I ate ice cream.

4.6.3 Exercise on aspect

In the following text, the finite verbs have been gapped and the infinitive given in parentheses. Decide which forms (aspect, voice) and explain your choice.

As my mother _____ (tell¹) me the stories she _____ (hear²) from the soldiers, the war outside in the world _____ (come³) into our car.

My days at school _____ (be⁴) never as interesting, although there _____ (be⁵) often fights or kids _____ (catch⁶) with cigarettes or a gun in their school bag. I _____ (keep⁷) to myself and _____ (not have⁸) any close friends except for April May, who _____ (live⁹) in our trailer park.

It _____ (not take¹⁰) long for my mother to figure out what people _____ (think¹¹) about us. I _____ (guess¹²) it on my very first days of school: if you _____ (live¹³) in a car, it _____ (mean¹⁴) you just _____ (pretend¹⁵) you _____ (be¹⁶) not a bag lady living under a bridge. People always _____ (think¹⁷) homelessness _____ (be¹⁸) contagious. (J. Clement. *Gun Love*. London: Vintage, 2019, slightly adapted)

4.6.4 Exercise on the expression of future

Complete each of the following sentences so that they have future force.

1. I _____ (read) the text as soon as I _____ (get) a copy of it.
2. It doesn't matter what you do; he says he _____ (leave) home.
3. If you _____ (want) to feel fresh, you _____ (have to) get more sleep.
4. She _____ (be) glad to come, if only you _____ (invite) her.
5. She _____ (be) glad to come, if only it _____ (not rain).
6. Before I _____ (leave) London, I _____ (definitely see) the Buckingham Palace.
7. Hey, look out the windows, a plane _____ (land) on the meadow!

8. I'm feeling a bit peaked so I think I _____ (go) to bed now.
9. Fran, just _____ (say) one more thing about that party and I _____ (scream).
10. Tomorrow after I _____ (do) the dishes, I _____ (make) the beds.
11. You _____ ([reported obligation] call) home, before you _____ (drive) to work.
12. Call me back right away because I _____ (go) to bed in a quarter of an hour.
13. When _____ you _____ (know) when you _____ (be) in New York?
14. They _____ (decide) tomorrow, and I _____ (know) by the day after.
15. Before you _____ (leave) for vacation, you _____ (must arrange) for someone to feed the cat.

4.6.5 Exercise on conditional clauses

Choose the appropriate forms of the verbs in parentheses.

Tolly is an imaginative little boy. If you _____ (leave¹) him alone to play by himself, he _____ (invent²) imaginary children to play with him. But it doesn't always work that way. It _____ (only do³) provided his mood _____ (be just right⁴). Sometimes he will even introduce you to his world, and if you _____ (be willing⁵) enough, you _____ (can experience⁶) the same things he does. But you must relax with him. _____ (⁷)you, for some reason, _____ (demand⁸) such an experience, you can be sure it _____ (not work⁹). If the terrible traffic accident which cost the rest of his family their lives _____ (not put¹⁰) him in such a situation to begin with, he probably _____ (never develop¹¹) this special dimension. If you _____ (see¹²) him talking cheerfully to an empty room, you _____ (can be sure¹³) it's not empty for him. And unless you _____ (want¹⁴) to prevent him from coping with his problems in his own way, you _____ (had better leave¹⁵) him in peace. If I _____ (not see¹⁶) numerous similar cases, I, too, _____ (be tempted¹⁷) to interfere.

4.6.6 Exercise on embedding imperatives

Put the imperatives into indirect speech of each for the verbs given. Use the present (mandative) subjunctive for the sentences marked with a ☞.

1. Please open the window, Jerry.
 She asked ...
 She said ...
 She warned ...
2. Don't buy things that are overwrapped.
 They cautioned ...
 They beseeched ...
 They whispered ...

3. Be on time tomorrow, class.

☞ He suggested ...
 He called ...
 He believed ...

4. Don't be late, Mark.

☞ We urged ...
 We ordered ...
 We told ...

5. Do your reading assignments regularly.

I declared ...
 ☞ I demanded ...
 I require(d) ...

4.6.7 Exercise on complement clauses

Choose the correct form of the infinitive or gerund.

- I. "Then you and Mr. Rubrick must have been in the bottom path together, Miss Lynne," said Alleyn.
 "No," said Terence Lynne quickly.
 "I understood _____ Miss Harme _____ (say¹) when she met you in the bottom path you told her you had been searching there."
 "I looked about there for a moment. I didn't remember _____ (see²) Mr. Rubrick there. I wasn't with him." (N. Marsh, *Died in the Wool*, 1945, p. 59)
- II. It was windy and chilly yesterday and Frieda caught a cold. Normally, when she comes in the room, she starts _____ (talk¹) and hardly stops _____ (take²) a breath. But now she has to stop _____ (talk³) whenever she feels a sneeze _____ (come⁴) and can't continue until it's over.
- III. Peter: Say, Paul, can you tell me where Tom is? Paul: Well, I don't know where he was going really, but I saw _____ him _____ (drive¹) toward town about ten minutes ago. Peter: I might have known he wouldn't remember _____ (wait²) for me. This is the third time in as many days that I've missed _____ (go³) with him. He's going over to Madison and he'd promised _____ me _____ (take⁴) me along if I came by. Now I'll have _____ (have⁵) _____ my father _____ (drive⁶) me.
- IV. Sue: Jack, do you like _____ (drink¹) American wines? Jack: No, as a matter of fact, I tried _____ (drink²) a bottle of North Carolina scuppernong wine someone gave me, but couldn't finish even one glass.
 Sue: No wonder, that's practically pure sirup. Why don't you try _____ (drink³) a good dry California red? I know you won't regret _____ (do⁴) it afterward.
- V. Peter: My car needs _____ (service¹), but I don't know any good garages. Who do you have _____ (do²) yours? Paul: Well, I don't have a regular place, but I believe _____ "City Service" _____ (be³) good. Peter: Oh, not them! I remember _____ (hear⁴) _____ someone _____ (say⁵) the bill was the only thing they worked on hard.

4.6.8 Exercise on the passive

Change the following active voice sentences into passives (with *be* or *get*) or medio-passives if possible.

1. Roberta loves Manfred.
2. Dennis ground his political ax.
3. Our friends gave us a good-bye present.
4. It is easy to read this book.
5. Lucinda takes after her aunt.
6. My sister hangs on your advice
7. My brother sleeps on the couch.
8. My girlfriend made up the story.
9. Ruth cast a glance up the street.
10. Gordon pays for the tutoring.
11. The cold snap froze the pond.
12. Barbara strikes up conversations at the drop of a hat.
13. Everyone had a good time.
14. Jennifer and Fred divorced.
15. The early bird catches the worm.
16. The disaster tore up my sister Lola.
17. Michael forswore alcohol and drugs.
18. They weave their own scarves.
19. Terrorists slay innocent victims.
20. The barber cut my hair.
21. The fireworks blew him up.
22. The apples cost a lot.

4.6.9 Exercise on modal and semi-modal auxiliaries

1. A good friend of yours is looking for a job. You have heard about someone who needs some part-time help. You tell your friend about this opportunity and add one of the following pieces of advice, (a), (b), or (c); explain why:
 - a) You hafta give them a call.
 - b) You gotta call them.
 - c) You must ring them up.
2. It's very early in the morning and you wonder whether you can already call one of your fellow students, who has a one-year-old child. You ask your flatmate what they think, using one of the following, (a), (b), or (c); explain why: Don't you think
 - a) ... they must be awake by now.
 - b) ... they need to be up by now.
 - c) ... they're gonna be up by now.
3. Someone you know fairly well is driving to the beach for the week-end. You ask one of the following, (a), (b), or (c); explain why:
 - a) May I catch a ride with you?
 - b) Am I allowed to go along?
 - c) Can I go with you?

-
4. You are the one replying to the previous request and don't want the person who's asking to go with you. You reply, saying "I'm so sorry. The car is already too full, so ..." continuing with one of the following, (a), (b), or (c); explain why:
 - a) ... you needn't accompany us.
 - b) ... you mustn't come with us.
 - c) ... you cannot come along.
 5. You look out the train window on the way to the beach and see that lots of people are using umbrellas, so you conclude one of the following, (a), (b), or (c); explain why:
 - a) If they were to use umbrellas, it would be raining.
 - b) If they're using umbrellas, it's raining.
 - c) If they'll use umbrellas, it'll be raining.
 6. You say, "Let's go to the beach!" Continue with (a), (b), or (c) and explain why:
 - a) It's supposta be really great.
 - b) It must be really super.
 - c) It's gotta be really brilliant.

FURTHER READING

Major grammars of contemporary English Biber et al. (1999), which is corpus-based; Quirk et al. (1985), Huddleston and Pullum (2008).

Grammatical change useful reviews of recent tendencies in Aarts et al. (2013), Aarts and McMahon (2008), Bauer (1994a), Leech et al. (2009).

Grammaticalization Hopper and Traugott (2003), Krug (2000).

Clause complementation Gramley (1988).



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Part 2

Uses and users of English



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Written and spoken language use

Diatypes

5.1 LANGUAGE IN USE: THE REGISTER APPROACH

Variation in language clearly depends on when and where someone lives and on such macro categories as gender and social class identities (Chapter 6), but it is also a function of “what you are speaking about; who your addressees are; how well you know them; whether you are addressing them orally or in writing” (Quirk and Stein 1990: 41). This second set of factors relates not so much to the individual user as to language use in certain situations. Use varieties are called diatypes or registers¹ and are treated under four aspects, all of which turn up repeatedly in this chapter.

5.1.1 Field (a.k.a. province)

This first aspect reflects the fact that we need different words to talk about different subjects. There are many terms that characterize particular subjects: ones like *folk etymology*, *lexeme*, and *homograph* are found only in linguistics. Others take on special meanings, for example *mouse*, *hardware*, and *window* in computing. There are also combinations of lexical items that are typical of certain fields (e.g., *desirable residence*, *tastefully modernized*, or *compact patio-style garden*, which are found in the advertisements of real estate agents in England).

We are all perfectly capable of carrying on a general conversation about people, the weather, our holidays, and the like. These everyday uses of language, though essential to life in society, are easy for many speakers because they do not make great demands on our minds or linguistic abilities. But when we move from the general field of everyday conversation to that of genetic engineering or heart surgery, the number of people who understand and use the language themselves is much more limited.

General language is most obviously distinguished from technical language by its lexis, though other factors are also important. While a command of various technical vocabularies is a matter of education and experience, their actual use depends on social factors. Technical terms used by a surgeon in a hospital or a lawyer in a court of law are, of course, a convenient and precise means of communication. But experts may perhaps use technical terms – so necessary for unambiguous communication among experts – with members of the general public because they are insensitive, incapable, or simply unwilling to adjust their language or perhaps because they want to put some distance between themselves

¹ Note, though, that there is dissent about the terminology between *register* and *genre*, where semantically register is seen on the “expression-plane” and genre on the “content-plane” (see Biber 2006 for an overview).

and their interlocutors in order to impress or exclude or intimidate and overwhelm. If that should be the case, we are talking here about language as social power. Solidarity, in contrast, would demand words that everybody can understand.

5.1.2 Personal tenor (a.k.a. style)

Personal tenor refers to the degree of formality of any given piece of language, for which dictionaries have such labels as *formal*, *familiar*, *informal*, *colloquial*, and *slang*. Most lexical entries are not given such classifications because they are stylistically neutral. In addition, there is not always agreement about whether an item is colloquial or slang, or even on how many levels ought to be set up. One quite well-known model is the five-term one proposed by Joos (1962), which Strevens (1964: 29) illustrates in Table 5.1.

Formality choices often go hand in hand with the medium used, but they are ultimately determined by the relationship between the people concerned. The closer the sender (speaker or writer) feels to their addressee(s), the more informal the language. Conversely, the more distant the personal relationship, the more formal the personal tenor. The frozen and formal versions given in Table 5.1 are likely to be announcements over a ship's PA system, while the other three versions can only be uttered in face-to-face communication. Personal tenor is ultimately rooted in social and physical closeness or distance, however they may diverge from expectations in any given circumstances. Foreign learners should be careful about using very informal or potentially offensive lexemes such as (Anglo-Saxon) four-letter words with people they are not fairly close to.

5.1.3 Functional tenor

While it is intuitively obvious that we use different means to instruct, threaten, or persuade others, it is less obvious how many functions language can have and how to classify them. One approach distinguishes six functions, which are derived from six essential features of human communication. (1) The emotive (or expressive) function is related to the sender who wants to express emotions. (2) The conative (or directive) function is addressee-related: It relates to attempts to influence others in order to achieve some goal, typically realized by orders and requests. (3) The meta-communicative, or meta-lingual, function is related to the code used. It is involved in a question like "What is the meaning of *let* in tennis?" There is a particularly close link between the message and (4) the poetic or aesthetic function. This function can be defined as the use of language for language's sake, that is, for a special aesthetic effect. (5) The informational or referential function derives from the context or subject matter of communication and is concerned with information transfer.

Table 5.1 Levels of style

<i>Style</i>	<i>Example</i>
Frozen	<i>Visitors should make their way at once to the upper floor by way of the staircase.</i>
Formal	<i>Visitors should go up the stairs at once.</i>
Consultative	<i>Would you mind going upstairs, right away, please.</i>
Casual	<i>Time you all went upstairs, now.</i>
Intimate	<i>Up you go, chaps!</i>

Note that a change in personal tenor involves much more than a simple change in the stylistic level of the words used (*visitors* vs. *chaps*). There is also a change in the length and explicitness of the message: from stiff, frozen *make their way* to easy-going, familiar *go*.

The final use of language is (6) the phatic function, in which language is used to keep social relationships in good repair by ensuring that people keep talking with each other, as in conversational small talk. In phatic communion what is important is not the news value of what is said nor the originality or creativity of the language used, but that something is said at all, that silence is avoided, which helps speaker and addressee to feel at ease and enjoy each other's company.

5.1.4 Medium or mode

Spoken language is primary: it is acquired early in our lives more or less informally, while writing is learned much later and by fewer people, usually in a formal educational context. Writing primarily does jobs concerned with the transfer of information (technically called transactional uses) and confers greater prestige in society. Speech is typically used to create, maintain, and enhance social bonds (interactional uses), and thus meets basic human needs, while writing satisfies less immediate ones. This becomes clear from the following list, which starts with communication situations typical of the spoken language and ends with ones exclusive to writing:

conversation in a pub, seminar, telephone conversation, personal letter, job interview, radio discussion, television advertisement, lecture, sermon, script of play, television news, newspaper, business letter, this book.

(Leech, Deuchar, and Hoogenraad 1982: 140)

Spontaneous conversation differs from writing in three major respects: there is a great amount of interactive linguistic give-and-take; it is mostly though not exclusively concerned with the lives and interests of the people who are having the conversation; and it is produced as we go along (sometimes called on-line production). At the other end of the spectrum are carefully thought-out and edited written texts in which authors often do not mention themselves and has no specific addressees: such written texts are monologues. Processing a written text, while arguably demanding more cognitive effort, takes place at the leisure of the reader, who can skip pages, go back and forth or reread the same passage again as desired or needed. This is one of the factors that make literature and its appreciation possible.

The interactive nature of conversation is clearly seen in the frequent use of back-channel items (a.k.a. inserts) like *hmm*, *ugh*, *yeah*, and *right* that have interactional meaning. Other features typical of interactive conversation are discourse markers such as *now*, *you know*, *like*, and *well*, expressions like *I think*, *in my opinion*, or *as far as I am concerned*, and tag questions. Because of the interactive situational nature of conversational language, interactive communication will make more use of deictic words like *him* or *that one over there* and items such as first and second person pronouns. Participants in conversations who share the geographical and temporal background as well as a lot of personal knowledge of each other, share common ground, may make allusions to places, persons, and past happenings that are unintelligible to outsiders. Published writing, in contrast, has to be more explicit because writers are isolated from readers and cannot rely on the situation to help make their message clear. The basic unit of syntax in writing is the sentence, well planned and cohesively and coherently embedded in the larger text. In contrast, in spoken English there are many stretches of language where the concept of sentence makes no sense. Spoken language

- has short units; an average length of approximately two seconds (about six words);
- uses a small set of syntactic structures; much more predictable than written sentences;

- commonly deletes sentence elements such as the subject or the predicate;
- relies on well-known, early-learned structures, especially paratactic constructions (series of simple statements) vs. planned written discourse with hypotactic constructions (complex sentences), which are acquired at a later stage;
- is untidy, full of mixed constructions, false starts, repetitions, digressions, loose ends, inconsistencies, and changes of construction, all not permitted in formal written texts.

The following example, in which a horrible murder has taken place and talk-show host Larry King asks his guest, another talk show host (Springer), on one of whose programs the murder victim appeared, about this.

Text 5.1: Excerpt from a talk-show

King: Did you remember the show? You do so many.

Springer: Yes, I honestly didn't. And I don't mean to sound insensitive about it. But the reality is, we do 200 shows a year. I have been doing it 10 years – not – finished nine years already. That is 1800 shows. We have 10 guests a show. That is nearly 20,000 people. I didn't – you know, until obviously everyone has been showing me the tapes. At the time, when I heard about it, no I didn't remember it

Among other things, noun phrases tend to be simple, as in Springer's answer, but are often modified, in an afterthought by a following phrase. Information density is lower in conversation because speakers use fewer lexical items relative to grammatical items. In all these respects writing is different: it uses highly structured syntactic forms that are less predictable; it knows anticipatory structures like *on the one hand*; it does not avoid subordinate constructions with causal or temporal sentence connectors like *because*, *since*, *therefore*. Writing demands greater attention from readers by packing more information into its sentences. It is denser, where densification is defined in Leech et al. (2009: 249) as an increase in the number of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, all open-class lexemes, in writing. Among other features particular to writing is the high proportion of verbs in the passive voice (§4.3.4).

By way of bringing this section to an end, we might note that some registers are cases in which linguistic choice is limited (e.g., greetings, forms of address, and instructions), but that there are cases in which more options are available, for example, in the language of journalism. Another aspect is how balanced the four categories of field, personal tenor, functional tenor, and medium/mode are. It has been said that the language of science is dominated by considerations of field, the language of diplomatic protocol by personal tenor, and the language of advertising by functional tenor. More generally, it has been claimed that it is genre or the type of text which determines choices in field, mode, and personal tenor (cf. Biber 1988; Swales 1990). Finally, it is worth asking whether the register model captures enough of the situational factors to be able to give an adequate description of language in use. Certainly, the dialectal characteristics of users (Chapter 6), including gender and sexual orientation, age, social class, ethnicity, personal affiliations (subcultures such as gangs, youth groups, or Rastafarians), have, deservedly, been given increasing attention in recent years.

5.2 TEXTUALITY: TEXTS AND DISCOURSE

Although many linguists use the two terms *text* and *discourse* interchangeably, as is done on occasion in this book, a distinction is often made between *text*, as a unified stretch of language without regard to situational context, and *discourse*, in which situational factors are taken into account. In any case, the importance of both is self-evident when we remember that all language occurs in communicative units usually larger than single words or sentences. All the same, texts and discourse have proven to be the hardest units to describe, perhaps because of the seemingly endless variations which we find in them. All the same, quite a number of meaningful things can be said about textuality. This topic is treated both under the point of view of written texts and of spoken discourse in English. Before we go on to look more carefully at this, we will first define what qualities linguists have in mind when they speak of textuality. After that we will look at some attempts at a classification of text types. This is followed by an explication of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), which is the use of English in a restricted set of social and thematic areas chiefly for the unambiguous transfer of technical information. The chapter then proceeds to deal with spoken English, focusing on a discussion of speech acts and conversational interaction, which have a direct bearing on the production and reception of both spoken and written language. The chapter ends with a short analysis of the use of a few selected discourse markers in English.

Textuality. What distinguishes written (or spoken) texts from a random collection of sentences (or utterances) is their textuality. The internal unity of texts is maintained by means of what is called continuity (sometimes also known as connectivity or connexity). Textuality may be regarded as the result of the seven factors discussed in the following and depends on both the writer and the reader to varying degrees.

- (1) **Cohesion and (2) coherence.** Textual unity manifests itself at different levels. Writers link text sentences above all by using grammatical and lexical means (sometimes termed the cotext, Werlich 1983: 80) which prompt readers to interpret them as belonging together. This is called grammatical and lexical cohesion. A deeper, semantic level is involved in coherence, which refers to the continuity of subject matter.
- (3) **Intentionality and (4) acceptability** relate to the attitudes of writer and reader. Writers intend to produce cohesive and coherent texts, and readers accept them as such, showing a certain tolerance toward texts where writers' intentions may be less than perfectly realized. Both writer intention and reader acceptance are not based solely on knowledge of the language system but also on the ability of both sides to bring their knowledge of the world to bear on text production and reception. Of particular interest is the way addressees fill in gaps or breaks in the surface continuity of texts in order to make them cohesive and coherent.
- (5) **Informativity** is reader-centered and refers to the degree to which the text produced is expected or unexpected, and whether it repeats what is known already or provides new information. No text provides only old or only new information, but the ratio between the two can vary considerably and depends on the writer's intentions and assessment of the reader. Texts about well-known things are easy to produce and understand, but can also easily bore the reader. Texts that give a lot of new information, on the other hand, are more difficult to understand, though they are likely to be of greater interest to readers. There is, then, an inverse correlation between minimum writer and reader effort (efficiency) and maximum impact of the message (effectiveness). In general, writers focus on the problematic or variable aspects of a topic because only they provide new information (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 189).

- (6) **Situationality** concerns factors of appropriateness and relevance. This includes such aspects as using informal vocabulary and short sentences in informal situations. It also has to do with discourse strategies such as the selection and sequencing of text units so that they achieve the writer's goal most effectively.
- (7) **Intertextuality** stresses the fact that the production and reception of texts and text units often depend on both the writer's and the reader's knowledge of other texts or text forms and their ways of expression.

The presence or absence of these seven aspects depends on how much background the participants share. People commonly see different things in the same text. Consequently, textuality is not an inherent property of a collection of sentences or utterances, but is attributed to it by the reader-listener. Furthermore, it is not necessary that all seven factors be realized for textuality to be present. As regards informativity, for example, it has been shown that readers will try to make a text relevant and informative even if it is far from clear what it is meant to communicate. Very obviously intertextuality will be perceived differently since sender and addressee will be differently aware of the connections of any particular text with other texts. In, for instance, the cases of the titles of Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (an allusion to an episode in John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*) and Joyce's *Ulysses* (the Latin name of the hero in Homer's *Odyssey*) the significance of the titles for the interpretation of the novels depends on the literary experience of the reader. Even so, readers of either novel who are unaware of this intertextuality do not lessen the textual status of the novels. They would merely read them with a narrower or at least different horizon.

5.2.1 Cohesion and coherence

We will illustrate these cohesive features using the following text (the numbers in brackets are used in the subsequent discussion to refer to each of the sentences):

Text 5.2: "Why Young Adults are Talking like 3-Year-Olds" by John McWhorter

[1] I recently had the honor of meeting an award-winning literary sort, a man wry and restrained and overall quite utterly mature, who casually referred to having gone through a phase in his 20s when he'd been "pilly" – that is, when he'd taken a lot of recreational drugs. [2] The word had a wonderfully childish sound to it, the tacked-on *y* creating a new adjective in the style of *happy*, *angry*, and *silly*. [3] My writer-acquaintance, I recognized, was not alone in bending the language this way. [4] On the sleeper-hit sitcom *Schitt's Creek*, for instance, one of the protagonists, David, speaks of a game night getting "yelly," while his sister describes a love interest as "homelessy." [5] Meanwhile, back in real life, one of my podcast listeners informed me of a Washington, D.C., gentrifier who declared that a neighborhood was no longer as "shooty-stabby" as it once had been.

[6] *Pilly* and its counterparts are not just charming, one-off neologisms; they're signs of a broader shift in how Americans nowadays are given to putting things. [7] More and more, adults are sprinkling their speech with the language of children. [8] Young kids tend to simplify language, leaving out verbs ("Daddy home!" a toddler might say as her father walks in) or using words in incorrect but intelligible ways – plurals like *feets* and *deskes* are common; my daughter, at age 3, described herself as "a talky kind of a person." [9] The adoption of some of these linguistic tics by adults – in the form of *pilly* and

many other terms – has given rise to a register we might call kid-speak. [10] It's a new way of sounding "real," with a prominence that would challenge a time traveler from as recently as the year 2000.

(*The Atlantic Monthly*, May 2019, p. 20)

Lexical links

For many text types, lexical-semantic ways of creating cohesion and coherence are more important than syntactic means, especially in nonnarrative texts such as Text 5.2. Lexical links will therefore be discussed first. There are many ways vocabulary items contribute to cohesion and coherence. Most importantly, they constitute lexical fields; they establish semantic relationships; and they can activate larger text patterns, thus imposing structure on a whole text.

Lexical fields. Text 5.2 deals with new forms of language use in America. This is reflected in lexical sets of verbs which refer to speech: *refer to* [1], *speak of* [4], *describe* [4, 8], *inform of* [5], *declare* [5], *put things* [6], *sprinkle speech with* [7], and *sound* [10]; it is reinforced by the fact that the author himself is a linguist [something not every reader might know] who has a friend of *an award-winning literary sort* [1], later referred to as the author's *writer-acquaintance* [3]. All of this as well as the coherency of the "story-line" of changes in language, referred to by the expressions *new adjective* [2], *neologisms* [6], and *linguistic tics* [9], give the text a great deal of coherence. It is equally important to note the numerous points at which the author takes a negative view of these changes: *wonderfully childish* [2]; *bending the language* [3]; drawing supporting evidence from a *sleeper-hit sitcom* [4], which is contrasted to *real life* [5]; *adults ... sprinkling their speech with the language of children* [7]; *incorrect* [8]; *linguistic tics* [9]; *sounding "real"* [10].

Semantic relationships. The most obvious means of continuity is perhaps the exact repetition of a word. *Pilly* is thus repeated three times [1, 6, 9]. Simple repetition is found in *describes* and *described*. This all seems straightforward to the point of triviality. But it is far from clear what can count as repetition and what kinds of repetition should be distinguished. In Text 5.2, it is necessary to differentiate at least between the examples just mentioned, in which both word form and meaning seem to be identical, and the various occurrences of paraphrases: the *pill of pilly* [1, 9] is a *recreational drug* [1]. Loose synonymy contributes to coherence as when *young adults* [title] are equated linguistically with *3-year-olds* [title] or, later, *young kids* [8] and *toddlers* [8] who use *the language of children* [7] or *kid-speak* [9], including the *childish sound* [2] of *pilly*.

Repetition in the sense of identical information content is also present in words which stand in the semantic relationship of hyponymy, where the general (superordinate) term *register* [9] is specified by the subtype *kid-speak* [9]. The vague field of the words *simplify*, *leaving out verbs*, *incorrect*, *intelligible* [all in 8], and *language tics* [9] constitute a further type of repetition: while they do not contain the same information, they are closely related in meaning. The final group of examples all illustrate the relation of opposition as we see when *children* [7] and *toddler* [8] contrasted with *mature* [1] and *adults* [9]. A further opposition may be seen between the sitcom *Schitt's Creek* [4] as one part of a complementary (or binary) pair with *real life* [5] at the other pole.

Larger text patterns. Text 5.2 starts with a concrete incident, the use of a particular word (*pilly* [1]) by a specific person. This is then (a) characterized (*wonderfully childish sound* [2]) and (b) extended to further instances following the same model as well as to other characteristics of *the language of children* [7]. From this the author concludes that a new register

has come about [9] and caused changes in language so strong that someone whose linguistic experience (of AmE) had ended in 2000 would be highly challenged [10]. This is an inductive procedure in which individual pieces of evidence are used in order to come to an (potentially inductively falsifiable) conclusion.

Certain vocabulary items have the function of linking larger segments of text. Examples are *had the honor of meeting* [1] and *I recognized* [3]. From this point the text switches to a characterization of the changes recognized: *signs of a broader shift* [6] with sprinklings from *the language of children* [7], which is itself characterized by simplification, ellipsis, and incorrect usages [8]. The response is to dub this a new *register kid-speak* [9]. The function of these procedural lexical items is to organize and structure a text, to indicate the "... larger text-patterns the author has chosen, and build up expectations concerning the shape of the whole discourse" (McCarthy 1991: 76). The expressions *I recognized* and *broader shift* have great cohesive power because they activate curiosity in the reader as to just what has been discovered, just how people are now *bending the language* [3]. The full text pattern consists of the steps

<i>SITUATION</i>	(<i>neologisms</i> [6])
<i>PROBLEM</i>	(<i>broader shift</i> [6])
<i>RESPONSE</i>	(giving it a name: <i>kid-speak</i> [9])
<i>RESULT</i>	(<i>a new way of sounding "real"</i> [10])
<i>EVALUATION</i>	(<i>a challenge</i> [10])

The text as a whole is temporally framed backward starting with recent honor of meeting and closing with the year 2000.

Syntactic links

Syntactic means also create links between text items. Five types (pro-forms, articles, ellipsis, connectives, and tense) taken from the Text 5.2 are discussed in the following.

Co-reference. Pronouns and other pro-forms as well as articles cannot be interpreted in their own right, but rather direct the reader to look elsewhere (either in the text or outside it) for their interpretation. The relation between pro-forms and articles, on the one hand, and the text items referred to, on the other, is called co-reference and is distinct from reference, which is the function of lexical items which writers and speakers use to indicate what they are writing or talking about outside the text (Brown and Yule 1983: 205). Pro-forms and articles have two different uses: when they follow the items which explain them, they have anaphoric force; when they precede them, they are cataphoric.

Pronouns and pro-forms

- The personal pronouns *I/me/my* [1, 3, 5, 8] clearly refer to the author. Further pronouns (*he/his* [1, 4], *her/herself* [8], *it/its* [2, 5, 6, 10] and *they/their* [6, 7]) all invariably establish anaphoric co-reference and hence cohesion in Text 5.2.
- The relative pronouns *who* [1, 5], *that* [10], and zero [9] and the relative adverbs *when* [1] all follow antecedents and are therefore also anaphoric.
- The demonstrative determiners *this (way)* [3] and *these (linguistic ties)* [9], referring to something previously mentioned in the text, are specifically used for intra-textual cohesion.

- The only cataphoric reference occurs in connection with the general noun *style* (*in the style of happy, angry, and silly* [2]), the indefinite pronoun *one* (*one of the protagonists* [5]), and the fused relative adverb *how* (*shift in how Americans ...* [6]), where the specification of the referent follows.

The definite article and possessive determiners follow two distinct patterns:

- About half the time (five times) the definite article has anaphoric force, making it clear that *The word, the tacked-on y, the style of happy, ...* [all in 2], *The adoption of some..., and the form of pillly* [both 9] all point back to either specific, previously introduced referents (*word, y*) or implicit ones (*style, adoption, form*). Possessive determiners, where used anaphorically, as with *My writer-acquaintance* [3], *its counterparts* [6], *their speech* [7], *her father* [8], are cohesive in nature.
- The second set (also five definite articles) has no real effect on cohesion. They designate something unique or of specific status, but do not refer to things mentioned in the text itself: *the honor* [1], *the sitcom, the protagonists* [both 4], *the language of children* [7], and *the year 2000* [10]. This, too, applies to possessive determiners, again with an even split: *his 20s* [1], *his sister* [4], *my ... listeners* [5], *my daughter* [8].

Ellipsis. The reader may also be called on to become active by providing missing sentence parts. This is the case only once in Text 5.2, where we read *as it once had been* [5]. Here the reader has to establish the link to the elided predicate complement *shooty-stabby*.

Conjunctions and connectives. In addition to relative pronouns, mentioned above, the subordinating conjunctions *while* [4], [the second *as* in 5, and the first *as* in 8], and the adverb *meanwhile* [5] help to order information temporally. *More and more* [7] emphasizes the processual nature of the phenomenon treated in Text 5.2. In addition, there are several expressions which strengthen the overall message, ones such as *that is* [1] to introduce an explanation, *I recognized* [3], an expression of “propositional attitude,” or *for instance* [4] to introduce further information.

Tense. The author is careful to mark temporal relationships clearly. He starts out in the recent past (*recently had the honor* [1]), but with a strong link to the past (*he'd been* [1]) as an introduction to the genesis of the new register introduced in the text. The text continues in the past tense except for moves to dramatize developments by using the present tense [4]. The second paragraph switches almost completely into the present tense including the present perfect [9]. Interestingly enough there is one instance in the second paragraph of an excursion in to the past [8], here presumably intended to add to the factuality of the explication.

The stylistic informality of Text 5.2 is signaled by the use of contracted *he'd been* [both 1], *they're* [6], or *It's* [10]. Other indications of the style of the text are the use of the often still colloquial progressive as in the title (*adults are talking like ...*) where a more staid text would use the simple form. The lexical means include *getting* “yelly” [4] for more written-formal *becoming* and a hyperbolic expression like *quite utterly* [1]. Informal items include *a lot of* [1] for formal *a high quantity of* and *tacked-on* [2] for formal *appended*. The phrasal verb *are given to putting things* [6] reinforces the colloquial tone of much but certainly not all of this text. In contrast, technical terms such as *neologisms* [6] and *register* [9] crop up and give this text a more serious tone.

5.2.2 A typology of texts

Text 5.2 reveals the strategic importance of the structural composition of a text. Writers have to make decisions on how to present their message in a way that is most likely to

achieve their goals, and in doing so, be clear about their intentions (functional tenor) as well as of the situational factors of field, medium, and personal tenor. They have to be sure that the addressees can process the message easily. In a fictional text this may depend on the number of people mentioned in a text (i.e., the fewer involved, the easier the text); on whether the features that distinguish between characters in a story are memorable; on the simplicity and symmetry of spatial structures; on the simplicity and sequencing of temporal structures; and on whether writers give explicit hints for interpretation.

A high-level strategic decision relates to how writers pursue their intentions. Expository texts may utilize the step-by-step development of a concept or problem. In narrative texts like chronicles, histories, and much fiction, events are presented in "... ordered sequences linked by time proximity and causality" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 90). Descriptive texts center on a particular point of view or vantage point as the organizing principle for the objects and situations they present. For example, guidebooks are spatially oriented, but can also have passages that are temporally dominated while biographies are agent-dominated texts which contain temporally structured passages. Texts, in other words, can contain one, two, or more strategies simultaneously. It also follows that the mix of strategies can vary considerably. Long texts are more likely to be multistrategic than short ones. Texts may even be organized cyclically, moving from one strategy to another in repeated waves. The reader gets orientation from so-called text structuring devices. These can give a preview of what is to come (e.g., *Let us now turn to X* (= new topic) or *This chapter consists of five parts. The first ... The second ...*), or they can refer to what has already been dealt with, for example, *So much for X* (= topic just treated). Procedural lexical items like *problem*, and *issue* contribute to this structuring.

Functions. The typology presented in the following should be regarded as a practical means of producing, predicting, and processing texts and not as a theory which lays down hard and fast rules for the distinction of text types: "The conditions of communicating are simply too diverse to allow such a rigorous categorization" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 186).

Among the many functions attributed to texts four can be regarded as basic. These are (1) the expressive function, (2) the phatic or social-interactive function, (3) the informative, and (4) the directive functions. A fifth is the aesthetic function, which relates above all to literature, but also, for example, to advertising. It may include elements typical of any of the other functions since it is usually subject to little restriction.

All expressions of emotions (joy, anger, frustration) are subsumed under the expressive function. It is the most basic or general because all the other functions (the phatic, the informative, the directive) always include some expression of self. Note that actual texts, both spoken and written, often realize more than one function. Conversations or personal letters, for example, contain much interactive language (a.k.a. phatic communion) in which the social bonds between writer and addressee are reinforced, but they can also contain a part in which some business is transacted, as when news is exchanged (informative) or plans or instructions are discussed (directive).

Only a few examples will be given here, and none for (1), the expressive function, as it is realized implicitly in all the others. Phatic texts relate to social or seasonal occasions (greetings, thanks, births, deaths, anniversaries, holiday wishes). The majority of textual functions are informative or directive, and it is with this in mind that we look at text types.

Text types. When the focus is on the informative and the directive five major text types are commonly recognized: descriptive, narrative, directive (a.k.a. instructive), expository, and argumentative. These text types are general functional concepts and are not to be confused with such realizations as advertisements, editorials, sermons, shopping lists, poems, telephone books, or novels, which are referred to as text forms. The five types are examples

Table 5.2 The categories of text types

	<i>Concrete</i>	<i>Cognitive</i>
Real, actual	narrative (time)	descriptive (space)
Potential	directive	expository argumentative

of different realizations of the register category of functional tenor or purpose; and, furthermore, these five are general enough for the classification of most texts. In addition, the five may be sorted into four basic categories according to the two criteria of concrete vs. cognitive and real or actual vs. potential. The dimension of the actual is centered on events and states located in the “real world,” be it the time-space continuum around us (= concrete) or a part of our mental reality (= cognitive) which we describe, narrate, or explain. The potential dimension has to do with something which is not regarded as established, but which can be accomplished (directive; concrete) or which can become a part of the addressee’s cognitive reality. This is represented graphically in Table 5.2.

Narrative texts have to do with real-world events in time. It is immaterial whether a narrative is fictional (as in a fairy tale or novel) or nonfictional (as in a newspaper report). What is characteristic is the sequencing of events in which dynamic verbs (§4.3.3) occur in the simple form and in which sequencing adverbials such as *and then* or *first, second, third* provide the basic narrative structure (e.g., *First we packed our bags and then we called a taxi. After that we ...*).

Descriptive texts, in contrast, are concerned with the location of persons and things in space. For this reason they will tell what lies to the right or left, in the background or foreground, or they will provide background information which, perhaps, sets the stage for narration. Once again it is immaterial whether a description is more technical-objective or more impressionistic-subjective. State or positional verbs plus the appropriate adverbial expressions of location are employed in descriptions (*the operation panel is located on the right-hand side at the rear; New Orleans lies on the Mississippi*). Perfect and progressive forms typically give background information (*he was peacefully dreaming when the fire broke out; as the cabinet has agreed on the principles, an interministerial committee will work out the details*).

Directive texts are concerned with concrete future activity. Central to such texts are imperatives (*Hand me the paper*) or forms which substitute for them such as polite questions (*Would you hand me the paper?*) or suggestive remarks (*I wonder what the paper says about the weather*). Stage directions, though phrased in the simple form like narrative texts, are normative statements and, for this reason, have the effect of directives (*The maid enters, opens the door and admits a visitor*). Assembly and operation instructions/manuals use sequences of imperatives (*Disconnect the 15-pin D-shell connector ... and secure the signal cable firmly ...; Shake well before using. Do not ingest with alcohol*).

Each of the three types just discussed are centered around concrete events and things, whether realized or potential. In contrast, expository and argumentative texts are cognitively oriented. This is the case because they are concerned with the mental processes of explanation and persuasion although the former may include a considerable amount of description and the latter may have consequences in future action.

Expository texts identify and characterize phenomena. As such they include text forms such as definitions, explications, summaries, and many types of essay. Once again, they may be subjective (essay) or objective (summary, explication, definition). They may also be analytical, starting from a concept and then characterizing its parts, as in definitions. On the other hand, expository texts may proceed in the opposite, synthetic direction as well, recounting characteristics and ending with an appropriate concept as in Text 5.2 or a

conclusion, as in summaries, which exist as the sum of their parts. Typical syntactic constructions which may be appropriately expanded in forming expository texts are identifying statements with state verbs (*Pop music has a strong rhythmic beat*) or epistemic modals (*Texts may consist of one or more sentences*) or with verbs indicating characteristic activities or qualities (*Fruit flies feed on yeast; Most geraniums are red*).

Argumentative texts start from the assumption that the reader's beliefs must be changed. A writer might therefore begin with the negation of a statement which attributes a quality or characteristic activity to something. Even when a scholarly text provides positive support for a particular hypothesis there is almost always at least implicit negation of previous assumptions. Advertising texts, often at the extreme opposite pole from academic texts in terms of style, also try to persuade their readers that a particular product is somehow better than others.

Mixtures of text type elements. Few texts are pure realizations of just one type. Advertisements are frequently both argumentative-persuasive (*This is good because ...*) and directive (*So buy now!; Click here!*). Text 5.2 is expository, explaining a change in American English, but also argumentative inasmuch as it implicitly pursues the thesis, "Talking like 3-year-olds is not necessarily positive."² Laws, decrees, and treaties fulfill the double function of informing the members of the society in question and directing their behavior. That makes them partially expository and partially directive texts. Text 5.2 is artfully and entertainingly written; this makes it not only informative and argumentative but also garnishes it aesthetically with embedded narratives.

5.3 WRITTEN ENGLISH: ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES (ESP) AND THE REGISTER MODEL

Understanding the ways in which English varies according to its use in particular situations lies at the center of a major field of endeavor, viz. English for Specific Purposes. As English has expanded to become the preferred language of international communication in more and more fields, the needs of ever more nonnative users of English have become evident. The important assumption has been made that these users, as well as their native-speaker colleagues, employ English in a restricted range of social and thematic areas. Why, after all, should an Egyptian or Brazilian technician bother with the language of English poetry if what they are interested in is, say, a set of technical specifications or instructions? What is important for this technician is the communication of information, which necessitates the use of unambiguous terminology and clear grammar. Clarity and lack of ambiguity are desirable from the perspective of both writer and reader.

ESP can be described in the sense of registers. Two criteria within this model which are frequently used to classify Special Englishes are field of discourse and purpose (or functional tenor). Personal tenor or style (the relationship of the speaker/writer to the addressee) and medium (spoken/written) seldom show up as major criteria for the treatment of ESP.

Field. Dividing up use according to field has the advantage of following the relatively easily observable criterion of shared vocabulary. However, there is no agreement on the appropriate size of the fields. Major areas such as science, technology, law, medicine, the social sciences, business, and economics are commonly named. However, finer (e.g., biology, chemistry, and physics) and ever finer divisions (such as biophysics, zoology, biochemistry, or gene technology) can also be made, and one author speaks of up to 300 fields

² This statement is based on the first two paragraphs, about 15+% of the article. In the end McWhorter actually celebrates this change.

(cf. Beier 1980: 25). Yet it is not clear where the point is beyond which further distinctions cannot be expected to be helpful.

Purpose or functional tenor crosses the boundaries of the individual disciplines, providing for such types as English for Business and Economics (EBE), English for Legal Purposes, English for Vocational Purposes, or English for Academic Purposes (EAP). Within the latter the English of Science and Technology (EST) is recognized as an important field. Even within and across these areas more specific communicative purposes can be distinguished. These consist of the text types or rhetorical functions of description, report/narration, exposition, direction/instruction, and argumentation.

Style or personal tenor. EST texts are characterized by the neutral, unemotional, and objective tone of scientific and academic prose. The writer-addressee relationship will be different in scholarly prose which appears in learned journals vis-à-vis popular science publications (such as *The Scientific American*) or science reports in general newspapers or magazines (such as *The New York Times* or *The Atlantic* as in Text 5.2).

Medium or mode. So far it has been exclusively the written language which has been referred to; yet a wide range of spoken usage belongs here as well, stretching from scholarly colloquial practices to technical training classes to classroom explanations. Yet ESP/EST seems to be more strongly oriented toward written forms.

Special vs. General English. One of the major difficulties in describing ESP, regardless of how it is subdivided, is deciding what the nature of the difference between it and every day or General English (GenE) is. Since, for instance, the latter includes *all* the regularities of the grammar of English, the area of grammar offers no absolute criteria for making a distinction. Nevertheless, there is "... the intuitive notion of an everyday language and we would wish to uphold its existence" (Sager, Dungworth, and McDonald 1980: 3), and there are meaningful distinctions which can be made.

Part of this general-special/specific distinction is the question whether to understand the *S* of *ESP* as meaning "Special" or "Specific." The earlier designation was "English for *Special* Purposes." Since the late 1970s, however, the term "English for *Specific* Purposes" has displaced it. The rationale behind this is that "special" implies restricted languages, while English for *Specific* Purposes focuses attention on the purposes of performing a task in English. These determine the selection of skills needed (reading, listening, writing, speaking), the text types involved, as well as the vocabulary and grammar necessary for this. Practically speaking, this means that the complete grammar of English belongs to ESP and the same processes of morphology and word formation apply as in GenE. Yet this also recognizes that there may be distinctly different frequencies in the use of individual syntactic and morphological constructions as well as word formation processes; the selection of vocabulary will be influenced by field; terminology will be at least partially standardized to eliminate ambiguity; certain conventions will be observed in regard to the elements and structure of written texts; special visual phenomena (symbols, graphs, tables, etc.) may be employed in written texts that are not a part of everyday English. In other words, the Englishes involved here are, indeed, restricted, selective, and special. Yet they should not be dismissed as nonessential: These features belong firmly to them.

5.3.1 Syntactic features of EST

The remainder of §5.3 deals with some of the typical characteristics of ESP which have been most widely studied, viz. English for Science and Technology or EST. A number of studies of its syntax point out such features as

- 1 the greater frequency of the passive;
- 2 the greater frequency of nondefining relative clauses compared to defining ones;
- 3 specific, frequently employed rhetorical devices such as anaphora, parallelism, parenthetical elements, emphatic inversion, rhetorical questions, and ellipsis;
- 4 nominal style;
- 5 the selection of pronouns employed (more frequent than in GenE: *we, this/these*; less so: *I, he*; even less so *she, you*);
- 6 the occurrence of new plurals (e.g., *fats, oils, greases*, cf. Gerbert 1970: 40) and Latin and Greek plurals (*mitochondrionl-ia; bacteriuml-ia*); and
- 7 the use of telegram style.

Many of these points are elaborated on in the following.

The verb

Voice. What is typical of EST is, more than anything else, the frequency with which the passive voice occurs. Studies show frequencies of passives among the total finite verb forms ranging from about a quarter to one-third, sometimes even as high as 40–45%. The comparative figures for literary texts lie between 2% and 3%. This might seem to be all there is to say; however, two important additions must be made. For one, the results suggest an accuracy and objectivity which is illusory. The representativity of the corpora used is unlikely to be more than approximate and, in addition, the values given will vary depending on whether a percentage is taken of all the finite verbs (they show person, number, and tense) in a corpus or only those which could potentially appear in the passive, that is, transitive verbs.

The second point has to do with when and why the passive is used. One common explanation is that the passive allows the author to step back so that the work reported on rather than the author stands in the center of attention. According to one study “author’s passives” make up a third of the total. These are passives which involve the action of the author(s) (e.g., *Several interviews were conducted to substantiate this hypothesis* [“We conducted several interviews ...”]). Passives which replace other agents accounts for approximately a tenth of the cases. A few passives can be explained by difficulties in expression using an active construction or similar problems. Half, however, are used for generally unspecified nonhuman agents. The motivation here is likely to have to do with the thematic focus of a sentence. In English, the topic of a sentence is generally named at the beginning and what is said (predicated) about it follows (§4.3.4). The passive allows a direct or an indirect object which is the topic to occupy the initial thematic position and thus helps to realize the desired thematic focus of the sentence. A study of the use of the passive in two journal papers on astrophysics confirms the validity of this principle. In addition, however, the same study offers three further explanations for the use or nonuse of the passive:

- 1 Standard procedural choices in astrophysics research are reported in the passive while unique procedures chosen by the authors of the articles are reported in the active (with the subject *we*).
- 2 Previous work in the same field is reported in the active *we*-form if it is the author’s own, and in the passive if it is by others and stands in contrast to the author’s own work; if other work agrees with or supports the author’s research the active is used.
- 3 Work which the author proposes to do in the future is referred to in the passive (Tarone et al. 1998).

These three explanations from the astrophysics papers cannot be generalized to other fields or other text forms besides journal papers without further studies. However, there seems to be a deeper principle involved here which might usefully be pointed out. This is the use of voice for deictic purposes. In the astrophysics papers the active serves to highlight the author's procedures and decisions. The passive is used to express greater distance on the part of the writer.

Tense and aspect. The same deictic functions can also be expressed through the appropriate use of tense. For example, the present tense is normally used to describe the scientific apparatus. However, if the apparatus is historical and no longer in use, the past will be used. Furthermore,

if writers use the past tense in reporting research done previously by themselves or others then that research is of secondary importance to the current work being reported on. If, on the other hand, the writer uses the present perfect or the present tense, then the research is of more direct and primary importance to the writer's work. (Trimble 1985: 126)

Above and beyond these points, it has also been established that the simple past far outnumbered other verb forms and that the progressive is especially infrequent for the simple reason that these kinds of articles report on established fact rather than giving a narrative account of something.

Modal verbs. A final point is that modal verbs may occur in meanings which are relatively rare in GenE, such as the "non-standard uses of *should* and *may*" to mean *must*. Here they indicate that there is no choice, rather than the standard meaning, "desirable but not necessary"; see, by way of example, the following:

Steel weld backing *should* [= *must*] *be* sufficiently thick so that the molten metal will not burn through the backing. ... For steel thicknesses other than gage material, a relief groove *may be necessary* [= *must be used*].

(Trimble 1985: 119f)

The nominal

Nominals differ in several ways, one of which is that EST has a higher proportion of nouns (also prepositions and adjectives); in one count this is 44% of all words in EST vs. 28% in general texts (Sager, Dungworth, and McDonald 1980: 234; see also Biber and Conrad 2019). Nominal style serves not only the purpose of making the text more compact but in addition makes it less penetrable for outsiders, which may not be an intended side effect.

Nominal style is, in part, understood as the tendency to use combinations of a light verb + noun instead of a simple verb. In these structures light verbs are "general purpose verbs" with little meaning of their own such as *do*, *make*, *take*, *have*, or *give*:

to work	→	to do some work
to investigate	→	to make an investigation
to photograph	→	to take a photograph
to hypothesize	→	to have (or make) a hypothesis
to report	→	to give (or make) a report

Nominalization covers, in addition, the replacement of clauses, which contain finite verbs, with complex structures consisting of nouns and noun adjuncts (e.g., *because the surface*

of the retina is spherical → *because of the sphericity of the retinal surface* [example from Gerbert 1970: 36]). In a similar fashion, prepositional phrases “disappear”: *experiments of transfer of momentum* becomes *momentum transfer experiments*; and *a vessel for storage of liquids* takes the compact form *liquid storage vessel* (examples from Trimble 1985: 132f).

Nominalization and thematic structure. The formation of complex noun phrases is itself a part of the theme-rheme structure of English (§4.3.4). What appears in prenominal position may represent information shared by sender and addressee; it is, in other words, presupposed information. In contrast, what is new and is being introduced occurs in postnominal position. In a neurological text in which the branchlets of nerves are discussed, mention may, for example, be made of a *posterior branchlet of the saccular nerve*. At a later stage the information – now given and no longer new – that is, the saccular nerve that is being referred to, can be placed in prenominal position as the *posterior saccular branchlet* (Dubois 1982: 53–63).

The article. A further feature involving the nominal is the use or nonuse of the article. On the one hand, the definite article is often dispensed with in instructions written in telegram style (e.g., *Insert red tab into red slot and blue tab into blue slot*). The opposite tendency can also be observed, namely, the “overuse” of the definite article as in the following description of a process:

The gas turbine engine fires continuously. The engine draws air through the diffuser and into the compressor, raising its temperature.

The first two uses of *the* is generic and might but need not be replaced with the indefinite article *a*; the third and fourth instances could appear as indefinite articles in GenE. The indefinite article is, after all, usual when something is mentioned for the first time in a text. Native-language text-users regularly interpret the third and fourth instances of the article differently, however. Here, for example, engineers reading the description of the gas turbine engine “took the use of the definite article ... to indicate that the machinery being described contained *only one* of whatever part was being marked by the article” (Trimble 1985: 122).

The sentence

The sentence as a whole differs between GenE and ESP. In the latter, sentences are, on average, longer and more complex. Furthermore, the frequency of occurrence of clause types is different: relative clauses are particularly frequent; declarative sentences clearly predominate; imperatives are regularly found for giving instructions while interrogatives are limited to use as rhetorical questions and to study questions at chapter ends in textbooks.

5.3.2 Lexicon and word formation in EST

“... the lexicon of special languages is their most obvious distinguishing characteristic” (Sager, Dungworth, and McDonald 1980: 230). While their syntax is distinguished from that of GenE only in the relative frequencies of constructions, the vocabulary of ESP will often contain words which cannot be found outside the given field. No one can say how many such special words there are, but there are several million for chemical compounds alone. The numerous dictionaries, terminological clearing houses, databases and the like clearly indicate that the number is large. The clearing house *Infoterm* was established within UNESCO in 1971 for the international coordination of work on terminology; it cooperates among others with the *International Organization for Standardization* (ISO).

Terminology

Terms are special items of vocabulary whose meanings are fixed by convention. They are necessary in order to avoid the ambiguity which regional, nonstandardized meanings could lead to. Needless to say, ambiguity poses a threat not only to the success of experiments and manufacturing processes but also to health and safety. Among the qualities associated with systems of terminology are that they are

- 1 exact, that is, they designate one particular meaning;
- 2 unambiguous, that is, they cannot be confused with the meanings of any other terms;
- 3 unique, that is, one and only one term is available;
- 4 systematic, that is, they are part of a larger, ordered system of terms, preferably in a clearly structured terminological hierarchy;
- 5 neutral, that is, they are oriented toward cognition and objective processes and do not include aesthetic or emotive elements; and
- 6 self-explanatory or transparent, that is, they include elements which reflect the important features of the concept designated.

(cf. Beier 1980: 31f)

These features are ideals that cannot always be realized. The demand for economy may, for example, be sacrificed to the greater need for exactness, lack of ambiguity, and uniqueness. All the same, scientists and technicians may use vocabulary which is more informal, at least in oral communication. This might include clippings and metaphors from everyday language, such as *streps* for *streptococci*, *mag sulf* for *magnesium sulphate* or *juice* for *electrical current* (examples from Beier 1980: 35f).

A special subarea of terminology is that of the signs and symbols employed in the various fields. The fact that they do not always have a widely accepted pronunciation indicates once again that EST is, to a large extent, a written language. Examples of signs and symbols drawn from EST are Σ , $\sqrt{\quad}$, $+$, $=$, $>$, μ , $^\circ$, π .

Borrowing and word formation

Borrowing and word formation are of central importance because of the large quantity of terms needed and the qualities expected of them. Terms are, in some cases, borrowed from General English (e.g., metaphorical *memory* for *computer storage capacity*). More often, however, they are derived from other languages, especially Latin and Greek. In addition to whole words, like *apparatus*, *matrix*, or *phenomenon*, this involves morphological elements including prefixes such as {aero-}, {astro-}, {baro-}, {cryo-}, {ferro-}, {gyro-}, {hydro-} and suffixes like {-gram}, {-graph}, {-ology}, {-scope}, {-tomy}). In chemistry, for example, the order and status of roots and affixes are strictly provided for. A chemical nomenclature creates systematic names for chemical compounds according to strictly formulated principles. “For example, the sodium ion can only be Na^+ , the calcium ion only Ca^{2+} ” (Naming Compounds 2020). Even a user-friendly website cannot ignore the complications:

Each compound has a name. Ideally, this name should indicate the composition of the compound and perhaps something of its properties. Such names are called systematic names and are based on a set of rules drawn up by IUPAC. Although all compounds have systematic names, many also have trivial, or common, names. Table 5.3 lists the common (trivial) names of some molecular compounds. Several ionic compounds are listed in Table 5.3, with both their common and systematic names.

Table 5.3 Names and formulas of some common ionic compounds

<i>Common name</i>	<i>Systematic name</i>	<i>Formula</i>
bleach	sodium hypochlorite	NaOCl
chalk	calcium carbonate	CaCO ₃
lime	calcium oxide	CaO
milk of magnesia	magnesium hydroxide	Mg(OH) ₂

Naming Compounds 2020.

In addition to the ubiquitous elements of Latin and Greek, EST also uses the normal derivational processes of GenE with or without Latin-Greek elements such as

- 1 prefixing ({anti-}, {in-}, {mis-})
- 2 suffixing ({-ar}, {-al}, {-ed})
- 3 conversion/zero derivation (*to dimension < dimension*)
- 4 abbreviations (*FBR < fast breeder reactor*)
- 5 acronyms (*laser* “light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation”)
- 6 back formations (*to lase < laser*)
- 7 clippings (*lab < laboratory*)
- 8 blends (*pulsar* “pulsating radio star”)
- 9 composite forms (*aeroplane* *lairplane*).

Perhaps most distinctive in the field of word formation is the extremely high frequency of noun compounds. Their occurrence in corpuses of ten 2000-word texts in each of three areas revealed:

General English	0.87%
Medical English	9.76%
Technical English	15.37%

(Salager 1984: 138f)

The high percentage figures for Medical and Technical English are to be understood as a consequence of the exactness, nonambiguity, and uniqueness of technical terms:

... compounds are mainly used to refer to something which is conceived of as a single entity, as an item in a class of its own There is a semantic difference between ... *banana curve* and the related but not synonymous phrase *a curve shaped like a banana*.
(*ibid.*: 141f)

Frequency

The proportion of technical words in EST texts has been estimated at approximately 25%. In a count of the one thousand most common words one comparison revealed 339 words in EST which were not among the first thousand words of General English. In addition, there is a difference in distribution. While words from the closed sets (auxiliaries, pronouns, articles, demonstratives, prepositions) have approximately the same frequency in GenE and in EST, there are noticeably more lexical items in EST associated with

- 1 exposition (e.g., discussion, argument, result, conclusion),
- 2 procedure (analysis, experiment, measurement, observation, test),
- 3 statistics (sample, probability, distribution, significance),
- 4 classification (class, type, group, species, item, unit),
- 5 relational words (similar, distinct, average, relative, normal).

(cf. Johansson 1975: 22)

Relatively less use is made of the shorter, everyday words as compared to longer, more formal ones: EST *also* vs. GenE *too*; *certain* vs. *sure*; *determine* vs. *decide*; *large* vs. *big*; *obtained* vs. *got*; *thus* vs. *so* (ibid.: 25f). The more formal, written texts of EST also account for such differences in style as the lack of contractions, the greater use of cohesive devices like *this/these*, *above*, *below*, *preceding*, or *following*, for reference within a text, and the greater occurrence of such relatively formal adverbs as *moreover*, *overall*, *primarily*, *therefore*, and *however*.

5.3.3 The EST text

Text type is an important factor in the linguistic characterization of EST. The closer a text is to the thematically nonspecific, to the personally informal, to the temporally and spatially immediate (the “here and now”), and to the subjective-conversational, the more likely the text is to be GenE. EST, in contrast, is oriented toward the formal style, the written language, independence of the immediate moment and place, and objectivity. While there are exceptions and mixed forms (e.g., talking shop, lecturing, note-taking, popular science writing), this observation is basically accurate.

Types of message and text forms

One approach to texts which takes these factors into account suggests five basic message types: dialogue, memo, report, schedule, and essay.

The dialogue, an exclusively spoken form, will not be considered here.

The memo, characterized as demanding a response of some sort, is found in administrative writing (minutes, business letters, invoices, contracts) or journalistic media (advertisements). However, textbooks, manuals, and handbooks may be regarded as part of it.

Reports are records of acts or processes produced at someone’s request (e.g., the laboratory report).

Schedules order and classify material and include bibliographies, indexes, tables of contents, glossaries, the valency table of the elements, or the Linnaean system of biological nomenclature.

Essays, finally, are central to EST in the form of dissertations, journal articles, and university theses.

(cf. Sager, Dungworth, and McDonald 1980: 104–123)

Typical EST texts will be found in published writing. Popular science texts will be relatively more accessible to the general public and hence less specifically cases of ESP.

These message types are more general than the more than 100 traditional text forms that can be enumerated, such as *address*, *agenda*, *aide-memoire*, *announcement*, *article*, *bibliography*, *blurb*, *book review*, *brochure*, and *bulletin* (Sager, Dungworth, and McDonald 1980: 148–81). Gläser (1990) examines 35 text forms arranged according to whether they are meant for academic peers, for students and the lay public, or for potential users. Just how many text forms may usefully be distinguished is not known; indeed, not even the criteria for a typology have been agreed on. What is available is, rather, a number of individual studies of what have intuitively been viewed as distinct text forms. These include, for instance, articles in learned journals; dissertations; laboratory reports; M.S. theses; university level textbooks.

Text models

EST texts are so relatively strongly formalized that it is possible to speak of highly conventionalized text models. While any specific field may reveal some variation, there is an astonishingly high degree of similarity over a wide spread of fields, probably due to shared text types. Journal articles normally have the following five divisions:

- 1 an introduction, in which the purpose pursued/hypothesis investigated is presented
- 2 a review section, in which previous work is summarized or evaluated
- 3 a methods part, in which procedural sequences, criteria, and the like are evaluated
- 4 a results section, in which the findings are presented
- 5 a discussion part, in which the findings are evaluated in the framework of the initial hypothesis

Longer texts such as textbooks and dissertations will be cyclically organized repetitions or partial repetitions of such sequences. Although the order of the five divisions is fixed, not all texts will necessarily contain all five steps. Studies of individual divisions have also proved fruitful. Swales (1981) investigates article introductions, which, regardless of the discipline involved, fall into a structure containing a series of four moves: establishing the field, summarizing previous research, preparing for the present research (motivation), and introducing the present research. A study of discussion sections has revealed the presence of corresponding moves, but in the reverse order: statement of the results of the present study, redescription of the motivation, review of the literature, and implications for further research (Huckin in Dudley-Evans 1989: 75; see also §II in Gramley, Pietsch, and Zybura 2020 for advice on doing your own academic writing).

The five textual divisions mentioned can each be given partial linguistic profiles. For example, introductions-cum-reviews as well as conclusions make great use of *that*-clauses (one third and one quarter respectively). This is logical since both report findings, and findings are typically presented in reported speech, which uses *that*-clauses. Result sections have fewer *that*-clauses (about one sixth) and methods sections have virtually none (1.33%) (West 1980), which can be explained by the varying rhetorical purpose of each of the sections, for example reporting vs. describing. A high proportion of the simple present tense correlates with the expository function of introductions. Passives are by far more common in methods sections (two-thirds vs. one-third elsewhere), at least in chemistry and biology papers, in which procedures and experiments are prominent. The danger of overgeneralizing from field to field is demonstrated by the fact that in physics, which often remains highly theoretical and argumentative, the methods sections are hardly different from the other sections (Hanania and Akhtar 1985: 54). Just as symbols are a special aspect

of the lexis of EST, its texts very often contain visual material such as diagrams, graphs, outlines, formulas, charts, and tables. Cohesive devices besides points already mentioned in §5.2.1 include using enumeration, advance labeling, reporting, recapitulation, hypothesizing, and rhetorical questions as well as adopting recognizable patterns of logical development, such as problem and solution, statement and justification, generalization and exemplification (Tadros 1989: 18).

5.4 SPOKEN LANGUAGE

At this point we will look at one variety of spoken language, spontaneous conversation. We will try to indicate the underlying shared assumptions that make conversations possible, how meaning is built up by speakers and perceived by hearers in the framework of speech acts, how conversations are structured in interactional terms such as how speakers negotiate whose turn at talk it is and how they select what they want to say. In conclusion, the major functions of words like *now*, *well*, *like*, and *you know* in spoken discourse will be discussed. To save space, S will be used for speaker and H for hearer.

5.4.1 Conversation

Conversation is a social activity in which language plays a decisive, if not exclusive, role. Nonverbal ways of communication like gestures, body language, and eye contact can underscore or contradict what is said, show whether someone likes people and is attentive to what they say, or, indeed, it can signal whether someone is willing to talk to them in the first place but also add rhythm to what is said. While nonverbal aspects of speech are of great importance, there is no room in this book to look at them more closely.

Many of the rules that make for smooth social intercourse in general also apply to conversation. Among these are, above all, showing consideration for others. In most cases, people are assumed to be honest, reasonable, truthful, and trustworthy individuals. If life in society is to be tolerable, not to say profitable, then people must try to accept others the way they are or at least the way they choose to present themselves – their self-ascribed or even attributed identities –, avoid offending them, and help them to preserve face (§6.5.2). For conversations this means that each S should accept the other's topics, let them have their say, and give their opinions a fair hearing before challenging them. Hs should make Ss feel at ease, let them have their turn at talk (by offering back-channel responses like *uh*, *huh*, *mmhm*), agree with Ss and appreciate what Ss say (*how awful*, *wonderful*), express their surprise (*really!*, *is it!*), and show their interest by asking for further details or clearing up misunderstandings. These are aspects of what has been called the Hearer-Support Maxim. If Ss do not receive feedback, support, and encouragement, they cannot be expected to return the same (see §5.4.3 on uptakers). Awareness of the H also shows in the choice of when to talk and when to be silent. Silence can cause embarrassment because it usually indicates a conversational breakdown. People who can only talk and not listen (conversational “steamrollers”), or who can only listen and not talk, make others feel uncomfortable and risk being shunned.

How to begin a conversation, what topics to introduce, and what particular aspects to mention are all a matter of convention. In many English-speaking countries, for instance, it is usual in everyday conversation to keep away from areas of potential conflict. Conventionally, people do not ask searching questions that might embarrass others but stay with what is generally known and accepted, which is arguably the best method of establishing

common ground with interlocutors. Banal, stereotypic thoughts and statements, though unacceptable in intellectual discussions, have their legitimate place in everyday talk. Over and above knowledge of syntax, phonology, lexis, and semantics speakers need, consequently, to apply what has been called communicative competence, memorably summed up by Hymes: "... competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner" (1972: 277).

5.4.2 Speech acts

Understanding speech acts means understanding the conventional uses to which utterances (including sentences and sentence types) are put. That means that we are concerned here with how to do things with words. Examples are *I hereby pronounce you husband and wife*; *I name this ship Cutty Sark*; *I sentence you to five years in jail*. These sentences show that language can be used to accomplish things rather than being true or false, as is the case with a statement like *It cold outside*. This depends partly on linguistic form (semantics and sentence types) and partly on social convention (pragmatics). They demand personal interactivity and are context-dependent. Just think of other speech acts like greetings, excuses, promises, exclamations, questions, and short answers – all of which do not depend on truth or factuality.

Speech acts can be explicit when they are introduced by specific speech act verbs, but they can also be indirect when what they do is only implicit in the words used (see below). The most obvious cases are those which use verbs which explicitly declare what the speaker is doing by speaking his or her words. *I hereby pronounce you man and wife* is an example of such a case. However, the verb *pronounce* must be in the simple present tense with a first-person subject. Furthermore, this (speech) act is only felicitous (valid) when it is performed *sincerely* by someone endowed with the *authority* to perform marriages (judges, marriage officials, priests, pastors, rabbis, etc.). Other felicity conditions have to be met for these acts to be successfully performed such as the choice of words and a correct and complete execution of the speech act. Further speech acts which are often explicit include betting, warning, congratulating, and many more. Their felicity conditions are usually much less restricted than the examples above.

Indirect speech acts. The majority of speech acts are performed without an explicit verb of performance, meaning that they are implicit. You can make a bet without saying *I bet you a bottle of good wine that Julie won't show up* by simply saying *Julie shows up and this bottle of wine is yours*. Or: *Guilty*, as pronounced by the jury foreman in a court of law which counts for *I state that the jury finds the accused guilty*. Speech act theory goes much further by including statements, which are potentially true or false, because they too, can be seen as speech acts. These statements, sometimes called constatives or representatives, have the speech act function of stating. Searle (1976) proposed that all speech acts fall into five major groups:

- **representatives** (speaker commits self to truth of the proposition, e.g., asserting, concluding)
- **directives** (speaker attempts to get addressee to do something, e.g., requesting, questioning)
- **commissives** (speaker commits self to a future action, e.g., promising, threatening, offering)
- **expressives** (express a psychological state, e.g., thanking, apologizing, congratulating)
- **declaratives** (effect changes in the institutional state of affairs, e.g., excommunicating, declaring war, marrying, firing someone)

The long and short of this is that all utterance meaning consists of two parts:

- 1 the conventional sentence meaning (= proposition) and
- 2 the intended speech act.

The grammatical sentence type (declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamatory) is a basic marker of primary performance type (§4.5.3). But this is complicated by the fact that a speaker

- can say one thing (locutionary act), while
- intending to perform a certain speech act (illocutionary act), and that
- this utterance has a certain effect on the listener (perlocutionary act).

Since (c) can be different from (b) because an order (recognized as such) may be disobeyed and may be seen as a threat, we have to make these terminological distinctions. In order not to miss the illocutionary point (intent) H (the addressee) must recognize at least one of three conditions (preparatory, propositional, sincerity).

- *Can you pass the salt?* addresses a preparatory condition (here: ability, opportunity).
- *I wish you wouldn't do that* addresses the sincerity condition.
- *Aren't you going to do X?* addresses the propositional content.

Because of their conventionalized nature some linguists (Gordon and Lakoff 1975) regard indirect speech acts as conversational postulates, that is, firmly associated with a particular interpretation. One of the chief motivations for this is politeness (§6.5). This is particularly true of directives. For instance, superiors use *need*-statements to subordinates (*I'll need a ...*) while *can*, *could*, or *may* is usual in the other direction (*May I have ...?*), both making use of the concept of face (Brown and Levinson 1987). Positive face is the image that someone has of themselves in the sense of being worthy and approved of – part of their constructed identity. Negative face is a person's desire for autonomy, that is, not to be imposed on. Social interaction involves mutual regard for face, that is, not intruding on negative face with orders, requests, suggestions, and advice, nor on positive face by lowering H's self and social esteem by means of interruptions or disagreement. Politeness, especially indirect speech acts, diminishes potential threats.

Conversational principles. Searle has said that to derive the meaning of indirect speech acts such as *Can you pass the salt?* Ss need "... a theory of speech acts, a theory of conversation, factual background information, and general powers of rationality and inference" (1969: 176). In his seminal article of 1975 Grice sets out to explain the inference process through which Hs derive meaning from S utterances. He starts from the basic assumption that people work together to achieve some goal in a conversation. This cooperative principle manifests itself in certain consequences, which he summarizes in four maxims:

- 1 Quantity
 - i. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the purposes of the exchange).
 - ii. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
- 2 Quality
 - i. Do not say what you believe to be false.
 - ii. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

- 3 Relation: Be relevant.
- 4 Manner
 - i. Avoid obscurity of expression.
 - ii. Avoid ambiguity.
 - iii. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
 - iv. Be orderly.

(ibid.: 46)

There are, of course, activities in which these maxims apply only in a limited way (e.g., talk between enemies, political speeches, press conferences, or police interrogations). Parliaments which allow filibustering clearly suspend maxim of relevance and brevity. These maxims are flouted (broken) in many sitcoms. Because this goes against Hs' expectations, it triggers laughter as shown in this excerpt from *The Big Bang Theory* where Sheldon violates the maxim of relation (relevance):

- Penny:* So, hey. How are things with you and Leslie?
Leonard: Oh. To be honest, I don't think it's going to work out.
Penny: Oh, that's too bad. Well, hey, don't worry. I'm sure there's someone out there who's just right for you.
Leonard: Well, what did she mean by that? Was that just a generic platitude or was that a subtle bid for attention?
Sheldon: You know why this hamburger surpasses the BigBoy? This is a single-decker, whereas the BigBoy is a double-decker. This has a much more satisfying meat-to-bun-to-condiment ratio.

Grice recognizes that Ss can choose not to stick to the maxims, and therefore his point is rather that "people will interpret what we say as conforming to the maxims on at least some level" (Levinson 1983: 103). The following example seems to breach the maxim of quantity ("Be informative"). A's utterance is apparently not informative because it contains no new information for B, and it is obvious from the answer that B is aware of the low temperature:

- A: Cold in here, isn't it?
 B: Okay, I'll shut the window.

In order to preserve maxim 3 ("Be relevant") B will interpret A's utterance as implying that A wants B to do something about the low temperature, or, in fact, that A is uttering some sort of request. Consequently, B conforms by agreeing to shut the window.

According to Grice's inference scheme, therefore, Hs usually make the assumption that even though Ss seem to be breaking the cooperative principle, at a deeper level they are not doing so. Grice's maxims are to be understood as a device to move from what people say to what they really mean. In the *Cold in here, isn't it?* example a scheme like Grice's becomes unnecessary when the conversational inference becomes a conventional one.

The question remains about why speakers are so often indirect in expressing what they have in mind. In the example *Cold in here, isn't it?* why doesn't A say *Could you close the window?* or even *Close the window!?* The answer seems to be that A wants to get B to do something and to be polite at the same time, and so chooses a form of expression which does not impose on B too much, thus giving B a certain freedom to react to this veiled

order. A could have been more informative, but only at the cost of being too direct and therefore somewhat rude to B. In this case, as in many others, the politeness principle overrules the cooperative principle with its four maxims, including the quality maxim. Other examples include white lies (*I'm terribly sorry but we've got something on already tonight*), which one tells in order to avoid having to do something one does not want to without giving offence. As Leech points out, the more indirect a speech act is, the more polite it tends to be, because indirect speech acts "... increase the degree of optionality, and ... because the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be" (1983: 108). He lists these examples (in increasing order of indirectness and politeness): *Answer the phone* > *I want you to answer the phone* > *Will you answer the phone?* > *Can you answer the (tele)phone?* > *Would you mind answering the phone?* > *Could you possibly answer the phone?* (ibid.).

5.4.3 Conversational interaction

Conversations are a game that S and H jointly play and are made up of encounters, which can be divided up into phases, which, in turn, consist of at least one exchange. Exchanges have two or more moves, which themselves consist of one or more acts, all of which call for common ground. In this section we will discuss the interactional structure of conversations (cf. Edmondson 1981; Edmondson and House 1981).

Encounters

Encounters are the highest unit of conversational structure. They can be divided into transactional encounters, which have some business other than a simple social meeting (a job interview, a loan application, a purchase of some kind), and interactional encounters, whose sole purpose is the establishment and confirmation of social bonds.

Phases

It is usual to distinguish three phases within encounters: an opening phase, a central phase in which the main business of the respective encounter is dealt with, and a closing phase. While conversational partners are fairly free to negotiate the topics for the substantial part of the encounter, they are much more restricted in the choice of what can be mentioned in the opening and closing phases, which are marked by a high degree of conventionalization.

Openings. The opening phase consists of exchanges in which the partners in a potential conversation acknowledge one another's presence (greetings belong to the preopening phase); after that they decide whether they want to enter into a longer conversation. There are three types of expressions that can be used as openers: expressions directed to the other (*Sleep well? Have a good trip?*), self-oriented expressions (*Before I forget; Thirsty work this*), and neutral remarks (on the weather, etc.) In encounters where the social status of speakers differs, social superiors will use other-oriented expressions while social inferiors produce self-oriented ones. This is so because social inferiors "... are not allowed to invade the psychological world of the superior, as this would infringe the status rules which hold between them" (Cheepen and Monaghan 1990: 33). But many conversations are also started with shared-world tokens, expressions which are both self- and other-oriented (e.g., *Excuse me; Sorry to bother you; I've been longing to meet you*).

While small talk (about the weather, a new car, the behavior of the cat, or the height of a child) is the substance of interactional encounters, it must be regarded as a pretopic in transactional encounters, which move on to the real purpose of the encounter in the central phase. In interactional encounters with strangers, the opening phase involves a gradual, step-by-step disclosing of and request for more or less personal details about the other person, for example where they come from and went to school, after which the conversation can move on to matters of mutual interest such as films, restaurants, travels, or a book. Above all it is important to establish common ground by choosing safe topics and refrain from introducing controversial ideas. And remember that people who do not feel like engaging in small talk, perhaps because they think it's silly are likely to be perceived as strange and difficult, if not unfriendly or even threatening.

Endings. As a conversation nears its end, participants often comment on the quality of the encounter (e.g., *it's been nice talking to you*) and refer to possible future meetings (*hope to see you again soon* or *I'll be in touch*). Phrases like *I mustn't keep you; I'd better let you go; I'm afraid I must go back to work* are used in order not to appear too ready to end an encounter, but clearly it can be difficult to get out of boring or unproductive conversations. As ending conversations is a cooperative undertaking, both must agree to stop, usually by using such tokens as *right (then), okay*, or hesitations and references to some other topic or activity. Only in extreme cases can you use a direct excuse like *Sorry, I've got to run*. How final goodbyes look depends on the social relationship of the speakers ([*good*] *bye now, so long, cheerio, see you, be seeing you, take care*, and more).

Central phase. Cheepen and Monaghan (1990) have found that the central phase in interactional encounters makes use of two main element types, speech-in-action and stories.

Speech-in-action occurs at, or near, the beginning of an encounter and consists of comments by the participants on various aspects of their immediate environment such as objects and conditions that are observable by the participants. This then may function "... as a base for the telling of story, to which the speakers refer between instances of story, and from which the bulk of new conversational topics arise" (ibid.: 45).

Stories are extended stretches of speech and consist of more than one turn. In telling stories, special care must be taken by Ss because other participants are likely to break in at possible finishing points. Storytellers therefore often get permission to tell a story by using a story-preface (e.g., *you know what happened to me this morning?* or *have you heard the one about x?*). Ss must ensure that stories fit well into the conversation, something they can achieve by using a disjunct marker (e.g., *oh*) to indicate that what follows is not directly related to the preceding utterance and/or by repeating a word, phrase, and so on which links the following story to prior talk. The stories themselves tend to have clearly marked beginnings and endings, and some general point or message. A new cycle of speech-in-action and further stories can follow. The stories are often similar in content or moral thus achieving a shared world view. This is, perhaps, the most important function of conversations.

The main body of the conversation can also contain passages in which conversational trouble arises. Sometimes this is overt and has to do with the wrong choice of a word or the misunderstanding of lexical items. More serious trouble remains covert and arises either because one or more of the participants feel threatened in their conversational status or because of a failure to agree on an evaluation. This can be repaired by a negative evaluation sequence in which everyone makes comments on, for example, an absent person. This scapegoat repair helps speakers to restore unity and harmony. All of this shows that naturally occurring conversation is not an unstructured activity, as has often been asserted, but that conversations have a goal and that conversationalists monitor closely the way conversations develop and try to find the right moment for what they want to say.

Exchanges

A phase consists of one or more head exchanges, in which the main business is transacted. Related but less important matters are dealt with in minor exchanges, which occur before or after the head exchange. These pre- and postexchanges are optional.

Pre-exchanges have various functions, for example, they introduce a topic (*I've got a bit of a problem ...*) or seek advance commitment (*Could you do me a favor?* or *Could you spare a moment?*). They are also commonly employed by Ss to check on possible objections by Hs before they make their main move:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| Pre-exchange | A: Have you got anything on tonight?
B: No, not really. |
| Head exchange | A: Well, would you like to go to the cinema?
B: I'd love to. |

A can be sure that, whatever else B may come up with, B will at least not be able to say that they have other plans. If B had answered in the positive, A might well not have invited B in order to avoid being turned down. The benefits of pre-exchanges are, however, not all on the A's side: B is also spared the potentially embarrassing situation of having to turn down an invitation. While Ss use pre-exchanges in order not to be turned down, Hs use them before they commit themselves one way or another (this is called a *preresponding exchange*):

- A: Have you got anything on tonight?
B: Why, do you have anything planned?

Postexchanges, in contrast, confirm, or make more precise, the outcome of a preceding exchange. Examples with more than one postexchange are quite frequent (A and B have just reached a solution to Y's babysitting problem):

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Postexchange 1 | A: I'll bring my friend round tonight.
B: Yeah okay. |
| Postexchange 2 | A: What time would you like?
B: Oh any time about eight thirty'll be fine. |
| Postexchange 3 | A: Oh, yes alright fine. Well, I'll bring her round tonight.
B: Yeah. |

(Adapted from Edmondson 1981: 102).

Here the first postexchange confirms the outcome reached in the preceding conversation, while the second settles a detail of the outcome and the third closes the conversational encounter. We can therefore say that postexchanges can be either *substantial* (the second exchange above) or *ritual* (exchanges one and three), where the outcome of the exchange remains unchanged.

Moves

Exchanges consist of two or more head moves, in which at least one partner in the conversation talks in order to achieve some particular result. Once obtained, the participants can either embark on a new exchange or end their conversation. While exchanges

are characterized by their conversational goals, the individual moves are characterized by the role they play in reaching these goals. We distinguish the head moves of initiate, satisfy, counter, and contra and three supporting moves, namely grounders, disarmers, and expanders.

Head Moves. In the simplest case, an exchange consists of two moves only, a stimulus and a response: S initiates a conversation and H reacts positively to this move. The move that gets the conversation going is an initiate, and the H's positive reaction to it is a satisfy:

Initiate	A: Excuse me, could you tell me the time?
Satisfy	B: It's half past three.

Moves need not always be realized, as is the case with B's implicit satisfy in the following:

Initiate	A: Have you got coffee to go?
[Satisfy;] initiate	B: Milk and sugar?
Satisfy	A: Yes, please.

The satisfy to A's initiate remains unspoken; otherwise, B's question, the second initiate, would not make sense.

Another way of responding to an initiate is with a refusal, either a final or a provisional one. The first, called contra, realizes an ultimate reaction in the negative, and it is quite possible to find exchanges with more than one contra, as in

Initiate	A: Coming to Alan's party tonight?
Contra	B: 'Fraid I can't, I have to finish this essay.
Initiate	A: But the whole gang are coming.
Contra	B: Sorry, I really must hand it in first thing tomorrow morning.
Initiate	A: What a shame, we specially asked Susan to come along for you.
Contra	B: Yeah, well, I'd love to come but I really can't.
Satisfy	A: Oh well, some other time then.

B maintains his/her contra until the exchange is eventually closed by A, who moves from an initiate by offering a satisfy to B's third contra.

The second negative move, a provisional negative counterreaction, is valid only for a certain time and is taken back in the course of the exchange:

Initiate	A: I think we should invite the whole family.
Counter	B: Oh God their kids are so loutish.
Satisfy	A: Yeah I agree they're pretty horrible ... but
Initiate	you know ... they did put up with our lot last time.
Satisfy	B: Oh God alright ... invite them then ... and the bloody dog.

B's first reaction is provisional (a counter), not a contra, because it is taken back in B's second contribution. Note also that although A agrees with B's counter (i.e., satisfies it), A does not give up her/his initiate. It should also be noted that a satisfy always refers to the immediately preceding move, and that no exchange can be closed by a move other than a satisfy.

There are restrictions on the number of moves in any one contribution. A normal turn consists of just one of the moves mentioned so far. Ss can make more than one move in any given turn only if their first move is the satisfy of a counter or contra. After the satisfy of an initiate, however, there is again competition between both participants, that is, either speaker can make a move. Change of speaker within the exchange is thus determined by interactional structure.

Supporting moves. The use of supporting moves is a matter of knowing about and wanting to keep to the social rules of English-speaking countries. The basic move-inventory has to be distinguished from supporting moves, which are relevant, but subsidiary to head moves. Grounders give reasons for (conversational) behavior; disarmers are used to apologize for a possible offense before it is committed; and expanders provide more than the absolute bare minimum of information asked for. There are strong social pressures which make the use of supporting moves almost obligatory. Normal politeness would require speakers to produce reasons for requests, or to apologize for potential offenses.

Grounders can be placed either before or after the head move. They can be so conventionalized that they are interpreted to convey that which they would normally serve to ground:

- A: Can you come and see me tomorrow morning?
 B: The buses are on strike.

Here the negative answer *I'm sorry, I can't* has been left out and only the grounder remains.

Disarmers are used to make it difficult for others to take offence. Without appearing unfriendly and uncooperative the S tries through self-criticism to prevent the H from claiming that a real offence has taken place. Commonly used tokens are *Sorry to interrupt but ...*; *I don't want to sound bossy but ...*; and *I hope I'm not disturbing you ...*. The maxim behind the use of disarmers might be said to be, "When your action is likely to give offense, make sure you apologize for it."

Expanders typically occur at the beginning of an encounter in what is called small talk. Here participants show that they are well-disposed toward each other and are prepared to enter into a real conversation. The following example violates the principle of expanders that you should give information freely. Answering only with *yes* or *no* will be interpreted as unfriendly and uncooperative, as this violates the maxim of quantity:

"You don't seem to be listening, Harold. I asked you, do you have any friends?"

Harold abandoned his musings and concentrated on the question. "No," he answered.

"None at all?"

Harold considered. "Well, maybe one."

"Would you care to talk about this friend?"

"No." ...

"I see." Dr Harley ran his hand over the back of his head. He decided on a new tack.

"Were you happy at school?" he asked.

"Yes."

"You liked your teachers?"

"Yes."

"Your classmates?"

"Yes."

"Your studies?"

“Yes.”

“Then why did you leave?”

“I burned down the chemistry building.”

Dr Harley stood up slowly and walked to the window. He adjusted the venetian blind.

“We are not relating today, Harold,” he said.

(from: Colin Higgins, *Harold and Maude*, Flammarion, 1971, pp. 28–29)

Acts

The smallest units in Edmondson’s model are called acts. One or more head acts, which are optionally accompanied by preceding or following elements (pre- and posthead acts), combine to form a move. Interaction in the full sense of the word cannot be said to take place in individual acts or moves but only at the level of the conversational exchange, for which at least two moves are necessary. Still, there is structure discernible at the level of the act and a list of interactional units would be incomplete without a description of it. Three elements can be distinguished at this lowest level, a head act, which can be preceded by a prehead act or uptaker and followed by a posthead act or appealer.

Head acts are the same as head moves inasmuch as they realize illocutionary acts like request, permission, invitation, and apology. By contrast, appealers and uptakers do not constitute speech acts (i.e., do not have illocutionary force). They do, however, serve important interactional functions: Uptakers establish a link between the preceding move and the ongoing move; and appealers connect the current move with the following one.

Uptakers (a.k.a. back-channel behavior) are signals of active listening on the part of H. Typical tokens include *hmm, uhuh, aha, ah, uh*. The most frequent uptakers in English are *yes* or *yeah* and are not to be confused in this function with their use to signal agreement. Aside from these neutral tokens there are a number of more emotional items (*really, you don’t say, good heavens, terrific, not again, bloody hell*, etc.). The following is a good example (uptakers in parentheses):

... she’s a very unique type, very very upper middle class English (yes yes) you see (yeah) – er sort of the general’s daughter sort of type (yes yeah) and he was erm from Essex somewhere (yeah) ...

(After Crystal and Davy 1975: 62)

These uptakers do not interrupt, but clearly support the S indicating that they can go on with their turn. In fact, when Hs do not produce them, Ss are likely to stop talking altogether and ask whether something is wrong or – on the phone – whether the H is still there. Uptakers are signs of the acceptance of the other’s contribution. However, they may also indicate that they are ready to take a turn themselves.

Appealers are used most often to get agreement to a move that conveys some kind of information. They include tokens like *okay, (all) right, don’t you think?* as well as question tags and nonlinguistic *eh, uh, and mhm*.

5.4.4 Turn-taking, schemas, and topics

This section is concerned with how Ss choose what to tell, who to tell it to, and how they select what is tellable from the mass of potentially interesting things.

Turn-taking

In naturally occurring, spontaneous conversation the roles of speaker and hearer frequently change; neither the change nor the size or order of turns is predetermined but are a matter for negotiation. The turn-taking mechanism describes how speakers get a turn, how they keep it, and how they pass it on to the next speaker.

A common definition of turn states that a turn consists of all of one S's utterances up to the point when another person takes over the speaker role. Because there is a lot of competition for turns, they usually consist of a single sentence only, unless, for example, a speaker has been granted permission to tell a joke or a story.

How do participants in conversations get their turn at talk? Sacks and colleagues (1974) found that this happens in two ways. Either the current S passes their turn on and names the next S, or the current S simply stops and allows the next speaker to self-select. The next S may, of course, be identical with the current S when nobody else takes up the turn.

Changes in turns take place at what are called transition-relevance places, which are signaled above all linguistically. *If I may come in here* or *Excuse me but ...* are among the phrases used to get a turn. A potentially new S will use starting noises (*uhm, um, mm*), clear their throat, or change their posture to signal their wish to speak. Ss may also complete the sentence begun by the previous S, which is less hostile than interrupting, but this strategy must be used sparingly. In rare cases it may be necessary to break somebody's flow of speech and be uncooperative. A permissible interruption is one in which the H asks the S to explain something that the H has not understood, using such tokens as *Excuse me, what did you say?*; *Sorry, you've lost me*; or *Sorry, I missed that*. On the other hand, interrupting to correct Ss or to take over the floor is a much more delicate matter as it endangers the conversational standing of the Ss as well being a face-threatening act. Hostile interruptions can be warded off by using remarks that show how long you intend to speak (e.g., *I just have a few comments*); by using complex sentences; by saying *If I may just finish this*; or by raising one's voice to drown the other out.

Possible linguistic devices to signal that someone is coming to the end of what they want to say are pauses; a rising or falling intonation at the end of an utterance; expressions like *you know, but, so*, especially together with an increase in volume and/or a drop in pitch; the completion of a clause; and, of course, expressions that make the end of a turn explicit. The last of these are rare because they are considered too formal for spontaneous conversation. Ending a turn is accompanied by nonlinguistic signals such as relaxing your body, stopping the movements of your hands, and starting another activity (e.g., eating or drinking). When Ss want to keep a turn they will fill their own pauses (e.g., with a *well*) and leave the clauses incomplete. Ss can also use structural pointers like *first of all, then, next, finally*, or *to sum up*, which will help them to keep the floor.

All this may explain why conversations go on with remarkably little overlap and few awkward silences. When overlap does occur, it is likely to be unintentional. If two participants speak at the same time often, it may be because the current S has not selected the next S, who interrupts anyway. This situation is quickly remedied: typically, the first speaker continues with their turn. Furthermore, overlap, and its evaluation, is culturally determined: "... members of some ethnic groups interpret overlap as evidence of cooperative involvement and enthusiasm ..." (Schiffrin 1988: 268).

Most turns consist of single sentences, and conversations consist minimally of two turns. The ties between turns vary a good deal. They can be very close for what are called adjacency pairs, which consist of two utterances successively produced by different speakers in a fixed order. Examples include such speech acts as invitations, greetings, questions, and complaints, all of which demand a response. What follows on an invitation is likely to be

acceptance or refusal. Second parts can also be reciprocal: Greetings are answered by greetings in return. Sometimes there is only one appropriate second part: a question demands an answer. In other cases, there is less restriction: Complaints can be followed by apologies, denials, or justifications. Sometimes there is no second part at all. For instance, second parts in a thank-you sequence (like *no problem* or *you're welcome* in AmE, or *don't mention it* in BrE) seem to be more regularly used in the United States than in Great Britain. Usually, however, Ss expect a second part and when no answers are forthcoming to questions or when greetings are not returned, Ss will comment on this behavior as rude or impolite.

The number of alternatives is limited because certain realizations are preferred: requests have grants as their second parts of choice, and offers and invitations prefer acceptances and disprefer refusals. In other words, preferred seconds are unmarked and are the most frequent alternative, while dispreferred seconds are marked, unusual, and structurally more complex. They are distinguished by various features like being preceded by a slight pause or an *uh* or a *well*, or they may be delayed by several turns. Refusals are coupled with the production of appreciations for an offers or invitations. Apologies or reasons for not obliging are offered in the case of rejection of an invitation or request:

- A: Uh if you'd care to come and visit a bit this morning, I'll give you a cup of coffee.
[invitation]
- B: Hehh [delay] Well [marker] that's awfully sweet of you [appreciation] I don't think I can make it this morning [refusal= dispreferred second] uhm I'm running an ad in the paper and uh I have to stay near the phone [reason].

(Adapted from Coulthard 1985: 71)

Frames, schemas, plans, and scripts

How do Ss select what they want to tell Hs, and how do Hs process both what they are told and what they are not told? As a general rule, Ss will avoid speaking about events and situations which they can expect Hs to know. But how do Ss know what Hs know? See the following example:

I woke up at seven forty. I was in bed. I was wearing pyjamas. After lying still for a few minutes, I threw back the duvet, got out of bed, walked to the door of the bedroom, opened the door, switched on the landing light, walked across the landing, opened the bathroom door, went into the bathroom, put the basin plug into the plughole, turned on the hot tap, ran some hot water into the wash basin, looked into the mirror ...

(Cook 1989: 69)

Even if asked to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, witnesses in court will not produce texts like this when they have to account for their movements on a particular morning. They can assume that the information contained in the example is known to every person in court and that its recital is superfluous, irrelevant, and boring. People have stored in their brains knowledge about what getting up in the morning involves; consequently, only those features need to be listed which are not in the expected getting-up schema, for example who they got a phone call from. Details not mentioned will be assumed to be present unless this assumption is explicitly cancelled. Other schemas include cars, restaurants, and waiting-rooms. What all these patterns have in common is that they are knowledge structures which tie together information in our memories about things and sequences of events and actions, about goals and motivations, plans, and interests. Various patterns have been distinguished:

Frames consist of common-sense knowledge about some central concept such as a restaurant and includes tables, seating, menus and ordering, waiters and serving, plates, glasses, cutlery, and food and eating, but without specifying what order they will be mentioned or carried out in.

Schemas, in contrast, represent the order of states and events.

Plans are defined by the goal that events and states lead up to and must be made with a view to whether they help to achieve the goal.

Scripts are well-established plans which specify the roles of participants and their actions.

Global knowledge patterns thus incorporate all kinds of background knowledge and action. The great advantage of these memory patterns is that they reduce the complexity of life and allow us to keep a great deal of information ready for use. Applied to written and spoken texts this means that speakers have stored patterns of jokes, stories, fairy tales, crime novels, as well as other text types which predict likely participants, their roles, and plot development. Speakers also have patterns of turn-taking, length of turn, and the general goal and development of conversation. It has been pointed out that global knowledge patterns go a long way toward explaining Grice's maxims. Both speakers and hearer can draw on these knowledge patterns and activate them as *relevant*. Communication can be economical because Ss will give us only new information after taking into account what Hs presumably have in their schemas (*quantity*). The maxim of *brevity* may be violated if Ss underestimate Hs' knowledge and say too much; the *clarity* maxim may be broken because Ss make incorrect assumptions about shared schemata and give too little information.

Topics

When Ss have selected what to tell with the help of the various knowledge patterns, they must decide what information is of potential interest to Hs. The concept of newsworthiness is not easy to apply, and Ss can make wrong assessments despite the ongoing effort to make an assessment of Hs with regard to the what, when, and how of communication: For instance, if someone's sister becomes engaged, some relatives must be told immediately, others on a first meeting after the event, while quite a few friends might not know the sister or even that one has a sister. For them the engagement is of no importance (Coulthard 1985: 79).

The topic that is the first to be mentioned in a conversation is of special importance as it is the only one which Ss are free to choose; everything else is determined to a greater or lesser extent by what has gone before. The initial topic of conversation usually has to do with the reason for the encounter. The likelihood is great that Ss say why they are seeking an encounter, as is borne out by cases where people are just paying social calls without any ulterior motive. In these cases, they will say something like *I was just passing by* or *I wanted to see how you're getting along*. Some Ss will, of course, hold back the real reason until they can mention it in a suitable manner.

A conversation, if it is to be satisfactory to participants, proceeds from topic to topic in such a way that Hs take up what Ss have said (linked transition). We can all think of unrewarding conversations where there was no close fit of topics but rather abrupt topic changes. To make participants relish conversations, Ss and Hs must be willing to talk about similar topics (e.g., where they went on holiday). Topics can, but need not be, marked off from one another in various ways. Common tokens include *OK*, *well*, *right*, *now*, or *good* uttered with strong stress and high falling intonation and followed by a pause. Another means of indicating a topic boundary is for one S to produce a brief summary with which the H can be expected to agree.

5.5 DISCOURSE MARKERS

This section provides a brief summary of the major aspects of discourse by discussing a number of different discourse functions. We first introduce a discourse model in which five different components are distinguished and then exemplify them by treating four such markers in greater detail, namely, *now*, *you know*, *like*, and *well*.

5.5.1 Discourse components

Schiffrin (1987) sees discourse as made up of five components: exchange structure, action structure, ideational structure, participation framework, and information state. Most of them lie in the area of pragmatics because cooperation between S and H is centrally important in determining their application.

Exchange structure works with units variously referred to as *turns* and *adjacency pairs*, or *exchanges* and *moves*. Ss and Hs negotiate whose turn it is and use signals to indicate the beginnings and ends of their contributions as well as their willingness to listen.

Action structure is pragmatic because the S uses a locutionary act perform an illocutionary act, which may lead to a perlocutionary act on the H's part which may not be in accord with the S's intention. In other words, the H's action may diverge from the action wished for by the S.

Ideational structure, the third dimension, consists of linguistic units, ideas, topics, or propositions; it concerns the organization of discourse into these units and how they relate to each other. This includes cause and result or temporal relations.

Participation framework, the fourth component, refers to two different aspects. First, it concerns the ways in which Ss and Hs relate to each other: Hs can, for example, be differentiated into those who are intended to receive a message (addressees) and those who are not (overhearers). It also encompasses various social role relationships such as teacher-pupil, doctor-patient, salesperson-customer, which influence what roles Ss and Hs assume. Second, it refers to the relations between Ss and utterances. This includes such aspects as whether Ss use direct or indirect speech acts to realize their meanings. Another aspect of S stance is the transition from the narration of a story to its evaluation or interpretation.

Information state, the fifth component, concerns what Ss and Hs know (knowledge), and what they know about what they know (meta-knowledge). This determines, to a large extent, how Ss shape their messages and how Hs receive them. The function of discourse markers is to help create coherent discourse.

5.5.2 Discourse markers

Discourse markers like *now*, *right*, *well*, *you know*, *you see*, *I mean*, share various features. First, they relate utterances to the participants (speaker, hearer), on the one hand, and to the text, on the other. Markers refer either to preceding discourse (anaphoric reference) or to following discourse units (cataphoric) or to both. In this way they help to create and/or maintain cohesion within a text. Discourse markers are also independent of the grammar of the sentence, which is one reason why they are more likely to appear at the boundaries of discourse units and "... are not dependent on the smaller units of talk of which discourse is composed" (Schiffrin 1987: 37). Other features are that they show certain prosodic characteristics (e.g., tonic stress followed by a pause or phonological reduction); and that they have no or only vague meaning, which allows them to function on different planes of discourse. The four discourse markers given in Table 5.4 will be discussed individually in the following sections.

Table 5.4 Some discourse markers and their functions

	<i>now</i>	<i>you know</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>well</i>
Exchange structure		+		+
Action structure		+		*+
Ideational structure	*+	+	*+	+
Participation framework	+	+	*+	*+
Information state	+	*+	+	+

Note: The asterisk indicates the primary function.
Adapted and expanded from Schiffrin (1987: 316).

Now

The main function of *now* is in the ideational structure of discourse and consists in marking "... a speaker's progression through a discourse which contains an ordered sequence of subordinate parts" (ibid.: 240). Comparisons, either explicit or implicit, and the expression of opinions are examples of structures in which *now* focuses on one of the parts as it follows from a preceding part:

Explicit comparison:

"They used t'keep them trimmed. **Now**, for us to do that oh it's gotta be a hundred dollar bill!"

(Adapted from ibid.: 232)

Implicit comparison:

"Doesn't it ever bother you," Warren had asked, "to have people always asking you about your hands?"

"Oh, the French are a very curious people," Pierre [a handless person] had laughed. "They are also honest seekers after truth. **Now** the English are painfully silent about my missing hands. They refuse to mention or to notice that they are not there."

(Brown Corpus k02: 112–114, from Clayton C. Barbeau, *The Ikon*, 1961, Coward McCann)

Here the topic statement (*The French ask about my hands*) is absent in relation to which the *now*-utterance makes an implied comparison. *Now* puts the focus on important new information, as Schourup (2011: 2128) argues "the *now* utterance should be processed in a context that is in part significantly new with respect to assumptions already highly accessible to the hearer."

Opinion: "He was giving a spelling test. Now to me, if you're inviting parents t'come observe, y'don't give a spelling test!" (Schiffrin 1987: 236). Here S uses *now* to introduce her opinion about testing people's spelling. Such an evaluation is ideational but also belongs to the participation framework, here with a change from narration to evaluation. *Now* also prefaces the most important move by the S in an argument, often indicating prior resistance to a command:

And my mother says, "Now Jerry, and this is the God's honest truth, I'm not gonna hold no punches ... I don't want you to marry that [girl]- and I want you to break it off right now."

(Adapted from ibid.: 243)

You know

The basic function of *you know* derives from its wide scope: *You* can refer to the addressee or the hearer. *You know* therefore aims at knowledge potentially shared by both. Ss use *you know* to "... create a situation in which the speaker knows about ... knowledge which is shared with the hearer" (Schiffrin 1987: 268). This is why the main function of *you know* lies in the information state. However, as *you know* often causes Hs to react, *you know* can also function in the action structure as an interactional marker. Schiffrin thinks that *you know* derives from *do you know?* and can therefore be regarded as the first part of a question-answer adjacency pair. As such it requires an answer. For this reason, it is marked in Table 5.4 for the participant framework and the exchange structure. Take this example:

Jack: And when you're a cripple ... they're cripples because they're so religious is what – is the point I'm trying to make. In other words they're sick. Religiously. Like the: ... you know what Hasidic is?

Debby: Umhmm.

Jack: The Hasidic Jew is a cripple in my eyes, a mental cripple.

(Adapted from Schiffrin *ibid.*: 269)

This example illustrates clearly that H's response determines whether or not S has to provide information. As Debby's *Umhmm* indicates that she knows, Jack can go on and make his point.

In many other examples *you know* is used as a marker of general truths (e.g., *You know when you get older, you just don't keep socializing anymore*) (*ibid.*: 277). Virtually all of Schiffrin's examples of this marker before general truths show falling intonation. This indicates certainty about shared knowledge.

Finally, the marker also functions in the ideational structure of discourse, where it causes Hs to focus on particular bits of information (*Y'know what I like the best? I like the seashore area*; *ibid.*: 289).

Like

The word *like* is a very versatile part of the English vocabulary. It remains an important

- verb (*I like ice-cream*)
- adverb/approximator (*it was more like 20° than 25°*),
- preposition (*you look like an idiot*), and
- conjunction (*it's all like it's supposed to be*, sometimes rejected in conservative StE practice).

Currently *like* is attracting considerable attention in its growing use as both a

- quotative (*she was like wow!*) and
- discourse marker (*he was like spaced out*)

The two final uses have caused a bit of sometimes very critical comment. This is due to the often unbelievably frequent use of *like* and to the fact that many people consider *like* to be "meaningless." The following, in which the instances of *like* are numbered, come from a twelve-year-old girl:

We have five teachers. Like [1], they- I don't know- they- they're not exactly- some of them are really nice. Like [2] you really like [3] them- Like [4] one of my teachers, she's amazing. Like [5] I love what she teaches. And it's a really- like [6] the ay that she presents like [7] the class and the subject is really great. And I'm really understanding like [8] everything she's saying. And some of the other teachers are from another planet. Like [9] can't think properly, like [10].

(from Tagliamonte 2005: 1899f)

One of these ten instances of *like* [3] is a verb, which represents tradition usage, but in all the other instances it serves as a multifaceted discourse marker, which has been spreading rapidly since the late 20th century. As such it

- marks the opening or closing of a sequence (= discourse marker) [2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10],
- is used to align or dissociate the speaker from a position [1], and
- serves as a hedge [8].

The majority of instances seem to function as an appeal to the listener to bear with the speaker, and as a sign of insecurity.

The use of *like* reveals two relatively fundamental things. The first is that its use has spread widely and rapidly, indicating that national borders need not represent lines of division as young people throughout the Anglophone world widely adopt this item – and others as well. Yet it is hard to determine whether or not people everywhere use *like* in a basically identical fashion. It may be assumed that many of its functions such as approximative and as a discourse marker are widely shared. This is understandable when we recognize, for example, that the discourse marker *like* is found in the traditional speech of older people in the British Isles. This presumes a long presence and therefore wide spread. But we do not know why clause-final *like*, as in *It is one of the most working class areas in Dublin like* (example from Schulte 2019: chap. 6), is so much more frequent in IrE than elsewhere (ibid. and Schweinberger 2015: 117). The second point is that quotative *be like* is an innovation from the 1980s and that it has a generally confirmed Californian Valley Girl origin (D'Arcy 2007: 404).

Well

Well has no lexical meaning which could restrict its use to any one plane of discourse. Its primary function is in the participation framework, where it designates the participant role as that of a respondent in an exchange. It is particularly frequent in question-answer as well as request-compliance pairs (exchange structure). Schiffrin has found that the syntactic form of questions influences the use of *well*. It is rare after *yes-no* questions and tag questions but more frequent after *wh*-questions, which entail a greater range of answer options. Another frequent use is in cases where Ss do not limit themselves to the options offered in questions, or where they delay the core of their answer. The following is an example of a complex deferral where Zelda uses a story to give an answer (ideational structure):

Debby: What happened?

Zelda: Well ... at one time he was a very fine doctor. And he had two terrible tragedies.
[story follows]

(Schiffrin 1987: 110)

In general, *well* is used by Ss when they have difficulty finding an answer because what they want to say does not fit the explicit or implicit semantic options mentioned in the question (information state). Its functions include:

- signaling dispreferred responses
- restarts (after a false start)
- constructed dialog utterances

In all three cases, *well* is “toneless, reduced, and short” in comparison to the adverb *well* (Rühlemann 2019: 50, 63).

5.6 EXERCISES

5.6.1 Exercise on ESP: textual register characteristics

Characterize the following text in terms of field/domain, purpose/functional tenor, medium/mode, and personal tenor/style.

Adjusting the monitor's display

The LCD monitor features an intuitive, menu-driven on-screen display (OSD). You can access the OSD any time when the PC is powered on. If the PC is in a power-saving mode, or is powered off, the OSD is inaccessible.

The OSD make[s] the adjusting display settings quick and simple. Use the Function buttons to access the OSD and scroll through the menu items. Use the Adjustment buttons to make changes to the selected menu item. Please refer to Figure 1.1.³

The control functions are grouped into several categories as shown on the Main Menu. Continue pressing the first button to scroll through the functions of each function group right. Each item is covered below.

5.6.2 Exercises on ESP

Exercise 1: the passive voice

In the following text from a university grammar book comment on the use of voice, both active and passive in the verbs enumerated (1)–(11). Ignore the example sentences.

2.33 Indirect object clauses

Indirect object clauses always **(1) have** the form of nominal relative clauses.

I shall give *whoever finishes first* a proper reward for this achievement.

As we **(2) saw** in 1.39, the function of indirect object **(3) may also be fulfilled** by a preposition phrase with *to* or *for*. Usually preposition phrases **(4) consist of** a preposition

³ Figure not shown here.

functioning as head and a noun phrase as complement. However, the function of prepositional complement (5) may also be fulfilled by certain types of clauses. In the function of indirect object we (6) find preposition phrases consisting of *to* or *for* as head and a nominal relative clause or (rarely) an *-ing* participle clause as prepositional complement:

We shall give the prize *to whoever comes first*.

She made tea *for whoever wanted it*.

You must give priority *to finding a job*.

It (7) should be noted that in these cases it (8) is the preposition phrase (including the preposition) which (9) functions as a sentence element and that the subclause (10) functions as part of the phrase. Consequently the subclause (11) is not to be classified as a sentence element but as a phrase element clause.

(van Ek and Robot 1984: 52f)

Exercise 2: nominals

Transform the following clauses into nominals:

- (a) because the corpus is very big
- (b) although the data was being compiled
- (c) when we subdivide a superordinate category in a taxonomic fashion
- (d) they modify specific nouns
- (e) when the Policy is recorded at the Home Office

Exercise 3: terminology

The following are terminologies (often, at the same time, taxonomies). What areas are they concerned with?

- (a) the periodic table:
- (b) the Linnaean system:
- (c) SEASPEAK:

What are the following?

- (d) ISO:
- (e) Infoterm:

Exercise 4: word formation

What are the derivational principles behind the following pairs? Explain and find another such pair of terms.

phone – phoneme
kine – kineme

5.6.3 Exercises on speech acts and politeness

Do the following tasks in what are called Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs). Explain why you have chosen your response:

Situation 1: You are an office manager and are interviewing to fill a position that is open. You are interviewing someone now. You walk over to the filing cabinet to get the applicant's application when you accidentally step on a small shopping bag belonging to the applicant. You hear a distinct crunching. You apologize:

- a: Oh, I'm sorry.
- b: Oh, I'm so sorry! I didn't see your bag – I hope nothing's broken.
- c: Oh, I'm sorry. I'm afraid something in the bag broke.

Situation 2: You are shopping in a department store. You have selected an item and are waiting to pay for it. The salesclerk helps you, explains that there is a special offer on a new product, and offers to show you a short demonstration. You cannot watch the demonstration because you are on your way to meet someone for lunch. You reply:

- a: No, I can't. I'm in a hurry.
- b: Excuse me, but I've got to go. I'm already late for meeting someone, you know.
- c: I'm sorry, but I've got a lunch date.

Situation 3: You are shopping in the drug store. You need to buy some envelopes, but cannot find them. You see a salesclerk nearby. You say:

- a: Excuse me. I need to buy some envelopes to send some letters. Where can I find them?
- b: Excuse me! Show me the envelopes.
- c: Excuse me, where are the envelopes?

5.6.4 Exercise on the discourse marker *well*

Look at the five tokens of the discourse marker *well* in the following and explain why each is used:

- B: So we'll have to try and do something about the allergy and get your rash cleared up first, won't we?
- A: **Well** [1], can you prescribe [...] anything for the allergy [...]?
- B: Does it itch at all?
- A: Yes, it itches quite a lot.
- B: Do you get scabs forming on it or anything?
- A: No.
- B: Hm hum [...]. It's just on your face, is it?
- A: And my arms.
- B: And your arms. Is it on any other place of the body?
- A: **Well** [2], it's spreading, yeah.
- B: Hhm (begins writing).

A: All over.

B: And is it painful at all?

A: **Well** [3], only - **well** [4] if I scratch it, yes, it becomes very painful.

B: [...] **Well** [5], I think I can prescribe some ointment for you

(Adapted from Edmondson 1981: 182–183)

FURTHER READING

Text linguistics you might look at de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), Werlich (1983), McCarthy (1991), van Dijk (1985, 2008).

Textuality see Halliday and Hasan (1976), Brown and Yule (1983).

ESP Sager, Dungworth, and McDonald (1980) is a good comprehensive introduction; see also Dudley-Evans and St. John (1999). For a short overview, see Robinson (1989).

Conversation treated from numerous points of view in Gordon (2011); for comprehensive treatments see Brown and Yule (1983), Coulthard (1985), van Dijk (1985), McCarthy (1991), Martin (1992), Schiffrin (1994), Eggins and Slade (1997).

Communicative competence see Hymes (1972). On typical **hearer roles** and their linguistic realization see Gardner (1994).

Speech acts dealt with succinctly and clearly in Saeed (2015); more classic are Austin (1962), Searle (1969), Grice (1975), Leech (1983), Levinson (1983).

Politeness is treated comprehensively in Brown and Levinson (1987).

Turn-taking see Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974).

Discourse markers Schiffrin (1987) is the classic treatment.

Relevance Sperber and Wilson (1995).

Dialectal and sociolinguistic variation

Users

The objective of this chapter is to show language variation in terms of the more traditional approach using the main social variables as summed up by Labov: “Sociolinguistic studies of the speech community have found that linguistic variation in the modern world is correlated with a small number of social variables: age, gender, social class, ethnicity, urban/rural status and location in social networks” (2010: 197). This is then extended to newer approaches considering situational aspects of communication, for example the stances speakers take, that is, how they perform their speaker identity as in ethnicity, gender, age, and so on.

Sociolinguistic variation is approached in the introductory section using dialect as a regional marker as well as a marker of social class and education. The second section is about stance and the role speech plays in identity construction. This is followed by a comprehensive look at gender and gender distinctions in English and by a brief excursion into the area of language and ethnicity. This should not be carried out without the awareness that none of these categories are in any way fixed or static for any speaker or user; rather, the goal is to show how identity interacts with language use. This is followed by a more extensive section on language and power and modes of address in which the major social variables are observed within the larger frame work of power and solidarity.

6.1 DIALECT STUDIES

Dialect is the convenient and usual designation for varieties of a language in any of its many guises including temporal, regional, social, and individual variation.¹ We have made it clear that this book is centered on StE and GenE as the major default dialects, that is, the ones most often meant when people talk about the English language. We are not directly concerned here with Old, Middle, or Early Modern English. But this is not to say that some knowledge of the temporal dialects, or earlier stages of English, is not relevant for an informed understanding of the present-day language. Reading Shakespeare or trying to

1 Individual “varieties” a.k.a. idiolects are not part of this general survey. An idiolect refers not so much to a different sort of dialect as to a selection from potentially all the dialects each individual is in contact with, including perhaps a few items that only this person or their family use; it usually consists of the established vocabulary common to most speakers of the person’s speech community; it will tend to change over time and according to the speaker’s life circumstances. Furthermore, it will very likely reflect the person’s gender in the choice of lexis. Idiolects are not fixed once and for all but are dynamic, changing according to time, place, occasion, and so on in the sense of stance (§6.2).

understand items like *let* (in tennis), *kith and kin*, and *ye olde tea shoppe* involves historical information of one kind or another which can be found in histories of the language and etymological dictionaries.

Present-day varieties of English vary according to numerous factors, as seen in this quotation from Le Page and Tabouret-Keller:

National, ethnic, racial, cultural, religious, age, sex, social class, caste, educational, economic, geographical, occupational and other groupings are all liable to have linguistic connotations. The degree of co-occurrence of boundaries will vary from one society to another, the perception of the degree of co-occurrence will vary from one individual to another.

(1985: 248)

Dialects are widely seen as varying according to regional and social criteria, and research reflects this as shown in the quotation above by Labov.

Age. The first of the points mentioned by Labov is age. This factor plays a prominent role in variationist studies of language, where the selection of speakers observed is usually distributed according to age (in addition to gender, class, and ethnicity), and where it is frequently assumed that the usage of older speakers represents an earlier state of the language while that of younger speakers shows where the language is going. This is generally designated change in apparent time. Only investigations of speech at different points in time can unambiguously provide a view of change in real time. Apparent time change is often used as method if longitudinal studies are not available or possible. Otherwise researchers may resort to age grading, which looks at how speech behavior in individuals changes over the course of many years or even a person's lifespan. The pros and cons of apparent time and age grading in research are obvious – looking at different but comparable speakers vs. looking at the same speakers at different points in time. Age grading can be seen, for example, in individuals whose speech behavior is unstable but their speech community's behavior is stable (cf. Labov 1994). This difference could then possibly explain the ways different social groups move within the same community. A typical suggestion is that speakers remain linguistically stable in post-adolescence. The downside is that few speech communities remain stable enough for this to be a reliable basis for research (see Wagner 2012 for an extensive review of age grading).

Regional and social dialects. Geographic variation is extremely prominent in English and will be the focus of Part 3 in a global-areal perspective. This may include regions within a single country, or it may involve the national varieties of English. Furthermore, the urban-rural divide continues to be a major source of variation. In §6.2 the focus will be on social class and education. We examine gender extensively in §6.3. In §6.4 there is a brief introduction to ethnicity (see §8.5.2 for a more extensive treatment of ethnic variation). In §6.5 we close this chapter by looking at how the driving forces of power and solidarity as well as principles of politeness influence all of these areas.

Classical dialect studies in the United States and Canada (the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, LAUS) as well as in England (the Survey of English Dialects, SED, and the Lowman Survey of the Midlands and South of England) and Scotland (the Linguistic Atlas of Scotland) are the most important examples of regional studies of English. The SED (finished 1961) largely ignored age and social differences; emphasis was on farming culture (in nine main sections). The objective was to determine (a) 387 phonetic; (b) 128 morphological, (c) 77 syntactic; and (d) 730 lexical points using such methods as (1) naming; (2) completing; (3) talking; (4) converting (e.g., present to past tense); and (5) reverse questions (“What does *corn* mean?”) in direct interviews. The questions asked were

exactly prescribed and formulated. Generally, the most immobile, oldest, and most poorly educated men were interviewed, the group of NORMs – Nonmobile Older Rural Males. This group was chosen because they were reliable sources for local linguistic variants based on their relative geographic immobility unlike those speakers who move around and adopted other regional features. In North America the Linguistic Atlas, which is a loose grouping of individual studies such as the LANE [Linguistic Atlas of New England] (Kurath, Bloch, and Hansen 1939–43) or the LAMSAS [Middle and Southern Atlantic States] (McDavid et al. 1980f), differs somewhat from the SED inasmuch as it takes informant age and three levels of education into account. The results showed larger differences according to education/class and smaller ones according to age. Even with its wider spread many of the American studies are methodologically weak and do not possess a high degree of validity and reliability.

Isoglosses and isogloss bundles. The product of such classical dialect surveys is a linguistic atlas which maps out the boundaries between geographical areas where different variants are used, for example where in England words like *farm* are pronounced with and without /r/. A line on an atlas map dividing places with form A from those with form B is called an isogloss. Several isoglosses running close together are called isogloss bundles. In this fashion dialect areas can be determined. But the divisions are seldom clear; rather, there are transition areas in which both forms may occur. Furthermore, sometimes an island of older usage is left behind while everything around it has changed; this is called a relic area.

Other types of dialect. We will be only marginally concerned with regional dialectology in this book. Instead we will look more at areal variation which has resulted from population movements (a) from country to town and (b) from Britain to its one-time overseas colonies. Sometimes this has involved the maintenance of previously regionally based dialects as new social dialects, when, for example, migrants of a particular regional origin make up significant parts of the new urban working class. This happened in the United States as Southern workers entered the Northern automobile industry in the first half of the 20th century. Or there may be a levelling of dialect differences (known as *koinés*), something which appears to be happening today with the emergence of Estuary English in the Thames Valley (§7.5.4).

6.2 STANCE AND VARIATIONIST LINGUISTICS

In this chapter on dialectal and sociolinguistic variation it is crucial that attention be paid to stance as its basis. Stance, after all, is a major factor in human interaction. Every time an interlocutor takes a stance and does so repeatedly these stances become more firmly grounded in a community (Jaffe 2009). A lot of research had to be done to give this a solid founding. A differentiation that is important for the treatment here is one between personal and linguistic stance. The former is “a bundle of repeatedly co-occurring social practices” while the latter “is a bundle of co-occurring linguistic practices” (Kiesling 2005: 22). Both are important factors in the study of language variation today especially because at the beginnings of this type of research it had been assumed that linguistic variation correlated with more or less fixed social attributes of the speakers. With this assumption in mind researchers typically looked at major social features such as class, gender, and ethnicity. This approach to the study of language variation changed over time, and in sociolinguistics today the emphasis increasingly lies on such contextual factors as, for example, stance-taking, and regards identity not as something static and unchanging, but rather as shifting, context-dependent, and complex – multifaceted or layered. Today speakers are attributed with more agency than ever before.

The path of studies in variationist linguistics has moved from the idea of relatively unidimensional speakers associated with major sociological categories to the “stance-taker” who is at the center of much current research. We will look at this before moving on to the sections on gender and ethnicity.

Major social varieties. Early work in variationist linguistics essentially started with Labov in the 1960s and his studies on linguistic variation among speakers of different social groups. His studies laid the groundwork for what researchers are currently investigating ever more fervently. The point of departure for any kind of variationist research was the investigation of speaker features and use of linguistic variants. These variants could stand for the entire group, such as in Labov’s study on the realization of the diphthong/aɪ/ on Martha’s Vineyard (first reported in 1962; see Labov 1972a: chap. 1), where the local fishermen’s diphthongs were markedly different from that of other islanders, not to mention the people vacationing on Martha’s Vineyard in the summer months. This kind of study was followed by Labov’s study in New York City department stores (1966, see Labov 1972a: chap. 2). In this investigation, as well as others that were modeled on his New York City study, stratified socio-economic patterns were established in sociolinguistics.

The attributes of social class membership and level of formal education have long been part of sociolinguistic observations. One of the main reasons for this is the realization that the standard language, StE, which is the default norm in published writing and much public dialog, is not necessarily the type of English spoken by the majority of English native speakers (§1.1).

There can be little dispute over the claim that it was the high social standing and once near monopoly on higher education on the part of the upper social classes that led to the association of their speech forms with Standard English. Despite a loosening of the norms of StE and the present availability of higher education to wider sectors of society, the idea of the standard remains firmly established, and the use of nonstandard forms of General English (NSGenE) still carry strong, but perversely mistaken/wrong associations with lower-class standing, lack of education, and even lower intellectual capacities. This is precisely what leads to the association of StE with power, be it social, economic, institutional, or personal.

Numerous studies reveal differences in linguistic features according to class and education. While regional norms prevail across all classes in regard to most characteristics of vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar, sociolinguistic research has consistently chosen those features which do differ as their point of focus. Examples² (always giving the standard first against which the nonstandard forms are set):

<i>Standard</i>	<i>Nonstandard</i>
/θ/ and /ð/ (RP / GenAm)	[t̪] and [d̪] (IrE) (cf. Schulte 2000)
	[f] and [v] (Cockney) (Wells 1982: 328–330)
	[tθ] and [dð] (New York City) (Wells 1982: 515f)
/eɪ/ as [eɪ] (RP, GenAm)	[e:ə] (Northern Ireland)
STRUT-vowels as [ʌ] (RP, GenAm)	as [ʊ] (Midlands and North of England) (§7.3.6)
relative pronouns: <i>who, which, that,</i> and zero (StE)	additional pronouns <i>as</i> or <i>what</i> (Wessex dialect) (Wagner 2008: 429f)
negation of present tense <i>be</i> and <i>have</i> as <i>am/is/lare not</i> (StE)	as <i>ain’t</i> (NSGenE) (§1.4)
familiar form of <i>grandmother</i> as <i>granny</i> (StE)	as <i>oma</i> (SAfE)

2 Note that the varieties listed in parentheses, in which the items given are credited with being used, are exemplary and not exhaustive. For example, where RP and GenAm or StE are given numerous further varieties could frequently be added.

This list could easily be extended to many, many further items. The point here is that virtually every study necessarily sets a point of reference for the variation which it describes, and that point of reference is Standard English or one of the standard reference accents, RP or GenAm. Any deviation from the nonstandard forms is implicitly attributed to speakers who are, in general, lower middle class or working class and who have less formal education.³

These early variationist studies mentioned above failed to show diversity within the individual speaker – today sometimes referred to as the stance-taker – but instead displayed “greater regional and ethnic differentiation at the lower end of the socio-economic hierarchy as well as greater use of more widespread nonstandard forms [which are] stigmatized on the standard market” (Eckert 2012: 88). This is especially important because Labov observed a decline in the stigmatized forms the higher up on the social ladder language usage was scrutinized. But from Labov’s work we also get a focus on the study of vernaculars. These “emerged as a classic natural object of scientific inquiry, untouched by the reflexivity of human agency” (ibid.). The focus given to vernaculars was an important step because their investigation showed their linguistic systematicity rather than their deficiency as was previously often assumed. This was the case for all sorts of sociolects as well as for African American English (AAE), an ethnolect. So, observed through the socio-economic lens that variationist studies used, the speaker was placed like a passive being within the social structure, for example, as working class or upper middle class. It was also suggested that speakers were to some extent conscious of their verbal behavior and at times strove for upward social movement and for that reason could also potentially change their linguistic variants.

Labov expanded on the placement of the speaker in the social hierarchy in the 1960s by demonstrating the “crossover pattern” in which the lower middle class heightened its use of postvocalic-r in conscious styles of speaking (reading and word list production) beyond that of the upper-middle class, which had been labeled as the one with the highest use of r’s in non-prevocalic positions (Labov 1972a: chap. 4). What this and other studies showed was the “within-speaker pattern of variation not as involving a choice between socially meaningful forms, but as the result of self-monitoring to suppress a natural cognitive process. Style, then, was conceived purely as the output of varying attention to speech” (Eckert 2012: 89).

Speakers were still seen as somewhat monolithic in their speech behavior and reflective of their membership in a social class. Yet even the early studies working with the major social varieties were not restricted to studies of linguistic variation according to class; they also looked, for example, at gender and ethnicity. Many authors have tried to do away with the – perhaps now finally obsolete idea – “that AAE is little more than an unsystematic, unworthy approximation of Standard English,” a view which Wolfram combated in his work (e.g., 2007: 292; more on AAE in §8.5.2). For instance, Wolfram (1969) found that African American women in Detroit used more standard language variants than their male counterparts irrespective of their socio-economic status. This was corroborated by studies in Great Britain on male and female speech (e.g., Trudgill 1974). Even though Trudgill’s findings were gender-related, the explanations of the results obtained were primarily connected to class membership. Eckert states that “[v]ariables were taken to mark socio-economic status, and stylistic and gender dynamics were seen as resulting from the effects of these categories on speakers’ orientation to their assigned place in that hierarchy” (2012: 90). As a result, we can say that what many of the stratification studies showed was that any kind of language change did not come from one-dimensional speakers but that, for example, class and gender membership influence each other as agents of language change (ibid.). This view was a valuable step toward stance-taking and the idea of a multifaceted linguistic speaker identity which led up to the second wave of variationist linguistics.

3 This is a dangerous generalization certainly open to criticism; nevertheless, it is defensible.

Only in the second wave of sociolinguistic studies did social agency come into play (ibid.). We see this in Milroy's study of linguistic variation in social networks in Belfast which illustrates phonological variation (1980). Instead of again looking at linguistic variants as solely marking one social group, Milroy emphasized the importance of multiplex social networks and their hitherto underestimated norm-enforcing power. This meant that linguistic variants seen in – here female working-class – speakers were connected to their participation in a social network rather than their class membership alone. This in turn also meant that the variants exhibited could change with a speaker's engagement in an additional social network. Studies and conclusions of this kind marked a first step in the direction of stance. Speakers were now regarded as more varying in the use and choice of their linguistic features. And the very often stigmatized local vernaculars – be they AAE in the United States or mesolects in Guyana (Rickford 1986) – gained further in positive value in their local communities and lost a little of their stigmatization.

Eckert (1989) took research on vernaculars further by looking at the language used by jocks (college-bound upper middle- and upper-class teenagers) and burnouts (working-class teenagers) in a Detroit high school. The results show that the influence of the peer group on the students' perceived sound change is greater than that of their parents' membership in a social class. This means that “broader class correlations are not simply the fallout of education, occupation, and income, but rather reflect local dynamics rooted in practices and ideologies that shape, and are in turn shaped by, class” (Eckert 2012: 92). She was able to show that peers and networks – as looked at by Milroy – had more impact on pronunciation than the teenagers' family background.

The social network approach to speakers' language behavior is important because it reveals that speakers exhibit a variety of linguistic features that depend on the speech situation they are in. This is the view taken in “third wave” approaches to sociolinguistic variation. The findings from the first wave – major social varieties – and those of the second wave – local findings – had been pulled together. Yet, as Eckert points out (2012), this still did not change the rather static view of speaker identity. Labov had looked at the major social variable of class while Eckert with her study on jocks and burnouts had looked at the local phenomenon of linguistic representation of identity. Neither had explicitly explored the indexical relationship between linguistic variants and speaker identity.

The third wave boosted the idea of indexicality and looked at how speakers place themselves in the social landscape through their use of linguistic variants. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) explain that instead of looking at identity as the source of language behavior, identity must be seen as its product. This means that if identities are a product of major sociological categories, so are the roles and stances a speaker takes as well as their local and cultural positions. Most importantly, however, is the fact that “identities are relationally constructed through several, often overlapping, aspects of the relationship between self and other, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy” (ibid.: 585). This inarguably shows speakers' multifaceted identities which are never straightforward or static and are always self-ascribed as well as attributed by others through negotiations, habit, or ideologies (ibid.). Stance shows the way their identity is patterned (Kiesling 2009) and illustrates that no one's identity is linear, which is the impression that could have been gathered from earlier variationist work. A speaker's stance changes from one interaction to another because they want to take “up a position with respect to the form or the content of [their] utterance” (Jaffe 2009: 1). Kiesling adds

that a more atomistic level of stance should be added. In this view, personal styles are composed of a set, or repertoire, of stances, and a way of speaking represents not simply a personal style but a stance that a person tends to adopt repeatedly over time.

Because some stances are more favored by one group than another, this gives the appearance that a linguistic item directly indexes.

(2005: 3)

Ultimately, the speakers' choice of linguistic form – conscious or unconscious – is based on the “interpersonal or epistemic” stance they want to take in any given conversation with someone else (Moore and Podevska 2009). By “taking a stance, the stance-taker (1) evaluates an object, (2) positions a subject (usually self), and (3) aligns with other subjects” (ibid.: 448), which includes linguistic behavior.

Consequently, a person's identity is indexed by language or linguistic variants. Ochs calls “the connection between linguistic forms and social identity ... indirect indexicality” (Kiesling 2003: 510) Now, the opposite, “direct indexicality” (ibid.), is the link from the group to the linguistic feature. There are few languages – and English is certainly not one of them – that explicitly encode gender in their grammar or elsewhere, that is, dictating different forms for males and females. This means that in English “the relation between language and social identity is predominantly a sociolinguistically *distant* one” (Ochs 1993: 288). Ochs, for example, found that

few features of language directly and exclusively index gender. ... Rather, overwhelmingly we find that the relation between particular features of language and gender is typically non-exclusive. By non-exclusive, I mean that often variable features of language may be used by/with/for both sexes.

(1992: 340)

The third wave ultimately looks at the speaker and their linguistics variants and the way speakers choose to index their identity in a given situation in order to take stance. A speaker's stance consequently changes depending on who they interact with. This means a speaker can employ one set of linguistic variants in one social role, say as a lecturer at university, another set of features as a parent at home, then again another set when watching movies with friends, and so on. The features displayed can, of course, overlap. Every time we look at a given set of features, we find that it indexes identity. And it would be erroneous to draw conclusions about a speaker's supposed identity – male, female, gay, upper class, working class, and so on – based on their sex, education, or any other major social variable.

6.3 GENDER

Among the many different ways in which English varies, the gender of the speaker is one of the features in which there is currently a vast amount of interest and one which makes itself felt in many ways. Not the least of these is the widespread concern of many people that English not be used in the sense of sexism, which “may be defined as words or actions that arbitrarily assign roles or characteristics to people on the basis of sex” (NCTE Guidelines 1977: 182) rather than assessing people as individuals.

6.3.1 Concepts of gender

Gender as it is used here should not be confused with grammatical gender, which is the association that we find in languages like Latin, German, Spanish, French and so on of categories like masculine, feminine and (sometimes) neuter with whole classes of nouns.

Rather, gender is a social attribute of human beings or self-ascribed by them. It does not necessarily stand in a one-to-one relation with the sex of the speaker. Gender is a question of people's role perceptions – again, both self-ascribed and attributed to them by others – and their behavior in social interaction. Not everything masculine is done by men and not all men do masculine things (whatever that is), and the same is true for women (Kiesling 2007). Ochs states that

the relation of language to gender is constituted and mediated by the relation of language to stances, social acts, social activities, and other social constructs. ... As such, novices come to understand gender meanings through coming to understand certain pragmatic functions of language (such as expressing stance).

(1992: 337)

Female language behavior – in a binary view of gender – is often associated with politeness and reciprocal behavior. However, it is not gender alone which determines linguistic behavior, but more fundamental social relations which are merely mirrored in gender (as well as in age and ethnicity and so on), namely, power and solidarity. In short, the male – female divide is characterized most definitively (though surely not exclusively) by a power differential while intra-gender relations are often determined by solidarity (cf. McHugh and Hambaugh 2010). This is significant for language inasmuch as males are many times more likely to identify with other males – including their economic and sexual rivals – than with women, just as women are more likely to do the same among themselves. This is a relationship based on solidarity. It is a fundamental identification which leads to imitation of behavior. Yet within this framework of solidarity it is power which determines much of behavior: Those who are more powerful, more successful, more popular, more intelligent, better looking, and so on – be they males or females – will be emulated by the other(s) according to the maxim: “Power attracts.”

If the view of gender-fixed language – a binary code – were taken as a basis, then women would be seen as code-switchers between the two codes because they are traditionally more likely to, on occasion, adopt more male language behavior (whatever that is). Gay men would have to be seen as nonconformers because they would not remain in just one of the two categories.

The ways in which the sociolinguistic category of gender shows up are by no means fixed. The speaker's stance and the way they self-ascribe their identity influence a wide variety of behavior, verbal and nonverbal, such as topics of conversation, styles of talk, pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary choice, and ways of laughing. Yet despite the importance of gender identity, the differences that show up in studies of English are usually made according to sex and only in the past few years has the social construction of gender identity been taken into account. Cameron succinctly summarizes that “[w]hat is important in gendering talk is the ‘performative gender work’ the talk is doing; its role in constituting people as gendered subjects” (1997: 333).

Special codes of linguistic behavior are associated with gay language, which often excludes lesbian and bisexual women's language according to Gaudio (1994: 31). Ultimately, many lay opinions about what gay language is probably point in the same direction: gay language is effeminate. But is there data to prove this? And if so, what exactly is effeminate language? Both Coates (1993) and Lakoff (1990) take note of the way gay men presumably imitate female speech or change their style of speaking depending on the group they are in (perhaps an early observation of stance-taking). Still there is the assumption that gay language is characterized, for instance, by an increased variety in pitch modulation. Gaudio (1994: 31) looked at “openly gay male speech” and whether its intonation is similarly

dynamic to the intonation often observed in women's speech. The results of his study cannot confirm this assumption. On the contrary: Gaudio comes to the conclusion that pitch range itself does not seem to be a decisive factor in terms of perceived gayness. Irrespective of any of these perceptions, they seem to be aiming at the assumption that the group of gay vs. straight people is relatively homogeneous, which takes neither stance nor indexicality into account.

6.3.2 Reference to males and females

How sexist is English? This is not so much a provocative question as a misleading one. There is little or nothing about the language which could lead a fair judge to find it guilty. English may at times be something of a loaded weapon - to draw on a slightly skewed analogy to guns, but in the end, it is the users who are responsible - in this case for sexist use of the language. And, indeed, investigations have revealed that the sexist use of language is or has been commonplace in our choice of words. Quantitative tendencies show that there are differences between males and females in their preferences for particular forms. For this reason, it is common to speak of "sex preferential" linguistic differences rather than absolute (or: "sex-differential") ones. But this should not blind us to the fact that there is also considerable variation among men as a group and among women as a group as well. In general, dissatisfaction with sexist language has led or is leading to the replacement of lexical items considered exclusively male in reference with more inclusive words. And vocabulary items with pejorative meanings or derogatory connotations in regard to women can be rejected.

Here we will be looking first at how English is used to make reference to females and to males and the frequent use of negative stereotypes. After that we will explore how the language is differently employed by males as opposed to females. This should make clear the distinction between gender preferential features - ones, nevertheless, used by all genders - and gender exclusive features - those principally connected to use by a particular gender (Meyerhoff 2019).

Semantic derogation. Just how pervasive negative stereotyping in language can be has been pointed out in studies of dictionaries. Nilsen reports on 385 dictionary entries which are clearly male-oriented (e.g., *son*) and 132 which are similarly female-oriented (e.g., *daughter*). Despite the larger number of terms for males there were more negative female designations than negative male ones. Male designations were six times as likely as female ones to include an element of positive prestige (1977). In *The Guardian* (Saner 2019) reported that some dictionaries still give words such as "hussy, baggage or bit" as synonyms for "woman." Dictionaries, so it seems, provide a "wealth of derogatory entries On Lexico, the site run by Oxford Dictionaries and Dictionary.com, synonyms for women include bitch, baggage, piece and filly" (ibid.). Synonyms given for "man" were much less derogatory, "bozo and geezer." This shows that underlying attitudes remain strong and sexist profiling is very much present in society.

Perhaps the most perfidious tendency in the language is that of semantic derogation or pejoration. Stanley (1977) collected as many words as she could for both females and males as "sexually available," for example, *honey pot* or *hustler*. She found (a) that there are far more for women (220) than for men (she found only 22) and (b) that all but four of the female terms (*lady of the night*, *entertainer*, *concubine*, *mistress*) were derogatory, that is, demeaning and shameful (*lease-piece*, *loose woman*); they often involve allusion to cost (*put out*, *giftbox*) and frequently rely on metonymy, in which a part of the body stands for the whole (*ass*, *tail*), or on metaphor, especially animal metaphors (*bitch*, *bird*). Again and

again in the history of the language, a perfectly innocent term designating a girl or woman can be found that begins with completely neutral or even positive connotations, but that gradually acquires negative implications, at first perhaps only slightly disparaging, but after a period of time becoming abusive and ending as a sexual slur (Schulz 1975: 65).

Along with terms which designate people, there is the related field of vocatives, or terms used to address people. Once again there is a certain asymmetry to the language system inasmuch as the title for a man is simply *Mr.* while a woman has traditionally been addressed as *Mrs.* if married and *Miss* if unmarried. For many language users this disequilibrium has been remedied by the introduction of the new title *Ms.*, the abbreviation *Miz* /mɪz/, the Southern American pronunciation of both *Mrs.* and *Miss*, for all women.

Exclusive vs. inclusive language. There has been considerable interest in unpaired words ending in {-man}, for which there are no traditional equivalents with a suffix designating a female. One of the demands of reform-minded language users has been to replace such exclusive terms with ones which include women. So it is that for many people *firemen* have become *firefighters*, American *mailmen* have become *letter carriers* and *chairmen* have become either *chairwomen*/*chairmen* or *chairpersons*. There are other terms which do not end in {-man}, but which are also unpaired. For some of these there are no generally accepted nonexclusive equivalents (but note the alternatives in parentheses): *bachelor's degree* (but *B.A.*), *master's degree* (but *M.A.*); for *university fellowship* and *liberty, equality and fraternity* there are no solutions readily available. Balhorn (2009) does, however, note that the use of male suffixes for occupations – *fireman*, *mailman* – as opposed to gender neutral forms such as *fire fighter* and *letter/mail carrier* have reversed in favor the gender-neutral forms in newspaper prose between the 1950s and 2006.

In English, as in other languages, a large number of designations for persons are paired. This includes areas such as religion (*nun/monk*, *prioress/prior*, but: *priestess* is not equivalent to *priest*!) and aristocratic titles (*dukelduchess*, *kingqueen*, *prince/princess*, *count/countess*, etc.) and kinship (*sister/brother*, *mother/father*, *aunt/uncle*, etc.). In these examples feminine and masculine terms are roughly equivalent. However, a number of further pairings are one-sided with the masculine term being positive and the feminine “counterpart,” pejorative: *major* (an officer) vs. *majorette* (a women dressed in a short skirt and marching ahead of a band), *courtier* (an officer of the court) vs. *courtesan* (a prostitute with wealthy or aristocratic clients), *master* (boss, expert, etc.) vs. *mistress* (lover), *governor* (high political office-holder) vs. *governess* (private teacher).

It is, of course, debatable whether such asymmetrical pairs are the results of structural features of English or the way in which the language is used. It seems, in any case, to be possible to “repair” many of these imbalances. The counterpart of a governor who is male, for example, may be called a *woman governor* if it appears necessary to indicate the sex of the governor at all. On the other hand, there seems no need for distinguishing a generic *governor* and then introducing *male governor*, as the counterpart to *woman/female governor*. Consequently, we are left with yet another imbalance.

It would seem that the alleged sexism of the language is largely the result of sexist thinking, and this usage is supported, it would appear, in the linguistic stereotypes of its users. For example, women are often (maybe increasingly less so today) thought of as friendly, gentle, enthusiastic, smooth people who talk gibberish on trivial topics, while men are forceful, loud, dominating people who get straight to the point (Scott 1980: 200). Studies such as those reported by Condry and Condry (1976) also indicate that we attribute specifically male and female traits to very young children. In this particular study people observing the same video tape of an infant of nine months interpreted one and the same reaction (the child's startled reaction to a jack-in-the-box) as anger if they thought they were watching a boy and as fear if they were told it was a girl.

Generic reference. A final look at the use of language to refer to males and females focuses on what is known as generic reference. This has to do with the use of a particular term for people without regard to their sex. It is said that the word *man* is such a term when it means any human being. The problem is that *man*, in fact, suggests men rather than both men and women. Hence the (unintended) humor of a biology textbook which speaks of “pregnancy in man” (Silveira 1980: 168) or “*Man breastfeeds his young, and If an employee is pregnant, he is entitled to ...*” (Pauwels 2001: 107).

At the center of the discussion of generic reference is the use of the pronoun *he*. According to the grammatical category of gender, the pronoun *she* is used to mark referents who are female while *he* is employed for males, for both, or for indeterminate referents. However, many people argue that the so-called generic *he* excludes females; and, indeed, studies have shown that this is the case: Graham counted 940 uses of *he* in a sample of 100,000 words. Of these 744 referred to male humans; 128, to male animals; 36 to persons presumed to be male, such as sailors or farmers. This left only 32 as indeterminate and hence generic (1975: 58). One interpretation of this is that people, but especially males will, consequently, tend to interpret generic *he* as masculine. Furthermore, the choice of the pronoun has an effect on attitudes: for example, women are reported to get better results on mathematical problems which use female-oriented situations and language (Martyna 1980: 71ff).

That *he* is not neutral may be further illustrated by noting how it is used in personification in children’s literature. MacKay and Konishi counted 35,000 occurrences of *he*, *she*, or *it* in an anthology. Animals were *he* 76% of the time and *she* 24%. The masculine pronoun was typically used for large mammals such as lions, gorillas, and wolves; the feminine, for small ones such as small birds or insects (bees, ladybugs). MacKay and Konishi point out, among other things, that a switch to *it*, though easy to regulate in new guidelines for children’s literature, would have the disadvantage of lessening the emotional and personal involvement of young readers (1980: 152ff).

Singular generic they. Bodine (1975) has made the interesting point that none of the grammatical categories of the English personal pronouns, namely, person, number, and gender, are strictly observed in actual usage. It is, for example, well known that *we* may be used singularly in the so-called royal *we* (e.g., Queen Victoria’s *We are not amused*) or editorial *we* (*We shall be looking at language and gender in this chapter*). Impersonal *you* is regularly used as a third-person form (*How do you [= does anyone] get from here to the airport?*), but sometimes also as a first-person form (cf. *As tired as I am, you [= I] can’t stand any extra noise*). On the basis of this rather loose and pragmatic application of categories Bodine argues for the use of singular *they* as a nonsexist generic (and you will have seen that this is the practice we have adopted throughout this book). This not only works (*Ask anyone; they’ll agree*) but is also natural to most speakers when they refer to indefinite antecedents such as *anyone, someone, no one*. This also makes logical sense since such pronouns, while grammatically singular, are notionally plural because *anyone*, for example, means “many (indeterminant) people.”⁴ A further option is the adoption of the double pronoun, *he or she*, or the use of a plural antecedent, such as *writers*, which then allows the use of sex-neutral but plural *they*. Foertsch and Gernsbacher (1997) were able to show that *they* as a gender inclusive third person singular pronoun was seen as an efficient substitute for nonreferential (= indefinite) antecedents, not so, however, for referential ones.

4 Some have suggested adopting a new sex-neutral third-person singular personal pronoun, a neologism. Examples: *thon* [*< that one*], *co*, *hir*, *e* or *E*, *tey*, *hesh*, *po*, *re*, *xe*, *jhe*, *per*. None have been accepted, nor are they likely to be, because they are neither natural nor easily available to speakers. Since pronouns belong to those words which are integrally part of the grammar of the language, such change is not likely to come.

For Australians Pauwels (2001) found that *they* was more widely accepted than *he or she* with the drawback it is often perceived as grammatically incorrect. Before the Australian reform in the early 1980s to make English less sexist, Pauwels found 787 words with gender generic reference in a corpus of 207,000 words. Of these, 466 – 95.3% – were *he* and only 13 were either singular *they* or *he or she* (2.7%). Post-reform she found a much different pattern: In 282,000 words 966 had generic reference. Of these 77 (18.2%) were *he* and 317 (74.9%) *they* and 19 (4.5%) *he or she* (see Balhorn 2009; Laugesen 2019 on gendered AusE usage). Mair and Leech also report the growth of generic singular *they*, but even more growth in the use of *he or she* (2008: 335).

6.3.3 Language use by males and females

In the following comments on the differing use of English by males and females it is important to remember that there are, in reality, far more similarities than there are differences. Also, there have been more voices in favor of using *women* rather than *female* when referring to women. This can be seen in the growing use of *women/woman* as an adjunct as in *woman president* or *women doctors*, while a marking for men is not required. Furthermore, since gender is only one of several social variables including age, geographic region, socio-economic class, ethnic identification, occupation, and specific social situation, it is seldom the sole factor influencing usage.

Vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation. Vocabulary differs significantly from pronunciation and grammar inasmuch as people are more likely to be aware of their choice of words and therefore have more control over their vocabulary than they do over pronunciation and grammar. In addition, words also clearly carry elements of referential content that grammar and pronunciation do not. Yet there have been relatively few studies in the field of vocabulary choice. The few areas that have been investigated include topics of discussion; emotive, supportive and polite language; and color terms and taboo words.

Topic. Findings, among others in an open vocabulary analysis using social media (Schwartz et al. 2013), indicate that women seem to avoid certain subjects such as money, business, and politics while concentrating more on people (men, other women, themselves), emotions, psychological and social processes, clothing, and decoration. Men favor topics such as money, business, sports, object reference, and swear words. To some extent, this is not unexpected, because traditionally there has been greater engagement of men in paid employment, politics, and sports and of women in person-oriented domestic (family) situations. This, of course, is a product of economic and educational opportunity (or its lack) as well as socialization and expectations.

Emotive language. Somewhat indirectly related to the alleged greater preference among females for talk about people is the often expressed feeling that women use more emotive language than men do (cf. Schwartz et al. 2013). Indeed, above all feminists have made a great deal of the supposedly less assertive, more supportive language and behavior of women as opposed to the more competitive and dominating behavior of men. This belief lies behind attempts to rehabilitate the traditionally negative term *gossip* as a positive feminine phenomenon in which concern is more about social interaction and bonding than the exchange of concrete information.

Color words and taboo language. One of the main theses that is pursued in regard to gender-specific vocabulary is that there are features which are said to be typical of female use, such as more exact color terms (*chartreuse* rather than male *greenish yellow* or *beige* instead of *light brown*). Furthermore, women are credited with using such intensifiers as *so*, *such*, *quite*, and *vastly* and adjectives such as *adorable*, *charming*, *sweet*, *lovely*, or *divine*.

“Masculine” counterparts of such feminine adjectives are definitely rarer, though ones like *helluva* or *damn good* might come close (cf. “We had such a lovely time.” vs. “We had a helluva good time.”). There is little empirical research that confirms this.

The single area which seems to have attracted the most attention is that of taboo language. In the extensive annotated bibliography in Thorne, Kramarae, and Henley (1983) in the section on word choice and syntactic usage, 13 or well over a quarter of the 43 references listed, have to do with profane/obscene items or tabooed words referring to sex-related acts or the genitals. By and large, these, as well as further studies, show that men are more likely than women to use obscene expressions and that women are more likely to employ impersonal or clinical terms. It is perhaps fruitful in this context to recall the remark above about possible “masculine” adjectives such as *helluva* or *damn good*: both are mildly profane, mild enough to be used in mixed company and profane enough to be regarded as masculine, even though men may reduce their use of taboo language when around women (Freed 2003; Weatherall and Gallois 2003). Although much of what has been reported is taken from the realm of speculation (but see Jay 2009 for an overview), it may be noted that overly positive (euphemistic and superlative) and therefore semantically empty terms are *viewed* as feminine while abusive and obscene language is often *regarded* as masculine.

Grammar: imperatives. Among the tendencies toward divergence, we find that males are, for example, said to use more straightforward imperatives and other directive forms than females do. This is, of course, not only a question of grammar but also one of speech style and power. In an investigation of the language used by two- to five-year-old children in play situations in which two children of the same sex played doctor it turned out that the girls had a clear tendency to soften their directives: “... many more of the girls’ utterances were mitigated (65 percent as compared with 34 percent for boys)” (Sachs 1987: 184). For example, 25% of the boys’ commands/requests were straightforward imperatives (“Bring her to the hospital”) and 11% were prohibitions (“Don’t touch it”), while for girls the results were 10% and 2% respectively. In contrast, girls used more joint directives (“Now we’ll cover him up”), namely, 15% as compared to boys’ 3% (ibid: 182). Girls also use more instances of *let’s*, which boys almost never use, a form which explicitly includes the speaker in the proposed action (Coates 1995: 23). Gleason found that mothers were more likely to use directives in question form while fathers employed a higher proportion of direct imperatives and indirect speech acts such as “Your car is blocking mine,” which suggests that the other move their car. By the age of four children were following the speech patterns of their same-sex parents (Gleason 1987: 197f).

The patterns reported by Sachs and by Gleason for largely White, middle-class American children are substantially confirmed by Goodwin for working-class Black children in Philadelphia. She found that in a cooperative play situation girls’ imperatives are suggestive rather than demanding, that the right to give directions rotates in a group of girls, and that when imperatives are used by girls, they are modified in some way (emphasizing group benefits or accompanied by laughter) as opposed to the boys’ unmitigated forms (1988: 88).

It has been called into question whether imperatives are effective and powerful in view of the findings that the bare imperatives used by male doctors found less compliance (47%) than female doctors’ proposals for joint action (*let’s*) at 67%. Suggestions for action (*You could try x*) had a 75% success rate (West 1990: 108).

Tag questions. A further syntactical phenomenon which has generated a great deal of attention is Lakoff’s impression that women use more tag questions of the sort which seek confirmation of a personal opinion (e.g., “The way prices are rising is horrendous, isn’t it?”) (1976: 16). In an attempt to check this Dubois and Crouch counted the number of tag questions used in an academic conference and found that all of them were used by men. They then proceeded to interpret this by writing that these tags were “far from signalling lack of confidence, ... intended to forestall opposition” (1975: 292).

There seem to be two issues involved. The first is whether men or women use more tag questions. Dubois and Crouch, for example, found men using more in formal talk, while the study by Sachs quoted above revealed girls to use twice as many as boys (1987: 184). Jovanovic and Pavlovic (2014) were not able to confirm a gender bias in their corpus of 100 interviews (422,000 words). Other studies (Tottie and Hoffmann 2006) have not been able to clarify this question at all since, aside from the fact that there are many more tag questions used in (informal) British than in American English, the corpora they used (BNC-SDEM and LSAC) did not supply sufficient information about the speech situation.

The second question has to do with the purpose which tag questions serve. Some say they are used to sustain communicative interaction, for example, by women who want to elicit a response from an uncommunicative male conversational partner. In the opinion of one writer:

- 1 Women do not use more tag-questions than men.
- 2 Even if they did, it would not necessarily mean they were seeking approval, since tag-questions have a wide range of uses.
- 3 In any case women's use of tag-questions will always be explained differently from men's, since it is cultural sex stereotypes which determine the explanation of linguistic phenomena rather than the nature of the phenomena themselves.

(Cameron 1985: 56)

Tag questions have also been connected to the idea that they convey tentativeness, which Kaplan (2016) was able to show is not necessarily the case. Actually, tag question can also demonstrate power. In any case, Kaplan suggests being very careful about making definitive statements as to the function of tags. This display of evidence and interpretation reveals that numerous factors must be taken into account, such as the sex, age, and relative status of the conversational participants, the nature of the setting (formal/academic, informal/chatty), the topic and the purpose pursued by the person who uses a tag question and probably more.

Nonstandard grammar. A widely discussed question in regard to sex-differential use of English has to do with how standard or nonstandard a person's utterances are. There seems to be an association in the minds of speakers of English between nonstandard English and masculinity. Cheshire reports a much greater tendency for boys who are firmly embedded in local vernacular culture to use local nonstandard forms than for girls to do so in Reading, England. The nonstandard forms of the verbs investigated seem to reflect "toughness" for the boys (1978: 64f). Much the same result has been established for speakers of AAE in Detroit, where men have been found to use multiple negation (*Ain't nobody going nowhere noways*) 30% more often than women (Shuy, Wolfram, and Wiley 1967). This is explained by Eckert (2000) in Cameron's words:

Boys can demonstrate their jock or burnout [local Detroit groupings] credentials through what they do, e.g. excelling in athletics or being successful fighters. For girls, however, peer-group status depends more on factors like attractiveness and popularity – what a girl 'is like' rather than what she does. Eckert argues that for that reason, girls make more use than boys of *symbolic* resources, like clothing and language,

(Cameron 2008: 729f)

Eckert extends this to "women in many other social groups and settings" (ibid.: 730). Holmes and Wilson (2017: 176) give a possible explanation for this by saying that "in many Western speech communities ... society tends to expect 'better' behaviour from women than from men." Misbehavior is tolerated much more readily in males than in females,

where it is often frowned on. This is closely connected to the idea that subordinate groups – here women – have to be more polite than dominant groups. This can also be observed in the interaction between children and grown-ups (*ibid.*: 176–177).

The association between “nonstandard” and “masculine” has been advanced especially in regard to nonstandard accents; however, this is not the only association which is feasible. The nonstandard is also often identical with the vernacular and therefore may have strong associations with local culture. This would fit the association between broadest AAE (the basilect) in Washington, typically used in the family, and “little boy” language. “Big boys” from the age of seven or eight on reject it, possibly because it is associated with the culture of the home (Stewart 1964: 17). This age-specific use of AAE is called age-grading. Here a masculine identity that grows with increasing age may work against the nonstandard. In another AAE community in South Carolina, it is the young men who turn out to maintain the broad vernacular because their work and social lives are shared with other men from the local community (Nichols 1984: 34ff). All of this can be summarized as the results of communities of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1999) which are “local,” that is, dictated by local customs and practices, and not “global,” as is gender, which transcends local settings (Cameron 2008: 734).

Pronunciation. The final systematic level of language use is pronunciation. Here, once again, many of the same tendencies can be found which have already been mentioned, especially in regard to the standard-nonstandard distinction just discussed.

Pitch and voice quality. The notion that male voices can supposedly be distinguished from female voices because of the lower pitch of the former is not all there is to the picture (*cf.* Gaudio 1994 for a lengthy discussion). Experiments show that girls and boys who have not yet entered puberty and whose vocal tracts do not yet differ in size can nevertheless be distinguished by sex. It seems to be the case that young boys typically speak as if they were larger than they really are and that young girls speak as if they were smaller (*cf.* Sachs, Lieberman, and Erickson 1973: 75; Sachs 1975: 154). This may be due to distinctive configurations in the relative distance between the bands of sound frequency produced when articulating vowels: the upper bands of vibrations, the formants, are closer to the lowest band, the fundamental, for boys than for girls. The result may be a configuration similar to that of adult males. Other factors may, of course, also be involved in the successful identification of the sex of preadolescent speakers, ones such as voice quality, loudness, speed, intonation, or fluency (*cf.* Lee, Potamianos, and Narayanan 1999; Simpson 2009). When listening to isolated vowels produced by boys and girls, listeners were only able to identify boys’ voices slightly better than at chance level. This increased when the material was expanded to the sentence level, which still does not account for differences perceived by listeners in general (Simpson 2009).

Women do, of course, have higher overall pitch than men; in addition, the range of their pitch is also wider, as a study of American speakers reveals:

Men consistently avoid certain intonation levels or patterns: they very rarely, if ever, use the highest level of pitch that women use. That is, it appears probable that most men have only three contrastive levels of intonation, while many women, at least, have four.
(Brend 1975: 86f)

Women are reported to use a higher percentage of final rises than men do in Tyneside Speech (England) (Pellowe and Jones 1978: 110), and Brend reports similar findings for American English (1975: 87). Over and beyond this, speakers of English identify final falling intonations significantly more often as masculine and rising ones as feminine (Edelsky 1979: 22). The interpretation often given to rising intonation is that it shows a greater degree of uncertainty and/or a greater degree of reserve and politeness (§3.4.3).

Addington's report on the assessment given to each of seven different voice qualities (breathiness, thinness, flatness, nasality, tenseness, throatiness, orotundity plus speed and pitch) shows that people can perceive a great variety of differences, though it is not easy to verbalize just what lies behind each of these labels. His investigation reveals that breathiness is a feminine feature (suggesting prettier, more petite, more effervescent, more highly strung) and that breathy males are regarded as younger and more artistic. Flatness is masculine and comes over negatively (sluggish, cold, withdrawn) for both sexes. Throatiness is also masculine – more positive in a male (older, more mature, realistic, sophisticated, well-adjusted) while negative for a woman (less intelligent, more masculine, lazier, boorish) (1968: 499ff; see also Montrey 2005). More recent findings by Yuasa (2010) show that while creaky voice/vocal fry was once interpreted as a voice quality signifying masculinity and authority it is now found more often in females, as, for example, shown in her study of (Californian and Iowan) college-age women. This sociophonetic pattern was perceived as “hesitant, nonaggressive, and informal but also educated, urban-oriented, and upwardly mobile” (ibid.: 315) rather than masculine and authoritative (ibid: 333).

The pronunciation of individual sounds. The relatively large number of sociolinguistic studies of pronunciation variation in a large variety of urban areas has revealed that women adopt pronunciations which are relatively closer to the accepted public (overt) norms of the given region while men of the same social class tend to be closer to the non-standard or vernacular (covert) norms. But by no means are all the sounds of the language affected. While men and women may have a tendency toward differing pronunciations of one particular phoneme in one speech community, they may well have indistinguishable pronunciations of the same segmental sound in other regions. Kiesling (2005) argues that, after all, it is not just a speaker's lexical choice or pitch variation that creates stance but that it can also be achieved morphophonologically. Occasionally a sex-preferential difference is nearly universal in the English-speaking world. The verbal ending {ing} illustrates this. Everywhere the pronunciation considered to be standard has the velar nasal /ŋ/, while the alveolar nasal /n/ is considered inappropriate in more formal situations requiring Standard English. Fischer, looking at children three to ten years old in New England, reported that a “typical” boy, described as “physically strong, dominating, full of mischief, but disarmingly frank about his transgressions,” used /n/ more than half the time but especially with informal verbs (e.g., *punchin'*, *flubbin'*, *swimmin'*, *hittin'*); formal verbs such as *criticizing*, *reading*, and *visiting* had /ŋ/ (1958: 49ff). Girls typically used more /ŋ/ endings, a result that was substantiated for adult speakers in Norwich, England (Trudgill 1972: 187; Holmes and Wilson 2017: 171). The choice of phoneme realization also plays a role in Sydney, where Holmes and Wilson (2017) report that both men and women – though predominantly men – pronounce the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ as a labiodental fricative [f] resulting in [fɪŋ] instead of [θɪŋ]. Additionally, a higher rate of men than women use initial H-Dropping in Sydney (ibid.).

It is not only the gender of the speaker but also socio-economic class which correlates with an orientation toward the standard or nonstandard form of pronunciation. In Norwich women classified as upper working class share the pronunciation norms of men classified as lower middle class. This pattern repeats itself throughout all the classes investigated with women typically using pronunciations credited to the men in the class immediately above them. Trudgill speaks of a greater status consciousness of women than men in English society. As a result, they tend to adapt “upward” toward the public norm, which possesses overt prestige. Trudgill finds confirmation for this in the fact that women, when asked to tell what pronunciation they themselves use, report more use of the overt norm than is actually the case; this is called “overreporting.” Men behave in the converse fashion: They use more standard forms while claiming to use fewer; this is referred to as “underreporting.” On the basis of this, the nonstandard, nonprestige accent used by men, but

especially working-class men, is said to have covert prestige. For these underreporting men it may be assumed that working-class speech has positive connotations of roughness and toughness (Trudgill 1972). Similar conclusions have been made about English speakers in many other parts of the world as well.

Nonetheless, there are results which do not conform to this pattern. One of the best-known divergences is that of young women in a section of West Belfast known as the Clonard. These women were more likely than men of the same area, age, and class to realize the variable (a) = /æ/ as in *hat* or *man* as nonstandard [ɒ], that is, with a higher degree of backing (Milroy and Margrain 1980: 66). The explanation given for this is that this particular group of women are part of a highly integrated social network in which the members share mutual acquaintanceship in a variety of ways, at work, in place of residence, in leisure time activities, and as kin. The social network is, in other words, a dense (“multiplex”) meshing of shared relationships. This stands in contrast to a simpler, perhaps singular (“uniplex”), relationship. Consequently, there is a mutual reinforcement of all sorts of values and behavior, including language. What is unusual here is that this sort of mutual reinforcement of the local vernacular in both traditional rural and working-class industrial environments is normally more typical of men than of women. In the Clonard widespread male unemployment had caused a thinning out of male social networks: there was no working place to share; as a result local speech norms were reinforced less strongly than with women and their intact social networks. Nichols applied this type of explanation to speakers in two communities in South Carolina, one Black and one White, to make the dynamics of speech change clearer (Nichols 1984: 40f). In working-class communities men’s speech differs from women’s more because of the tight-knit nature of men’s networks than because of gender. Such an approach makes the ideas of prestige-consciousness, as in the first explanation above, appear somewhat one-sided. Obviously, prestige is still meaningful, but now it is so because it is a group norm and dictates language forms which conform to the overt standard *or* to the local covert norms depending on the nature of the social network involved.

The perception of pronunciation. A final point about pronunciation differences is the way in which speakers with various accents are perceived. This tells less about how males and females actually talk, of course, than about the stereotypes of male and female speech which people have. Elyan and colleagues used what is called the matched guise technique “to determine evaluative reactions to RP versus Lancashire (Northern) accented female speech” (1978: 125). In a matched guise test, one and the same speaker produces samples of speech with differing accents. These are then played from tape to judges who evaluate the supposedly differing speakers according to scales of personality traits. While this technique is used to eliminate idiosyncratic voice features which might influence the listeners’ judgments thus leaving accent alone as the variable to be evaluated, it can never fully guarantee that the speaker may not be unconsciously switching implicit stereotypes in voice quality as well as accent. Bearing this in mind, the results of Elyan show how women with differing accents are differently perceived:

RP-accented females in Britain are upgraded in terms of competence and communicative skills but downgraded in terms of social attractiveness and personal integrity relative to regional accented females RP women are expected to bear fewer children, to create a more egalitarian relationship with their husbands and are seen to be more masculine in their sex traits (positive and negative) while at the same time being rated higher on the femininity trait than Northern accented females.

(*ibid.*: 129)

Communicative strategies. While pronunciation is, in its actual realization, “meaningless” (gaining meaning only as markers of class, gender, ethnicity, etc.), this is not the case with discourse styles, which are not arbitrary but assumed to be “functionally linked to the personality traits and preoccupations which are supposedly typical of men and women” (Cameron 2008: 730). Such diverse features as tabooed expressions, color terms, empty adjectives, hedging, rising intonation, and superpoliteness, pointed out by Lakoff (1976), have a thematic unity in their marking of insecurity, “a lack of confidence in one’s own opinion, a desire to avoid giving offence, and a need to seek approval from other people” or to mark what they say as trivia (Cameron 2008: 731). Scholars after Lakoff’s initial study (Tannen (1993): men’s report talk vs. women’s rapport talk; Holmes (1995): men’s referential vs. women’s affective communication) have emphasized the idea that women’s “characteristic discourse styles reflect a fundamental difference in their orientations to the world, with women oriented mainly to people and relationships while men are more oriented to objects and information” (Cameron 2008: 731).

It is uncontroversial to say that women and men communicate differently. The disagreement comes in explaining why. Three approaches to this question are generally recognized. The first suggests that women are at a linguistic disadvantage vis-à-vis men because of their socialization. The emphasis on disadvantage has given this approach the designation “deficit model.” The “dominance model” moves the blame to men, whose power is revealed in their linguistic behavior – interrupting, determining the topic of conversation, speaking more. Women are forced to adapt to this situation. The third view finds its expression in the “difference model,” which sees the two genders as acting and interacting linguistically in their own ways. In the words of Cameron “... men boast and women gossip. Each sex engages in the sort of talk which secures the rewards they prefer – status for men, connection for women” (1995: 35). While this third approach corresponds to the descriptive approach of modern linguistics and accepts both styles of communication, it is forced, because of this, to ignore the social inequality involved.

In looking at some of the ways in which speakers use the language to communicate we will pick up the theme of power introduced and above in this section. In asymmetrical communication it is the powerful who ask the most questions, who can use unmitigated forms of directives, who may interrupt in public and professional situations, and who speak the most. As we will see, there is more to it than this.

Topics and text types. We begin by picking up the word “gossip,” just mentioned. Within feminist discourse this term has been reassessed to encompass a number of genres more typical of women. Jones is quoted as identifying

four distinct kinds of conversation among women, which she views as different varieties of gossip. These are “house-talk”, occupational talk which is the housewife’s equivalent of “talking shop”; “scandal”, which involves the verbal policing of other women’s behaviour; “bitching”, a form of troubles-talk involving complaints about men to other women; and finally “chatting”, which is purely phatic

(Talbot 1998: 81)

Here gossip is established as a female genre, independent of the public genres in which men so frequently predominate, and it emphasizes the binary oppositions between women’s and men’s styles often referred to. As instructive as it is, this is unlikely to lead anywhere since it does nothing about the inequalities of the status quo: female intimacy, rapport, and supportiveness vs. male independence, status-consciousness, and oppositional attitudes (ibid.: 98).

There seem to be other distinct types of texts produced by males and females. For example, there is far more evidence of males than of women engaging in verbal dueling and ritual insults. In a similar vein joke-telling seems to be more a male than a female domain, especially in the case of dirty jokes. Men are credited with jokes which are more competitive and aggressive (and dirty jokes, which frequently have women as their butt, are certainly aggressive). Yet women tell bawdy jokes as well.

There is a related phenomenon in men's greater use of witty remarks. At staff meetings in a mental hospital "men made by far the more frequent witticisms – 99 out of 103 – but women often laughed harder" (Coser 1960: 85). Humor and wit, which "always contain some aggression" (ibid.: 83), originated more often from senior staff than from junior staff or paramedical workers and was never directed upward in the hierarchy (ibid.: 85f). What determined this outcome was the higher status of the men (all but two of the psychiatric staff while the paramedics were all women) and the fact that women are not expected to be witty. Their humor may be acceptable in some situations, but it is disapproved in those social situations in which there is danger of subverting implicit or explicit male authority (ibid.: 86).

Some research has attempted to find differences in written texts produced by women as compared to ones by men. One such corpus study, Argamon and colleagues (2003), chose texts from the same genres (BNC: 25 million words, 604 texts, both fiction and nonfiction).

Male-authored texts were discriminable by high frequencies of determiners (e.g. *a, the, that, these*) and quantifiers (e.g. *one, two, more, some*) while high frequencies of personal pronouns, particularly *I, you, she*, and their variants, were strong indicators of female authorship.

(Cameron 2008: 732)

There was approximately 80% success in determining whether the author was female or male. This would seem to confirm the female affective/rapport vs. male referential/report dimension (ibid.) introduced above.

Dominance behavior. The example of laughter just quoted touches on the important question of who controls conversational interaction. Although the evidence is not unambiguous, there are indications that males dominate in their amount of speaking and in the ways in which they control topics.

Amount of speaking. There is a stereotype of the talkative and gossipy female: *Q: What are the three fastest means of communication? A: Telegraph, telephone, and tell a woman.* Yet, it seems to be males who speak most, both as regards the number of turns they take and the average length of turns. In a review of the research findings on this question James and Drakich stress the importance of the context and structure of the social interaction including status differences between the men and women and their dissimilar cultural expectations in regard to abilities and areas of competence (1993: 301; Leaper and Ayres 2007). While some studies find no differences or even a greater amount of speaking by women, far more studies show men to produce more speech than women. Only for very young children has it been observed that girls talk more than boys at a very young age which is attributed to their earlier language development (Leaper and Ayres 2007). In more formalized settings in which hierarchy and power are more obviously relevant, such as staff meetings, male dominance is almost paradigmatic. Eakins and Eakins report about an American college departmental teaching staff meeting:

... in average number of verbal turns per meeting, the men, with the exception of one male, outweigh the women in number of verbal turns taken. The women with the

fewest averaged 5.5 turns a meeting, whereas the man with the fewest turns had over twice as many and exceeded all the women but one.

(1978b: 57)

The number of turns was also positively related to the hierarchy of status and power, rank, importance, and length of time in the department. The length of turns for the males ranged from 17.07 to 10.66 seconds. For the females it was 10.00 to 3.0 seconds (ibid.: 58). Swacker (1978) found similar results in regard to questions asked in discussion periods at a scholarly conference. The stereotype of the talkative women may be based on

the fact that men have more frequently interacted with women in informal than in formal interactions. Therefore, men have experienced women as talking at times when they would be less likely to choose to talk themselves, and about matters about which men would be less likely to choose to talk about themselves.

(James and Drakich 1993: 302)

Kaplan comes to the very sobering conclusion after having reviewed numerous studies on this issue that “[t]here is not a shred of evidence that women use” more words than men but rather that “it’s *men* who talk more” (2016: 177). In the end it is individual differences that are decisive in how much a person actually speaks.

Topic control: interruption. The rudest, most direct way of determining who will speak and what the subject of discourse will be is through interruption, which is one way of exercising power and control in conversation. Again, while the evidence is mixed, more studies show men interrupting women than vice versa, and the social setting is obviously an important factor in this variable. In a widely reported investigation of conversations involving male-female couples in a California coffee-shop “... virtually all the interruptions and overlaps are by male speakers (98 percent and 100 percent respectively)” (Zimmerman and West 1975: 115). The conclusion drawn that females’ “rights to speak appear to be casually infringed upon by males” (ibid.: 117) may not be justified without further qualification. Beattie found no such male dominance in conversational behavior during university tutorials in England (1981: 22ff) and suggests that other factors may be of importance such as the need for social approval, that is, to make a “good impression,” which might deter interruption by a female in an informal social encounter like those investigated by Zimmerman and West. Or interruption may be a sign less of dominance than of enthusiasm and involvement. Kennedy (1980) goes into the question of interruption further and establishes, for a group of undergraduate students, that the following grounds account for interruption:

Agreement	38%
Subject change	23%
Disagreement	19%
Clarification	11%
Tangentialization	8%

There is some evidence of the differing overall behavior of women, who seem to engage in more overlapping or simultaneous speech than men, that “... women are more likely than men to use simultaneous talk to show involvement and rapport ...” (James and Clarke 1993: 232).

Topic control: questions. Differing overall strategies of topic control can be seen in the tendency of women to approach this problem from a completely different angle. They have

been found to use up to three times as many questions as men do. This suggests a strategy in which questions function as sequencing devices (i.e., adjacency pairs):

A question does work in conversation by opening a two-part (Q-A) sequence. It is a way to insure a minimal interaction – at least one utterance by each of the two participants. By asking questions, women strengthen the possibility of a response to what they have to say.

(Fishman 1983: 94)

However, the function of questions is not necessarily identical from situation to situation:

information-seeking questions are ... rare in all-female discourse. Instead, interrogative forms are used to invite others to participate, and to check that what is being said is acceptable to everyone present. They are also used as part of a general strategy for conversational maintenance

(Coates 1995: 22)

Minimal responses. Fishman's explanation above gets a certain amount of reinforcement from the observation that women are more likely than men to produce minimal responses (uptakers; back-channel behavior, §§5.1.4, 5.4.1, and 5.4.3), that is, those *mm*'s, *uhuh*'s, and *yeah*'s which indicate active listening and encourage the speaker to go on. Apparently, women are more willing to play a supportive conversational role (Fishman 1983).

6.4 ETHNICITY

Ethnicity has frequently been listed among the social attributes of speakers which correlate with language variety. Ethnicity and “varieties of a language that mark speakers as members of ethnic groups who originally used another language or distinctive variety” (Clyne 2000: 86). The most fundamental question which we want to try to see in a clearer light in this context is just how ethnicity is to be understood. One useful approach sees it as peoplehood based on “shared and distinctive values, common ancestry, a collective consciousness and self-perception as different from others.” This combines *being* (biological continuity), *doing* (loyalty to behavioral patterns), and *knowing* (shared philosophy and cosmology). It is “self-perceived and/or ascribed by others, with or without objective justification” (Enninger 1991: 23; cf. Barth 1969: 299f); it is a matter of stance-taking. But this does not take us far enough, for it is, in the end, indefensible to define ethnic groups as (1) biologically self-perpetuating; (2) sharing fundamental cultural values realized in overt unity of cultural forms, and (3) members who identify with each other and are recognized as such by others (cf. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 207). Why not? Because this assumes “that boundary maintenance is unproblematical and follows from the isolation which the itemized characteristics imply: racial difference, cultural difference, social separation and language barriers, spontaneous and organized enmity” (ibid.: 208). Added to this, ethnic groups are often regarded as minorities in a system in the assignment of status whereby the dominant values are in the realm of the dominant majority. Ethnicity is not fixed: Rather, it is performative: both dynamic (i.e., changing) and contextually dependent.

All the same, what people believe about themselves and others is important. After all, our perception of ethnicity depends very much on traits such as dress, language, house-form, dietary prohibitions, and general style of life, that is, how we index the other's identity through our perceived understanding of ethnicity. It even extends to value orientations

such as standards of morality and excellence of performance, which tends to elevate the majority and denigrate the ethnic other. Ethnicity is, much like gender, self-ascribed and often (negatively) attributed by others while, in fact, it is fundamentally a matter of stance-taking. Unfortunately, these and other traits may lead us to see ethnic groups where none exist because the traits have their roots in some differently motivated sort of adaptation to the social environment. Nonetheless, traits remain important, especially when they are considered significant by those involved who see them as signals or emblems of difference, as a part of identities to be both embraced and signaled.

It is here that ethnic language takes on its significance, for language use, even if “only” emblematic,⁵ helps to maintain the dichotomy between insiders and outsiders. Eckert (2008) observed the reverse of what is normally expected to be ethnic and talks about a Californian Anglo girl’s language as an ethnolect in the observed situation in which the girl is surrounded by non-White Anglos. Language accommodation, often a highly effective force may not take place where boundaries are maintained. A lot can be shared when there is interethnic encounter, but somewhere something seen as significant will not be shared, but will insulate. The prerequisite is viewing some category as imperative and cultivating a willingness to separate this from other types of interaction. This makes ethnicity a superordinate category (like region, gender, social class, and age). Yet class does not have the absolute boundaries of ethnic groups. Classes grade off into each other (e.g. via relative economic or political success).⁶ Ethnic identity is therefore more important than socio-economic class (Labov 1972a: 297); however, the hook-up in Great Britain has a stronger component of class than in the United States.

Studies of language and ethnicity. In linguistic studies, ethnic varieties – as with women’s language, as well – are, in effect, the language produced by ethnics (however vaguely defined), just as women’s language is that produced, in effect, by women. All the talk about the socially constructed nature of ethnicity and gender is of little effect if we do not take stance and indexicality into account because no matter whether a person is by some objectifiable criterion of ethnic origin or chromosomally female, their linguistic performance depends highly on the stance they want to take and which part of their identity they want to index at a given moment of speaking. This said, linguistic studies have shown that in most Western societies ethnic language, usually in a particular conjuncture of class, gender, and education, will conform to the overt or covert norms of a given society in a more or less direct relation to the perceived ethnicity of the speakers involved. Some cultural features are used as signals; others are ignored. Consequently, “even the smallest segment of the speech chain or an intonation contour suffice to evoke – in an all or nothing fashion – the full set of ethnic attributes in the mind of the hearer (Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis 1973) irrespective of whether the speaker intends to communicate (i.e. to ‘give’) his ethnic identity or whether he (unintentionally) signifies and thus ‘gives-off’ (Goffman 1959: 14–16) his identity, even against his intention” (Enninger 1991: 24).

The covert norms of ethnicity are often associated with dense social networks and with vernacular and ethnic cultures. Inner-city African American males are more likely to use an African American English speech style which signals their ethnic and gender identity, while African American females from the same environment will use language closer to the mainstream norm. This may be viewed as an ethnicized expression of gender on the part of the males, or it may be understood as a deethnicized one on the part of the females.

5 Emblematic language: the purposeful use of stereotypically ethnic words (*abuela* [granny]) or pronunciations and structures (*Ain’t nobody gonna do nothin’ ‘bout dat*) in otherwise Standard or General English speech.

6 Castes, on the other hand, are ethnic in nature.

Furthermore, in both cases the intersection with class is also highly relevant since less education and lower-class membership are likely to reinforce African American ethnicity. It is, for example, possible for a Black American to be perceived as African American or, indeed, for African American ethnicity to be attributed to them without signifying it in a linguistically obvious way.

Linguistic features of ethnicity in English. Language is viewed as “overt symbolization of ourselves and our universe” (Enninger 1991) and reveals who people are by means of their message, grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, ways of speaking, and even nonverbal behavior (e.g., musical styles, ways of laughing, ways of walking, facial expressions). However, people also have access to different ethnicities and mix them (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 53). As a result, they may disguise low-prestige ethnicity by accommodating to the acrolect (“hypercorrection”) (Labov 1972a). With this in mind we will look briefly how ethnicity manifests itself in the perhaps most widely studied ethnic variety of English: African American English.

African American English (AAE) is a problematic designation because not all African Americans speak this variety, nor are all the speakers of AAE African Americans. All that said, the variety is, nonetheless, one of the markers of Black ethnicity in the United States. In the following, two examples which diverge from GenE will be introduced.

The TMA (tense-modality-aspect) system of AAE is not essentially different in regard to modality, but its speakers use numerous tense and aspect forms which are more or less specific to this variety. One instance of divergent aspect is the habitual remote past, as in *She bin ran* “She used to run a long time ago.” An example of AAE tense which differs from GenE is preterite *had V-en* as in *She had got sick* “She got sick.” An AAE speaker can choose to use this form or not, and indeed there seems to be considerable code-mixing between GenE and AAE with the consequence that AAE speakers may well use more or fewer features of AAE depending on their interlocutors. Green suggests that the motivation for using preterite *had got* instead of GenE *got* is the fact that it is one of the patterns which “mark the speaker as ‘sounding black’” (2002: 93). These examples are repeated and further differences and examples in the tense and aspect systems of AAE are given in a more extensive treatment in §8.5.2.

6.5 MODES OF ADDRESS: REFLECTING POWER, SOLIDARITY, AND POLITENESS

Language use both reflects and creates the social and linguistic background of its users, be it their gender, age, status, education, regional background, ethnicity, religion, or whatever. It also reflects aspects of the situation in which language is used, be it a special English (§5.3), or the emotional content, number of participants, or nature and purpose of the occasion. As a central indicator of social relations between people, language use also reveals relations of power and of solidarity and serves as a vehicle for politeness in our behavior toward others. One of the most illuminating ways to show the multiplicity of factors involved is to observe how people address each other. In the following section we will see how the forces behind sociolinguistic differentiation, viz. power and solidarity, class and community, are realized in the area of modes of address in English and how the expression of power is mitigated under the constraints of politeness.

There are two very prominent aspects of address. One is the speaker’s evaluation of the addressee (and situation), on the one hand, and what we can learn about the speaker’s social background as revealed in their use of a particular form of address, on the other. The other is linguistic and systematic, namely, what forms of address the language makes

available to its users, for example, what second person pronouns are available. We look first at the types of elements involved in the system of address and then exemplify the ways in which the major social categories listed in the previous paragraph may be observed in the way people address one another. The topic begins with a rather extensive overview of vocatives in English.

6.5.1 The linguistic elements of address in English

The forms of address of English include second person pronouns and vocatives – those words or phrases used to address someone. English offers very little pronominal variation in comparison with other languages, the second-person pronoun being largely restricted to *you*. Consequently, it is vocatives which carry the burden of social differentiation. Pronouns themselves are divided, on the one hand, into those which are syntactically bound, that is, those which have syntactic functions like subject or object. On the other hand, there are syntactically unbound pronouns, which are used as vocatives. Since they are not integrated into the structure of the clause, vocatives can precede, follow, or interrupt a clause. They have separate intonation as well. Furthermore, there are some grammatical restrictions on them. For example, they may not contain a definite article (cf. *Come here, (*the) friend*). Nor can they include any personal pronouns other than the second person, **Hey them, come here* is ungrammatical, but *Hey you, come here* is not. In contrast in the personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns do occur in vocatives (cf. *Hey everyone, come here*).

There are a number of word forms which are exclusively vocative in the sense that they cannot also be used as syntactically bound forms (i.e., subjects and objects). This is especially true of common nouns without an article, such as *captain, professor, and son*, as well as specifically vocative forms such as *sir* and *ma'am/madam* and the M-forms, *mister, missus*, and *miss* (not to be confused with the titles *Mr., Mrs., Miss, Ms.*; see below). Some (especially) BrE speakers, however, treat *captain, miss*, and a few others as proper names; in such cases the word form without an article may also occur as a nonvocative (e.g., *Captain says you are to come immediately*). Vocatives may be divided up into five distinct classes: pronouns, names, kinship terms, titles, and descriptors.

Pronouns as vocatives. For all intents and purposes English has only one second-person pronoun, *you*. Only in the reflexive (*yourself, yourselves*) is the singular and plural differentiated, but reflexives are not very frequent forms. The regional plural *you all* (especially American South (*y'all*), South Africa) is convenient but not consistently used and dialectal forms like *youse* (especially IrE and urban ScotE) or colloquial ones like *you guys, you fellows, you people*, and so on. are restricted stylistically. And in no case does GenE distinguish between a polite and a familiar singular form on the model of French *vous* and *tu*, Italian *Lei* and *tu*, German *Sie* and *du*, Russian *vy* and *ty*, or Spanish *Usted(es)* and *tu*. The historical second person singular form *thou* is no longer in use in current GenE (but see §6.5.3). The linguistic system provides, in other words, for no socially meaningful pronoun choices but this does not mean that the language cannot express differences in politeness, deference, intimacy, and so on in its modes of address.

A minor possibility of bound address in English is by means of the third person. This does not involve pronouns, but is restricted to honorifics and titles like *your excellency, your highness*, and some others as in *Does Your Honour wish me to continue?* Kachru gives the following IndE example with the term *huzoor*, which is reserved for superiors: *Would huzoor like to sleep in the veranda?* (1966: 273). In the military third person address is also common in formal situations when addressing a superior officer (e.g., *May I have the General's indulgence for a few minutes?* [Jonz 1975: 73]).

Pronouns are then, as might be expected, of minor importance. Really, the main contrast here is between *you* and no pronoun at all, as in *Hey you, watch out!* vs. *Hey, watch out!* The use of *you* without the introductory *hey* in the example above to soften its effect, would be considerably more direct and therefore less polite (cf. the same sentence with rude *You there*). The use of vocative *you* is, consequently, infrequent. It is the noun vocative (names, kinship terms, titles, and descriptors) which bears the burden of marking social distinctions.

Names as vocatives. As forms of address the following common types of names are available: the full form of a first name (FN), *Stephen, Elizabeth*; familiar forms, *Steve, Liz*; diminutive forms, *Stevie, Lizzie*; nicknames, *Tiger, Bunny*; and last names (LN), *Smith, Windsor*. LN alone is not a particularly common form of address. It seems to be used chiefly among men, particularly in the military (Jonz 1975: 74) and in British private schools. The diminutives (a.k.a. hypocoristic or pet names) include phonetic-morphological variations on names, *Stevio, Lizzikins*.

This final point is impressively illustrated for AusE, for which there is a sizable list of diminutive suffixes including {-y}, {-o}, {-a}, {-s}, {-ers}, {-kin}, {-le}, {-poo}, {-pops} as well as multiple suffixing *Bobbles* {le + s}, *Katiekins* {y + kin + s}, *Albertipoo* {y + poo}, *Mikeypoodles* {y + poo + le + s}. However, it is not possible to combine just anything: {kin(s)} cannot follow on a /k/ (**Mikekins*) and {-y} cannot be appended to a vowel (**Di-y*). The {-o} suffix is exclusively masculine; furthermore, most suffixes are added to monosyllabic male names. The suffix {-y} is usually restricted to children's names (exceptions: *Terry, Tony*); forms like *Jimmy* will, as a rule, be used for adult males only by their mothers and girlfriends or for teasing. In addition, there is "a phenomenon regarded by many as peculiarly Australian, but not in fact limited to Australia, ... the truncated forms of certain names whose initial syllable is open and whose second syllable commonly begins with *r*." Here the shortened form closes with <z>, producing forms like *Baz* from *Barry*, *Shaz* (also BrE, with the variant *Shazzer*) from *Sharon* and *Taz* from *Terence* or *Teresa* (Poynton 1989: 61–64). A related case is BrE *Chas* from *Charles* or *Gaz* from *Gary*.

Multiple naming refers to a practice in which people move freely from one form to another, whether first names, full or familiar, nicknames, or last names. This seems to indicate a great deal of intimacy.

Generic names, that is, ones applicable to any male regardless of his actual name (e.g., *budlbuddy, mack, or jack*), are applied to a few limited vocations, such as taxi drivers or to express belligerent feelings. However, this shows up in idiomatic expression like *every Tom, Dick, and Harry*. Generic names also appear as markers of masculine solidarity, as what might be called camaraderie forms.

Kinship terms as vocatives. A kinship term (KT) may function as a name or as a title. *Grandmother, father*, and diminutives of them like *Granny, Dad*, are used as names (notice that they are capitalized in this use). Some KTs may combine with a name in the manner of a title (e.g., *Aunt Liz, Uncle Steve, Gramma Brown*). Generally, KTs are used upwardly only, from a younger toward an older relative. In addition, many children learn to address unrelated friends of their parents as *Aunt/Uncle* + FN. We may occasionally hear the older and rural usage in which *cousin* + FN is used. The term *son* (or even *sonnie*) used by an older person to a younger one can have patronizing, threatening, but also protective meaning. While *sis* is a friendly, informal term used between sisters, *sissy* derived from *sister* has become an insult directed to boys who do not show the degree of masculine behavior which their peers expect of them.

The basic system of giving FN to the same or a younger generation and giving KT or KT + FN to an older one influences practice in nonkinship areas, perhaps because family is so basic to interpersonal relations. It is worth remarking, in addition, that its customary

practice is not immutable, for some parents who consider themselves progressive encourage and accept FN from their children. This may be part of the general trend toward the suppression of asymmetric (nonreciprocal) relations which can be observed throughout the Western world. On the other hand, many mothers assert authority or express a no-compromise attitude by reverting from FN, diminutive, or the like to FN + LN or even first, second and last name (FN + SN + LN).

Titles as vocatives. This type of vocative is probably most often used with a last name (T + LN = TLN). Titles may be classed as vocational (e.g., *Dr.*, *Prof.*, *Senator*), as ranks in the military or police (*Lt.*, *Capt.*, *Gen.*, *Constable*, *Officer*, *Sheriff*, etc.), or as religious (*Father*, *Brother*, *Sister*, *Mother Superior*). Most common, however, are the M-forms (*Mr.*, *Mrs.*, *Miss*, *Ms.*, *Master*), which are generic “titles” applicable to anyone within the bounds of conventions regarding age, gender, and marital status.

Although these titles, as vocatives, are usually combined with LN (sometimes with FN only), most but not all of them can stand alone, not for example **Pope* (instead of *Your Holiness*) or **King* (for *Your Majesty*). Quite a number of these titles have alternative vocative forms, for example, more informal *Judge* next to the distinctly formal, courtroom *Your Honor* or, similarly, *Prince* next to *Your Highness*. The M-forms, *Mr.* and *Mrs.*, are used without LN only in relatively restricted circumstances (and then they are spelled out in writing): *Mister* sounds rude by itself; *Missus*, uncultivated. Instead, it is usual to hear the polite forms *ma'am* (more formal *madam*, especially in BrE) and *sir*, above all in the American South.

Descriptors as vocatives, the final category, are forms of address which, as the term suggests, contain an element of description. Among these there are numerous general terms for males only (*buddy*, *chum*, *fellow*, *mate*, *old bean*, *pal*, etc.), some for females only (e.g., *babe*, *sister*, *toots*) and some for both such as plural *folks*, *guys*, and *people*. Besides these there are thing-designations for people such as *taxi* or *room service* as well as vocations and functions (*waiter*, *operator*, *nurse*, etc.), sometimes even prefixed by an M-form as in a note with the salutation *Dear Mr. Milkman* or the traditional parliamentary address *Mr. Chairman* or *Madam Chairman* (also *Mr./Madam President* or *Mr./Madam Secretary*). Furthermore, there are numerous vocative terms of insult such as *stupid*, *jackass*, *dolt*, and others, on the one hand, and terms of endearment, on the other, such as *dear*, *honey*, and *darling*. The latter two categories allow further lexical subclassification. Most prominent are animal terms of endearment, some masculine, some feminine, some either (*bear*, *tiger*, *kitten*, *puppy*, *ladybird*, etc.) and of insult (*dog*, *swine*, *bitch*, *minx*, *vixen*, etc.). National and ethnic names used as vocatives are almost always insults (*nigger*, *Paddy*, *wog*, *wop*, *Yank*, *Brit* [sometimes perceived by “Brits” as insulting though hardly meant that way by non-Brits], *Yid*, etc.). Insulting vocatives are tabooed, not only those just listed but also obscene and scatological terms of address (*ass(hole)*, *bastard*, *cunt*, *dyke*, *prick*, etc.).

6.5.2 Vocatives as an expression of power, solidarity, and politeness

The use of this wealth of vocatives depends on a wide variety of features of the users, both of the speaker and the addressee, as well as the situation of use. Before these are characterized more closely, a summary of some of the general principles which lie behind their use is helpful.

Power, solidarity, and reciprocal use. Vocatives indicate the nature of relationships between people. Of primary importance is whether the terms are used reciprocally or nonreciprocally.

Reciprocal forms indicate some kind of equality, and often solidarity, while nonreciprocal ones indicate an imbalance in power or prestige. Examples of nonreciprocal relationships are parent-child, in which a parent is given KT (*Mom, Dad*) but gives FN (*Steve, Liz*) in return. Another example is teacher \leftrightarrow student, which typically has $\text{TLN} \leftrightarrow \text{FN}$. This dimension is called the power semantic.

Reciprocal dyads (a dyad is a pair of participants interacting with each other) are common within a status group. Children, students, fellow workers are all likely to exchange mutual first names ($\text{FN} \leftrightarrow \text{FN}$). However, there is also the possibility of mutual $\text{TLN} \leftrightarrow \text{TLN}$ when people who are not well acquainted with each other interact, say employees from different departments in a large firm or military officers. Reciprocal relations are examples of what is called the solidarity semantic. Just how the power and the solidarity semantics are applied varies by region/nation and according to the status, education, vocation, age, sex, race, religion, ideology, and kinship of speaker and addressee; and they reflect the situation of use as well.

Politeness is a category which is closely related to power and solidarity, but not to be equated with either of these. Politeness is oriented toward what is called face (Goffman 1967). This can be positive face, as when we offer our addressee support by emphasizing our admiration for something accomplished or possessed or for someone's appearance (clothing, hair, behavior). Positive face is supposed to *make the hearer feel good*. Under the perspective of negative face we refrain from intruding on the other or limit our intrusion by using mitigating linguistic expressions, for example, the indirectness mentioned in §5.4.2. Power-driven politeness and solidarity-driven politeness can both be realized by positive or negative face. Many of the nonreciprocal, power-driven forms of address which we look at in this chapter are determined by the power norms of society (including slurs and derogatory epithets). This covers the *sir's* and *ma'am's* as well as the *ass's* and *idiot's* of much of our social interaction.

Solidarity-driven politeness makes use of positive hedges, boosters, and compliments; but it is also found in the negative politeness strategies of apology. Women practice positive politeness by intensifying their interest in the hearer via the use of tag questions, words signaling group identity; they employ negative politeness by practicing disagreement avoidance. Men's politeness is more restricted to patterns of negative face, which means they seek to minimize imposition (Brown and Levinson 1978). In general, men, who are often said to be more task-oriented, give opinions, provide information, and disagree; they are interested in maintaining status. Women, in contrast, want to maintain respectability, and they display socio-emotional behavior, dramatizing, agreeing, and showing tension. Empirical studies indicate that men use politeness strategies much less than women (Talbot 1998: 91). We will illustrate this by looking more closely at one of these areas, compliment behavior, which functions in a manner similar to forms of address.

Both power and social distance play a role in how people pay compliments. Basically, compliments are examples of positive face, but how they come across depends on the power relationship between compliment-payer and receiver. "That's really good" is different from a teacher to a student than between two equals. It is praise when it comes from a superior, but between equals it is an expression of friendship and solidarity. In other words, a compliment may be used to assert power over the recipient, even if not meant this way. "It is possible to interpret a compliment as a patronizing 'put-down'" (ibid.: 92). In such a case it may even take on the character of a face-threatening act (FTA), and it seems that men are more likely, perhaps because of their socialization in terms of hierarchy, to be wary of compliments as assertions of power. This may help us to understand gender differences better. Men in general and American men in particular engage in complimenting behavior far less than women, and when they do so, the nature of their compliments differs from that of women. First of all, men seldom pay compliments to other men, perhaps because

of their potential FTA-nature. Compliments are, for most men, expressions of praise, and praise is evaluation, and evaluation implies power. In hierarchical situations people pay compliments more rarely, and those who pay them are the more powerful. However, “it is not *only* men who can interpret compliments as threatening or patronizing, as any woman will attest who has been congratulated for successfully parking her car” (ibid.: 93).

The second way of using compliments is as an expression of solidarity. “Holmes found that by far the largest proportion of compliments were between people of equal status” (ibid.: 94). As instruments of social solidarity compliments are almost exclusively female. Males pay compliments in AmE less frequently and use them less often to negotiate social relations. Female AmE compliments are produced more as tokens of good will. They elicit a lot of history-type of responses from other women (e.g., where something comes from), which makes them conversational. Male compliments elicit mere acceptance (e.g., *Thanks*), which is less satisfying conversationally (Herbert 1998: 72).

Is this to say that men cannot express solidarity? Certainly not, but while compliments are an important strategy for showing solidarity among women, men resort more to sparing and criticizing. Competitive mock verbal insults are widely practiced by men, often in a ritualized manner; see, by way of illustration, for instance the insulting vocative the villain, Trampas, addresses to the hero, the Virginian:

It was now the Virginian’s turn to bet, or leave the game, and he did not speak at once.

Therefore Trampas spoke. “Your bet, you son-of-a _____.”

The Virginian’s pistol came out, and his hand lay on the table, holding it unaimed. And with a voice as gentle as ever, the voice that sounded almost like a caress, but drawling a very little more than usual, so that there was almost a space between each word, he issued his orders to the man Trampas:

“When you call me that, *smile!*” And he looked at Trampas across the table.

Yes, the voice was gentle. But in my ears it seemed as if somewhere the bell of death was ringing; and silence, like a stroke, fell on the large room.

(Owen Wister, *The Virginian*, 1902, pp. 28–29)

6.5.3 Domains of modes of address

We now return to examples of the use of address, but always with the underlying dimensions of power and solidarity and the strategies and conventions of politeness in mind.

Nation: Britain and the United States. If we abstract from the great variety of user characteristics (especially status, age, sex, and ethnicity), we find that the AmE address system is basically a two-term system: either FN or TLN. The latter includes KT as a form of title. Nonreciprocity is the rule across generations within the family as it is in unequal dyads like teacher ↔ student or boss ↔ employee. In formal situations adults may be introduced with mutual TLN, but the switch to mutual FN is rapid, especially among the young and where the dyads are of the same sex. In familiar or informal situations introductions are in the form of mutual FN + LN and are followed by immediate use of FN ↔ FN. In cases of doubt, no naming is a common strategy. The following precepts offer general guidelines:

One may readily use FN with everyone except: with an adult (if one is an unrelated child); with an older adult (if one is markedly younger); with a teacher (if one is a student); with a clergyman or religious (particularly Roman Catholic and Orthodox); with a physician.

(Hook 1984: 186)

Despite the impression that outsiders might have, FN does not necessarily indicate intimacy; it is simply a feature of American society. In fact, to refuse FN could be interpreted as unfriendly or snobby. “First names are required among people who work closely together, even though they may not like each other at all” (Wardhaugh 1986: 260). For intimacy, either nicknames or multiple naming is employed in AmE. In BrE the pattern is generally similar although the move from mutual TLN to mutual FN may proceed at a slower pace, or may require some special formula, as in *Dear Steve (if I may?)*, which was how one of us authors was first addressed by a previously unacquainted British colleague. The “bonhomie” connected with instant first-naming is still regarded by some people in England as very American.

University use. There are some BrE-AmE contexts in which there are differences. Ervin-Tripp mentions a three-option system in connection with British universities in which T (*Dr, Prof.*) + LN is used for most deference, the M-forms (MLN) as an intermediate stage, and only then FN. In addition, males may engage in mutual last-naming (without title or M-form); such male LN ↔ LN is also practiced at some private schools (1974: 274f) including Hogwarts from the Harry Potter novels.

In North American universities one study shows that there is little use of overt address between professors (= teaching staff) and students at all; when there is any, TLN is used to the professors and FN address is rare: “More than one informant spoke of the need to avoid expressing intimacy which does not exist, or indicated that such expression would be inappropriate so long as the student-teacher relationship pertains” (McIntire 1972: 290). Where there is movement to addressing a professor by their FN, the initiation does not come, as expected, only from the more powerful or superior, but in most cases from the inferior. The most important factor is age. Older male graduate students are the ones most likely to initiate FN with their professors and then more easily with professors under than over 40 (ibid.: 289). A later study reveals that students, especially female ones, addressed young female professors (aged 26–33) by FN more often than they did their male teachers (Rubin 1981: 966). There were also some differences in the use of TLN. Male students preferred M-forms and *Dr* + LN while women students preferred *Prof.* + LN for male professors. For female professors, women students used M-forms and *Dr* + LN most often while men students used M-forms + LN or FN. “Thus, female students seem to be affording more status to their male professors ...” (ibid.: 970).

Australia. The AusE use of address follows the same general lines as in AmE or BrE. FN has been widely adopted without necessarily implying equality or solidarity.

Sellers of cars and real estate assume the social utility of addressing potential buyers by personal name [= FN], while the would-be Don Juan who uses diminutive forms to newly-met potential bedfellows can be seen as preparing the ground for physical intimacy by decreasing social distance linguistically.

(Poynton 1989: 57)

India. Countries such as India, where English is used as a second language (Chapter 12), provide a real contrast. IndE uses forms of address which come from the nonnative use of English in the context of Indian culture (Kachru 1966: 268). “It is customary in Indian languages to avoid the use of the second person pronoun in favour of some honorific title when face to face interaction occurs between a person and his menial servant or someone of similar low status. In *Train to Pakistan* [by Khushwant Singh (1956), p. 77] a bearer addressing his boss says: ‘Sahib’s bed has not been laid yet ... would huzoor like to sleep on the Verandah’” (Mehrotra 1989: 431f). Third-person address may be by kinship terms: *chacha, bhaiji, beybey*; name: *Juggat Singji, Jugga, Juggia*; occupation (with or without

honorific): *bairah*, *lambardara*, *brother policeman*, *magistrate sahib* but also by words of abuse: *you swine*, *ass*, *bastard*; or interjection: *oye* (ibid.: 429). Special terms are used to express social relations such as master-servant and age-youth. While these relations exist in ENL societies (however attenuated), the further vocatives below, given according to several important social categories, are specific to IndE (Kachru 1966):

Caste	<i>pandit</i> , <i>thakur</i> , <i>jamadar</i>
Profession	<i>havaladar</i> , <i>inspector (sahib)</i>
Honorific	<i>babu sahib</i> , <i>huzoor</i> , <i>king of pearls</i> (Mehrotra 1989: 429) Note: <i>babu</i> or <i>baboo</i> : "A term of respect used frequently in the north of India. In the south of India it is used as equivalent to <i>sir</i> , <i>your honour</i> " (Kachru 1966).
Religion	<i>khwaja</i> , <i>pandit</i> , <i>sardar</i>
Kinship	<i>brother-in-law</i> , <i>mother</i> , <i>sister</i> , <i>grandmother</i> , <i>father</i> Note: "A term restricted to the kinship system of a [particular] language may be used with extended meaning in another culture and transferred to an L2" (ibid.: 272). Hence IndE has " <i>mother</i> as a term of respect, <i>sister</i> of regard and <i>father-in-law</i> in the sense of abuse. <i>Bhai</i> ('brother') is used for any male of equal age, <i>father</i> for all elder persons and an uncle may be referred to as <i>father</i> " (ibid.: 273f).
Superiority	<i>cherisher of the poor</i> , <i>king of pearls</i> , <i>huzoor</i> , <i>ma-bap</i> ("mother-father"), <i>friend of the poor</i>
Neutral	<i>babu-sahib</i> , <i>bhai</i> , <i>master</i> , <i>dada</i> (male), <i>didi</i> (female), <i>sab</i>

Singapore. Differences in forms of address transferred to English may also be illustrated by the usage of polite forms in Singapore English. Polite reference (not address) is via T + FN + LN (*Mr. Arthur Orton*) but if well known T + FN (*Mr. Arthur*). A woman who is unmarried is, for example, *Miss Tan Mei Ling* [*Tan* = LN]. If she marries Mr. Lim Keng Choon [*Lim* = LN], she has three options: She may be called *Mrs. Lim Keng Choon* (rarely) or *Mrs. Lim Mei Ling*, or *Madam Tan Mei Ling*. Quite obviously, "... the conventions governing naming and forms of address in Malay, Chinese, and Indian languages are quite different from those in English" (Tongue 1974: 104).

Nigeria. In Nigeria, finally, KTS may be used as they are in the West, but they may also be applied to the polygynous family, so that children of one father may address his several wives all as *mother*. Furthermore, *Father/Daddy* and *Mother/Mommy* are also used for distant relations or even unrelated people who are treated with deference and are of the appropriate age. "Immediate bosses in their places of work get addressed as either *Daddy* or *Mommy* by subordinate young officers" (Akere 1982: 96). A further difference in modes of address in Nigerian English is that TLN is often reduced to simple T; the M-forms, including the Muslim title *Malam*, can be used for direct address without the LN. Furthermore, multiple titles are also used (e.g., *Chief Doctor Mrs.* + LN [ibid.]), a practice which is rare in GenE.

Region. Only a few examples of differences in usage due to regional factors will be mentioned. One relatively significant difference concerns the southern United States, where the use of *ma'am* and *sir* is particularly common. In the South the usage balance between addressing a female customer as *ma'am* or with an endearment like *honey* or *dear* in what are called service encounters (e.g., at gas stations, stores, and the like) is 83.1% to 16.9% with no vocative while in the Northeast it is 24.5–75.5% for equivalent types of speakers (Wolfson and Manes 1980: 82f). *Ma'am* may even be used seriously (i.e., not jokingly or ironically) among intimates. Indeed, it is so general in the South as to be considered formulaic and, therefore,

not necessarily to convey respect. It may even indicate people's momentary attitudes as people may omit it when they feel annoyance. "In general, however, the use of *ma'am* does indicate that the addressee is either of higher status or older than the speaker" (ibid.: 85).

Note that *ma'am* and *sir* are not always used as forms of address in the South. For one thing "... the single term *ma'am* [and *sir*], with rising intonation, can indicate that the speaker has not heard or understood what was said"; it is equivalent to saying *Pardon?* In addition, a use of "... *ma'am* [and *sir*] which is specific to the south is the phrase 'yes, ma'am' which function[s] as a variant of 'you're welcome'" (ibid.: 84). Finally, note the colloquial, especially Southern and Western AmE use of emphatic *yessir* or *yessiree* to signal agreement.

A further aspect of address in the American South is the use of T + FN. This usage is regarded as quaint or old-fashioned outside the South, but it offers a compromise between intimacy and respect for its users. Inasmuch as it is a relic of the older racially tainted master/mistress-servant dyad with TFN ↔ FN (cf. the movie *Driving Miss Daisy*), it is certainly not acceptable to most people today. Where it exists independent of race it may be viable (President Carter's mother was widely known and addressed as *Miz Lillian*).

Other regional differences which are frequently encountered are ones involving the use of regionally marked descriptors. For example, *lass* is found most frequently in northern England and Scotland; *guv'nor* is Cockney; *stranger* or *partner* are stereotypical for the American West.

Status, education and vocation. There is frequently a general, though not absolute, correlation between level of education, prestige of vocation, and power of status. Where these factors do not correlate, it is generally the case that vocational status (achieved status) tends to override attributed status, including age. However, age is usually a powerful predictor of nonreciprocal relationships. This means that in the business world the higher someone's position, the more likely they are to receive TLN and the more likely they are to give FN. In cases of mutual FN it is the more highly placed person who will probably allow a switch either from nonreciprocity or from mutual TLN to FN ↔ FN. For purposes of "team spirit" superordinates may permit wide liberties otherwise not tolerated from their subordinates, as seems to be the case in many hi-tech enterprises. In the salutation in letters and emails the more traditional *Dear X* (= FN or TLN) is still the more respectful way to address someone such as your university teacher unless you know that familiar and colloquial *Hi* + FN is appropriate (Hickey 2018).

It is worth mentioning that there is more to deference than the choice of a respectful form of address. The type of salutation (*Hi!* to intimates and subordinates, but *Good morning* to superiors), or the use of touch (superior to subordinate, not vice versa) are two further examples. Furthermore, a businessman can ask an elevator operator about his/her children, but not vice versa. Some titles allow a compromise position between deference and intimacy, so the use of *Skipper* to a marine captain or *Doc* by an attendant to a physician.

Age. After status, age is the most potent factor in determining address relationships. It may mitigate the effect of status, and it is also crucial to the use of KTs, where the older generation receives KT or KT + FN (*Gramma*, *Aunt Lizzie*), but gives FN. Age differences seem to be meaningful if they are approximately 15 years or more. If they are less, FN ↔ FN will probably be no problem (unless there are major status distinctions). Even a KT will probably be dispensed with where, for example, aunts and uncles are of much the same age as their nieces and nephews. While there is only the single deference form *sir* for men, there are two for women, *miss* and *ma'am* (plus the formal variant *madam*). Young women receive *ma'am* if well dressed (status!); otherwise, *miss*. Women over 30 are more likely to get *ma'am* than *miss* from men (Kramer 1975: 204).

Gender. Address directed to men and women is far from equivalent. In service encounters (stores, public services, hospitals) women direct endearments (*sweetheart*, *honey*, *dear*,

love, etc.) to women who are total strangers more frequently than to men; men also address women in this way, but they may never do so to other men. With the exception of female sales personnel, the use of endearments toward a man on the part of a woman are likely to be perceived as a sexual advance. Endearments by men to women in service encounters, on the other hand, are, for some men, their standard form of address; for others it seems to be a way of putting women down, of showing “the customer to be somewhat less than totally competent” (Wolfson and Manes 1980: 89). A further indication that women are treated as incompetent or immature is that “... women are addressed as *girls* very much more frequently than men are addressed as *boys* and when men are so addressed it is usually in contexts where they are relaxing, not playing serious adult roles” (Poynton 1989: 59).

Camaraderie forms. What men can receive from total strangers instead of endearments are camaraderie forms such as *buddy*, *buster*, *mac*, and the like. All of these, as designations of manliness, show male solidarity when supplied by other males; women are hardly likely to use such forms toward men since they are “rough” terms (and not “sweet” ones) and are therefore reserved for men.

When endearments and camaraderie forms as well as the deference forms *ma’am* and *sir* are used in service encounters, they are seldom reciprocal. However, it is not alone the gender of the members of the dyads which is decisive; it is also nearly always a question of role relationships. It is almost exclusively the service-giver who uses a vocative. Cases in which the person being served is the one who uses a vocative are restricted to *sir* and *ma’am* from persons *seeking help* from public agencies (the police, health services, welfare bureaus). Furthermore, endearments and camaraderie forms, on the one hand, and the deference forms *ma’am* and *sir*, on the other, stand in complementary distribution to each other inasmuch as both are not used together by the same speaker in a single situation. What determines which will be employed depends on both social and individual aspects of the service encounter. The status of the institution in which the encounter transpires reflects the former: in “classy” establishments the deference forms are used toward the customers, patients, or clients, unless the addressee is sufficiently young or obviously lacking in status. The latter, individual factor, may be related to the relative egalitarianism of the service-provider: Many people (outside regions like the American South) find the deference forms hard to use. Hence if they use any vocatives at all to strangers, these will be endearments or camaraderie forms.

The area of sex also supplies the vocatives of strongest abuse; what is said of AusE in the following quotation is true of AmE and BrE as well, though the specific terms employed may vary:

Among the potentially most seriously insulting terms of address in Australian English are those impugning the heterosexual identity of males (such as *poofter*, *fag*), those attributing promiscuous sexual behavior to women (*moll*, *tart*) and identifying males or females (but particularly insulting when directed at males) in terms of female genitalia (*cunt*).

(Poynton 1989: 60)

Semantic inversion. Males have a richer inventory of terms including the {-o} suffix to names (*Stevio*), the camaraderie terms (*pal of mine*) and the possibility of semantic inversion, that is, using insulting terms to each other as a sign of solidarity. For example, they may greet one another with an insult such as jovial, *Well, you old son of a bitch, I haven’t seen you for at least a year!* There are, in contrast, no exclusively female morphological forms and no generic camaraderie names for women, hardly any ritual inversion, but far more endearments.

Fun naming, which has nothing to do with a person's real name, also expresses solidarity and is practiced by both males and females. It takes the form of appellations which rhyme with the last syllables of routine formulae or particular key words. Examples include the venerable *See you later, alligator* to which the standard response is *In a while, crocodile*, but also *I'll be back, Jack; Alright, Dwight; No way, José; That's the truth, Ruth; or Here's the money, honey, Take care, polar bear*, and delightfully many more.

Race and ethnicity. Differences in address based on racial or ethnic identity are highly ostracized today, yet there is little doubt that insulting epithets (*Chink, Jap, nigger, spick*, etc.) are often used. Similarly, some older nonreciprocal usage can still be heard in the American South, where Blacks once regularly received FN and where Black men were addressed as *boy* (a practice once common in many parts of the English-speaking world for non-Whites), but where Blacks had to give TLN or, perhaps, the more intimate form TFN. Even today continuing status differences often ensure that Blacks give, but do not receive, *sir* and *ma'am* vis-à-vis Whites. A variation on this is the use of generic names for members of an ethnic group in situations of powerlessness, as when a male Mexican or Chicano migrant worker in California is addressed as *Pedro* or an Irishman in England as *Paddy* or *Mick*.

Religion and ideology. The field of religious language is the only one in which the obsolete second person singular pronoun *thou* is still used in GenE. Note that some dialect speakers in the British Isles and some Quaker fellowships still use parts of the old second person singular forms in addressing some people. People invoke God with it, above all in liturgical language and in the still popular King James (Authorized) Version of the Bible (cf. *Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name* [Matthew 6: 9]).

Vocatives specific to religious groups include, in particular, the KTS *Father* for God and for priests, *Brother* and *Sister* for members of religious orders, and *Mother (Superior)* for heads of female orders. In the Roman Catholic Church these KTS may be followed by FN as in the case of *Brother Anselm* and *Sister Frances* and by LN as in the case of *Father Brown*. In many Protestant bodies fellow members are addressed with their LN preceded by *Brother* or *Sister*, as with *Sister Jenkins*. Blessings may be addressed to a *son, daughter, or child*, as the faithful are regarded as the children of God. See the also religious terms used in IndE above.

Ideological fellowships of a nonreligious sort may also use special terms of address, be they any one of numerous lodges with a variety of titles or members of trade unions and socialist or communist groups, who use the term *comrade*, either by itself or before a LN.

6.6 EXERCISES

6.6.1 Exercise on gender: a short quiz

Note that your answers will depend on your own experience. Few if any of the solutions were mentioned in this chapter.

Answer 1–5 by circling t (= true) or f (= false).

1. t f Men are more likely than women to use a standard accent/pronunciation
2. t f Women talk more than men
3. t f Women interrupt men more than vice versa
4. t f Men are more likely than women to touch a member of the opposite sex

5. t f Women keep eye contact with men less while listening to one of them than men with women.
6. Tag questions are used more by
 (a) women (b) men to show
 (c) assertiveness (d) uncertainty
7. “Thanks for a(n) _____ evening,” he said.
 (a) adorable (b) helluva good
8. Complete the following sentence by filling out the blank with a pronominal adjective:
 Anyone who is in _____ right mind is sure to know the answers to these questions.
9. A man and his son were caught robbing a store. The police shot and wounded the boy, but the man escaped. The mayor on entering the hospital room to talk with the boy suddenly stopped and exclaimed, “Oh my God, it’s my son!” What has happened?
10. Complete by filling in the blanks:

<i>Female</i>	<i>Common</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Common</i>	<i>Male</i>
actress	_____	_____	lady	_____	_____
_____	author	author	_____	major	major
cat	cat	_____	_____	master	_____
_____	chairperson	_____	Miss	_____	_____
countess	_____	_____	_____	mouse	_____
_____	dog	_____	nurse	nurse	_____
_____	_____	duke	_____	pig	_____
_____	goat	_____	_____	priest	priest
_____	governor	governor	queen	_____	_____
_____	horse	horse	usherette	_____	_____

6.6.2a Exercise on what ethnicity is

What role does ethnicity play in determining language choice?

1. Look around you, for example, at the other students in your class and then write down the terms you would use to describe the various ethnic groups in an email home.
2. Now write down what group you belong to.
3. What are the criteria you have used for this?

6.6.2b Exercise on who I am

What is special about me? in terms of (putative) ancestry and/or characteristics: Who are MY people? What is special about the United States [or whatever country you come from]?

FURTHER READING

Sociolinguistics variationist approaches in Labov (NYC) (1972a), Trudgill (Norwich) (1974), Macaulay (Glasgow) (1978). The social network approach: Milroy and Margrain (Belfast) (1980). Stance: dealt with in Jaffe (2009) and Eckert (2012).

Gender and language Schilling (2011). Gender and English: Coates (1993); Eakins and Eakins (1978a). Lakoff (1976) is a seminal, though somewhat intuitive book. Recent books containing articles on a wide selection of topics are Cheshire and Trudgill (1998), see also Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003).

Ethnicity interesting discussion in Barth (1969); Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985); more current are Benwell and Stokoe (2006); Fought (2011).

AAE the various contributions in Mufwene et al. (1998); Smitherman (2000); Green (2002).

Power, solidarity and modes of address an important seminal contribution in Brown and Gilman (1972). Brown and Levinson (1987) and Holmes (1995) are fundamental treatments of **politeness**, as is Goffman (1967).

Modes of address a broadly focused cross-cultural study of terms of address in Braun (1988); a very readable treatment of the variety of vocative forms in English is Whitcut (1980). Brown and Ford (1964) is an older, but useful treatment of address in AmE, nicely supplemented by Ervin-Tripp (1974). Poynton (1989) for address in AusE.

Part 3

National and regional varieties of English



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English in the British Isles

7.1 THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN THE BRITISH ISLES

The vast majority of the inhabitants of England (approx. 56 million) and Wales (approx. 3 million) speak English as their first language, yet there are considerable minorities who do not. This is perhaps most obvious in Wales, where many speak Welsh. In addition, there are large minorities in urban centers throughout Great Britain who immigrated from the Indian subcontinent, Africa, or Cyprus and whose mother tongues are not English.

Wales is the only area in the British Isles where one of the original Celtic languages has been able to survive as the daily language of a larger number of people – estimates vary from just under one-fifth to over a quarter. Although the future of Welsh is by no means assured, its use seems to have stabilized somewhat vis-à-vis English. There are Welsh-language schools in the predominantly Welsh-speaking areas in the north, and a fair amount of broadcasting is carried out in Welsh as well.

Today, ever greater consciousness has led to a realization that the English spoken in Scotland and in Ireland is different and that the differences are not all nonstandard. In this chapter not only the variation between the different standard Englishes of the British Isles is recounted but also many of the rather more nonstandard but General English (GenE) features of the language.

The regional dialects of England. As one moves from area to area in England the variety of local forms in use can be impressive. It may even be difficult for Somerset and Yorkshire people to understand each other. Yet lack of mutual comprehension does not actually occur very frequently. The reasons for this lie in the fact that almost 90% of the population of Great Britain lives in cities and towns and the speech forms of urban populations are less noticeably different than those of traditional rural communities. Furthermore, speakers of the traditional dialects almost always have a command of GenE.

The traditional dialects are fairly distinctively divergent from GenE in grammar, morphology, vocabulary, and pronunciation. Often these divergences are unpredictable because they do not stand in a regular correspondence with GenE. In this chapter we will look at them in an exemplary fashion. A comprehensive investigation of English dialects was carried out in the Survey of English Dialects (SED), which was conducted in England and Wales in the 1950s and early 1960s.

Urban areas. Within cities all over the British Isles there has been a great deal of leveling (koinéization) to a common denominator of forms, and here the more common, overarching, public, media-orientated linguistic culture of GenE has become dominant. Nevertheless, this is not to say that there are no regional distinctions between the areas. There are, of course, but they are hardly as extreme as those between many of the traditional dialect areas.

Scotland. The move from England to Scotland (population: 5.4 million) is one of the linguistically starkest that can be made in the British Isles as far as English itself is concerned. StE is well established throughout Scotland in government, schools, the media, and business life in the specifically Scottish variety of the standard, which is usually referred to as Scottish Standard English (SSE). Yet in many areas of everyday life there is no denying that forms of English used in Scotland are often very different from those of neighboring England. These forms are ultimately rooted in the rural dialects of the Scottish Lowlands, which differ distinctly from the dialects south of the Border: There is “a greater bundling of isoglosses at the border between England and Scotland ... than for a considerable distance on either side of the border” (Macaulay 1978: 142). Note: an isogloss represents the boundary line between areas where two different phonetic, syntactic, or lexical forms are in use. The traditional rural dialects as well as their urban variants are collectively known as Scots.

Besides SSE and Scots one further nonimmigrant language is spoken in Scotland. That is Scottish Gaelic, a Celtic language related to both Welsh and Irish. Today only a small part of the population (just over 1%) speaks Gaelic; the Gaelic language areas are located in the more remote regions of the Northwest and on the Outer Hebrides. Since many of the Gaelic native speakers live today in urban (= English-language) Scotland – for example over 10% of them live in Glasgow – their continued use of the language is questionable. However, the situation of Gaelic has stabilized somewhat since the 1960s due largely to the teaching of Gaelic in the schools, bilingual primary education, the Gaelic playground movement, Gaelic-medium residential areas in Glasgow, Inverness, Skye, Lewis, and so on. Those who speak Gaelic are, in any case, bilinguals who also speak English, which is, at times, influenced by their Celtic substratum.

Ireland is divided both politically and linguistically and, interestingly enough, the linguistic and the political borders lie close together. Northern Ireland (the six counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone)¹ with a population of approximately 1.85 million is politically a part of the United Kingdom while the remaining 26 counties form the Republic of Ireland (population of almost five million). The population of Northern Ireland itself is divided very much along confessional lines with around 45% Roman Catholic (the Republic is over 90% Catholic) and 48% Protestant. This, too, reflects the historical movement of people to and within Ireland: The northern counties are characterized by the presence of Scots linguistic forms. These originated in the large-scale settlement of the north by Protestant people from the Scottish Lowlands and the simultaneous displacement of many of the native Irish following Cromwell’s subjection of the island in the middle of the 17th century. Consequently, the northern and eastern parts of the province are heavily Scots and Protestant; the variety of English spoken there is usually referred to as Ulster Scots or, sometimes, Scotch-Irish. Further to the south and west the form of English is called Mid-Ulster English, and its features increasingly resemble those of English in the South, with South Ulster English as a transitional accent.

Although Irish English (IrE), a.k.a. Hiberno-English, shares a number of characteristics throughout the island, there are also a number of very noticeable differences. Most of these IrE features stem from fairly clear historical causes. In what is now the Republic a massive change from the Irish language (a Celtic language related to Welsh and Scottish Gaelic) began around the year 1800. The type of English which became established stems from England and not Scotland and shows some signs of earlier settlement in the southeast

¹ The historical province of Ulster is partly in the Republic (the three counties of Cavan, Donegal, and Monaghan); the other six make up Northern Ireland, one of the four parts of the United Kingdom.

by people from the West Midlands and Southwest of England. What is most characteristic of southern IrE, however, are the numerous features in it which reflect the influence of Irish as the substrate language. In a few areas in the west called *Gaeltacht*, Irish is still spoken in daily life; and Irish is the Republic's official language (together with English, the second official language). The percentage of population who actually speak Irish on a regular basis is, however, low (around 2%); considerably fewer than 1% use it as their home language.

Comparing Standard Englishes. In the first chapter of this book we looked at StE and the process which led to its development. Some readers may have concluded that the type of English which emerged was the end of the story. That is hardly what has happened. Instead, we find that a variety of Standard Englishes has gradually been emerging which represent the current pluricentric situation of English. Today, there is not one center around which a publicly accepted standard has formed but numerous ones. Within the British Isles it is not unrealistic to recognize an English-Welsh, a Scottish, and an Irish version of StE. Further geographic centers will be mentioned in the following chapters on North America and the Southern Hemisphere as well as on English as a Second Language (ESL) in a number of further countries/regions.

7.2 VOCABULARY

What is special or different about the vocabulary of English in the British Isles? Clearly, the vast bulk of vocabulary is shared with all the other Englishes around the world. Just the same, some things are particularly British or Irish, and the lexical areas involved are the same as in other varieties: flora, fauna, topography, and the lexis associated with socio-cultural and historical aspects of the Britain and Ireland.

Topography, fauna, and flora. The English spoken outside of Britain and Ireland is located in places whose geography often looks starkly different. As for the vocabulary found there, we can largely agree with H.L. Mencken writing in the early 20th century: "Such common English topographical terms as *down, fen, bog, chase, dell* and *common* disappeared, save as fossilized in a few localisms and proper names" (Mencken 1921: 57). This amounts to uncovering a residue of words that may well count as particularly English, unknown or unused elsewhere. To Mencken's list we might add further topographical words such as *moors, mires, freshets*, and *barns*. In addition, to this there are a number of plants and animals of the British Isles that are perhaps known by name in other English-language countries but which are so typically European that they are not encountered there. The best known of these is the *hedgehog* and maybe even the *red squirrel, roe deer*, and *adders*. Among plants we can add the *yew* tree (despite its name having been hijacked for a North American shrub).

Sociocultural and historical vocabulary items. Much of British and Irish history is known throughout the English-speaking world, which means that expressions based in British-Irish life, history, and culture like *meet your Waterloo* or *donnybrook* are no real problem, but the scores of further toponyms, historical events, political institutions, educational references, and the like are so closely and exclusively connected to British and/or Irish life that "outsiders" may well be left in the dark when confronted by them:

- toponyms: *Fleet St.* (the press); *Watford Gap* (the line between North and South England)
- antonomasia: *wellies* (< shortening *Wellington* + plural "rubber boots"), *mac* (< shortening of *Mac(k)intosh* "rain coat")
- historical occurrences (Battle of the Boyne; union of the crowns)

- political institutions: *Queen's speech*; *devolution*; *Whitehall*; *Taoiseach* (Irish Prime Minister)
- educational references: A-levels²; bridging course; local education authority (LEA)
- other: Gretna Green; Good Friday Agreement; Smithfield Market

The same holds for hundreds, if not thousands of abbreviations of all sorts: Some are

- widely known³: *BBC*; *SNP*; *IRA*; *RAF*; *BM*
- less widely known⁴: *RTÉ*; *CILIP*; *UCAS*; *RDA*

Regional and national vocabulary within the British Isles. Regional variation in vocabulary (not counting the traditional dialects) is often restricted to the domestic, the local, the jocular, or the juvenile. A wide display of different terms is provided, for example, by children's words for "time out" or "truce" in games: *fainties* (southwest and southeast), *cree* (Bristol), *scribs* (mid southern coast), *barley* (western midlands and northward to eastern Scotland), *exes* (East Anglia), *crosses* (Lincolnshire), *kings* (Yorkshire and southward), *skinch* (Durham-Newcastle) (Trudgill 1990: 119). Other words which are specific to the countries in the British Isles or regions within them include dialect and informal words hardly known outside their respective regions. The following hardly scratch the surface but may provide some useful illustrations: Somerset *cheerzen* < "cheers then" "thanks"; Dorset *chine* "steep wooded valley"; Devon *mang* "mix"; Northern England *owt* "anything," *nowt* "naught/nothing," *summat* "something," and *canny* "clever"; Scots *bairn* "child," *gang* "go," *sel* or *sen* "self," and *mun* "must"; Irish *jacks* "toilet," *messages* "groceries," *snapper* "baby," and *eejit* "idiot."

SSE. As elsewhere, SSE has its special national items of vocabulary. These may be general, such as *outwith* "outside," *pinkie* "little finger," or *doubt* "think, suspect"; they may be culturally specific, such as *caber* "a long and heavy wooden pole thrown in competitive sports, as at the Highland Games" or *haggis* "sheep entrails prepared as a dish"; or they may be institutional, as with *sheriff substitute* "acting sheriff" or *landward* "rural."

7.3 PRONUNCIATION⁵

7.3.1 The RP accent

RP ("Received Pronunciation"⁶) designates an idealized version of the accent which has long carried the highest prestige in England. It is frequently chosen as the pronunciation taught to foreign learners of English. Furthermore, it once enjoyed high prestige even in Scotland and Ireland and in the settler-colonies of Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand. In the meantime, these five countries adhere largely to their own national standards of pronunciation. In the case of Scotland this is part of SSE, and in Ireland it is what

2 General Certificate of Education, Advanced Level.

3 British Broadcasting Corporation; Scottish National Party; Irish Republican Army; Royal Airforce; British Museum.

4 Raidió Teilifís Éireann (Irish semi-state public national radio and television company); Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals; Universities and Colleges Admissions Service; Regional Development Agency.

5 For a treatment of spelling and punctuation see §§9.3.6–9.3.7.

6 "Received" originally meant "accepted" in the sense of being the accent current in the "best" social circles.

may more vaguely be referred to as the pronunciation used in “non-vernacular spoken English” (Hickey n.d.: *passim*).

Although it is rather more southern than northern in its overall character, RP, which emerged in the mid- to late 19th century, is a non-regionally marked accent of the higher social classes. Today RP is no longer so strictly limited. This is not to say that there are no social distinctions connected with it, for clearly there are, for RP continues to be closely associated with education and with the kind of higher social position and responsibility which is often associated with education. Ramsaran remarks that RP may be viewed,

as a kind of standard, not necessarily deliberately imposed or consciously adopted, not a norm from which other accents deviate, nor a target towards which foreign learners need necessarily aim, but a standard in the sense that it is regionally neutral and does undeniably influence the modified accents of many British regions.

(1990: 183)

Despite the advantages of RP as regionally neutral, it has not displaced the local accents of England. Estimates about the number of people who speak RP “natively” (i.e., who learned it at home as children and not later in life) are usually set at 3–5% of the population. As such RP is clearly a minority accent. However, its speakers occupy positions of authority and visibility in English society (government and politics, cultural and educational life, business and industrial management) far out of proportion to their actual numbers. Until World War II RP was also the exclusive accent of the BBC.

Perhaps because of its one-time dominance in broadcasting RP is sometimes referred to as BBC-English, even though a wide range of English and non-English (Scottish, Irish, North American, Australian, etc.) accents can be heard daily on the BBC and other media. Further designations for this accent include Public School Pronunciation, the King’s/Queen’s English, and Oxford English. In linguistic treatments of the accent, *RP* is the usual label.

The accent itself is neither changeless nor uniform, nor is there complete agreement about just what it is. Nevertheless, General RP is a useful concept and was adopted in Chapter 3 on pronunciation as the descriptive basis together with GenAm, with which it is compared and contrasted in Chapter 9. Because of their prominence, the two serve widely as reference accents. With perhaps a few concessions to local pronunciation habits, it might be possible to extend the number of speakers to whom RP applies; within England this would include a total of perhaps 10%, and it would include many of the most prestigious accents in countries like Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Such an extended accent is called near-RP by Wells and is somewhat vaguely defined to refer “to a group of accent types which are clearly ‘educated’ and situated well away from the lower end of the socio-economic scale, while differing to some noticeable degree from what we recognize as RP” (1982: 301).

Within RP itself there are several streams. For one there is Refined or U-RP (= Upper Class RP). Among the various characteristics which Wells cites for it the most likely diagnostic feature is a single tapped [ɾ] in intervocalic position, which is recessive in General RP. The Refined variety has subvarieties which Gimson once called Conservative and Advanced RP (1980: 91). The former counts as old-fashioned and will most likely be heard only among older speakers. It is characterized by diphthongization of /æ/, something like [eæ]. Furthermore, /ɔ:/ may still be realized as the centering diphthong [ɔə]. The centering diphthongs themselves end closer to [a] than to [ə]: [ɪa], [eə], and [ʊə]. /əv/ may be [oʊ], and, finally, the vowel in words of the type *moss*, *off* and *broth* can be old-fashioned /ɔ:/ rather than General /ɒ/. As for Advanced RP, many people consider it affected. However that

may be, it often shows the way that General RP may develop. Its features might include the fronting (and unrounding) of /u:/ and /ʊ/ to [u:] (or to [i:] and to [i]); the vocalization of [ɪ] to [ʊ]; or the use of [ʔ] for /t/ before accented syllables or pauses as in [nɑʔ'i:vɪn] (*not even*) or ['si: iʔ] (*see it*). A second major strand within RP is Adoptive RP. This is the accent of someone who has learned RP as an adult, perhaps for vocational reasons. If well learned, it is no different than General RP. However, it may well be that such speakers retain their “native accents” for more informal registers and that they have difficulty using RP in informal speech styles (Wells 1982: 284).

Justifying the choice of RP. Just what is the basis for the primacy of RP, especially in foreign language teaching? In the vast literature in which this question has been batted around four major positions have evolved.

The aesthetic argument. An early stance maintained that RP “is superior, from the character of its vowel sounds, to any other form of English, in beauty and clarity” (Wyld 1934: 606). This position can hardly be seriously defended, for it would find /paɪnt/ aesthetically pleasing when it is the pronunciation of RP *pint* but unaesthetic as the pronunciation of Cockney *paint*. This argument is based on social prejudice that cannot be substantiated by native speakers of English who are unfamiliar with RP. North Americans, for instance, are not only incapable of distinguishing RP from near-RP but cannot even be counted on to distinguish it from Irish, Scottish, or Welsh English (all are equally foreign and British-sounding).

The intelligibility argument. When, early in the 20th century, Daniel Jones chose RP as the basis for his description of English pronunciation, one of his arguments was that RP and near-RP are easily *understood* almost everywhere English is spoken. Since RP was frequently heard in the media, familiarity helped to guarantee comprehensibility. Yet this should not be overvalued, for in the words of Trudgill, “Differences between accents in the British Isles are hardly ever large enough to cause serious comprehension difficulties” (1975: 53). In addition, it is conceivable that people in parts of the world where RP is not familiar (particularly in the sphere of influence of AmE) might find RP less intelligible than GenAm.

The scholarly treatment argument. RP has long been the basis of linguistic treatments of English pronunciation and has been used in EFL (English as a Foreign Language) teaching materials to a degree that far outdistances any other accent. Hence for purely practical purposes RP has a lot to recommend it. Material based on other accents, mainly GenAm, is also available. Most teachers see the advantage in using a single standard in the initial stages of EFL teaching, whichever it is, but few would dispute the necessity of exposing more advanced students to both RP and GenAm, at least, and preferably to other important accents as well.

The social argument. As the introductory remarks to this section indicate, RP does have social associations. While it is not exclusive to any particular social class, it is, nonetheless, more typical of the upper and the upper middle classes. In sociolinguistic studies such as that of Trudgill in Norwich it has become clear that RP is the overt norm in pronunciation for most of the middle class (and especially for women). On the other hand, local Norwich speech and London vernacular forms are said to be the covert norms in the working class (particularly strongly among men). This aspect should not be lost on the foreign learner, who needs to be aware of the connotations of accent within English society, not only to understand how the English see (hear) each other but also to realize what the accent he or she has learned may suggest to his or her interlocutors.

In actual fact people seldom choose an accent. Rather, they have one. (EFL students, of course, get one – initially, at least, their teacher’s.) What counts is the norms of the group they belong to or identify with. People have the accent they have because they are where they are in society. However, a few who move up in society “... modify their accent in the

direction of RP, thereby helping to maintain the relationship between class and accent” (Hughes and Trudgill 2012: 11).

In other words, some people aspire to “talk better” and are or are not successful; others disdain this as “talking posh.” Just how strong the social meaning of accent is, has been repeatedly confirmed by investigations designed to elicit people’s evaluations. In so-called matched guise tests subjects were asked to rate speakers who differed solely according to accent (often the speaker was one and the same person using two or more accent “guises”). The general results of such tests reveal that in Britain RP has more prestige vis-à-vis other accents, is seen as more pleasant-sounding, that its speakers are viewed as more ambitious and competent and as better suited for high-status jobs. On the other hand, RP speakers are rated as socially less attractive (less sincere, trustworthy, friendly, generous, kind). It is reported, for example, that the content of an argument on the death penalty, identically formulated, but presented in four different accent guises, was more positively evaluated in the RP as opposed to three non-RP guises. In contrast, the regional voices were, nevertheless, more persuasive (Giles and Powesland 1975: 93). Other experiments showed that people are more willing to comply with requests (e.g., filling out questionnaires, including the amount of written information provided) that are framed in an RP accent. Such results indicate the type of danger involved here. The expectation is that a distinctly non-RP accent may signal lack of competence and authority, and this is not justified in times when education is no longer solely a class privilege. Even less justified is the expectation which many teachers have that children who speak StE with the “right” accent are more intelligent or capable than those with a local accent and nonstandard GenE forms. Yet no investigations have indicated that the use of prestige forms correlates with intelligence or capability. What they do correlate with is class. Imparting knowledge about the social evaluation of language is a legitimate educational goal, and more productive than wasting time trying to eliminate nonprestigious speech forms well anchored in regional peer groups. There is a need for more linguistic tolerance in society coupled with training for a reasonable degree of competence in StE as a necessity for more and more jobs.

7.3.2 The accents of Northern England

The English North, which languagewise includes most of the Midlands as well, is not a linguistically unified area. All the same, the language of many of the urban areas have been undergoing a process of koinéization since the beginning of urbanization and industrialization in the 19th century:

The evidence comes from places like Tyneside in England (Watt and Milroy 1999) where very local regional features seem to be disappearing in favour of some form of regional English, perhaps a general north of England English. This form of accent levelling is in principle the same as the accent levelling we have already met operating in colonial situations; the difference is that there is not mobility from one country to another, but mobility from a number of rural areas into the main cities, and then between the main cities.

(Bauer 2002: 101)

STRUT. The vowel in the STRUT set represented by such words as *luck*, *butter*, *cousin*, or *love* is a well-known feature of Northern English. In Southern England this vowel came to be pronounced with a low central or fronted vowel /ʌ/. In the North, in contrast, the FOOT-vowel of *pull*, *push*, *could*, or *look*, namely, /ʊ/, is maintained. In the North, consequently, the two sets have an identical vowel, realized, namely, as /ʊ/, so that *look* and *luck* are homophones.

BATH. A second distinction involves the distribution of /æ/ and /ɑ:/. In such BATH words as *after*, *pass*, *dance*, and *sample* the realization in the North is a phonologically short vowel (cf. GenAm; Table 3.7 and §9.3.3) though the quality of /æ/ is rather [a] in Northern England. The South, in contrast, has a long vowel, either [a:] or [ɑ:]. In a third group of words, viz. *quarry*, *swath*, *what*, which have a /w/ preceding the vowel, the Northern vowel is fronted [a] while the south has back /ɒ/. A final distinction is the presence of a short low back vowel, /ɒ/ preceding a voiceless fricative in words like *moss*, *off*, and *broth* in the North. The non-RP South has a long vowel here, /ɔ:/.⁷

7.3.3 Scottish Standard English (SSE) pronunciation

StE in Scotland is essentially identical to StE anywhere else in the world. A few comments on the more distinctive features of its pronunciation will be added in the following sections.

SSE has its own distinct pronunciation as is the case with all national varieties of English. Some of its features are similar to those of Scots: It maintains /x/, spelled <ch>, in some words such as *loch* or *technical*. /hw/ and /w/ are distinct as in *wheel* and *weal*. /l/ is dark [ɫ] in all environments for most speakers though it is clear everywhere for some speakers in areas where Gaelic is or was spoken earlier; it is also a clear [l] in the southwest (Dumfries and Galloway) (Wells 1982: 411f). This variation in the pronunciation of /l/ is rooted in the fact that SSE includes two very different traditions. One of these is the Lowlands Scots background. The other tradition is that of Gaelic as a substrate language. This means that the phonetic habits of Gaelic are carried over to English as Gaelic speakers join the English speech community.

Outsiders are often struck by the fact that the glottal stop [ʔ] is widespread for medial and final /t/ in the central Lowlands, including Glasgow and Edinburgh. In Glasgow its use has been shown to vary with age, gender, and social class, being more frequent among the young, among males, and in the working class (Macaulay 1977: 48). This is, therefore, arguably not a feature of speakers of SSE.

SSE is a rhotic accent, pronouncing /r/ wherever it is written. The articulation of the /r/ is sometimes rolled or trilled [r̄], sometimes flapped [ɾ], and sometimes constricted [ɹ]. Some speakers even have nonrhotic realizations. Scottish English also distinguishes between /o/ and /ɔ/ before /r/ as in *hoarse* and *horse*. Note that there are a number of further local differences within Scotland.

The vowel system of SSE does not, on the other hand, maintain all the vowel contrasts of RP. Scottish English does not rely on vowel length differences as both RP and GenAm do. Length does not seem to be phonemic anywhere. However, there are interesting phonetic differences in length which have been formulated as Aitken's Law. According to this all the vowels except /i/ and /ɪ/ are long in morphemically final position (e.g., at the end of a root such as *brew* but also in bimorphemic *brew + ed*). Vowels are also longer when followed by voiced fricatives, /v/, /ð/, /z/, and /r/. Because of this, *brewed* contrasts phonetically with *brood*, which has a phonetically shortened vowel (Wells 1982: 400f). Closely related to this are the differing qualities of the vowels in *tied* and *tide*. The former is bimorphemic *tie + ed* with [ae]. The latter is a single morpheme in which the vowel is not followed by one of the consonants which causes lengthening; as a result, it has the vowel [ɪ] (see Aitken 1984: 94–100).

⁷ RP once had /ɔ:/, and some older speakers still use it while younger ones use /ɒ/.

7.3.4 The pronunciation of nonvernacular Irish English (IrE)

Nonvernacular IrE has a southern pronunciation but is conceived of as a supraregional⁸ accent. It is perhaps found most prominently in Dublin as the major city in Ireland even though Dublin is notable for its linguistic variation. Its difference to RP lies in its rhoticity. The pronunciation of /r/ is usually realized as constricted [ɹ], as opposed to the strongly retroflex [ɻ]⁹ of Northern Ireland. T Lenition (a.k.a. frication) is particularly typical of this variety. In addition, TRAP and BATH often form a single set; LOT is unrounded [ɑ]; /ei/ is monophthongal [e:]; PRIDE and PRICE (§3.3.4) are differentiated as [aɪ] and [aɪ] (Hickey 2008: 95ff). Among the back vowels the distinction between NORTH [ɔ:] and FORCE [o:] – long lost in RP and GenAm – continues to be made. Both /hw/ and /x/ are marginally a part of the system of consonants.

7.3.5 Consonants

RP, as the standard accent of English has the system of consonants presented in §3.2. These consonants are identical to those of most other standard ENL accents.¹⁰ The phonotactics of RP share much with the non-British ENL accents of the Southern Hemisphere. This lies chiefly in its nonrhoticity (§3.3.3). Yet, numerous accents of the British Isles are rhotic including the West Country of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This section deals with a few of the more prominent points which distinguish the regional varieties of GenE in the British Isles in the area of consonants.

The consonant /t/ is usually pronounced [t] wherever spelling has <t>; example *butter* [bʌtə]. Many local accents in England have a different realization: some, especially urban dialects throughout England and Scotland, replace [t] with [ʔ], example: [bʌʔə]; some (very few) flap¹¹ it as [ɾ]; example [bʌɾə].

Glottal stops appear widely in nonstandard accents of Britain, especially when they replace /t/ in intervocalic position as just given. The glottal stop is, furthermore, used in Estuary English and with increasing frequency in RP before voiceless stops (cf. *stop* /stɑp/) or in final position (*that* /ðæt/).

Dublin English has a variety of realizations of /t/ dependent on both its phonetic context and its sociopragmatic function (including use in pragmatic markers) of the word containing /t/ e.g., *in fact* and *right* (cf. Schulte 2019):

- (a) alveolar stop [t]: relatively rare in Dublin English,
- (b) tapped or flapped intervocalic [ɾ]: more typical of male working-class Dubliners,
- (c) fricative [t̪], a.k.a. slit /t/: the default /t/ of Dublin English; stereotypical of a “posh” South Dublin accent,
- (d) affricate [ts] or [tʃ]: of rare occurrence,
- (e) glottal and glottalized [t̚] (creaky voice): typical in tendency of WC males,
- (f) dropped or unreleased: stereotypical of a low-prestige North Dublin accent.

8 Supraregionalism is a process in which the implicitly nonstandard “salient features of a variety” are replaced “by more standard ones” (Hickey 2008: 75).

9 Retroflex [ɻ] is spreading, independent of Northern Irish pronunciation, among Dublin urbanites and young females in general (Hickey 2008: 91f).

10 Scottish and Irish accents have additional consonants (see below).

11 This practice, which some call tapping, is preferred in North America (§8.3) and is frequent in AusE (§10.3.1).

H-Dropping is the term used for the loss of /h/ in lexical words, as when *house* become 'ouse. Such loss of /h/ is prominent in many, if not all of the urban dialects of Britain and is typical of working-class pronunciations; and for this reason, it is often seen as a class marker. RP, in contrast, retains initial /h/. H-Dropping has made few incursions in Scotland and Ireland and none at all in North American or Southern Hemisphere Englishes.

One particular form of H-Dropping which is both widespread and a part of standard pronunciations is the loss of the [h] in the consonant /hw/. Where /hw/¹² has been retained – and this was the case until only a few generations back – there was a *where* – *wear* contrast. This continues to be the case in SSE¹³ and, less strongly, in nonvernacular IrE. Elsewhere /hw/ has, in the meantime been lost as a phonemic contrast though perhaps retained for purposes of emphatic delivery (*Where!*).

The SSE and IrE consonant systems differ due to the retention of /hw/. In addition, various words borrowed from Scottish and Irish Gaelic have led to the adoption of /x/ (the sound written as <j> *mujer* in Spanish and as <ch> *noch* in German) as in *Loch (Ness)* /lo:x/ and *Taoiseach* /'ti:ʃəx/. Nevertheless, this phoneme is somewhat marginal in both.

The lateral /l/ shows up in RP in complementary distribution as prevocalic clear [l] or preconsonantal and prepausal dark [ɫ] (§3.2). In Scotland and Northern Ireland /l/ is generally dark everywhere while it is generally clear in the once Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland, the English West Country, and in southern Ireland. The vocalization of dark [ɫ] is especially typical of London English (Cockney).¹⁴ This means that instead of pronouncing a velar or dark [ɫ] the speaker fails to make tongue contact with the velum and retains only the vocalic resonance associated with [ɫ] (Wells 1982: 258f), namely, [ɔ] or [ɤ]. As a result, a word like *help* sounds like /eɔp/.

The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ of the reference accents are realized differently in some varieties. London English/Cockney is well known for using *muvver* for *mother* and *baf* for *bath*. In a variation of this, the manner and sometimes also the place of articulation changes in IrE: *thick* becomes *tick* with initial dental [t̪] (or perhaps alveolar [t]). In the same manner *mother* may become *mudder* with dental [d̪] (or perhaps [d]).

7.3.6 Vowels

The vowels of RP, introduced extensively in §3.3, differ considerably from GenAm, the other reference accent used in Chapter 3. In the context of this Chapter four major British-Irish vowel systems are presented. They are three standard systems of vowels (RP, SSE, Southern Irish) and one important supraregional system (generalized Northern).

RP is, for these purposes, a Southern system, and, indeed, is participating in the one or the other way in what is often called the Southern Shift (Labov 1991, 2010). The momentum of this shift can be seen not only in RP but in London English and other accents of southern England, in AusE, in NZE, and in Southern American English.¹⁵ In this shift the front long vowels and diphthongs (the FLEECE, FACE, PRICE, and CHOICE vowels) continue the changes they underwent in the Great Vowel Shift. To illustrate this, some of the changes in the front vowels of Estuary English, a koiné of the lower Thames valley, are helpful: Here there is a move of the FACE vowel from [eɪ] toward [aɪ] and of the PRICE vowel from [aɪ] toward [ɔɪ]. This shift also involves some fronting of back vowels and diphthongs. The latter includes the now completed move of the GOAT vowel from older [ɔʊ] to current [əʊ] (Table 7.1).

12 Also transcribed as [w], a voiceless labialized velar approximate.

13 There are some signs of recessive use of /hw/ in Urban Scots (Stuart-Smith 2008: 63).

14 Also the American South (§§8.3.1 and 8.5.2) and New Zealand (§10.3.2).

15 For AusE and NZE see §10.3; for Southern American see §8.3.2.

Table 7.1 The phonological structure of four major vowel systems of the British Isles

	Short vowels		Long vowels		Closing diphthongs			Centering diphthongs		
RP-type	KIT	FOOT	FLEECE		GOOSE				NEAR	CURE
	DRESS	STRUT		NURSE	THOUGHT	FACE		GOAT	SQUARE	
	TRAP	LOT		BATH		PRICE	CHOICE	MOUTH		
Northern England	KIT	FOOT	FLEECE		GOOSE				NEAR	CURE
	DRESS		FACE	NURSE	GOAT				FORCE	
	TRAP-BATH	LOT	SQUARE	START-PALM	THOUGHT	PRICE	CHOICE	MOUTH		
Southern Ireland	KIT	FOOT	FLEECE		GOOSE					
	DRESS	STRUT	FACE	NURSE	GOAT					
	TRAP-BATH	LOT		BATH-PALM	THOUGHT	PRICE	(CHOICE)	MOUTH		
Scotland + Northern Ireland	KIT		FLEECE		FOOT-GOOSE					
	DRESS	STRUT	FACE		GOAT					
			TRAP-BATH-PALM		LOT-THOUGHT	PRICE	(CHOICE)	MOUTH		

The use of the lexical sets (KIT, FOOT, FLEECE, etc.) show structural (or phonological) differences without getting caught up in the detail of the actual phonetic articulation of the vowels involved. In the case of the closing diphthongs the arrows show the general direction of movement.

The prerhotic vowels (NEAR, SQUARE, START, NORTH, FORCE, CURE) have not been included in the chart for Scotland and Ireland, but NURSE has been.

The generalized English of Northern England is the second vowel system. It is phonologically, that is, structurally, largely analogous to the Southern system with the major exception of the short vowels, which consist of the same set of five vowels as in RP: /ɪ/, /e/, /æ/, /ɒ/, and /ʊ/ but missing /ʌ/, a short vowel which in the South emerged from /ʊ/ in the FOOT-STRUT split. Consequently, STRUT words, which include words like *some*, *cut*, *bus*, *luck*, and many more, have /ʊ/ and not the newer /ʌ/. This and the use of [a] or [æ] in BATH words, which have [a:] in RP, are the perhaps most noticeable differences between Southern and Northern English in England. In addition, the RP diphthongs [eɪ] and [ɔʊ] are likely to be monophthongs: [e:] and [o:] (Wells 1982: §4.4.5).

Scottish Standard English (SSE) and other accents of Scotland and Northern Ireland show up as the third vowel system. The major difference in this system lies in the reduced sets of short-long vowels (Aitken's Law). Where the other accents treated here have /u:/ in *fool* and /ʊ/ in *full*, in SSE the FOOT vowel falls together with the GOOSE vowel as [u]. Furthermore, /u/ is often central [ʊ] or even fronted [y]. Not quite as widespread is the loss of the contrast between the LOT and THOUGHT vowels /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ (*not* vs. *nought*); and the TRAP and BATH-START-PALM vowels (as in *cat* and *cart*) are all [a], though even less frequently. It has been suggested that these three cases of class merger stand in an implicational relationship, which means that whoever neutralizes /æ/-/a:/ also neutralizes the other two pairs. And whoever loses the opposition between /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ also loses that between /æ/-/a:/ but not necessarily the /ʊ/ and /u:/ merger. This leads to a radical reduction in the inventory of short vowels: three instead of six. The remaining subsystems are, with the exception of rhoticity, structurally highly similar to the other vowel systems of the British Isles. Rhoticity

in Scottish English is not only different because of the retention of /r/ wherever written in spelling but also because many of the more local forms of Scottish and Irish English maintain as many as three different prerhotic vowels (/e/-/ɪ/-/ʌ/) in the NURSE set of RP and GenAm (e.g., *heard* [hɛrd], *bird* [bɪrd], and *word* [wɔrd]) rather than the more standard [ɜr] (as in Edinburgh and elsewhere) (Wells 1982: 407).

Southern Irish English, conceived of as a supraregional vowel system is the fourth. The major structural difference to RP lies in the rhoticity of IrE. This includes a different distribution of the NURSE set. For example, *certain* has the stressed vowel [e:ɪ] as do *circle*, *girl*, or *irk*, while *bird* has [ʊ:ɪ ~ ʌɪ] like *dirt*, *nurse*, and *work*. As with Scottish and Northern Irish English some of the vernacular varieties of Southern Irish English merge the CHOICE and MOUTH sets. Furthermore, TRAP and BATH often form a single set. Among the back vowels the distinction between NORTH [ɔ:ɪ] and FORCE [o:ɪ] – long lost in RP and GenAm – continues to be made (ibid.: 420f; Hickey 2008: 95ff).

7.4 GRAMMAR AND INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Grammatical variation within GenE is probably less a regional dimension than an educational one. Those who value education are likely to use StE habitually while those whose orientation is more local are more likely to use nonstandard GenE, which shares a number of characteristics which transcend not only the regional boundaries of England but its national borders as well and are to be found among native speakers of the language all over the English-speaking world (§1.4). Due to the lack of absolute differences in the grammar of GenE, we will look at a few relative differences.

7.4.1 Tendencies in grammatical change

In a wide-ranging study of grammatical change in modern English Leech et al. (2009) have pointed out the following important trends:

- **Colloquialization** is based on change in which writing is “becoming more like speech.” This is seen in
 - (a) avoidance of elaboration or specification of content;
 - (b) shared addresser-addressee context;
 - (c) the interactive nature of communication;
 - (d) informal style.

Yet there is a contravening force in the form of densification (see below). It has affected not only the extended use of the semi-modals and the progressive but also the decline of the *wh*-relatives (§8.4) and the increasing use of contractions (ibid.: 239–247) and the *no*-negation alternative (e.g., *he knew nothing about ...* [three times as frequent in written as in conversational language, where we find *he didn't know anything about ...*]) (Biber et al. 1999: 170ff).

- **Americanization**. This is called “follow-my-leader” change, and Leech and colleagues write that it “often recurs in our data so that it begins to look like the ‘normal’ pattern.” This may not reflect a direct trans-Atlantic influence via dialect contact but may “merely show that a trend common to AmE and BrE (as well as other regional varieties) is somewhat more advanced in one variety than another” (Leech et al. 2009:

253f). This affects, for example, the declining use of the core modals and increasing use of the semi-modals (ibid.: 44f; §8.4).

- **Grammaticalization.** This means that the growth of new grammaticalized forms moves at different speeds in different varieties. This involves *paradigmatic atrophy* as when only *needn't* remains (that is, the core modal *need* occurs only in negative contexts) and *distributional fragmentation*, as when *shall* appear chiefly in the 1st person (ibid.: 238f).
- **Densification** has to do with an increase in the amount of information packed into a single sentence or phrase. The effect of this is a higher frequency of open-class lexemes, that is, nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs (ibid.: 249).
- **Prescription and language planning** can be seen in the changes due to manuals on writing style such as the decline in the use of the passive (ibid.: 164; §8.4).

To illustrate some of the changes in the grammar of BrE the following areas have been chosen: the use of the modals, semi-modals, and subjunctive; the progressive; and *that*-relative clauses.

7.4.2 The modals, the semi-modals, and the subjunctive

The core modals *would*, *will*, *can*, and *could*¹⁶ made up 67.5% of all modal usage in the Brown family corpora in 1961 and 71.9% in 1991/92 (Leech et al. 2009: 73). It is sometimes said (Biber 2004: 199–202) that these modals are “suffering” under competition from the corresponding semi-modals (e.g., *be able to*, *bound to*, *likely to*, *supposed to*, *about to*, *due to*, *meant to*, *willing to*, *going to*, and *obliged to*). To some extent this is true since these corpus studies have shown that the core modals were seven times as common as the semi-modals in 1961 but only 5.4 times more common in 1991/92 (Leech et al. 2009: 78). This is still a vast difference in frequency, whereby “... the gap between modal frequency and semi-modal frequency has been getting much smaller in British speech¹⁷ than in British writing – but the ratio is still greater than 2 to 1.” In discussing these new grammaticalized semi-modals, Leech et al. find “... in general, the younger the speaker, the more likely the use of reduced grammaticalized forms” (ibid.: 106).

The subjunctive once inflectionally strongly marked has few distinctive forms in Present-Day English. While its use seems to be reviving somewhat, it has not yet reached the level of AmE (§8.4 the subjunctive).

7.4.3 The progressive

As part of the rapid expansion of the use of the progressive (45%+), especially in spoken BrE, we also find that the use of *will + be + V-ing* is “the only structure in BrE¹⁸ that has significantly increased out of the whole range of future expression surveyed” (Leech et al. 2009: 139). This may be the case because the *will + be + V-ing* construction does not carry the meaning of intention. “The speaker’s or writer’s implication seems rather to be that the projected event will happen in the ordinary run of things, or that it has been determined in advance ...” (ibid.: 141). Note also that in the Celtic countries and Northern England the progressive is generally more widely used (ibid.: 142).

16 Plus *must*, which is not included in this frequency count.

17 According to the Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English (DCPSE; BrE, 2006). In the Longman Corpus of Spoken American English (LCSAE; early 1990s) semi-modals outnumber core modals 6 : 1!

18 AmE uses this structure at a consistently lower rate (Leech et al. 2009: 139).

7.5 SOCIAL AND REGIONAL DIMENSIONS

While a number of nonstandard features have already been recounted, a few of the more marked instances of the vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar of the traditional dialects of Britain and Ireland have been reserved for this section.

7.5.1 English traditional dialects

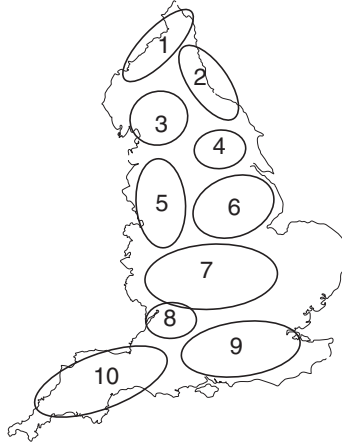
The traditional dialects of England, while far from dying out, are clearly attenuating as their speaker communities grow smaller and mobility increases. Yet various regions continue to exist, among others, the North, East Anglia, the west Midlands, the Southeast, the West Country (English Southwest), and relatively closely related Welsh English (Kortmann and Upton (eds.) 2008). Here only the Southwest will be looked at.

West Country. This dialect is one of the first to be used in literature. Shakespeare used it in *King Lear* (1604/05) and Fielding used it in the *Tom Jones* (1749). The area, consisting of parts or all of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire, is regarded as rural and it has remained linguistically conservative. Its linguistic stereotypes include

- the voicing of initial fricatives (*zea* “sea,” *veather* “feather”),
- the use of nonstandard singular demonstratives (e.g., *thick*) with reference to count nouns
- archaic second-person subject *thee* (for *thou*) with what is called pronoun exchange (subject in the object case and vice versa),
- the object case of the masculine gendered personal pronoun *enlun* “it”; gendered pronouns are the use of *he* and *she* for count nouns, leaving *it* for mass nouns.



Map 7.1 The map of linguistic dialect areas (after Inoue in Montgomery 2016) shows most generally recognized dialect areas (North, Midland, South) with some subareas according to linguistic features.



Map 7.2 A representation of perceived dialect areas, i.e. those which speakers of the English of England generally recognize (based on perception of accent as seen in informant draw-a-map results; Montgomery 2016: 199). The areas are (1) Scots; (2) Geordie (Durham); (3) Cumbria; (4) Yorkshire (York); (5) Scouse (Liverpool); (6) Manc (Manchester); (7) Brummie (Birmingham); (8) Bristol; (9) Cockney (London); (10) West Country.

All but the first of these occur in the following sentence quoted from Wagner (2008: 425) with some respelling: *shut **thick** door **thee's** got **en** jarrin'*. In addition, there is some use of the auxiliary *do* to mark habitual acts or activity¹⁹: *He [a watch] do go now*, where the masculine *he* is used for a singular count noun (*watch*) (ibid.). The occurrence of dialect forms such as these is quite strong in the west of Cornwall and decreases in frequency the further eastward we go (ibid.: 424ff). All in all, Wagner concludes that a number of the grammatical features just described are “still alive and kicking” (ibid.: 436).

7.5.2 Scots dialects, including Ulster Scots

Scots is frequently seen as slovenly and does not enjoy high overt prestige. While the language is undoubtedly widely used,

social pressures against it are so strong that many people are reluctant to use it or have actively rejected it The only use of it made regularly by the media is for comedy [It] is repeatedly associated with what is trivial, ridiculous and often vulgar.

(McClure 1980: 12)

While this statement is generally valid, it is also necessary to note that there are several different types of Scots, each with a different status and prestige. The variety so often and so subjectively regarded as vulgar is urban working-class Scots; considerably more positive are the often-romanticized rural dialects; a third type is literary Scots (sometimes termed Lallans “Lowlands”). This final variety is also sometimes pejoratively referred to

¹⁹ Nonstandard Welsh English has the same forms for habitual aspect constructed with the uninflected auxiliary *do* (present) or *did* (past) plus the infinitive (*He do go to the cinema every week*) or with an inflected form of *be* plus an *ing*-form of the verb (*He bes going to the cinema every week*).

as synthetic Scots because it represents an artificial effort to reestablish a form of Scots as the national language of Scotland and as a language for Scottish literature (reminiscent of the time before the union of the crowns in 1603, which eventually resulted in a linguistic reorientation of Scotland toward England).

Scots is commonly subdivided into four regional groupings: Central Scots, which runs from West Angus and northeast Perthshire to Galloway in the southwest and the River Tweed in the southeast. As such it contains both Glasgow and Edinburgh and includes over two-thirds of the population of Scotland. Central Scots also includes the Scots areas of Ulster. Southern Scots is found in Roxburgh, Selkirk, and East Dumfriesshire. Northern Scots goes from East Angus and the Mearns to Caithness. Island Scots is the variety in use on the Orkney and the Shetland Islands. The Shetlands are further distinguished by the continued presence of numerous words which originated in Norn, the Scandinavian language once spoken in the Islands (see Map 7.3).

The situation of Scots vis-à-vis SSE may be usefully summarized in regard to its historicity, its standardization, its vitality, and its autonomy, all criteria useful in assessing language independence (cf. Macafee 1981: 33–37).

The historicity of Scots as the descendant of Old Northumbrian is clearly given. Consequently, Scots is a cousin of the English of southeastern England, which was the basis of StE. Scots has been highly influenced by StE, not least in the form of the Authorized or King James Version of the Bible (1611). Lallans, as a language with literary ambitions, has drawn heavily on the older Scots language for much of its vocabulary, but this is not a natural process and the words it has adopted have no real currency, for few will seriously use *scribe* rather than *write* or *leid* rather than *language*.

Part of the difference between English and Scots is due to changes in the long vowel system in the period between Middle and Early Modern English, known as the Great Vowel Shift. This shift ran differently in southern England than in northern England and Scotland. While the long front vowels changed in much the same manner in both places, the long back ones did not, giving us a fronted vowel [ø:] in *goose* and leaving [hu:s] for *house* unchanged (see Figure 7.1).

Standardization is the goal of the creators of Lallans, but the tendencies of its champions are to reject as vulgar the Scots forms, which have the most vitality.

Vitality refers to the actual currency of a variety in everyday speech, namely, that of the urban working class. A limited amount of success within the Lallans effort has been achieved in the area of standardization of spelling.

For *good*, a Glaswegian says “guid,” a Black Isle speaker “geed,” a North-Easterner “gweed,” and a man from Angus or the Eastern borders “geud,” with the vowel of French *deux*, but each could readily associate the spelling *guid* with his own local pronunciation.

(McClure 1980: 30)

The autonomy of the Scots dialects is, in general, least visible in vocabulary, for virtually all Scots speakers have long since orientated themselves along the lines of English, even though Scots has retained numerous dialect words such as *chaff* “jaw,” *lass* “girl,” *ken* “know,” or *ilka* “each, every.” The lack of a Scots standard is also reflected in the fact that there is sometimes a variety of local words for the same things (e.g., *bairn*, *wean*, *littlin*, *geet* “child”; *callant*, *loon*, *chiel* “boy”; or *yett*, *grind* “garden gate”) without there being any generally recognized pan-Scots word. More divergent, and hence more autonomous, are some of the grammatical forms. Note, for example, such nonstandard morphology as the past and past participle forms of the verb *bake*, viz.

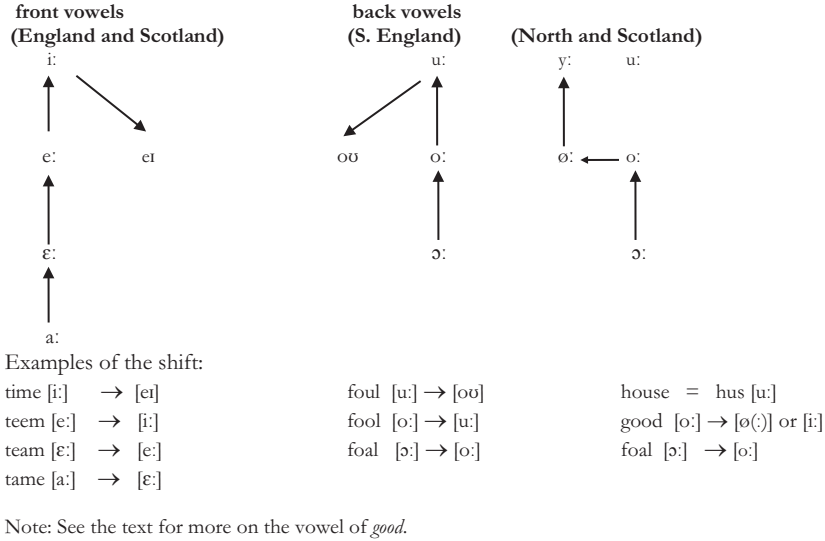


Figure 7.1 The Great Vowel Shift (GVS) in Southern England and in Northern England and Scotland

beuk and *baken* or *wrocht* and *wrocht* from *work*. A few words also retain older plural forms: *coo* “cow” plural *kye* “cows” (cf. English *kine*), *soo* “pig” (cf. StE *sow*) plural *swine* “pigs,” or *ee* “eye” plural *een* “eyes.”

The second person pronoun occasionally retains the singular-plural distinction either using *thou* or *thee* (*du* in the Shetlands) vs. *yelyiyou* or *yizlyouse*. The plural forms include *you ains* “you ones” in the rural northeast and Ulster Scots (Smith 2012: 22). Instead of StE relative *whose* one may find *that his* or *that her*. Furthermore, the demonstratives comprise a three-way system: *this-that-yon* and *here-there-yonder* (for close, far, and even father). The demonstrative determiners include the traditional three-way distinctions *this-these, that-thosel/themlthey* (*thae*), and *yon*, where the final member used for something distant from both speaker and addressee (e.g., *thon little birdies*; *ibid.*: 23). Prepositions beginning with *be-* in StE often begin with *a-* in Scots, so *afore, ahind, aneath, aside, ayont*, and *atween*. The verb is negated by adding *na(e)* to the auxiliary, for example, *hasna(e), dinna(e)*. Furthermore, the auxiliaries are used differently; for example, *shall* is not present in Scots at all.

The syntax of Scots includes not only the Northern Subject Rule which has {-s} with third-person plural noun subjects (*The teachers asks questions*) (*ibid.*: 25) but also the possibility of an {-s} ending on the present tense verb as a narrative tense form (*I comes, we says*, etc.) (§8.5.2 for a similar feature in AAE). In addition, the progressive is more widely used than in southern StE. In southern and southwestern Scots double modals are possible (*I usta could do that*).

The pronunciation of Scots, finally, is also tremendously important in defining its autonomous character. Quite in contrast to the other varieties of English around the world, “Scots dialects ... invariably have a lexical distribution of phonemes which cannot be predicted from RP or from a Scottish accent [i.e. SSE]” (Catford 1957: 109). By way of illustration, note that the following words, which all have the vowel /u/ in SSE, are realized with six different phonemes in the dialect of Angus: *book* /ʊ/, *bull* /ɪ/, *foot* /ɪ/, *boot* /ø/, *lose* /ɔ/, *loose* /ɪ/ (*ibid.*: 110).

The following list enumerates some of the more notable features of Scots pronunciation:

- /x/ in *daughter, night*
- /kn-/ in *knock, knee* (especially Northern Scots)
- /vr-/ in *write, wrought / wrocht* (especially Northern Scots); Island Scots: /xr-/
- the convergence of /θ/ and /t/ to /t/ and of /ð/ and /d/ to /d/ in Island Scots (the Shetlands)
- /u:/ in *house, out, now*; Southern Scots: /ʌu/ in word-final position (see GVS above)
- /ø/ or /y/ in *moon, good, stool*; Northern Scots: /i:/
- /e:/ in *home, go, bone*; Northern Scots: /i:/
- /hw-/ in *what, when*, and so on; Northern Scots: /f-/

In **Urban Scots** many of the features listed are recessive, for example, /x/, /kn-/, or /vr/. But /hw/ is generally retained; and Scots remains firmly rhotic. Yet some younger speakers do merge /w/ and /hw/, and some also delete nonprevocalic /r/. Glasgow English is a continuum with a variety of forms ranging from broad (rural) Scots to SSE. This involves a fair amount of code-switching as the following exchange overheard in an Edinburgh tea room illustrates:

- A: Yaize yer ain spuin.
 B: What did ye say?
 A: Ah said, Yaize yer ain spoon.
 B: Oh, use me own spoon.

(From Aitken 1985: 42)

Often pronunciations retain a more traditional Scots pronunciation with only selected words while other words have an SSE realization. For example, the KIT-vowel /ɪ/ is found in the items *bloody, does* and *used*; the FLEECE-vowel /i/ in *bread, dead* and *head*; the GOOSE-vowel /u/ in *about, around, brown, cow*, and so on; and the FACE-vowel /e/ in *do, home, no*.

Glasgow speakers have lost much of the traditional vocabulary of Scots; in its place, so to speak, they have available extensive slang vocabulary of varying provenience, but it does include such Scots expressions as *plunk* “to play truant” or local Glasgow *heidbanger* (Macafee 1983: 43). Grammatical features of Glasgow English which differ from StE are a mixture of Scots forms such as verb negation using enclitic *-nae* or *-ny* (e.g., *isnae* “isn’t”) and general nonstandard forms which can be found throughout the English-speaking world (e.g., multiple negation, as in ... *canny leave nuthin alane* “... cannot leave anything alone”).

7.5.3 Irish Vernacular English

The Irish Vernacular may, in addition to the features given in §§7.3.4–7.3.6, show the influence of the Irish substrate. This affects the realization of <s> and <z> as nonpalatal /s/ and /z/ or as palatal /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. If <s> and <z> is immediately followed by palatal /l, t, n/ as the last member of a consonant cluster, it is itself palatalized (e.g., *slow, snow, and stop* are [ʃlo:], [ʃno:], and [ʃtap]; and *puzzle* is [ˈpʊʒl]) (Bliss 1984: 138f).

Nonstandard grammatical features of vernacular IrE include a wide array of forms used to express aspect. There is a clear tendency to use the English progressive more freely than in StE. For example, state verbs of cognition, emotion, fixed relations, or (permanent) stance can readily be in the progressive; see, by way of illustration, the following:



Map 7.3 The linguistic areas of Scotland and Ireland

I **was knowing** your face.

They **are not caring** about the Irish people, ...

They **were depending** on it.

And that's [the Gulf Stream is] **flowing** into the Atlantic Ocean.

(All from Filppula 2008: 332)

In some further cases the progressive but also *do* is used to indicate repeated or habitual activity:

They **were going** there long ago “used to go there”

... they **used be** dancing there long ago, like, you know. (ibid.: 333)

They **be shooting** and **fishing** out at the forestry lakes. (334)

They **does be** lonesome by night,

The forms of the present perfect, some of which follow a Gaelic pattern, others of which show the influence of their English roots, are often divergent from StE (Table 7.2):

Table 7.2 Perfect aspect in IrE

Type	Example	Comment	Status
indefinite anterior perfect	<i>I never went till it [car race] yet. I didn't hear him playing with years and years.</i>	experiential perfect but used with the past tense form	standard colloquial
after perfect, a.k.a. hot-news perfect	<i>You're after ruinin' me.</i>	relatively recent past; modeled on the Irish substrate, but word order as in English	stereotypically IrE; avoided in educated speech
medial-object perfect	<i>I have it forgot. Mary, I have your match made.</i>	focus on result; typically dynamic verbs; English and Irish substrate models	recessive
be-perfect	<i>They are gone idle over it. And there was a big ash-tree growing there one time, and it is ... is withered and fade' away now.</i>	intransitive counterpart of preceding used with change of state (<i>die</i>) or motion (<i>come, go, leave</i>); Irish substrate and English models	recessive
extended-now perfect	<i>I'm in here about four months. We're living here seventeen years.</i>	continuative; Irish substrate and English models	standard colloquial
STE have-perfect	<i>We haven't seen one for years.</i>	Used for all of above	more careful, educated usage

Adapted from Gramley (2019: 289) using Filppula (2008: 329ff), Fritz (2006: 291), Siemund (2004: 405ff) Winford (2009: 212f).

On the sentence level vernacular IrE makes wide use of nonfinite extensions of the sort *She's out in the dark and it raining*. Fronting is a common focusing device (*Raining it is*), as is clefting (*It was myself that said it*) (cf. Filppula 2012). Furthermore, possession can be expressed by using a prepositional construction (*There's no luck with the rich* “they have no luck”).

7.5.4 Urban dialects

Throughout this chapter the English of a number of cities has been referred to. These varieties have enjoyed increasing attention from linguists in the past several decades. Some of the better-known investigations have had to do with Norwich in East Anglia (Trudgill 1974), Glasgow (Macaulay 1977), Belfast (Milroy 1981; Henry 1995), all England (Montgomery 2016), and Dublin (Loneragan 2016; Schulte 2019). Urban language surveys have not only provided a great deal of systematic, empirical data but have also helped to advance insights into how people identify themselves linguistically and into some of the roles which language plays in modern urban society.

Cockney

Of all the urban varieties of English in the British Isles, Cockney, the one we will look at a bit closer, is doubtlessly the best known, not least because of its use in *My Fair Lady*. Traditionally, a Cockney is an inhabitant of London's East End. But from the point of view of language Cockney or near-Cockney can be heard throughout the city. In general, it is a

working-class accent, and as such it has little overt prestige. Its covert prestige is, however, enormous. In the form of it which Wells describes under the label London English, it “is today the most influential source of phonological innovation in England and perhaps in the whole English-speaking world” (1982: 301).

The grammar of Cockney is basically of the nonstandard vernacular type sketched out in §1.4. Its vocabulary is equally unexceptional. However, it is well known for its rhyming slang. This is not an exclusively Cockney feature, nor is it typical of the everyday speech of most Cockneys. But it does help to contribute to the image of Cockney as colorful. In rhyming slang a single word is replaced by a pair of words, the second of which rhymes with the one replaced. For example, *my wife* may disappear in favor of *my trouble and strife* or, more positively, *my fork and knife*. The new pair is often shortened so that someone may say *Use your loaf* instead of *Use your loaf of bread*; both mean the same: *Use your head*. The expression *Let's get down to brass tacks* (“Let's get down to business”) is originally rhyming slang (*brass tacks = the facts*), though few people realize this.

What is most distinctive about Cockney is its pronunciation; and what is significant about this is the fact that Cockney pronunciations have often indicated the way in which RP was eventually to develop. This does not mean, of course, that RP will, indeed, adopt all of the points which are discussed below; for many of them are so highly stigmatized that adoption of them in RP and near-RP varieties is, in many cases, virtually inconceivable in the immediate future (above all, H-Dropping, Cockney vowels, and more extreme forms of the use of the glottal stop). For the following (and more) see Wells (1982: §4.2).

Among the consonants, Cockney is characterized by H-Dropping, as just mentioned. While the spelling <h> at the beginning of words such as *hour* and *honour* is never pronounced in any standard variety and while its pronunciation in some items is variable (*hotel*, *herb*, *human*) depending on the region or the individual, there are no limits in Cockney on the words beginning with <h-> which may sometimes occur without /h/, for example, *'ouse* for *house* (§3.3.4). The voiceless stops /p/, /t/, and /k/ are frequently more strongly aspirated than in RP or GenAm, sometimes becoming affricates: [tʰə] (*tea*) or [kʰə] (*call*). Furthermore, in final position the same stops may have glottal coarticulation, that is, a glottal stop just before the oral one, for example, [eʔt] (*hat*). It is also possible for the glottal stop to replace /p/, /t/, and /k/ completely. This could lead to a loss of the distinctions between *whip*, *wit*, and *wick*, all as [wiʔ]. In addition, intervocalic /t/ may be realized as tapped [ɾ] or as the glottal stop. The former is making inroads into RP; the latter is found in London English and numerous urban dialects in Britain. The fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are very frequently but not exclusively pronounced as /f/ and /v/, respectively, that is, *three = free* and *mother* rhymes with *lover*. One exception is that initial /ð/ is/ not realized as /v/; instead /d/ may be used (*these = D's*). Following /t/, /d/, and /n/ Cockney may have Yod-Dropping, that is, / u:/ instead of /ju:/ (*tune = toon*, *dune = doon*, *news = noos*). In the case of /t/ and /d/ there seems to be a switch in progress toward /j/ and then a palatalized form (e.g., /t/ + /j/ → /tʃ/ [*Tuesday = Chewsday*]). One last point about the consonants is the vocalization of /l/. Here words may be pronounced with new diphthongs as in *milk* (cf. [mɪrʊk]). The same sort of thing is happening in Australia and New Zealand (§§10.3.1 and 10.3.2) and in the American South.

The traditional complex vowels (long vowels and diphthongs) of Cockney are noticeably different from their RP and GenAm equivalents. Those which are front or have a front second element in RP start at a progressively lower or more greatly backed position (Figure 7.2). Those which are back or have a back second element in RP start at a progressively lower or more fronted position (cf. Figure 7.3). One of the consequences of these shifts in articulation is that RP *light* sounds virtually the same as Cockney *late*.

Estuary English (London regional English) is a koinéized form of English that seems to be developing in London and its vicinity (the Thames Estuary and the lower Thames valley). It shares the less stigmatized features of Cockney and may be on its way to becoming

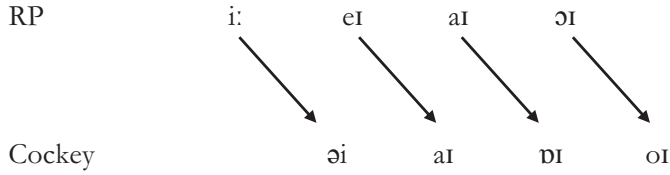


Figure 7.2 Cockney diphthongs with a front second element in comparison with RP

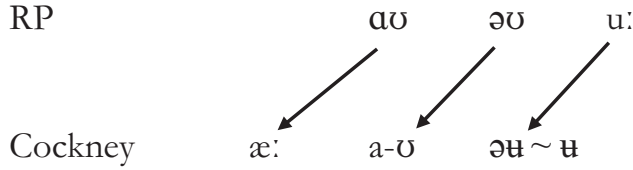


Figure 7.3 Cockney diphthongs with a back second element in comparison with RP

competition to RP as the pronunciation norm in Britain as evidenced by the spread of some of its features to cities far removed from the London area (e.g., Bristol, Hull, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow). Like Cockney it shows a move of /eɪ/ to [aɪ] and /aɪ/ to [aɪ], L-Vocalization, the palatalization of initial /tj-/ and /dj-/, the loss of /j/ in words like *new*, and increasing replacement of /t/ by [ʔ]. It does not, for example, have H-Dropping or the replacement of /θ/ and /ð/ by /f/ and /v/. And in contrast to Cockney the realization of /r/ in Estuary English may be [ʁ] (a “w-like”) sound and /s/ may be rendered as [ʃ] at the beginning of consonant clusters (e.g., /stu:dənt/, /stɒp/, and /əb'strʌkt/ become [ʃtu:dənt], [ʃtɒp], and [əb'ʃtrʌkt]).

British Black English

Since the early 1960s the ethnic makeup of most British cities has changed enormously. High levels of immigration from Commonwealth countries which are not primarily of ethnically European heritage have produced a “multicultural Britain.” While it is presumptuous to assume that these immigrants and their children want to become replicas of the English people around them, economic integration requires a command of GenE. This means that there are two forces pulling on them. The one, the overt norm, is toward GenE, be it StE or the local vernacular. In the case of the descendants of Black Britons from the Caribbean, the other force, the covert norm, is pulling them toward the ethnic variety or “patois ~ patwa,” a.k.a. London Jamaican. The latter is a koinéized form of West Indian Creole used by later generation British-Caribbean Blacks. It resembles Jamaican Creole more closely than it does the Eastern Caribbean varieties. Although it differs from Jamaican Creole in avoiding many of the deeper creole forms (cf. Sutcliffe 1984: 220–229), it has an overall resemblance to the Caribbean creoles treated in Chapter 11.

There is nothing like complete agreement about what London Jamaican (a.k.a. British Jamaican Creole) is like. Sebba thinks London Jamaican is nothing more than “a set of rules applied to a London English ‘base’ to ‘convert’ London English into London Jamaican” (1986: 160, 2008: 464f). Sutcliffe, in contrast, speaks of British Jamaican Creole as having “its own grammatical stability and separate integrity” (1984: 231).

Most of the (grand)children of West Indian immigrants regularly speak the English vernacular of their region and Patwa only on certain occasions, but many of them can speak Patwa if they wish. In regard to young London Blacks Sebba writes,

... most of them are, first and foremost, speakers of London English. Among women nearly all conversation seems to be carried on in London English except in certain, reasonably well defined, circumstances, when Creole is used. Among males the situation is different ... In formal situations, such as at school and when white people are present, London English is likely to be used.

(1986: 151)

Various investigators have suggested that the vernacular as spoken by Black Britons is hardly different from that of their White peers. Yet the few differences which do crop up may be particularly significant as markers of identity or stance. Sutcliffe calls this variety, located between the creole and the English vernacular, British Black English; Sebba uses the term Afro-Caribbean London English. Both seem to agree that the differences are small. Possibly the difference lies in something in the tone of voice which has not been further defined (Sebba 1986: 152). A particularly indicative syntactic item is the use of *se* after verbs of speech and cognition in the same function as English *that* (*A all white jury found out se 'e was guilty*).

Young Blacks may indulge in code-switching involving the local vernacular and Patwa. Since their interlocutors often understand both codes, the question is why they do this. Sebba suggests that “code-switching is used as a strategic and narrative device, as well as an additional resource for conveying affective meaning, i.e. for giving information about the attitude or state of mind of the speaker” (1986: 164). A switch may serve to show solidarity or distance, to mark off speech acts, to report speech, to frame a narrative (vernacular), or to create a Black narrative persona (*patois*) (Sebba 1986: 163–167).

Belfast

New mixed or compromise forms can be observed in Belfast, which at approximately half a million is the largest city in Northern and second only to Dublin in all of Ireland. Although there is a great and ever growing amount of sectarian residential patterning, speech forms in the city as a whole are said to be merging (Barry 1984: 120). Harris, for example, states: “The vowel phonology of Mid Ulster English can be viewed as an accommodation of both Ulster Scots and south Ulster English systems” (1984: 125). Phonetically, however, there are distinct Ulster Scots and South Ulster English allophones in Belfast. One of the most potent reasons advanced for the increasing leveling of speech forms is the weakening of complex (a.k.a. multiplex) social networks (with shared family, friends, workmates, leisure-time activities). Especially in the middle class, where there is more geographical mobility, and in those parts of the working class where unemployment has weakened social contacts, there is a move away from complex local norms and distinctions, one of which is shared language norms (cf. Milroy 1991: 83f; see also Hickey 2008). The practical consequence of the interplay of socioeconomic patterns, regional origin, and social networks of varying complexity in Belfast is a zigzag pattern of linguistic variants representing reality in which there is no unambiguous agreement on prestige models of speech (whether overt or covert). Furthermore, political affiliations (pro-British unionists vs. Republican nationalists), especially where residence patterns, schooling, and working place are so highly segregated, help to reinforce this diversity of norms (Harris 1991: 46).

7.6 EXERCISES

Cultural items show up in the lexicon of a language but may be restricted in their currency. Such items include historical names and events, abbreviations, and national sports and sports teams.

7.6.1 Exercise on historical names and events: antonomasia

What does each of the following British/Irish words refer to? Give the historical background.

Example: *waterloo* “a decisive defeat or setback” < Napoleon’s defeat at Waterloo, Belgium in 1815

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| a. bobby | e. hoover |
| b. bowdlerize | f. macintosh |
| c. boycott | g. sandwich |
| d. cardigan | h. wellies |

7.6.2 Exercise on meaningful places: toponyms

What does each of the following refer to besides a geographical place?

Example: Scotland Yard stands for the London Metropolitan Police, whose headquarters are at (now: New) Scotland Yard.

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| a. Buckingham Palace | e. Old Bailey |
| b. The City | f. Westminster |
| c. Downing Street | g. Whitehall |
| d. Fleet Street | h. Zumerzet |

7.6.3 Exercise on British cultural institutions: abbreviations

What does each of the following specifically British abbreviations stand for?

Example: GCSE stands for “General Certificate in Secondary Education.”

- | | |
|---------|--------|
| a. BM | g. NHS |
| b. FTSE | h. OBE |
| c. GMT | i. PC |
| d. IRA | j. QC |
| e. MP | k. SNP |
| f. MI6 | l. V&A |

7.6.4 Exercise on minimal pairs

Form a minimal pair by circling the one of three following words which will do this in the variety indicated:

	first word	+ one of these three		
(a) in RP	<i>caught</i>	<i>cot</i>	<i>court</i>	<i>code</i>
(b) in Northern English	<i>mud</i>	<i>move</i>	<i>mood</i>	<i>mode</i>
(c) in SSE	<i>witch</i>	<i>which</i>	<i>wished</i>	<i>wench</i>
(d) in IrE	<i>ask</i>	<i>act</i>	<i>ash</i>	<i>asp</i>

7.6.5 Exercise on the STRUT-FOOT split

Arrange the words in the following list according to whether the stressed vowel in each is /ʊ/, /ʌ/, or something else in RP: *bullet, bush, but, butcher, butt, comb, come, cut, cushion, flood, food, foot, look, luck, Luke, pool, pour, pull, pulp, pulpit, push, put, putt, sugar, such*

/ʊ/	/ʌ/	something else

What factors come closest to explaining when we can expect /ʌ/ and when /ʊ/?

7.6.6 Exercise on SSE-RP pronunciation differences in Britain

Which of the following sets of two words are a minimal pair (a) in Scottish Standard English (SSE); (b) in RP; (c) in both; (d) in neither?

- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) <i>weal-wheel</i> _____
/wi:l/-/hwi:l/ vs. /wi:l/-/wi:l/ | (b) <i>cat-cart</i> _____
/kæt/-/kɑ:t/ vs. /kat/-/kart/ |
| (c) <i>cot-caught</i> _____
/kɒt/-/kɔ:t/ vs. /kot/-/kot/ | (d) <i>caught-court</i> _____
/kɔ:t/-/kɔ:t/ vs. /kot/-/kort/ |
| (f) <i>math-path</i> _____
/lætə/-/lædə/ vs. /latər/-/ladər/ | (g) <i>cote-coat</i> _____
/kəʊt/-/kəʊt/ vs. /ko:t/-/ko:t/ |

7.6.7 Exercise on nonstandard General British English

Indicate which nonstandard variety of British English each sentence represents. Explain why you have come to your conclusions.

- They cannae gan there.
- He don't never go there.
- I'm not knowing them.
- But he do get in the way, thick clock.
- Me nuo se, mi n' av notin ina my mind but to dance.

FURTHER READING

English in the British Isles Both Britain (2007) and Kortmann and Upton (2008) contain contributions on all the major and many of the minor varieties of British and Irish English; Hughes and Trudgill (2012) cover 16 different urban accents and dialects with textual examples (audios); Milroy and Milroy (1993) looks at dialects (their “real” English); Wells (1982) treats all the major accents of the British Isles in volume 2.

English in America

8.1 ENGLISH IN NORTH AMERICA

The largest single English-speaking area in the world is that formed by the United States and Canada. Approximately 70% of the 330 million Americans and almost two-thirds of the Canadian population of about 30 million had English as their native language in 2019. This is a sum total of around a quarter of a billion speakers. Many (but by no means all) of the inhabitants of Canada and the United States who do not have English as their first language, nevertheless use it in a multitude of different situations. The United States does not have an official language on the federal level despite efforts by the English Only movement; however, some 32 states have passed laws making it their official language. In Canada both English and French are official languages.

The next most widely used languages are Spanish and French. Significant numbers of Spanish-speaking residents, many of whom are recent immigrants (both legal and undocumented), live in Miami (especially from Cuba), in New York (especially from Puerto Rico), as well as in neighborhood pockets in many large American cities (generally from Mexico and Central America). Others live in communities whose Spanish language traditions go back hundreds of years (chiefly Chicano¹ communities of the Southwest). There are all told just under 60 million Hispanics living in the United States making up about 18% of the population (U.S. Census Jan. 2020).

French is the majority language of Quebec spoken natively by about 77% of the population of 8.16 million (= 6.2 million plus an English-speaking minority of approximately 600,000; Quebec demography 2020). Ontario and New Brunswick also have sizeable francophone minorities; relatively few French-speakers live in the remaining provinces and territories. In the United States the only concentrations of French are in New England, close to French Canada, and in Louisiana, where speakers are divided into those of the standard metropolitan variety (descendants of the original French settlers), of Cajun French (descendants of the Acadians, expelled from what was then renamed Nova Scotia), and speakers of Creole French (mostly descendants of slaves).

Needless to say, countries of immigration such as Canada and the United States have large numbers of speakers of other mother tongues. Few of them, however, have settled in such a way that their languages have also been able to serve as community languages. Irrespective of how many speakers of other languages, such as Tagalog or Arabic, live in Canada, English and French are the only two official languages there. Nevertheless, there are rural communities in both countries in which immigrant languages have been

¹ The form *Latin@s* is intended to be inclusive of both *Latinos* (masc.) and *Latinas* (fem.).

maintained over several generations (e.g., the German-speaking Amish of Pennsylvania and the Russian-speaking Doukhobors of Saskatchewan), and there are urban communities such as the numerous Chinatowns, where languages besides English, French, and Spanish are maintained.

Nonimmigrant and noncolonial languages are still in daily use in some Native American environments. Perhaps a half a million of the 1.8 million Native American and Alaska Natives in the United States can speak their traditional languages. In Canada approximately 62% of the more than half a million Native Canadians (First Nation peoples) and Inuits (Eskimos) now have English as their native tongue (and 5% have French); less than 200,000 speak their native languages.

Despite the large number of non-English native speakers (over one half in New Mexico, over one-third in Hawaii, California, Arizona, and Texas, and over one-fourth in New York), there are few places in the United States and Canada where it is not possible to communicate in English. (Note that there are, despite highly developed French-English bilingualism, some four and a quarter million monolingual French speakers in Canada.) Language retention for English in Canada is given as 111.4%, which means that more people among second generation immigrants speak it with the result that English is spreading at the cost of other languages; for Canadian French the rate is 95.9%; for all other languages, just over half (54.9%). In the United States several non-English speaking groups are expanding noticeably, above all Spanish and Chinese; but the retention rate for native-born children is generally not much higher than 50% in the first American-born generation.

8.1.1 Regional variation in the United States

Although we refer throughout this book to AmE, which makes it sound homogenous, English in the United States shows great variation on all systematic levels – phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax. Much of the variation found in the United States and Canada is a result of the migration to and within these countries. The most noticeable regional contrast is that between north and south (Canada, unsurprisingly, belongs to the north). This division is, in addition to vocabulary and pronunciation differences, underscored to some extent at least by grammatical features. It seems that it is only in Southern varieties, including African American English (AAE), that such admittedly nonstandard features occur, as perfective *done* (e.g., *I done seen it*), future *gon* (*I'm gon [not goin'] tell you something*), and several far-reaching types of multiple negation, such as a carryover of negation across clauses (*He's not comin', I don't believe* = “I believe he's not coming”).

The South

This area of the United States has frequently been in the focus of linguists. The South is not always or necessarily a clearly defined area because it can be described in terms of cultural aspects as in “Dixie,” which is associated with a certain way of life (red-necks, hillbillies, pick-up trucks, Southern hospitality, *Gone with the Wind* ...). Other delineations include the former slave states or any state south of the Mason-Dixon line (= the southern border of Pennsylvania). Still others use linguistic features to draw the borders of the South.



Map 8.1 Dialect regions of the (lower 48) United States

It is in the South that we find an area with speech forms approaching the character of a traditional dialect (such as otherwise found only in Great Britain and Ireland and possibly also in Newfoundland). Here we are talking about Appalachian English and the related variety of Ozark English in the Southern Highlands (Mid Southern on Map 8.1). The English of these regions is characterized by a relatively high incidence of older forms which have generally passed out of other varieties of AmE. Examples include syntactic phenomena such as *a*-prefixing on verbs (*I'm a-fixin' to carry her to town*), morphological-phonological ones such as initial /h/ in *hit* "it" and *hain't* "ain't," and lexical ones such as *afore* "before" or *nary* "not any." Linguistically naïve people as well as some residents of some Southern regions (e.g., Appalachia) believe that the English spoken there is so relatively traditional that it actually is like the English of the Early Modern English period, or more precisely of Shakespeare's time. This myth has been transported for decades if not longer but has no linguistic foundation.

Many (lay) people are of the opinion that the English spoken in the Southern United States is "bad" or sounds "uneducated." Any kind of statement of this kind – and there are probably few languages in the world in which there is no such stereotyping and general statements made about other varieties – is not linguistically grounded. Attitudes that people have about language varieties are principally learned or acquired attitudes toward social groups, that is, they are taken over from others. Young children as a matter of fact do not have negative attitudes of this kind but only show them toward the end of elementary school, and in the United States they are inclined to favor northern varieties over southern ones even if the children with this kind of preference are themselves from the South (Kinzler and DeJesus 2013). In general, language attitudes absorbed in this manner take a lot of conscious effort on the hearer's part to resist and to avoid in interaction. Social stereotypes about a group of people form the basis for linguistic attitudes and these are tied closely to people's expectations about what they will be hearing. The linguistic variants that are salient to others and shape their evaluation of the variety – or actually of the speaker – has

an indexical function (§6.2). For the South Preston was able to show that Michiganders associate Southerners strongly with speakers who are old, male, ignorant, and prejudiced, but also friendly and users of bad English (2018: 475).

The South as a linguistic – but also cultural – area is much more than a set of stereotypes. The absence of rhoticity in Southern AmE, for example, used to show – more than it does today – that the speaker was more highly educated. People of lower socio-economic status were much more rhotic (Gramley 2016). This pattern was the reverse from what Labov found in the 1960s in his study of the stratification in New York City (see §6.2). For the South as a whole, there are, traditionally, three linguistic hallmarks: the PIN-PEN merger, the form of address as *y'all* for the second person plural pronoun (§6.5.1), and the monophthongization of the diphthong /aɪ/ to /a:/. Both the PIN-PEN merger and *y'all* once overlapped very nicely with the Southern states, but this is no longer the case. Yet it remains a good starting point to describe the South even though there is much more that can be said linguistically. Western Texas, for instance, is not part of the linguistic South because it is too much part of the West and Hispanic influences. The same holds true for the very southern tip of Florida around Miami, where *y'all*, for example, cannot be heard (at least not frequently).

The Northeast and Inland North

New England consists of six states, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. This region can be further divided into Eastern and Western New England (Kurath 1939–1943 *LANE Linguistic Atlas of New England*), which for the purpose of this chapter is irrelevant. The area that today is New England was once inhabited by Native Americans and was later (1620) settled by Europeans. Traces of this can be seen in topographical names such as the Rhode Island town of *Contacook*, the words *Nantucket* and *Massachusetts*, the *Kennebec River* in Maine, and so on. New England, which once had a much more distinct dialect vis-à-vis the rest of the United States has lost some of this as a result of in-migration from other areas of the country. Unlike many other regions of the United States, New England does not show the presence of the Low Back Merger. Especially in Vermont there is a glottal stop replacement for /t/ and /d/, a feature that is common among BrE varieties (§§7.3.1, 7.3.3, 7.5.4) but not in the remainder of the United States (Nagy and Roberts 2008). Also, in conservative New England English we find nonrhoticity – as in some parts of the South – as well as the yod retention in /ju:/ after alveolar and dental consonants, where it is dropped in most North American varieties.

New York City is traditionally and geographically part of the Northeast but New York English is usually treated separately. New York City, originally an English colony, was already an economic hub in the colonial period and later saw an influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, whose influence could be seen, for example, in Little Italy. Today the separate sociolinguistic ethnic identities in NYC can be observed most strongly because of the in-migration of African Americans from the South during the Great Migration (~1910–1970) as well as Puerto Ricans from the end of the Spanish-American War (1898), in which Puerto Rico became an American possession. A Puerto Rican Great Migration began in the 1950s. Labov (1966) studied New York City English intensively in his variationist work on the social stratification of New York City based on rhoticity and vowel realization according to social class and ethnicity.

The English spoken in NYC, at least in the perception of many Americans, is very marked, much like the English found in the US South. It is similarly seen as a marker of a lack of education, streetwise behavior, and toughness, often stereotypically connected to Mafia talk. This English variety is principally connected to Brooklyn (“Brooklynese”).

Despite lay opinions, linguists have so far not found any clear markers for differences between speakers of the five boroughs of the city.

The Inland North refers to the region from New England to the Mississippi River with the area around the Great Lakes at its center and with such metropolitan hubs as Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Cleveland. Settlement of this area, mostly by Americans – New Englanders who profited from the opening of the Erie Canal – did not take place until after the United States gained independence. The English variety spoken in the Inland North is often described as General American but includes the Northern Cities (Chain) Shift, which came to linguists' attention only in the 1960s (Gordon 2008).

The West and the Midwest

This area stretches all the way from Pennsylvania through Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois, then across the Mississippi into Missouri, the Great Plains and all the way to the west coast. Linguistically the Midwest and West are characterized as “a middle-of-the-road variety” as a result of koinéization (Schneider 2010: 377). Often the English spoken there is seen as more homogeneous, which it certainly is especially when compared to the varieties spoken along the East Coast. But this is not true in this simple form, as pointed out in the literature (cf. Frazer 1993) and is not dwelt on in this volume. It is in this area that most people locate General American (GenAm).

8.1.2 Regional variation in Canada

Canadian English (CanE) is solidly part of the American variety of English. Yet there are important features of CanE which distinguish it as an independent subvariety of AmE. “What is distinctly Canadian about Canadian English is not its unique features (of which there are a handful) but its combination of tendencies that are uniquely distributed” (Bailey 1984: 161). Not the least of the factors contributing to the independence of CanE are the attitudes of Anglophone Canadians, which strongly support a separate linguistic identity.

The effect of attitudes on language behavior is revealed in a study in which Canadians with relatively more positive views of the United States and of Americans are also more likely to have syllable reduction in words like the following: *mirror* (= *mere*), *warren* (= *warn*), or *lion* (= *line*). They also have fewer high diphthongs in words like *about* or *like* (Canadian Raising: §8.3.2) and are more likely to voice and flap the /t/ in words like *party*, *butter*, or *sister*. Finally, they use more American morphological and lexical forms. Pro-British attitudes correlate well with a preservation of vowel distinctions before an /r/, such as *spear it* vs. *spirit*, *Mary* vs. *merry* vs. *marry*, *furry* vs. *hurry* and *oral* vs. *aural* as well as distinct vowels in *cot* vs. *caught*. Pro-Canadian attitudes mean relatively more leveling of the vowel distinctions just mentioned, more loss of /j/ in words like *tune*, *dew*, or *new* (also true of speakers with positive attitudes toward the United States).

BrE spellings are strongly favored in Ontario; AmE ones in Alberta. Indeed, spelling may call forth relatively emotional reactions since it is a part of the language system which – like vocabulary use – people are especially conscious of (in contrast to pronunciation outside the obvious stereotypes). This means that using a BrE spelling rather than an AmE one can, on occasion, be something of a declaration of allegiance. As the preceding examples indicate, differences between CanE and the AmE of the United States are, aside from the rather superficial spelling distinctions, largely in the areas of pronunciation and vocabulary. Grammar differences are virtually nonexistent, at least on the level of StE.



Map 8.2 Canada

The emphasis in the preceding section was on the English westward of the Ottawa Valley (sometimes called Central/Prairie CanE even though it reaches to the Pacific). It is an unusually uniform variety, at least as long as the focus is on urban, middle-class usage, and Canada is overwhelmingly middle-class and urban. Furthermore, the bulk of the English-speaking population lives in the area referred to. Working-class usage is said to differ not only from middle-class CanE but also to differ in itself from urban center to urban center. Woods shows working-class preferences in Ottawa to be more strongly in the direction of GenAm than middle- and upper-class preferences are, at least in regard to the voicing and flapping of intervocalic /t/ and the loss of /j/ in *tune*, *new* and *due* words. Working-class speech patterns also favor /ɪŋ/ over /ɪŋ/ for the ending {-ing} and tend to level the /hw/-/w/ opposition more completely (1991: 137–143).

Eastward from the Ottawa Valley and including the Maritime provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island we find the second major region of CanE. Here the norms of pronunciation are varied. For the Ottawa Valley area alone, Pringle and Padolsky distinguish nine distinct English language areas. Much of the variation they recognize may be accounted for by the settlement history of the Valley: Scots, Northern and Southern Irish, Kashubian Poles, Germans, and Americans (especially Loyalists who left the United States during and after the War of Independence) (2010: 198–201). Although there is also considerable variation in the Maritimes, the Eastern Canadian region is perhaps best characterized overall as resembling the English of New England, which is where many of the earliest settlers came from; there is, for example, less /ɑː/-/ɔː/ merging, yet the English of this area is, like all of Canada, firmly rhotic while Eastern New England is nonrhotic.

The final distinct region of CanE is Newfoundland (population approx. half a million). Wells even speaks of the existence of traditional dialects in Newfoundland, something which exists in the English-speaking world only in Great Britain and Ireland and perhaps in the Appalachian region of the United States. The linguistic identity of Newfoundland is the result of early (from 1583 onward) and diverse (especially Irish and Southwest English) settlement, stability of population (93% native born) and isolation with a very homogenous population of which some 90% were born in Newfoundland. Since it joined Canada in 1949, its isolation has been somewhat less. The influence of mainland pronunciation patterns has become stronger.

8.2 THE VOCABULARY OF AmE

The vocabulary of American English differs from other English varieties, most notably here from BrE, insofar as it draws on a different background of institutions and history. A fair number of vocabulary items used in the United States require at least some cultural knowledge, such as when someone is asked for their John Hancock, that is, their signature. John Hancock was the first to sign the Declaration of Independence and he made his signature extra-large so that George III would be sure not to miss it. Or, for example, when one person says about another that they will sell you the Brooklyn Bridge, this means that this person takes you for a sucker (gullible). After all, Brooklyn Bridge is not for sale. Unless this is knowledge that someone has, statements of this kind are not clear. Many an AmE speaker of the United States or Canada is unlikely to understand (chiefly) CanE *sasquatch* [not the music group], the huge, wild, hairy mythical humanlike creature of western Canada and the US Northwest (borrowed like so many words from a Native American language, in this case Salish). This is indicative of internal AmE differences.

These go beyond the distinctions between different English varieties and illustrate the variation within AmE. Its regional varieties consist of three general areas (see Map 8.1): Northern, of which CanE is a part, Midland, and Southern. Each of these may be further differentiated into subregions. Grammar is of relatively little importance for these three areas; most of the dividing and subdividing is based on vocabulary and pronunciation, though the two may not lead to identical results. In addition, it was often the more old-fashioned, rural vocabulary (using as informants NORMs: Non-mobile Old Rural Speakers) that was at the focus of attention in the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada.² Increasingly, general North American terms are replacing such distinctions as Northern (*devil's darning needle* or Midland *snake doctor/snake feeder* or Southern *mosquito hawk* "dragon fly." However, some urban terms continue to reinforce the older regional distinctions. For example, *hero* (New York), *subsubmarine* (Pittsburgh), *hoagie* (Philadelphia), *grinder* (Boston), *po' boy* (New Orleans), and a number of others all designate a roughly similar, overlarge sandwich made of a split loaf or bun of bread and filled with varying (regional) goodies. Each of the cities just mentioned is, more or less coincidentally, also the center of a subregion. Similarly there are regional differences for the lexical choice between *soda* (New England, the west coast), *pop* (mostly North and Midland), *soft drink* (scattered across the United States), or *coke* (mostly in the South) denoting a sugary carbonated drink, or the term used for *water fountain*, *drinking fountain*, or *bubbler*.

On the whole, vocabulary carries regional distinctions which are infrequent in occurrence and can usually easily be replaced by more widely accepted terms; in addition, they are also more readily subject to change today than several decades ago, when people were less geographically mobile. On a side note, the choice of a lexical item can be telling about a person's geographic origins, as in the case of a kidnapping in which the kidnapper used the term *devil's strip* for what most know as the strip of grass found between the street and sidewalk but do not have an actual term for. Linguist Roger Shuy, who aided the police in the investigation and the ultimate capture of the perp, knew that *devil's strip* was the term used in Akron, Ohio and only there.

AmE in both the United States and Canada show very clearly in their vocabulary that they have grown distant from Great Britain. One reason for this is the adoption of native terms into the English of the settlers of North America. Examples are items used for

2 Areas studied include New England, the Middle Atlantic and Southern States, the Gulf States, the Upper Midwest, the North Central States, the Pacific Coast, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas.

flora – *hickory*, *persimmon*, and *pecan* – and for fauna – *chipmunk*, *opossum*, *skunk*, and *woodchuck*. But also *hominy* and *succotash* for food items, and *powwow*, *wigwam*, and *papoose* for aspects of native culture and society (Marckwardt 1980). It was not only the Native American languages that supplied new vocabulary to English but also other languages: *stoop* from Dutch, *schlep* from Yiddish, *gestalt* from German, *calaboose* from Spanish.

CanE vocabulary provides for a considerable number of Canadianisms. Many words peculiar to Canada are, of course, no different in status than the regional vocabulary peculiar to the one or the other region of the United States, and much of the vocabulary that is not part of BrE is shared with AmE in general. Seventy-five percent of Canadians say *zed* (BrE) instead of *zee* (AmE) as the name of the letter and just as many use *chesterfield* (specifically CanE) for *sofa* (AmE and BrE).

As with many varieties of English outside the British Isles designations for aspects of the topography, for flora, and for fauna make up many of these items. Examples are *sault* “waterfall,” *muskeg* “a northern bog,” *canals* “fjords” (topography); *cat spruce* “a kind of tree,” *tamarack* “a kind of larch,” *kinnikinnick* “plants used in a mixture of dried leaves, bark, and tobacco for smoking in earlier times” (flora); and *kokanee* “a kind of salmon,” *siwash duck* “a kind of duck” (fauna). The use of the discourse marker *eh?* is also considered to be especially Canadian; see, as an illustration, the following:

I’m walking down the street, eh? (Like this, see?) I had a few beers, en I was feeling priddy good, eh? (You know how it is.) When all of a sudden I saw this big guy, eh? (Ya see.) He musta weighed all of 220 pounds, eh? (Believe me.) I could see him from a long ways off en he was a real big guy, eh? (I’m not fooling.) I’m minding my own business, eh? (You can bet I was.)

(McCrum, MacNeil, and Cran 2002: 245)

8.3 PRONUNCIATION

8.3.1 Regions and their accents

Pronunciation differences, in contrast to lexis, are evident in everything a person says and less subject to conscious control. The Southern accents realize /aɪ/ as [aʰ] or [a], that is, with a weakened off-glide or with no off-glide at all (monophthongization), especially before a voiced consonant. In the GOOSE lexical set /u:/ is being increasingly fronted, as is /ʊ/ in the FOOT set. Many phonetic changes such as /aɪ/ monophthongization can be readily noticed by the linguistically naïve but whether all phonetic differences mentioned in the following are consciously perceived for most speakers is not clear, nor whether the phonetic realizations are indicative of stance taking.

U-Fronting

One vowel movement that can be observed across regional boundaries in the United States is the fronting just mentioned, in which high back [u:] moves to [u]. Originally this was viewed as part of the Southern, but it can now also be found as part of the Californian Vowel Shift (Hall-Lew 2011; Podesva 2011) and among Northern and Midland speakers, even though here fronting seems to apply more to easy rather than hard words (Clopper, Mitch, and Tamati 2017, Szabó 2018), this fronting has been observed increasingly among

females (more than males), younger speakers (more than older ones). U-Fronting can also be found in Canadian English but only as the result of a diffusing effect across the border from the United States (Boberg 2008a) and in Chicano English (Santa Ana and Bayley 2008). The GOOSE vowel has been fronted all the way to [y] in some regions.

Rhoticity

Lack of rhoticity is typical of Eastern New England and New York City but not the Inland North. It is also characteristic of Coastal Southern and Gulf Southern, even though younger White speakers are increasingly rhotic, while the Mid Southern (also known as South Midland) has always been rhotic. The origins of rhoticity can be traced back to the settlement pattern in the United States as well as intra-American migration. This means that rhoticity is due to Ulster Scots settlers, but nonrhotic English is due to Southern English settlers who came after 1700, when Southern England had become largely nonrhotic (Gramley 2016).

Traditionally New York City English was nonrhotic but has become increasingly less so (Gordon 2008; and below). A hallmark of NYC pronunciation is the pronunciation of the phoneme /ɜ:/ in words such as *thirty-third*, which are often reported to be pronounced much like “toidy-toid,” even though the pronunciation is actually something like [ɜɪ] (Wells 1982). As seen here, dental fricatives in the English of NYC are often realized as either alveolar plosives ([t], [d]) or a mix of both (the affricates [tθ] and [dð]).

Yod-Dropping

The Northern region does not have /j/ in words like *due* or *new*, nor does North Midland, but /j/ may occur throughout the South. Northern and Northern Midland Yod-Dropping stands in stark contrast to BrE, which does not drop the yod (but §7.5.4 Cockney; §9.3.3).

The Southern vowel system

This system as such cannot be found uniformly across the South anymore. Raleigh, North Carolina, which experienced a lot in-migration from other areas of the United States developed a vowel system atypical from that of the rest of the South in the second half of the 20th century. Instead of keeping their positions in the Southern Vowel Shift system, both the front tense and lax vowels returned to their higher and more fronted and their less peripheral position, respectively (Dodsworth 2013). Most decisive for reversing the otherwise well-established pattern is the year of birth of the speakers with younger speakers being the driving force.

General American

The pronunciation of the Northern Midland area more or less from Ohio westward, has often been referred to as GenAm. This label is a convenient fiction used to designate a huge area in which there are numerous local differences in pronunciation but in which there are none of the more noticeable subregional divisions such as those along the eastern seaboard. Furthermore, the differences between North Midland and Inland North are relatively

insignificant. Both areas are rhotic, are not likely to vocalize /l/, have /aɪ/ as [æɪ] or [aɪ], have the Low Back Merger, which means they do not distinguish /ɑ:/ and /ɔ:/ (or increasingly do not³) and no longer maintain the /j/ on-glide in the *due*-words (Yod-Dropping). Most significant of all for the selection of North Midland for the label GenAm is the fact that it is this type of accent more than any other which is used on the national broadcasting networks.

The pronunciation of CanE

This accent, sometimes called General Canadian, applies to Canada from the Ottawa Valley (just west of the Quebec-Ontario border) to British Columbia and is similar to what has been described as GenAm; yet this statement is not intended to undermine the very distinct identity of Canadians. It shares the same consonant system with GenAm, including the instable contrast between the /hw/ of *which* and the /w/ of *witch*. Its vowel system is similar to that of the northern variety of GenAm, which means that the opposition between /ɑ:/ and /ɔ:/ as in *cot* and *caught* has been diminishing (Low Back Merger). The actual quality of the neutralized vowel is said to vary according to the phonetic environment, for example [ɔ] (exclusively) as a possible regional realization in Edmonton. The distinctions between /i:/ and /ɪ/ (the stressed vowel of *beery* vs. that of *mirror*), between /eɪ/, /e/ and /æ/ (*Mary* vs. *merry* vs. *marry*) and between /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ (*oral* vs. *aural*) are rapidly dying out in CanE as they are in most varieties of AmE. CanE is a rhotic variety; it shows more Yod Dropping than not and has relatively frequent T Flapping in intervocalic position (*better* = *bedder*; *latter* = *ladder*) at times leading to homophonous word pairs. There is variation in preferences in regard to the pronunciation of individual words like *tomato* with /eɪ/ or /ɑ:/, *either* with /i:/ or /aɪ/, *lever* with /e/ or /i:/, and so on. Two-thirds have an /l/ in *almond* (GenAm), but two-thirds also say *bath* (BrE) *the baby* rather than *bathe* (AmE) it (Bailey 1984: 160).

From the point of view of pronunciation the most notably distinct variety of CanE is Newfoundland English (NfldE). There is considerable dialectal variation primarily between young and upwardly mobile people exhibiting a much more standard CanE pronunciation as opposed to the more traditional, rural speakers whose phonological systems are much like that of the initial settlers (Clarke 2008: 161ff). Southwestern English influences (§7.5.1) have been observed in the voicing of initial /f/ and /s/, now very recessive (ibid.: 176). IrE influences include the following:

- Clear [l] occurs in all environments; for example, the “traditional speech of St. John’s and the Irish Avalon [the peninsula on which St. John’s is located], ..., is characterized by a ‘clear’ or palatal articulation of postvocalic /l/, ... Today, ..., palatal variants are most associated with older speakers” (ibid.: 174).
- /eɪ/ is monophthongal [e:], and /oʊ/ is /o:/ (ibid.: 167f).
- Some older speakers neutralize /aɪ/ vs. /ɔɪ/, realizing both as [əɪ] (ibid.: 169; Wells 1982: 498f).
- Rhoticity is the default for NfldE with a few nonrhotic enclaves (Clarke 2008).
- The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are often alveolar /t/ and /d/ (sometimes dental [t̪] and [d̪]).
- *Pate* /pɛ:t/ and *bait* /bɛɪt/ do not traditionally rhyme.

3 Note that this opposition is still recognized for GenAm in this book.

Less (or perhaps no) influence of IrE is the case with the following:

- Most speakers have the Low Back Merger but front it to [a(:)].
- Canadian Raising is universal in all phonetic environments for some speakers (ibid.: 499).
- Fronting of /u/ is not observable in standard NfldE, but some speakers centralize it somewhat.
- /h/ is generally missing except in standard speech, but in some vernacular varieties there is an “intrusive” /h/ before any word with an initial vowel (cf. [dæt hɛɪ] “that air” [ibid.: 173]).
- Consonant clusters are regularly simplified (e.g., *Newfoun’lan’* or in *pos’* [= “post”] [ibid.: 175]).

Many of these features are typical only of older Newfoundlanders, “... while the speech patterns of certain teenage groups would be, to the untrained observer at least, virtually indistinguishable from those of teenagers in such major Canadian centers as Toronto or Vancouver” (Clarke 1991: 111). In other words, considerable change is taking place in Newfoundland English, and “... age is by far the most important” (ibid.: 113) of the sociolinguistic factors involved, with females generally taking the lead. They have also been observed to make “use of the ingressively articulated discourse particles *yeah*, *mm* and *no*,” which can be found in the Canadian Maritime provinces but not in New England (Clarke 2008: 177). In contrast, “... loyalty to the vernacular norm is most evident among older speakers, males, and lower social strata” (Clarke 2008: 116).

8.3.2 Mergers and shifts

Generally, vowels change more readily in any language, and consonants remain relatively stable. There are historic consonant shifts like the first and second Germanic sound shifts, including Grimm’s Law and Verner’s Law. Among the vowel shifts the Great Vowel Shift in English in the Early Modern English period had an enormous effect. Even today there are ongoing sound shifts and mergers involving vowels. A few will be dealt with in this chapter: the Low Back Merger, the Northern Cities (Chain) Shift, the Southern Shift, the PIN-PEN Merger, the California Vowel Shift, and, finally, the Canadian Shift and Canadian Raising.

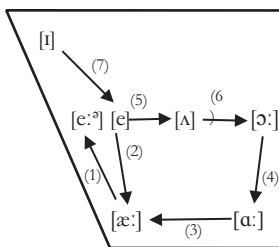
The Low Back Merger

This is also called the CAUGHT-COT merger because it involves the vowels of *caught*, traditionally /ɔ(:)/, and of *cot*, traditionally /ɑ(:)/. It can be heard widely across the United States – to some extent also in Canada – resulting in one vowel, usually /ɑ(:)/, but sometimes /ɔ(:)/. This results in homophonous word pairs (*naught* = *not*, *paw* = *pa*, *pawnd* = *pond*). The main hubs of its spread are Boston and Pittsburgh as well as the West in general. Estimates say that about half of the Anglophone community in North America participates in this merger. In some regions such as the Midland area the merger is said to be incomplete or still in progress. The South seems to be resisting it perhaps because its pronunciation of /ɔ/ is diphthongal [ɔ^ɒ] involving a rounded offglide (Labov, Ash, and Boberg, 2006). Also it has always been said that this merger could not be found in the Inland North, where the Northern Cities Shift is active because the LOT-vowel has fronted and left the back area and

so is not available for merger (Dinkin 2011). Dinkin, however, finds that at the fringes of the Inland North there is, especially among younger speakers, evidence of backing of /ɑ(:)/, which might eventually result in the participation in the Low Back Merger.

The Northern Cities (Chain) Shift (NCS)

The /ɑ:/-/ɔ:/ opposition, while maintained in most of the South, has been lost in the North Midland and is weakening in the North. It is assumed that the English variety found in the Inland North draws on a stock of both Irish English speakers as well as a great influx of laborers from New York building the Erie Canal in upstate New York at the beginning of the 19th century (Labov 2010: 111–118; Gramley 2019: §11.5.2). The Northern Cities Shift began there and spread through the cities of the northern dialect area (e.g., Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse). Different from the Great Vowel Shift, the NCS affects the short vowels. It is initiated by the split of /æ/ into short [æ] and long [æ:] in which long, peripheral [æ:] rises (see (1) in Figure 8.1). Van Herk (2008) suggests as one possible trigger for the NCS the attempt of White communities in the Inland North to set themselves apart from African Americans arriving from the South as part of the Great Migration. He refers to this as “a linguistic version of ‘white flight’” (ibid.: 156). He does not want to argue for causality here especially because Eckert (2000) showed in her study that the NCS today is very much a question of urban identity rather than ethnicity. As the diagram shows (Figure 8.1), the NCS is a chain-like movement in which the realization of each of the phonemes changes its position of articulation while maintaining the distinctions within the system (for further chain shifts see §7.5.2, Figure 7.1; §7.5.4, Figures 7.2 + 7.3; §8.3.2, Figures 8.2 + 8.3 + 8.4; §10.3.1, Figures 10.1 + 10.2; §10.3.3, Figure 10.3). The shift started in the mid-20th century and the *Atlas of North American English* (ANAE; Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006) confirms that this as a still ongoing change making the Inland North region as a whole more divergent from other regions in the United States. People who grew up in the area, left there, and returned several decades later were able to observe this chain shift in people who had stayed (Lippi-Green 2012) resulting in different pronunciations of the same lexical item. Produced in isolation these diverging pronunciations lead to misinterpretations by listeners who are not part of the Northern Cities Shift. Aside from the examples given with Figure 8.1 there are others such as those used by Labov (2010). He asked native AmE speakers to say which words they heard in a recording of Northern Inland speakers. For instance, in isolation they heard *black* but in context realized they had heard *block*.



- (1) peripheral [æ:] rises to [e:] or higher
 - (2) non-peripheral [e] falls to [æ:] (continue at (7)); or:
 - (3) peripheral [ɑ:] fronts to [æ:]
 - (4) non-peripheral [ɔ:] falls to peripheral [ɑ:],
 - (5) [e] moves to [ɪ]
 - (6) [ɑ] backs to [ɔ:]
 - (7) non-peripheral [ɪ] falls and centers
- For example: (1) Ann = Ian, (2) tech = tack, (3) tock = tack, (4) talk = tock; (5) tech = tuck, (6) tuck = talk, (7) tick = tech

(from Gramley 2019: 336, adapted from Mesthrie et al. 2000: 141)

Figure 8.1 The Northern Cities Shift

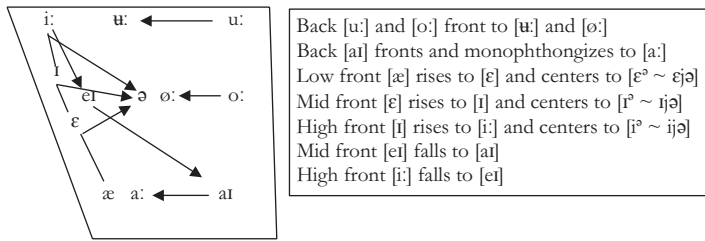


Figure 8.2 The Southern Shift

The Southern Shift

This is a vowel shift that can be found in the Southern Mountain region (Mid-Southern on Map 8.1), the Upper and Lower South (Gulf Southern and Coastal Southern). In these areas most of the original European settlers were either from England or from Ulster. The shift parallels similar southern shifts in the south of England and in the southern hemisphere. It is assumed that the American Southern Shift had already begun in England before the settlers left for the New World and continued there.

The back vowels /u:/ and /o:/ front in the Southern Shift. So does /aɪ/, which, in addition, monophthongizes to [aː]. This latter move is assumed to be the catalyst for the Southern Vowel Shift (Labov 2010: 16; Cramer 2016). As new [aː] fronts, /æ/ drifts upward and toward [ɛ] and then toward central schwa becoming [ɛjə ~ ɛə]. This pushes /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ upward where they become [ɪjə ~ ɪə] and [ijə ~ iə]. These rising peripheral vowels intrude on /eɪ/, which falls and becomes nonperipheral [aɪ] (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006: 125). The same happens to /iː/, which becomes [eɪ]. In the Southern Shift /æ/ moves but does not split into a long and a short allophone, as in the NCS, and /ɔ/ and /ɑ/ do not merge. Both /iː/ and /ɪ/ and /eɪ/ and /ɛ/ end up swapping places.

The PIN-PEN Merger

This merger was once found in the South as well as in African American English (AAE) more than anywhere else in the United States. In the meantime, it has been spreading outside the South, for example, to areas in California as a result of intra-American migration from the South. In this merger /ɪ/ (*pin*) and /eɪ/ (*pen*) are merged before nasals to a relatively uniform [ɪ] or even [iə] (Thomas 2008) (*pen* = *pin*), which without context can lead to misunderstandings as in

Bank teller [African American]: You have your Penn ID?
 Sherry A [Chicago]: PIN ID?
 Bank teller: Your Penn ID?
 Sherry: PIN ID? (Labov 2010: 36)

The California Vowel Shift

Anglo-English in California is marked by the Low Back Merger, /uː/-fronting as well as TRAP-backing, and KIT-lowering. For many people this pronunciation is what is regarded as typical Californian spoken by the rich, White, happy, and laid back. These speakers are often referred to as Valley Girls, who extend the Californian Shift to an extreme. The vowel changes just mentioned all contribute to the California Vowel Shift (CVS), in which

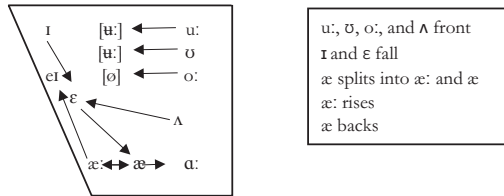


Figure 8.3 The California Shift

the high and mid back vowels are fronted, that is, *BOOT*, *PUT*, and *BOAT*. And the front vowels move downward and become more open, whereby ash /æ/ splits and is raised and fronted before nasals, but backed in other phonological environments (Podesva 2011: 33).

The Canadian Vowel Shift and Canadian Raising

Canadian Raising is a Northern feature which, despite its name, is common to many American cities of the Inland North. In it the diphthongs /aʊ/ as in *out* and *about*, and /aɪ/ as in *height* and *flight* have a higher and nonperipheral first element [ʌu] and [ʌɪ] when followed by a voiceless consonant. Elsewhere the realization is [aʊ] and [aɪ]. While other varieties of English also have such realizations (e.g., Scotland, Northern Ireland, Tidewater Virginia), the phonetic environment described here is specifically Canadian. Hence each of the pairs *bout* [bʌʊt]-*bowed* [bʌʊd] and *bite* [baɪt]-*bide* [baɪd] have noticeably different allophones. One of the most interesting aspects of Canadian raising is its increasing loss (leveling to /aʊ/ and /aɪ/ in all phonetic environments) among women and young Canadians (Hoffmann 2010). This movement may be understood as part of a standardization process in which the tacit standard is GenAm and not General CanE. This movement has been documented most strongly among young females in Vancouver and Toronto and is indicative of a generally positive attitude toward things American including vocabulary choice. However, an independent development among young Vancouver males, namely rounding of the first element of /aʊ/ before voiceless consonants as [ou] is working against this standardization and may be part of a process promoting a covert, non-standard local norm (Chambers and Hardwick 1986).

The Canadian Vowel Shift is found in Anglophone Canada although there is no absolute clarity about its regional profile,⁴ and it is still advancing (Hoffmann 2010). The shift shows a systematic lowering and backing/retraction of the KIT, DRESS, and TRAP vowels and is seen as a response to the Low Back Merger, as TRAP moves into the space of LOT pulling DRESS and KIT behind (Boberg 2008a: 154f).

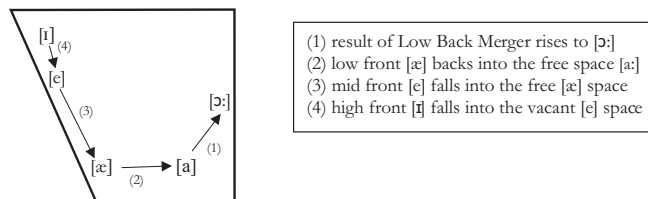


Figure 8.4 The Canadian Shift

⁴ Note its similarity to the California Shift.

8.4 GRAMMAR

8.4.1 The subjunctive

The perhaps “healthiest” type of subjunctive is the mandative subjunctive (§4.3.5). This form occurs exclusively in dependent clauses with matrix (or embedding) predicates of desired future action. An example: “*I’m just curious, man – why were you so **adamant** that your daughter **never see** the kid?*” (Dennis Lehane, *Mystic River*, Bantam, 2001, p. 336). Nonsubjunctive forms include clauses with *should* (cf. “... *that your daughter **should never see** the kid?*”). A comparison of two corpora of written English⁵ from 1961, a British one (LOB) and an American one (Brown), with two corpora from 1991/1992 (FLOB) and (Frown) allow us to compare these two national varieties as well as change in usage over a 30-year span (cf. Table 8.1).

What these results show is that a form already common in written AmE became more so while BrE seemed to be making a move in the same direction – without catching up. While it is, of course, not possible to say that wider use of the mandative subjunctive in AmE was a cause of the change in BrE usage, this can, nevertheless, be labeled Americanization.

Conditional clauses and the subjunctive in the same corpora reveal a different result involving conditionals of the type *If she were/was to jump, I’d have to grab her*. The AmE use of subjunctive *were* is unchangingly stable, while BrE shows diminishment in the use of subjunctive *were* in favor of *was* (see Table 8.2).

“From a more global perspective, AmE turns out to be the conservative variety in this ongoing change and BrE, for once, is more advanced” (ibid.: 67).

Table 8.1 The use of the mandative subjunctive relative to *should*-clauses

	<i>Brown (%)</i>	<i>Frown (%)</i>	<i>LOB (%)</i>	<i>F-LOB (%)</i>
<i>should</i>	14.1	8.7	87.4	61.7
subjunctive	85.9	91.3	12.6	38.3

Leech et al. (2009: 53, 281).

Table 8.2 The use of the subjunctive in conditional clauses

	<i>Brown (%)</i>	<i>Frown (%)</i>	<i>LOB (%)</i>	<i>F-LOB (%)</i>
subjunctive <i>were</i>	73.4	73.7	63.3	51.9
subjunctive <i>was</i>	26.6	26.3	36.7	48.1

Leech et al. (2009: 64).

⁵ BrE in the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus (LOB, 1961) and 30 years (1991) later in the Freiburg-LOB corpus (FLOB); AmE in the Brown Corpus (1961) and 30 years later (1992) in the Freiburg-Brown Corpus (Frown). Collectively they are called the Brown family.

8.4.2 *Do*-periphrasis

The use of *do* as an auxiliary verb in questions and negations has spread to several auxiliaries and operators more completely in AmE than it has in BrE. Only the perfect auxiliary is always an operator in AmE, which means that it must invert and negate directly. Otherwise, AmE treats *have* as a lexical verb, and its speakers therefore usually use periphrastic *do* for negation and inversion in questions. While BrE speakers may say *Have you a minute for me?* AmE speakers generally phrase this *Do you have a minute for me?* But both might perhaps opt for *Have you got a minute ...?* In BrE *do* seems to be used increasingly as well; nevertheless, lexical *have*, especially in the broad sense of possession, may also be treated as an operator by British speakers (e.g., *I haven't any idea* or *Have you a book on this subject?*). This use, which is rare in AmE, is becoming less frequent in BrE, especially in questions. *Have* with *do*-support in the past tense (*Hadn't she any news?*) comes across as strange, if not ungrammatical in AmE-speakers' ears. Even in BrE the past tense use is declining (Leech et al. 2009: 255f), though still found in BrE conversational English (Biber et al. 1999: 162, 216). Note that *do*-periphrasis is obligatory in both varieties for events such as having lunch, having a good time, and having trouble.

The modal *need* (which is almost always used in the negative) appears freely in AmE. There is no apparent difference in meaning between *You needn't bother to come* and *You don't need (to bother) to come* (*to bother* is likely to be dropped, perhaps to avoid the sequential use of two *to*-infinitives).

8.4.3 The semi-modal auxiliaries

Semi-modals (§4.3.5) seem to be used more widely in AmE than in BrE. The semi-modals (*had*) *better* and (*have*) *got to* (*gotta*)⁶ are more common in conversation in BrE than in AmE, but *have to* (*hafta*) and *be going to* (*gonna*) are more common in AmE than in BrE (Biber et al. 1999: 488f). In spontaneous spoken AmE the semi-modals are catching up with the core modals (Leech et al. 2009: 101). The most extreme case is *have to* at 8:1 over *must* in spoken AmE (LCSAE) (*ibid.*: 78f). Increase in *going to* between 1961 (Brown) and 1991 (Frown) in the genre of news went from 11 to 54 occurrences. Parallel to this *be to* decreased from 27 to 6 (*ibid.*: 108). In spoken corpora the semi-modals are, in the meantime, not far behind the modals in frequency, especially in AmE.

8.4.4 The passive voice

The passive with the auxiliary *be* has long been a feature of written English, and here specifically academic writing. This is because the passive depersonalizes what is reported, making it sound more objective. One corpus has come up with the following frequencies of the *be*-passive by register:

- most: academic writing (25% of finite VPs)
- middle: journalistic writing (15%)
- least: conversation (2%)

(Biber et al. 1999: 476)

⁶ The forms *gonna*, *hafta*, and *gotta*, which appear in informal spoken English, are called amalgamated forms.

Yet the use of the passive in writing decreased dramatically between 1961 and 1991 – by 20% in AmE. In BrE the decline was less, but still large at 12.4% (Leech et al. 2009: 331). One conjecture about why this is so points out that it may be due to the advice of American usage guides to use the passive less often in writing (ibid.: 164). This fits in very well with the trend toward greater vernacularization in writing: a “growing tendency towards the colloquialization of written English” – “the fact that in the course of the past century written English has moved closer to the norms of spoken usage” (Mair and Leech 2008: 332).

If this is indeed the case, we might expect to see an increase in the frequency of the *get*-passive, as in *Colloquial style is supposed to help get the reader involved*. In fact, in AmE, the frequency of *get* passives “doubled from the 1960s to the 1990s” (Leech et al. 2009: 157). Yet data “suggest that the *get*-passive is an extremely rare option (the *be*-passive is about 400 times as frequent as the *get*-passive).” However, it is increasing, especially in AmE and especially in more spoken genres (ibid.: 156). Clearly, the *get*-passive remains a marked form. “The *be*-passive is still the prototypical passive construction in contemporary English. Its main competitors in conversation are active forms with a generalized subject pronoun ...” (ibid.: 164f), which means rephrasing the sentence above as *Writers involve readers by using a more colloquial style*.

8.4.5 S-genitives

In the Middle English period, the *s*-genitive (*the story's climax*) declined in favor of the periphrastic *of*-genitive (*the climax of the story*). After about 1400 the *s*-genitive stabilized “when it took on a new lease of life as a clitic” (Leech et al. 2009: 224). This means that today possessive {s} can added onto whole phrases (e.g., *the woman on the horse's hat* [clearly the woman is wearing a hat and not sitting the horse's hat]). Recent tendencies everywhere show an increase in the use of the *s*-genitive in comparison to the *of*-genitive, but more in AmE than in BrE and more in the journalistic and academic corpora (ibid.: 223f). It should be noted that this change runs counter to the long-term move toward more analytic (periphrastic) structures.

8.4.6 Relative clauses

A comparison of the American Brown and British LOB corpora from 1961 with the parallel corpora (Frown and FLOB) from 1991/1992 reveal an increase in *that*-relative clauses in written AmE of 73.1% and in written BrE of 15.3%. In BrE this is probably due to colloquialization, but in AmE there are three factors: (1) increasing demands to use *which* for nonrestrictive and *that* for restrictive (cf. usage guides); (2) the fact that *which* is only available for nonpersonal antecedents; and (3) that only *which* can be used in pied-piping constructions (which means the preposition follows the relative pronoun to the beginning of the relative clause, for example, *the book about which I just heard*). Either may be used when the preposition is “stranded” at the end of the sentence (cf. *the book which/that I just heard about* [ibid.: 230]). Pied-piping remains more frequent than stranding in writing, even in fiction. In colloquial style zero relative is much more frequent, as in *the book I just heard about*. The rise in the frequency of zero relatives in AmE was over 50% (data on the corpus findings from Leech et al. 2009: 229ff).

8.4.7 Americanization

There may be a kind of “follow-the-leader” behavior in patterns of change. We see this in the new quotatives (*be like* and *go*), which are probably an American innovation, but “are among the fastest-spreading grammatical constructions in varieties of English today” (Leech et al. 2009: 258). This “often recurs in our data, so that it begins to look like the ‘normal’ pattern. Sometimes AmE takes the lead in *declining* frequency” – as with the passive and relative pronoun use. In other cases, AmE takes the lead in *increasing* frequency – as in the case of the subjunctive, epistemic *have to*, and the *s*-genitive. In rare cases, BrE takes the lead, and AmE follows. This pattern occurs in the semi-modals collectively. In other words, variation in change may not reflect a direct trans-Atlantic influence via dialect contact but be part of a general trend in which the tempo varies between varieties (ibid.: 253f).

8.5 SOCIAL AND ETHNIC VARIATION IN AmE

8.5.1 Social-class variation

Besides differences according to the gender (§6.3) or ethnicity (§§6.4 and 8.5.2) of the speaker or other sociological categories explicated in chapter 6, there are significant differences according to the socially and economically relevant factors of education and social class.

In North America socio-economic status shows up in pronunciation inasmuch as middle-class speakers are on the whole more likely than those of the working class to adopt forms which are in agreement with the overt norms of the society. They are also considered initiators of unconscious, language internal sound changes (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006). Pronunciation is decidedly more a marker of group-preferential patterns than grammar. The now classic investigations of Labov in New York City in the 1960s provided a first insight into these relations (Labov 1972a; §6.2). This may be illustrated by the finding that initial voiceless <th> (as in *thing*) is realized progressively more often as a stop [t] or an affricate [tθ] than as a fricative [θ] as the classification of the speaker changes from upper middle to lower middle, to working, to lower class (Labov 1972b: 188–190). None of these forms, though, however they are used – based on economic status or not – are mutually exclusive (§6.2) but rather group preferential. Such variability, however, is not “as socially significant as a group-exclusive marking” (Wolfram 2015: 61). Many who are “linguistically naïve” demand a kind of StE purity marked “by the absence of negatively valued, or socially stigmatized, features rather than by the presence of socially prestigious features” (ibid.: 60). In this way StE is defined negatively by saying what it is not rather than stating what it is. And social dialects are often associated with the variety spoken by low-status groups as if the use of nonstandard features is the criterion for social dialects. Generally, it can be said that most socially diagnostic structures are matters of stigmatization and not so much of prestige.

Although variation is usually within the range of regional or local variants, it may in some cases be a non-regional standard which is aimed at. For example, New Yorkers increasingly (with middle-class women as leaders) began pronouncing non-prevocalic <r> even though rhoticity was not traditionally a feature of New York City pronunciation. Since younger speakers also favored pronunciation of this <r>, this is not only an excellent example of the differing speech habits of differing social classes and the greater orientation

of women toward the overt norm but also the gradual adoption of rhoticity by a new generation, a fact that indicates a probable long-term change in the regional standard.

Social distinctions are especially perceptible in the area of grammar, where a remarkable number of stigmatized features (often referred to as *shibboleths*) apply supra-regionally. All of these features are within the scope of GenE. Nevertheless, a person is regarded as uneducated, unsophisticated, and uncouth who uses:

- 1 *ain't* (*I ain't done it yet*)
- 2 a double modal (*I might could help you*)
- 3 multiple negation (*We don't need none*)
- 4 *them* as a demonstrative adjective (*Hand me them cups*)
- 5 no subject relative pronoun in a defining relative clause (*The fellow wrote that letter is here*)
- 6 *don't* in the third person singular present tense (*She don't like it*)
- 7 *was* with a plural subject (*We was there too early*)
- 8 *come, done, seen, knowed, drowned*, and so on for the simple past tense
- 9 *took, went, tore, fell, wrote*, and so on as a past participle.

Investigations of usage have revealed that these and other nonstandard forms are used most frequently by the less well educated in the working class (e.g., Feagin 1979). Users are also frequently the oldest and most poorly educated rural speakers such as were often sought out for studies in the framework of the Linguistic Atlas studies. It would be a mistake, however, for the impression to arise that such nonstandard forms are somehow strange or unusual merely because StE, and therefore the written language, does not include them. The contrary is the case. All of them are very common. Indeed, many of them may be majority forms. In Anniston, Alabama, for example, third person singular *don't* was found to be used by all the working-class groups investigated more than 90% of the time except for urban adult males, whose rate was 69%. The use of singular *don't* by the Anniston upper class, in contrast, ranged from 0% to 10% (Feagin 1979: 208). This type of situation seems to be the case wherever English is spoken. And even if these nonstandard forms are condemned, not all speakers of the vernacular feel the need to strive for a more socially favored variety because that would subvert covert prestige norms (Wolfram 2015).

8.5.2 Ethnicity

As might be expected in countries of immigration, in the immigrant generation and sometimes in the second generation many people speak English which is characterized by first language interference. Experience has shown, however, that by the third generation most of the descendants of immigrants have become monolingual English speakers (Rumbaut 2007: 22), and virtually all signs of interference have vanished. There are then no grounds for speaking an ethnic variety.

Yet there are some groups of native English speakers in North America who (a) have an ethnic identity and (b) speak a type of English which is distinct in various ways from the speech of their neighbors of comparable age, class, gender, and region. For two of these groups it is uncertain whether it is really suitable to speak of ethnic rather than interference varieties of English: Native American Indians and Chicanos. The third group, African Americans, include a large number who speak the ethnic dialect African American English (AAE).

The covert norms of ethnicity are often associated with dense social networks and with vernacular and ethnic cultures. Inner-city African American males are more likely to use an African American English speech style which signals their ethnic and gender identity, while African American females from the same environment will use language closer to the mainstream norm (e.g., Wolfram 1969). This may be viewed as an ethnicized expression of gender on the part of the males, or it may be understood as a de-ethnicized one on the part of the females. Furthermore, in both cases the intersection with class is highly relevant since less education and lower-class membership is likely to reinforce African American ethnicity. It is, for example, possible for a Black American to be perceived as African American or, indeed, for African American ethnicity to be attributed to them without signifying it in a linguistically obvious way.

African American English (AAE)

African Americans are the second largest non-European minority in the United States, outnumbered only by Latin@s. Even though far from all African Americans speak AAE, it is the most widely recognized and widely researched ethnic dialect of English. In the following a short summary of some parts of AAE, the TMA (tense-modality-aspect) system which diverge from GenE will be introduced. For examples of AAE vocabulary see Smitherman (1998, 2000); for pronunciation see Bailey and Thomas (1998); for text forms see Morgan (1998), Green (2002: chap. 5).

Before looking at it more closely, it should be pointed out that, even though its norms cut “across region and social class” (Thomas and Wassnik 2010: 157) as well as age, gender, and individual speaker characteristics (Renn and Terry 2009), many middle-class Blacks do not speak AAE but are linguistically indistinguishable from their White neighbors. Rather, it is the poorer, working- and lower-class African Americans, both in the rural South and the urban North, who speak the most distinctive forms of this dialect. It often incorporates the values of the vernacular culture including performance styles especially associated with Black males in such genres as the dozens, the toast, ritual insults, and the like, but also chanted sermons (Abrahams 1970; Rosenberg 1970; Kochman 1972). But there are also differences seen in African American women studied in the Appalachians whose community of practice centered closely around local social practices such as church going. Mallison and Childs identified two different groups of women in Texana, North Carolina – “church ladies” and “porch sitters” – whose speech styles indicated their ties to their respective social circles. The church ladies’ language features exhibited more standard and regional Appalachian features than that of the porch sitters, whose English contained many more AAE features. This is in line with Wolfram’s statement that the “homogeneity assumption simply cannot be applied to variation in AAE over time and place” (Mallison and Childs, 2007: 303). AAE is seen as an important indicator of a speaker’s feeling of group membership and identity with it. Also in accordance with this, Stotko and Troyer (2007) conducted a preliminary study in Baltimore and found that some middle and high school students had started using *yo* as a gender neutral third person singular pronoun showing deviation from mainstream AAE. Even though these results could not be corroborated to the same degree by other teachers interviewed in the United States, they show alternate forms to the existing ones (*she* or singular *they*) and can be viewed as a group-preferential marker.

The pronunciation of AAE. It has generally been conceded that AAE has a phonological system which differs from that of GenAm but is remarkably similar to White Southern Vernacular English. Since AAE has its more immediate origins in the American South,

pronunciation similarities between the two are hardly astonishing. This explains the following shared features:

- 1 /aɪ/ monophthongization as [a] especially before voiced consonants (*I like it* sounds like *Ah lock it*)
- 2 PIN-PEN Merger
- 3 merger of /ɔɪ/ and /ɔ:/, especially before /l/ (*boil* = *ball*)
- 4 merger of /t/ and /æ/ before /ŋk/ (*think* = *thank*)
- 5 merger of /i(r)/ and /e(r)/ (*cheering* = *chairing*) and of /ʊ(r)/ and /ɔ(r)/ (*sure* = *shore*)
- 6 vocalization of [ɪ] (*all* = *awe*)

Not everything is shared (e.g., 7 and 8, which are common in AAE but not in Southern):

- 7 initial /ð/ is realized as [d] (*those* = *doze*); medial and final /ð/ and /θ/ as [v] and [f] (*Ruth* = *roof*)
- 8 vowels before nasals may be nasalized (e.g., *think* [θæ̃ŋk])
- 9 continuing non-rhoticity vs. Southern White increasing rhoticity
(Bailey and Thomas 1998: 91)

Both simplify final consonant clusters (*best* → *bes*; *hand* → *han*) (for more, see *ibid.*).

Pronunciation and grammar. Final consonant deletion distinguishes White Southern Vernacular usage from AAE, for the latter carries this process much farther than Southern White Vernacular does. While both might simplify *desk* to *des'* (and then form the plural as *desses*), AAE deletes the inflectional endings {-d} and {-s} more frequently so that *looked* becomes *look* and *eats*, *tops*, and *Fred's* become *eat*, *top*, and *Fred*. However, there seems to be considerable code-mixing between GenE and AAE with the consequence that AAE speakers may well use more or fewer features of AAE depending on their interlocutors. Despite the loss of inflectional endings, the tense and aspect system of AAE is actually remarkably complex and allows its speakers to make distinctions which speakers of StE cannot make within the grammatical system of StE.

Tense and 3rd person singular {-s}. Some people have called the existence of the category of tense in AAE into question because the past tense marker {-d} is so frequently missing. However, the past tense forms of the irregular verbs, where the past does not depend only on {-d} (e.g., *catch* – *caught* or *amlislaré* – *was/were*), are consistently present. This means that any conclusion about the lack of tense would be mistaken. Third person singular present tense {-s} may be lacking, as in *Elaine get ten dresses*, among both Black and Southern White speakers, but one study has shown that the presence of {-s} is very rare among Blacks (only 13%) while it was commonly used by Whites (89%). The fact that some AAE speakers transfer {-s} to non-3rd person forms, such as the infinitive or participles of two-part verbs (e.g., *to goes* or *I get rounds*) (Wolfram 1971: 145f; cf. Fasold 1986: 453f) implies structural unfamiliarity. Labov remarks that AAE shows “no subject-verb agreement, except for present-tense finite *be*” (1998: 146). This, of course, is not a terribly serious loss since there is no potential confusion of meaning when {-s} is lost because this inflection carries virtually no functional load.⁷ With plural {-s}, which does carry important meaning, there is much less frequent deletion than with the verb ending {-s} (Fasold 1986: 454).

7 The present-tense ending {-s} is used in all persons as a narrative marker in contrast to unmarked nonnarrative usage; this is viewed as a recent development (Labov 1987: 8f). For a similar feature in Scots, see Catford (1957).

Past tense and future marking. With irregular verbs the past and the past participle are frequently identical (cf. *I ate* which can correspond to either “I ate” or “I have eaten” in GenE). AAE speakers distinguish the two under emphasis as *I did eat* vs. *I háve ate* or when negated (cf. *I didn't eat* vs. *I ain't/haven't ate*) (Green 1998: 40f). In the case of regular verbs, the past tense is not always marked due to {-d} loss (*He look' for a job* “looked”; indicated in the examples with an apostrophe as *look'*). This may be one reason why preterite *had* + *Ven* (*He had look' for a job*) is used in its place: The presence of *had* is a sure sign of past reference.⁸ But since this takes the form of GenE past perfect, this might explain the introduction of a new remote past marked by stressed *bín* (*He bin look for a job*) more or less as a replacement for the GenE past perfect. There are some problems with this for non-AAE speakers since stressed *bín* (or *béen*) as a marker of the remote past as in *The woman béen married* does not mean “The woman has béen married (but no longer is),” as a StE speaker might assume, but indicates something which happened in the more distant past and whose results are in effect: “The woman has been married a long time” (cf. Green 1998: 46f; Labov 1998: §5.5.4; Martin and Wolfram 1998: 14).

The *will*-future suffers from another deletion, namely from the L loss when *He'll* becomes just plain *he*: *He look for a job*. Once again, a clearer indication of the intended time reference may lead to the expression of futurity by means of the *go*-future (*gonna, ona, a*: *He ona look for a job*). As the *go*-future becomes the general expression of the future, the more immediate function which GenE (*be*) *gonna* has is taken over by *finna* V, as in *He finna look for a job* (“is about to”).

Verbal aspect

Habitual. The most discussion has centered around what is called nonfinite or invariant or distributive *be*, as in *he be eating*. In order to understand what this is, it is first necessary to note that there are two distinct uses of the copula *be* in AAE. The one involves zero use of the copula, (e.g., *She smart* “She is smart,” which describes a permanent state or *She tired* “She is tired,” which names a momentary state. Here colloquial White English might use a contraction [*She's smart*]; and AAE may be thought of as deleting instead of contracting). Where contraction is not possible in GenE, neither is deletion in AAE (cf. *Yes, she really is*. Invariant *be*, a.k.a. nonfinite *be*, in contrast, is used to describe an intermittent state, often accompanied by an appropriate adverb such as *usually* or *sometimes* (cf. *Sometimes she be sad*). This is, in essence, habitual aspect (e.g., *he be eating* “he is always eating” [cf. Green 1998: 45f; slightly different: Labov 1998: §5.5.1] in contrast to *he eating* “he is eating [right now]”).

A big question is where this form comes from. It seems that invariant *be* does not occur in the most extreme creoles, though it does in some decreolized forms. Therefore, they are an unlikely source. Some studies of White Southern Vernacular (a) show it to be rare and (b) do not indicate clearly whether it carries the same meaning as in AAE or whether it is not merely an instance of *will/would be* in which ‘*ll*’ or ‘*d*’ have been deleted (Feagin 1979: 251–255). The White Vernacular is, therefore, also not a very likely source of this construction. However, the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States turns up instances of it in both Black and (a very few instances of) White vernacular speech. In this data invariant *be* sometimes

⁸ Green suggests as a (further) motivation for preterite *had* in the media that it is one of the patterns which “mark the speaker as ‘sounding black’” (2002: 93).

represents deletion of *will* and *would*, but more often it is used for an intermittent state (including negation with *don't*: *Sometime it be and sometime it don't*) and, with a following present participle, intermittent action (*How you be doing?*) (Bailey and Bassett 1986). If invariant *be* is an innovation of AAE, then this would speak for an increasing divergence of AAE from White vernacular forms (*American Speech* 1987; Butters 1989). Whatever its source may actually be, invariant *be* is a construction that speaks strongly for the status of AAE as an independent ethnic dialect of English.

Perfective *done* (sometimes given as *dən*) for perfective or completive aspect expresses an event as having taken place and being over (even though its results may still be in effect). This makes it much like the resultative present perfect of GenE (e.g., *they done washed the dishes* “they have already washed the dishes”). Like GenE present perfect, this form does not co-occur with past adverbials, nor with stative verbs (cf. Green 1998: 47f; Labov 1998: §5.5.2). It occurs in two forms: *done* + past participle (*They done gon*) or *done* + infinitive (*They done go*).

Sequential *be done*, often as a future resultative marker, is a further type of aspect. It combines the aspectual markers just given (cf. *I'll be done killed that motherfucker if he tries to lay a hand on my kid again* “I'll kill him if he should try to hurt my kid” [Labov 1987: 7f; 1998: §5.5.3]).

Progressive aspect, which is formed in GenE with “V-ing” (*Now you talkin'*), is widely used in AAE as well though often with zero *be*. In addition to this, the construction with *steady* (*they steady workin'*) indicates intensity and the indignitive progressive construction with *come* (*they come tellin' us what to do*) expresses disapproval.

Combinations of markers are also possible. See habitual remote past and completive remote past in the Table 8.3.

Table 8.3 Tense and aspect in AAE

<i>Tense</i>		
preterite <i>had Ven</i>	<i>She had got sick</i>	“She got sick”
remote past <i>bin</i>	<i>I bin give Sharon and em dey books</i>	“I gave S. and her friends those books long ago”
future <i>gonna (ona, a)</i>	<i>Ima go home</i>	“I’m going to go home”
immediate future <i>finna V</i>	<i>I’m finna leave (also fixina or fixna)</i>	“I’m about to leave”
<i>Aspect</i>		
momentary <i>be</i> (zero copula)	<i>We tired</i>	“We’re tired”
habitual <i>be</i> (invariant <i>be</i>)	<i>Sometimes dey be sittin they</i>	“Sometimes they sit there”
completive <i>dən</i> + past participle	<i>He dən tole us</i>	“He already told us”
also: <i>dən</i> + infinitive	<i>He dən tell us</i>	
sequential <i>be done</i>	<i>We’ll be done finished</i>	“We’ll have finished”
habitual remote past	<i>She bin ran</i>	“She used to run a long time ago”
completive remote past	<i>He bin dən put that in there</i>	“He put that in there a long time ago”
progressive (zero V-ing)	<i>Dey talkin</i>	“They are talking”
intensive-continuous (<i>steady V-ing</i>)	<i>Dey steady talkin</i>	“They are talking intensively”
indignitive (<i>come V-ing</i>)	<i>Dey come talkin funny to us</i>	“I don’t like the way they’re talking”

Based on Green (2002: chaps. 2–3).

A few features of AAE which go beyond tense and aspect can be mentioned briefly:

- 1 **relative clauses** are seldom formed using *who*, *which*, and *whose*. Zero-relative is preferred, even when the relative is subject of the relative clause (cf. *That's the man ø come here the other day* [Mufwene et al. 1998: 76f]);
- 2 **plural marker** and **demonstrative *them*** is widely used (as elsewhere in NSGenE) (e.g., *them/dem boys*). AAV also has what is known as the associative plural, a form of *them* added to a definite noun (cf. *Felicia nem* [*<* and *them*] *done gone* "Felicia and the others have already gone" [Mufwene et al. 1998: 73]);
- 3 **negative concord** (a.k.a. **multiple** or **pleonastic negation**) allows not just one single negation, as in StE, but permits the negation to be copied onto all the further indefinite items, even in cases where the negation is copied onto a subordinate clause as in *They ain't get me in nothin' that I know I 'idn't do* "They haven't gotten me into anything that I know I did." (Martin and Wolfram 1998: 23);
- 4 **question formation** may occur without word order change both in indirect questions (e.g., *They asked could she go to the show*) and in direct questions (though less frequent) (e.g., *Who that is? Why she took that?*) (ibid.: 27ff).

The use of AAE is regarded partly as an ethnic legacy to escape from and partly as an ethnic heritage signifying one's ethnic identity. Educational programs have tended to emphasize the negative consequences of this legacy and tried to give those African American children who speak AAE a command of StE as a means of escaping what is effectively seen as their *ethnic-racial fate*. A few linguists have emphasized the identity-bearing role of the language and sought to protect it while usually espousing bidialectalism and the development of code-switching skills which are important linguistic capital.

Native American English

Today the majority of American Indians are monolingual speakers of English. For most of them there is probably no divergence between their English and that of their non-Indian peers. However, among Native Americans who live in concentrated groups (on reservations) there are also "as many different kinds of American Indian English as there are American Indian language traditions" (Leap 1986: 597). This is seen as the result of the ongoing influence of the substratum (the traditional language) on English, even if the speakers are monolingual. Many of the special features of this English are such familiar phenomena as word-final consonant cluster simplification (e.g., *west* > *wes'*), multiple negation, uninflected (or invariant) *be*, and lack of subject-verb concord. Although NSGenE has the same sort of surface phenomena, in American Indian English they may be the products of different grammatical systems (Toon 1984: 218).

Spanish Influenced English

Hispanic Americans are the largest ethnic minority in the United States. They consist of at least three major groups, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Chican@s (or Mexican Americans; but many Central American immigrants are grouped with them as well).

Cubans. Approximately 600,000 of the roughly one million Cuban Americans live in Miami-Dade County in Florida; another 20% in West New York and Union City, New Jersey. Because of this areal concentration they have been able to create unified communities with

ethnic boundaries. Nonetheless, integration with the surrounding Anglo community is relatively great (a high number of inter-ethnic marriages), perhaps because Cuban Americans, due to the nature of emigration from Cuba, encompass all levels of education and class membership and are not relegated to an economically marginal position vis-à-vis the greater outside society. Only 6% of the second generation of Cuban Americans were monolingual Spanish in 1976 (García and Otheguy 1988). “Second-generation Cubans, as is usually the case with all second-generation Hispanics, speak English fluently and with a native North American accent” (ibid.: 183). Indeed, perhaps only the presence of loan words and calques such as *bad grass* (< Span. *yerba mala* “weeds”) may indicate the original provenance of the speakers.

Puerto Ricans have, as American citizens, long moved freely between the mainland United States and Puerto Rico. Most originally went to New York City (think of *West Side Story*), and although many have moved to other cities in the meantime, approximately 60% of mainland Puerto Ricans are still to be found there, where they often live in closely integrated ethnic communities. Many members of these communities are bilingual (only 1% of second-generation mainland Puerto Ricans are monolingual Spanish speakers; García and Otheguy 1988: 175). One investigation showed that those “reared in Puerto Rico speak English marked by Spanish interference phenomena, while the second generation speaks two kinds of nonstandard English: Puerto Rican English (PRE) and/or black English vernacular (BEV)” (Zentella 1988: 148).

Chican@s make up by far the largest proportion of the Hispanic population of the United States and are a rapidly growing group. They include recent immigrants as well as native-born Americans who continue to live in their traditional homelands in the American Southwest (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and California), which was conquered from Mexico and annexed in the middle of the 19th century. Chicanos are most numerous in California, where they are an urban population, and in Texas, especially southwest Texas, where they are often relatively rural. Spanish is more commonly maintained in the Texan than in the California environment. In addition, large numbers of Mexican and Central American Hispanics live in urban centers throughout the United States.

The type of English spoken by many – some bilingual, others monolingual English-speakers (for under 10% of third-generation Mexican-Americans Spanish remains their home language) – consists of several varieties. Among bilinguals it is characterized by frequent code-switching (sometimes referred to as Tex-Mex). For many speakers English is a second language and contains numerous signs of interference from Spanish. However, whether an “interference variety” or a first language, the linguistic habits of a large portion of the Chican@ community are continually reinforced by direct or indirect contact with Spanish, whose influence is increased by the social isolation of Chican@s from Anglos. Most important for regarding Chicano English as an ethnic variety of AmE is that it is passed on from generation to generation and serves important functions in the Chican@ speech community. The maintenance of Chican@ English as a separate variety “serves the functions of social solidarity and supports cohesiveness in the community” (Toon 1984: 223). It can be a symbol of ethnic loyalty when Chicanos use it as one means of expressing Chican@ identity vis-à-vis both Mexicans and Anglos.

The linguistic features of Chicano English are most prominently visible in its pronunciation, including stress and intonation. There seems to be little syntactic and lexical deviation from GenE. As with Puerto Ricans, contact with Blacks may result in the use of various features of AAE among working-class Chican@s.

Pronunciation (with obvious signs of Spanish influence):

- 1 stress shift in compounds (*'miniskirt* → *mini'skirt*)
- 2 rising pitch in declarative sentences

- 3 devoicing and hardening of final voiced consonants (*please* → *police*)
- 4 realization of labiodental fricative /v/ as bilabial stop [b] or bilabial fricative [β]
- 5 realization of /θ/ and /ð/ as [t] and [d] (*thank* = *tank*; *that* = *dat*)
- 6 realization of central /ʌ/ as low [a] (*one* = *wan*)
- 7 simplification of final consonant clusters (*last* = *las'*)
- 8 merger of /tʃ/ and /ʃ/ to /ʃ/ (*check* → *sheck*)
- 9 merger of /i:/ and /ɪ/ to /ɪ/ (*seat* = *sit*) and of /eɪ/ and /e/ to /e/ (*gate* = *get*) and occasionally of /u:/ and /ʊ/ as /ʊ/ (*Luke* = *look*)

The final two points distinguish Chican@ English from second language “interference” varieties. The predictable interference pattern would be a realization of /ʃ/ as /tʃ/, of /ɪ/ as /i:/, of /e/ as /eɪ/ and of /ʊ/ as /u:/ since Spanish has only the latter member of each pair. Chican@ speakers often realize the member of each pair which is not predicted, and this is what distinguishes such Chican@ speakers from both Mexicans and Anglos.

Various studies have shown that there are considerable obstacles in the way of general acceptance of Chicano English as equivalent to other accents of StE. A matched guise test, for example, in which the participants were told that all the voices they heard were those of Mexican-Americans showed a clearer association of pejorative evaluations (stupid, unreliable, dishonest, lazy, etc.) with a Chican@ voice than with a near-Anglo accent (Arthur, Farrar, and Bradford 1974: 261).

8.6 EXERCISES

8.6.1 Exercise on AmE-BrE synonyms

Find the pairs with the same concept but a different word. Match numbers and letters.

1. can		a. autumn
2. checkers		b. biscuit
3. chips		c. bonnet
4. cookie		d. broil
5. dessert		e. chemist's
6. diaper		f. cooker
7. faculty		g. crisps
8. fall (season)		h. draughts
9. fender		i. drawing pin
10. gas (for cars)		j. ladder
11. grill		k. lorry
12. hood (of a car)		l. mud guard
13. kerosene		m. nappy
14. pharmacy		n. paraffin
15. run (in stockings)		o. petrol
16. stove		p. spanner
17. thumbtack		q. staff
18. truck		r. sweet
19. vest		s. tin
20. wrench		t. waistcoat

8.6.2 Exercise on pronunciation

Give the orthographic form of each and assign each of the words (as transcribed) to one (or possibly more) of the following varieties: AAE, American South, CanE, GenAm, Midland North, New England, RP.

- | | |
|-----------|--------------|
| 1. dɛm | 7. egzɑ:mpəl |
| 2. ʌvɪkʌm | 8. bʌɪk |
| 3. məɾər | 9. stɛk |
| 4. kɛən | 10. hʌrɪ |
| 5. stɑ | 11. kɑ:kəs |
| 6. ræŋ | 12. saɪrər |

8.6.3 Exercise on grammar: multiple negation

Each of the following sentences contain instances of multiple negation, some of which are StE; some, GenE (but not StE); others come from AAE, spoken by many but not all African Americans. Label each as an instance of one of these. Paraphrase each in StE.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. He don't hardly know what to do.
AAE/GenE/StE
paraphrase: | 5. Nobody didn't do nothing.
AAE/GenE/StE
paraphrase: |
| 2. It is not unlikely that they will come.
AAE/GenE/StE
paraphrase: | 6. The teacher didn't go nowhere.
AAE/GenE/StE
paraphrase: |
| 3. Ain't nobody at home.
AAE/GenE/StE
paraphrase: | 7. She don't believe there's nothing she
can't do.
AAE/GenE/StE
paraphrase: |
| 4. You definitely cannot not
go to her party.
AAE/GenE/StE
paraphrase: | 8. We don't think they won't come.
AAE/GenE/StE
paraphrase: |

8.6.4 Exercise on negation in AAE

Multiple negation in AAE follows these rules:

1. the most general rule: negate the verb
2. negate all other indefinite items in the sentence; this is called **negative concord**
3. extend negation in the main clause into the subordinate clause.

Apply these rules to the StE sentence: They have gotten me into something that I know I hated.

FURTHER READING

English in North America collections of contributions can be found in Finegan and Rickford (2004) and Schneider (2008); also Algeo (2001) (historically oriented).

CanE Edwards (1998) and Brinton and Fee (2001); Gold and McAlpine (2010) contains contributions reflecting English all over Canada.

Vocabulary Flexner and Soukhanov (1997).

Accents Wells (1982) treats the major accents of North America in volume 3; Labov (2010); for attitudes toward accents see Lippi-Green (2012).

AAE Mufwene et al. (1998), Lanehart (2001), Green (2002).

Standard British and American English in comparison

9.1 COMPARING STANDARD ENGLISHES

Why does this book have a chapter which concentrates only on Standard British English and Standard American English? Algeo's words seem to come to the point:

There are many **varieties** of English other than British (here the English of the United Kingdom) and American (here the English of the United States). All of those other varieties are intrinsically just as worthy of study and use as British and American. But these two varieties are the ones spoken by most native speakers of English and studied by most foreign learners.

(Algeo 2006: 1)

These two varieties "... still occupy a unique position in that they still are the only two standard varieties with a truly global reach ..." (Leech et al. 2009: 11). While by far the majority of linguistic forms in the English language are common to both BrE and AmE (as well as AusE, NZE, SAfrE, WAfrE, EAfrE, IndE, SingE, and Philippine English)¹ there are a considerable number of points at which the two major varieties diverge. Chapters two through five concentrated on a systematic presentation of StE largely ignoring possible variation. The purpose of this chapter, in contrast, is to look at the differences between the two major varieties, BrE and AmE, in their *standard* forms. We will begin with a look at vocabulary, proceed to pronunciation and spelling, extend observations to grammar, and finish with a look at some social dimensions.

9.2 VOCABULARY

The lexical relations between BrE and AmE have been analyzed in many different ways, only the most important of which can be mentioned in this section. Literature includes any of the numerous lists of differing words in the two major varieties. These include Strevens (1972) and Moss (1994).

¹ AusE: Australian English, NZE: New Zealand English, SAfE: South Africa English, WAF: West African English, EAF: East African English, IndE: Indian English, SingE: Singapore English.

9.2.1 The developmental approach

What might be called the developmental approach takes the criteria of use, intelligibility, and regional status to set up four groups which can be seen as the stages through which regional words have to pass before they are fully accepted into common StE.

- The first category consists of words that are neither understood nor used in the other variety (e.g., AmE *meld* “merge” or BrE *hive off* “separate from the main group”).
- Group two contains items that are understood but not regularly used elsewhere (AmE *checkers*, *cookie*, *howdy* or BrE *draughts*, *scone*, *cheerio*).
- In the third there are items that are both understood and used in both, but which still have a distinctly American or British flavor to them (AmE *figure out*, *movie*; BrE *niggle*, *telly*).
- The last group, finally, includes lexical material that is not only completely intelligible and widely used in both varieties but has also lost whatever American or British flavor it may once have had (originally AmE *boost*, *debunk*, *hi*; originally BrE *brass tacks*, *semi-detached*, *pissed off*).

There can be no doubt that many items start in group one and end up in the last group. It has to be added, however, that there is often no agreement on where an item should be grouped. *Student*, for example, in the broader-than-university sense of “young person at school” used to be common only in AmE, but is now frequently heard in BrE as well. Conversely, the BrE word *trendy* may have overtaken AmE *chic* in America. Finally, though almost all dictionaries say that *bag lady* “a homeless woman who carries everything she owns around with her” is an AmE word, it is frequently found in newspapers in Britain, where the phenomenon is also widespread. This lack of consensus does not mean that the criteria and the four groups have no value.

The national tilt of a word can be important in determining whether it is accepted or not. Some people in Britain seem to resent the great number of Americanisms in BrE. The controversy around the word *hopefully*, as in *Hopefully, he will be back soon*, has often served as a call-to-arms for purists who condemn it by pointing out that it came from across the Atlantic. Other speakers in Britain, on the other hand, especially younger people, may perhaps welcome trans-Atlantic items simply because they are AmE. Overall, Americans seem to show a more tolerant attitude toward British loans than vice versa; however, there are far fewer of them in AmE than the other way around.

9.2.2 The causal approach

Scholars have also enquired into the less subjective and more linguistic reasons why items are or are not borrowed from the one variety into the other. In a causal approach, the vivid and expressive nature of a number of words and phrases is held to have helped them expand into the other variety. For example, many of the informal or slang items from AmE like words ending in {-aholic} such as *workaholic* “someone addicted to work” or *shopaholic* or *sexaholic*. Other examples are *joint* “cheap or dirty place of meeting for drinking, eating, etc.” or *sucker* (“gullible person”). Second, many borrowings are short and snappy and often reinforce the trend in common StE toward the monosyllabic word, such as AmE *cut* (next to *reduction*) and *fix* (in addition to *prepare*, *repair*). The third reason is that some loan words provide a term for a concept which was there, but unnamed before, what is called a lexical gap. When the idea itself is missing, this is known as a conceptual gap.

Examples of lexical-conceptual gaps are originally AmE *boost*, *debunk*, *know-how*, and *high*, *middle* and *low brow* or originally BrE *brunch*, *smog*, *cop*, *tabloid*, or *gadget*.

Finally, part of the attraction of many loans may lie in their morphological make-up. When they conform to productive word formation patterns of English, they are more likely to be borrowed. This may include phrasal verbs or zero-derivations. Examples of phrasal verbs: originally AmE *be into something* (“be passionately interested in”), *bone up (on)* (“study intensively”), *cave in* (“collapse; give up”) or originally BrE *butter up* “sweet talk” or *be cheesed off* “annoyed.”

Conversely, words current in the language of ethnic minorities in the United States, such as Blacks, Jews, and Hispanics provide further examples. The same is true of words borrowed into BrE from many of Britain’s one-time colonial holdings (e.g., Anglo-Indian *pukka* “genuine, sound” or Arabic *shufti* “a look at something”). Originally Yiddish words for instance, which are known and used especially on the east coast of the United States, like *schlemiel* (“an awkward and unlucky person”), *schlep(p)* (“carry”; “move slowly or with great effort”) or *schlock* (“trash, cheap goods”) are said to be unattractive to British ears and tongues perhaps because of the initial consonant cluster /ʃl-/ and /ʃm-/. But it would be rash to maintain that this type of word will “remain firmly unborrowed in British English” (Burchfield 1985: 163).

9.2.3 The semantic approach

Perhaps the most common way to deal with the lexis of the two varieties is with the semantic approach. This method compares words and phrases with their referents or meanings in terms of sameness and difference. Despite varying approaches with numerous groupings, five different groups may conveniently be recognized.

- First, most words and their meanings are the same, which explains the fact that British and American speakers rarely experience any difficulty in understanding each other.
- The second group comprises words present in only one variety because what refer to is unknown in the other culture. Examples are
 - the topology of the natural environment such as BrE *moor* or *heath* and AmE *prairie* and *canyon*.
 - culinary items or political institutions (cf. BrE *Yorkshire pudding* or *back bench* and AmE *succotash* or *favorite son*).

The second category makes linguistic help necessary, but seldom causes misunderstandings. A variant of this type of distinction involves lexical gaps, referents or concepts known in the other variety but not lexicalized, that is, only paraphrases are available (e.g., BrE *chapel* “a local (branch) of a printers’ union” or BrE (slang) *to tart up* “to dress up in a garish manner”).

- The third group covers cases where different words and phrases are used to express the same meaning. BrE *petrol* is AmE *gas(oline)* and AmE *truck* is BrE *lorry*.
- In the fourth category
 - the two varieties share a word/phrase, but with a fully different meaning, as with *vest*, which is AmE but a *waistcoat* in BrE. Furthermore, a BrE *vest* is an AmE *undershirt*.
 - the two varieties agree in the meanings, but one variety has an additional meaning not known or used in the other. For example, both agree in the meaning of *leader* “someone who leads,” but BrE also uses it in the sense of AmE (and shared) *editorial*. Conversely, both understand the noun *fall* as “downward movement,” but AmE also uses this word in the sense of BrE (and shared) *autumn*.

- The fifth grouping is for expressions with a shared meaning, but where one or both varieties have a further expression for the same thing and not shared by the other. Both AmE and BrE have *taxi*, while *cab* is AmE. Likewise, both share *raincoat*, but only BrE has *mac(in-tosh)*; *pharmacy* is common, while *chemist's* is BrE only and *drug store* is typically AmE.

9.2.4 Relative frequencies and cultural associations

Writers have typically made absolute statements about differences between the two varieties. Algeo (2006), who includes an enormously large collection of more intuitive data made by himself and Adele Algeo, includes corpus-based frequency calculations using, most prominently, the Cambridge International Corpus (CIC), and takes into account relative frequencies. Here we learn that BrE has 112.3 iptmw (instances per ten million words) of *maths* as the shortened form of *mathematics* and only 4.2 (iptmw) of *math*. The AmE data has 363.3 of *math* and “only a scattering of the plural form” (Algeo 2006: 78). Ilson calls attention to the fact that, for example, *railroad* is not found exclusively in AmE or *railway* only in BrE: “in the AmE Brown corpus *railroad* appears forty-seven times and *railway* ten; in BrE LOB *railway* appears fifty-two times and *railroad* once” (1990: 37).

Differences in cultural associations are almost wholly neglected. It is often pointed out, for example, that *robin* refers to two different birds, but it is hardly ever mentioned that the English bird is considered a symbol of winter while the American robin is a harbinger of spring (ibid.: 40). Scholars have, furthermore, also been prone to approach meaning without taking into account register differences (§5.1). AmE *vacation* is *holiday(s)* in BrE, as in *they are on holiday/vacation now*. But lawyers and universities (domain, field) in Britain use *vacation* to refer to the intervals between terms. AmE *pinkie*, an informal word (personal tenor, style) for *little finger*, is an import from Scotland. Difficult and controversial, yet important, are the social class associations that items can have in the respective variety. It is therefore not unimportant for Americans to know about the U [U = “upper class”] vs. non-U distinctions of Britain: in BrE *lounge* “is definitely non-U; *drawing room* definitely U” (Benson, Benson, and Ilson 1986: 36).

9.2.5 The fields of university and of sports

Instead of listing further unconnected items we will now compare more deeply two fields, universities and the two national sports of cricket and baseball. For the sake of convenience our discussion of university lexis will come under the headings of people and activities.

University lexis: people. In *higher education* (common) or *tertiary education* (BrE) a division may be made into two groups: The first are those who teach (*the faculty*, AmE; *the (academic) staff*, BrE) (Table 9.1).

Teaching and research is organized in departments (common) or faculties (BrE), and these are under the administrative supervision of heads of department (common) or deans (BrE). American colleges and universities also have deans, both deans of students, who are responsible for counselling, and administrative deans at the head of a major division in a college (which, in AmE, refers to undergraduate education) or a professional school (AmE, postgraduate level, for example, in a school of medicine, law, forestry, nursing, business administration, etc.). At the top in the American system is a president. This is not unknown in the UK: However, a chancellor (honorary) or vice chancellor (actual on-the-spot chief officer) is more likely to be found there. On the other hand, a chancellor in America is often the head of a state university system.

Table 9.1 BrE and AmE differences in the field of university lexis

<i>Those who teach</i>		<i>Those who study</i>	
<i>AmE</i>	<i>BrE</i>	<i>AmE</i>	<i>BrE</i>
(full) professors	professors	freshmen	first year students or freshers
associate professors	readers	sophomores	second year students
assistant professors	senior lecturers	juniors	third year (also: junior honours) students
instructors	lecturers	seniors	final year (also: senior honours) students

Activities. Students in the United States *go to a college* and *study a major and a minor subject*; in the UK they *come up* and then *study*, or *read* (formal), *a main and a subsidiary subject*. At college or university, they may choose to live in (AmE) a *dorm(itory)* or (BrE) a *student hostel* or *hall (of residence)*. If they misbehave, they may be *suspended* (AmE) or *rusticated* (BrE); in the worst of cases they may even be *expelled* (AmE) or *sent down* (BrE). In their *classes* (common) they may be *assigned* (AmE) a *term paper* (AmE) or *given a long essay* (BrE) to write, and at the end of a *semester, trimester, quarter*, (all especially AmE) or *term* (common) they *sit* (BrE) or *take* (common) exams which are *supervised* (AmE) or *invigilated* (BrE) by a *proctor* (AmE) or *invigilator* (BrE). These exams are then *corrected and graded* (AmE) or *marked* (BrE). The *grades (marks)* themselves differ in their scale: American colleges and universities mark from (high) A via B, C and D, to (low = fail) F, which are marks known and used in the UK as well. Overall results for a term as well as for the whole of a student's studies in the United States will be expressed as a grade point average with a high of 4.0 (all A's). In the UK a person's studies may conclude with a brilliant *starred first*, an excellent *first*, an *upper second*, a *lower second*, or a *third* (a simple pass). Particularly good students may wish to continue beyond the B.A. (common) or B.S. (AmE) or B.Sc. (BrE) as a *graduate* (especially AmE) or *postgraduate* (especially BrE) student. In that case they may take further courses and write an *M.A. thesis* (AmE) or *M.A. dissertation* (BrE). Indeed, they may even write a *doctoral dissertation* (AmE) or *doctoral thesis* (BrE).

Sports is an area which supplies speakers with a great many idioms, idiomatic expressions, and figurative language. Many types of sports are involved (e.g., track and field: *the university's track record*, boxing: *saved by the bell*, or horse-racing: *on the home stretch*). Yet the two "national sports," cricket and baseball, in particular, have contributed especially much. The following is a useful but not an exhaustive list of expressions which come from these sports.

Since the two sports resemble each other (if ever so vaguely), they actually share some expressions: *batting order* "the order in which people act or take their turn"; *to field*, that is, enter candidates for an election; *to take the field* "to begin a campaign." The user should, however, beware of the seemingly similar, but in reality, very different expressions (BrE) *to do something off one's own bat* "independently, without consulting others" vs. (AmE) *to do something off the bat* "immediately, without waiting." Most of the expressions are not shared. Of these a couple from cricket are well integrated into both BrE and AmE without any longer being necessarily closely identified with the sport: *to stump* "to baffle, put at a loss for an answer" (< put out a batsman by touching the stumps); *to stonewall* "to intentionally avoid giving an answer" (< slow, careful overly protective play by a batsman). Further expressions from cricket which are known, but not commonly used in AmE are *a sticky wicket* "a difficult situation" and something is *not cricket* "unfair or unsportsmanlike." Less familiar or totally unknown in AmE are *to hit someone for six* "to score a resounding success," *to be caught out* "to be trapped, found out, exposed," *a hat trick* (also soccer) "something phenomenally well done," *She has had a good innings* "a long life."

Baseball has provided the following collection of idiomatic expressions, most of which have a very distinctly American flavor: *to play* (political, economic, etc.) *hard ball* “to be serious about something,” *to touch base* “to keep in contact,” *not to get to first base with someone* “to be unsuccessful with someone,” *to pinch hit for someone* “to stand in for someone,” *to ground out/fly out/foul out/strike out* “to fail,” *to have alone/two strikes against you* “to be at a disadvantage,” *to play in/into make the big leagues* “to work/be with important, powerful people,” *a double play* “two successes in one move,” *take a rain check* “postponement,” *a grand slam* (also tennis and bridge) “a smashing success or victory,” *a blooper* “a mistake or failure,” *a doubleheader* “a combined event with lots to offer,” *batting average* “a person’s performance,” *over the fence* or *out of the ball park* “a successful move or phenomenal feat,” *out in left field* “remote, out of touch, unrealistic,” *off base* “wrong.”

What has been illustrated here in exemplary fashion is the case in government and politics, cooking and baking, clothing, and in connection with many technological developments up to World War II (*railroads/railways*, *trucks/lorries*, etc.), flora, fauna, topography, sociocultural and historical vocabulary items, and abbreviations (§§7.2 and 8.2). Yet it is important to remember that the vocabulary associated with national institutions (education and public administration) will diverge more strongly than that of other areas. The vast majority of vocabulary used in everyday, colloquial speech as well as that of international communication in science and technology is common to not only AmE and BrE but also to all other national and regional varieties of English.

9.3 PRONUNCIATION AND SPELLING

BrE-AmE differences in the area of pronunciation are the most obvious of all. While differences in grammar, vocabulary, and spelling show up only sporadically, pronunciation pervades and colors every aspect of oral communication. Some of this is due to the differences in what is called articulatory set, the predisposition to pronounce sounds and words in a particular fashion. This includes much that is difficult to describe, yet contributes to the typical voice quality of an accent. Many American speakers, especially from the Middle West, for example, have a “nasal twang” (caused by the articulatory habit of leaving the velum open so much that the nasal cavity forms a (near-)constant further resonance chamber). In addition, a narrowing of the pharynx which occurs because the root of the tongue is pushed backward more strongly gives the voice a tenser, darker quality. Southern American speakers, in contrast, are stereotyped for their drawl by other Americans. This drawing out of sounds is due perhaps to an overall lack of tension in articulation. British accents are often thought of as “clipped” by Americans, possibly because of the greater tension and lesser degree of lengthening in stressed vowels.

In addition to these pervasive features there are a number of more specific differences. The contrasts recounted will be based for BrE on RP (Received Pronunciation; §7.3.1) and for AmE on the General American (GenAm; §8.3.1) accent. Following Wells (1982: §1.3), we look first at differences in the phoneme inventories; then the major differences in phonetic (or articulatory) realization and the phonotactic (or distributional) differences will be reviewed; after that divergent patterns of phoneme use in whole lexical sets of words will be mentioned as will a small list of individual words which differ in their pronunciations only by chance. A few remarks on differences in stress and intonation will close this section.

9.3.1 Differences in the phoneme inventory

The consonants of RP and GenAm are identical. Both varieties contain the same 24 phonemes (§3.2). The only possible difference lies the /hw/-/w/ distinction (as in *where* vs. *wear*) which is maintained in some of the regions where GenAm is spoken, though the use of /hw/ is strongly recessive. Some RP speakers also retain this distinction through a conscious effort to do so, feeling perhaps that this is somehow more correct.

Centering diphthongs. In the case of vowels there is a clear difference in the number of phonemes available: RP has 20; GenAm, 16. This is due to the fact that GenAm, which is a rhotic accent, has no centering diphthongs: GenAm has the combinations /ɪr/, /er/, /ʊr/ as in *lear*, *lair*, and *lure*, while RP has the phonemes /ɪə/, /eə/, and /ʊə/ even though /ʊə/ is merging with /ɔ:/ in many words (*sure* = *shore*) and /eə/ may be rendered as [ɛ:]. This latter change is one of the most widespread currently in progress in RP and is what Wells calls *smoothing*, which is the simplification of a diphthong to a monophthong, or of a triphthong (/aɪə/, /aʊə/, and /ɔɪə/) to a diphthong (/eə/, /a:ə/, and /ɔə/) or to a monophthong (/a:/). It leads to the reduction of the vowels of *tire* and *tower* to the monophthongs [a:] and [ɑ:] respectively, sometimes even going so far as to produce homophonous *tower*, *tire*, and *tar*, all as [tɑ:] (Wells 1982: 292f).

The low back vowels. In addition, GenAm does not have the phoneme /ɒ/. Wherever RP has this sound GenAm has either /ɑ:/ or /ɔ:/. This as well as the nonrhoticity of RP lies behind the following story:

American (to an Englishman): Say, what's your job?

Englishman: I'm a clerk.

American (*astonished*): You mean you go "tick-tock, tick-tock"? (Stevens 1972: 68)

[RP /kla:k/ *clerk* = GenAm /kla:k/ *clock*]

Corresponding to RP /ɒ/ GenAm has only /ɑ:/. Furthermore in ever expanding regions, but centered originally in New England, parts of the Middle West, Western Pennsylvania, and neighboring Canada, a merger has been taking place which further reduces the lower back vowels. This is termed the *Low Back* or *cot-caught* Merger (Labov 2010: 33; §8.3.2). Where this merger has not occurred, words in RP which have /ɒ/ are realized either as GenAm /ɑ:/ or /ɔ:/. The following is one common example of how these words are distributed:

- before /l/, /m/, and /n/ (*doll*, *bomb*, *don*) /ɑ:/
- before the stops as in *top*, *rob*, *dot*, *God*, *dock* /ɑ:/
- before a voiced velar stop as in *dog* or *fog* /ɔ:/
- before the velar nasal /ŋ/ (*song*) /ɔ:/
- before /r/ (*orange*) /ɔ:/
- before the (voiceless) fricatives /f/, /θ/, /s/ (*off*, *moth*, *moss*) /ɔ:/
- before /ʃ/ (*posh*, *slosh*, or *gosh*) /ɑ:/

9.3.2 Differences in the phonetic quality of phonemes

Consonants. The chief consonant which may be noticeably different in its realization in the two accents is /r/. In GenAm there is a strong tendency for /r/ to be retroflex [ɹ] (made with the tip of the tongue turned backward), while it is often the constricted continuant [ɹ̥] in RP (made with the tongue raised and tensed in the area just behind the alveolar ridge

with relatively little retroflexion). In addition, an /r/ between two vowels (as in *very*) is articulated with a single flap of the tongue against the alveolar ridge [r] in (older) RP even though such a realization is increasingly rare. It is also not particularly unusual to hear RP speakers who realize /r/ with a /w/-like sound (actually [w]), so that *rap* sounds a bit like *wap*. The /l/-sound differs inasmuch as GenAm tends to use a dark [ɫ] in almost all positions (Wells 1982: 490) in contrast to RP, which has clear [l] before vowels (*loop*) and dark [ɫ] before consonants (*help*), at word end (*sale*), or where /l/ is syllabic [ɫ] (*bottle*) (§3.2.1 lateral).

Vowels. Among the vowels there are far more examples of different articulations. Most are slight, yet some are readily noticed.

- The first element of /əʊ/ is a central vowel (schwa) in RP, but a back vowel in GenAm, hence [oʊ] or even monophthongal, viz. [o:], just as /eɪ/ may be [e:]. In RP /ɔ:/ may be so close as to sound almost identical with GenAm [o:]; in GenAm /ɔ:/ is relatively open.
- /ʌ/ (as in *cut*) is more or less mid central in GenAm, but more open and fronted in RP. Both GenAm and RP have a long, mid, central vowel realization of /ɜ:/ (as in *bird*); in RP this vowel is almost never followed by an /r/ (exception bimorphemic: *furry* /fɜ:rɪ/); in GenAm it always precedes /r/.²
- In GenAm /æ/ is usually longer than in RP. One of the consequences of this is that it is frequently at least somewhat diphthongized in stressed syllables in GenAm. Where the first element of the resulting diphthong is a high front vowel, as in New York City, the girl's name *Ann* and the (British) name *Jan* may become synonymous /ʌn/. In addition, GenAm /æ/ is often subject to nasalization if a nasal consonant follows. For some speakers the following nasal disappears completely leaving only the nasalized vowel, for example, *bank* /bæŋk/ first becomes [bæ̃ŋk] and then possibly [bæ̃k], which itself is distinguished from *back* /bæk/ only by the nasalization of the vowel. RP /æ/ is also undergoing change, but chiefly in the other direction: it is becoming more open: [a] and thus more like the realization of a northern English /æ/.

9.3.3 Phonotactic differences

Rhoticity. RP has an /r/ only where there is a following vowel (*red, every*). When this includes a vowel in the following word (*tear + up*), what is known as a “linking r” may link or connect the two words into a single phonetic unit. Such linking may also occur where no r is present in the spelling (*law officer* [lɔ:ˌɔfɪsə]); this is called an “intrusive r” and may be found after final /ɔ:/, /ə/, and /ɑ:/ when the next word begins with a vowel. GenAm regularly pronounces /r/ where the spelling indicates (§3.4.1).

Intervocalic /t/. GenAm realizes what is written as a <t> with a single flap of the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge when it comes between two voiced sounds. Phonetically this is very much like the flapped [ɾ] of RP *very*, but it is perceived as /d/. Indeed, intervocalic /d/ is also flapped in GenAm, which means that *latter* and *ladder* sound identical, both with flapped intervocalic [ɾ] (§7.3). Further examples of the resulting homophony include *hurting* = *herding*; *totem* = *towed'em* (“towed them”) or *futile* = *feudal*. This voicing of intervocalic <t> does not apply if the syllable following the <t> is stressed, hence 'a-tom = 'A-dam, both with a flapped [ɾ], but a-'tom-ic, has /t/ (§8.3.1). In RP the realization of /t/ is variable before an unstressed syllable. In words like *butter* it may be tapped [ɾ] much as in GenAm. However, there can also be the glottaling of /t/ as in (*hatrack* = ha'rack [hæʔræk]), something

² It might therefore be regarded as an allophone of the central vowel /ʌ/ as the form which comes before /r/.

heard in many (non-RP) urban accents of England and Scotland as well (§3.3.4). This is seen as a change in progress in RP (Ramsaran 1990: 183).

Post-nasal /t/. In words like *winter* or *enter*, where an unstressed vowel follows /n/, the <t> is pronounced as a nasal flap or is frequently not pronounced at all in GenAm; the loss of the /t/ is especially Southern (Wells 1982: 252). As a result, *winter* = *winner* and *intercity* = *inner city*, which may encourage the use of the word *intracity* since /t/ is pronounced if a consonant follows. When the following syllable is stressed, /t/ is pronounced, as in *in-'ter*.

Yod-dropping: dental and alveolar consonants + /j/. The combinations /nj/, /tj/, /dj/, /sj/, /zj/, /lj/, /θj/ do not occur in GenAm, while they may in RP. Hence all those words spelled with <ew>, <eu>, <ui>, and <ue> and a few other combinations contained in words such as *tune*, *thews*, *deuce*, *suit*, and *in lieu of* have simple /u:/ in GenAm but /ju:/ in RP. Sometimes, especially after /s/, /z/, /l/ (as in *suet*, *presume*, *lute*) there is free variation in RP between /ju:/ and /u:/ with the latter being the majority form in present-day RP and increasingly the case after /n/ as in /nu:/ *new*. Both RP and GenAm agree in having /u:/ where the spelling has <oo> (*noose*, *loose*, *doom*, etc.). Note that the combinations /n + j/ and /l + j/ are possible in GenAm if there is an intervening syllable boundary (cf. *Jan-u-ary*, *mon-u-ment*, *val-ue*, all with /ju:/).

Palatalization. The lack of /j/ before /u:/ as described in the preceding paragraph was not present everywhere in GenAm. Evidence that an earlier /j/ must have been present can be seen in the palatalization which took place in words such as *feature*, *education*, *fissure*, or *azure*, in which original /t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, as reflected in the spelling, moved slightly backward in the mouth to a more palatal place of articulation. In doing so, the stops /t/ and /d/ changed to the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ while /s/ and /z/ remained fricatives but became palatal /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. In GenAm palatalization is regular when the following syllable is unstressed. Before a stressed syllable there are a few well known cases of palatalization such as *sure*, *sugar*, *assure*. RP agrees in most cases with GenAm, but it has the additional possibility of unpalatalized /tj/, /dj/, /sj/, /zj/ in cases where a <u> follows. This is phonotactically impossible in GenAm. Hence GenAm has only the palatalized version of *education* and *issue* while RP *education* may be /edju:keɪʃən/ or /edʒəkeɪʃən/ and *issue* may be /ɪʃu:/ or /ɪsju:/ though the palatalized form is the general form in present-day RP when followed by an unaccented syllable. Note that both RP and GenAm agree in using unpalatalized forms for *Tuesday*: RP /tju:zdi/ and GenAm /tu:zdi:/ (GenAm with no /j/ cannot undergo palatalization); yet many non-RP speakers and some RP speakers of BrE have the palatalized form even here, where the following syllable is stressed as /'tʃu:zdeɪ/ ('*Chewsday* as it were) or /'dʒʊə:rɪŋ/ ('*during*). On the other hand, while *literature* is generally pronounced as palatalized /'lɪ(ə)rətʃuə(r)/ in both varieties, some (American) accents have unpalatalized /'lɪtərətu:r/.

When a is not involved, but rather /i:/ or /ɪ/ + unstressed vowel, the situation is less predictable. RP has, for example, both unpalatalized *Indian* /'ɪndɪən/ and (old-fashioned) palatalized /'ɪndʒən/, unpalatalized *immediately* /ɪ'mi:diətli/ and palatalized /ɪ'mi:dʒətli/. GenAm has only the unpalatalized versions of each. A number of place names are unpalatalized in RP and palatalized in GenAm (cf. *Tu'nisia*, RP /tʃʊ'nɪziə/ and GenAm /tu:'ni:zə/, or *Indo'nesia*, RP /ɪndə'ni:ziə/ and GenAm /ɪndə'ni:zə/) (see §9.3.4 for voicing differences, i.e., RP /ʃ/ vs. GenAm /ʒ/). Both agree in having palatalized *soldier*, *auspicious*, *financial*, and so on; and both have unpalatalized *easier*, *Finlandia*, *rodeo*, and so on.

Vowels. In the area of the vowels only two frequent and noticeable points will be mentioned. GenAm does not allow any short vowels except for unstressed schwa to occur in unchecked syllables (ones that do not end with a consonant). This means that the only vowels which can come at the very end of a word are long vowels, diphthongs, and schwa. RP makes an exception to this rule by allowing final unstressed /ɪ/, which is gradually lengthening to /i:/ in current practice. As a result, all those words ending in unstressed

<-y> and <-ie> such as *cloudy* and *birdie* have /i:/ in GenAm and more recent RP, but /ɪ/ in more old-fashioned RP, where *candied* = *candid* /kændɪd/.

The second point is that GenAm has a much greater tendency to reduce unstressed vowels to schwa while RP retains /ɪ/, especially where the endings {-ed} and {-es} are pronounced with a vowel. This distinguishes *boxes* /bɒksɪz/ from *boxers* /bɒksəz/; however, unstressed /ɪ/ is increasingly realized as /ə/ in RP as well. GenAm has schwa in both cases, but this causes no confusion because *boxers* is pronounced with a final /ɪ/.

9.3.4 Divergent patterns of phoneme use in whole sets of words

Among the consonants of English there is a notable difference in the way intervocalic <-si-> is realized before an unstressed syllable (see the remarks on palatalization above). While all the following have /ʒ/ in GenAm, only those under (a) have this consonant in RP; the ones under (b) have either /ʒ/ or /ʃ/ in RP; and the items in (c) have only /ʃ/ in RP:

- (a) *vision, confusion, decision, measure, treasure, pleasure, usual, seizure*
- (b) *Asia, immersion, Persia, perversion; in aspersion, magnesia* this alternation in GenAm as well,
- (c) *version, aversion*

In addition, *Malaysia, Melanesia, Micronesia* have /-zɪ-/ in RP and either /ʒ/ or /ʃ/ in GenAm; *Indonesian* has /ʃ/ or /-zɪ-/ in RP and /ʒ/ or /ʃ/ in GenAm; *ethanasia, Polynesia, and Tunisia* have RP /-zɪ-/ and GenAm /ʒ/.

At least some areas of America, especially the South, have an often vocalized /l/ in PALM-words (*alms, balm, calm, palm, psalm, qualms*), the vowel is not /ɑ:/ but /ɔ:/. In varieties of GenAm without the /l/, either vowel may occur. RP never has /l/ and always has /ɑ:/.

There are four important lexical sets in which RP and GenAm generally differ in the vowel chosen.

- The largest and best known is the BATH-words, which have /æ/ in GenAm and /ɑ:/ in RP. This set of words is defined by the occurrence of a spelling <a> followed by <s>, <f> or <th>, as in *pass, after, path, or rather*; in addition, the <a> may be followed by <m> or <n> plus another consonant, as in *example* or *dance*. Approximately 300 words fulfill these conditions, but only about one-third have /ɑ:/ in RP; the remainder have /æ/ in both varieties (e.g., *ass, traffic, math(s), gather, trample, Atlantic*). One word has /ɑ:/ in both varieties (*father*), and some vary in RP between /æ/ and /ɑ:/ (*lather, mass*).
- The second set of words which vary between the two varieties comprises those in which an intervocalic /r/ follows a mid-central vowel, as in *borough, burrow, courage, concurrent, curry, flurry, furrow, hurricane, hurry, nourish, scurry, thorough, turret, worry*. Here GenAm has the NURSE vowel /ɜ:/ while RP has the STRUT vowel /ʌ/. RP can have the combination /ɜ:r/ only when a word otherwise ending in /ɜ:/ has a suffix beginning with a vowel (e.g., *furry, deterring, or referral*).
- The third set includes those words derived from Latin which end in <-ile>. In RP the usual pronunciation is /aɪl/ while in GenAm it is /ɪl/ or /əɪl/ (cf. *febrile, fragile, futile, missile, puerile, tactile, virile*). Note that individual words in GenAm may vary so that, for example, *textile, reptile, and servile* commonly have either /aɪl/ or /ɪl/.

- The final set of words includes names of countries, such as *Nicaragua*, *Rwanda*, *Surinam*, or *Vietnam*. Here GenAm usually has /ɑ:/ for the <a> in the stressed syllables while RP has /æ/ (cf. /nɪkə'ræjʊə/ vs. GenAm /nɪkə'rɑ:gwə/).³

9.3.5 Individual words which differ

A few words have differing pronunciations in the two varieties without this divergence being systematic or belonging to a larger set of words. In the following first the RP and then, following the slanted line, the GenAm pronunciations are indicated for the item or items:

<i>aesthetic, evolution</i> (i:/e)	<i>produce</i> (noun), <i>shone, scone, yoghurt</i> (ɒ/ʊ)
<i>apparatus, data, status</i> (eɪ/eɪ ~ æ ~ ɑ:)	<i>progress, process</i> (əʊ/ɑ:)
<i>been</i> , stressed (i:/h)	<i>quagmire</i> (ɒ ~ æ/æ)
<i>Berkeley, clerk, Derby</i> (ɑ:/ɜ:)	<i>quinine</i> (ɪ + i:/aɪ + aɪ)
<i>dynasty, midwifery, privacy, viola</i> (ɪ/aɪ)	<i>route</i> (u:/u: ~ ɑʊ)
<i>erase, parse</i> (z/s)	<i>schedule</i> (f-/sk-)
<i>geyser</i> (i:/aɪ)	<i>squirrel</i> (ɪ/ɜ:)
<i>gooseberry</i> (z ~ s/s)	<i>tomato, strafe</i> (ɑ:/eɪ)
<i>herb</i> (h/no h)	<i>tryst</i> (aɪ/h)
<i>leisure, zebra, zenith</i> (e/i:)	<i>vase</i> (vɑ:z/veɪz ~ veɪs)
<i>lieutenant</i> (army: left-; navy: lu:t-/lu:t-)	<i>what, was, of</i> (ɒ/ʌ)
<i>(n)either</i> (aɪ/i:)	<i>wrath</i> (ɒ/æ)
<i>plaque</i> (ɑ: ~ æ/æ)	

Stress. The stress patterns of RP and GenAm are generally the same. One well-known difference is in the pronunciation of words ending in *-ary*, *-ery*, or *-ory*. In RP they contain a single stressed syllable, which is the first or the second one in the word, and the second to last syllable is frequently elided. In GenAm the stress is on the first syllable; in addition, secondary stress falls on the next to last syllable, for example:

<i>secretary</i> : 'sec-re-t(a)ry/'sec-re-tar-y	<i>laboratory</i> : la-'bor-a-t(o)ry/'lab-(o)-ra-tor-y
<i>library</i> : 'li-br(ar)y/'li-brar-y	<i>corollary</i> : co-'rol-la-ry/'cor-ol-lar-y
<i>stationery</i> : 'sta-tion-(e)ry/'sta-tio-ner-y	

A number of individual words also carry their stress on different syllables in the two varieties. Here is a short list, always with the RP form first:

<i>ad'vertisement/adver'tisement</i> (<i> is ɪ/aɪ)	<i>'frontier/fron'tier</i> (the latter also in RP)
<i>arti'san/'artisan</i> (the second <a> is æ/ə)	<i>'garage/ga'rage</i> (the first <a> is æ ~ ɑ:/ə; the second is ɪ ~ ɑ:/ɑ:)
<i>'ballet/bal'let</i> (the <e> is eɪ ~ ɪ/eɪ)	<i>'lamentable/la'mentable</i> ('læmənt- / lə'ment-)

³ A study of the pronunciation of the word *Iraq* has shown that what is presented here as a national tendency is often far more. Hall, Coppock, and Starr conclude

... that the pronunciation of *Iraq* is a resource for indexing political identity in American speech. At least on the floor of Congress, where a wide variety of speakers work to present themselves linguistically in a highly political environment, the choice between /ɑ:/ [Democratic] and /æ/ [Republican] variants is a linguistic resource that aids in the construction of party affiliation and political identity.

'baton/ba'ton (the <a> is æ/ə)

'chagrin (n.)/cha'grin (the <a> is æ/ə)

'detaillde'tail (<e> is i:/ɪ)

doc'trinal/ doctrinal (<i> is aɪ/ɪ)

'résumé/resu'me (<re-> is re- ~ reɪ /-re-)

re'veille/ reveille (rɪvæli:/revəli:)

'valet/va'let (væ-lɪt ~ -leɪ /væleɪ)

The intonation of both RP and GenAm functions according to the same basic principles. Yet the intonation of RP is often characterized as more varied, that of GenAm as flatter. Some of the individual points of difference include the following. RP more frequently uses sharp jumps downward, but has more gradual rises than does GenAm. In lengthy sentences GenAm will repeat the overall contour, leaving the final rise or fall until the very end; RP, in contrast, draws out the rise or fall in small increments from stressed syllable to stressed syllable. GenAm generally has falling intonation in *wh*-questions while RP frequently uses an alternative pattern with a low rise at the end, something which is perceived as friendlier. *Yes-no*-questions have a rapid rise in GenAm, remain high, and finish with a further small rise. In RP the final rise may be preceded by a falling contour.

9.3.6 Spelling

Spelling and punctuation differences are, much like the majority of differences in pronunciation, not merely haphazard and unsystematic. Rather, the principles of simplification, regularization, derivational uniformity, and reflection of pronunciation are used. Of course, there are a number of individual, unsystematic differences in addition. Although it is not always easy to attribute British-American divergences unambiguously to a single principle – due among other things to differing house styles among publishers – the following presentation will proceed as if this were no problem.

Simplification. This principle is common to both the British and the American traditions, but is sometimes realized differently. AmE has a greater reputation for simplification as often attested by such standard examples as *program* instead of *programme* (but note that BrE has *program* for computer software). Compare also measurement words ending in <-gram(me)> such as *kilogram(me)*, where the form with the final <-me> is the preferred, but not the exclusive BrE variant. Likewise, BrE *waggon* is still found next to AmE (and, increasingly, BrE) *wagon*. AmE has *counselor*, *woolen*, and *fagot* as well as common *counsellor*, *woollen*, and *faggot*.

Simplification of *ae* and *oe* to *e* in words taken from Latin and Greek (*heresy*, *federal*, etc.) are the rule for all of English, but this rule is carried out less completely in BrE, where we find *mediaeval* next to *medieval*, *foetus* next to *fetus* and *paediatrician* next to *pediatrician*. We also find AmE forms with simple *e* compared to the nonsimplified forms of BrE in words like *esophagus/oesophagus*; *esthetics/laesthetics* (also AmE); *maneuver/manoeuvre*; *anapest/anaepst*; *estrogen/loestrogen*; *anemial/anaemia*; *egis/laegis* (also AmE); *amebal/amoeba*. Note that some words have only *ae* and *oe* in AmE (e.g., *aerial* and *Oedipus*).

A further AmE simplification is one which has not been adopted at all in BrE: the dropping of the *-ue* of *-logue* in words like *catalog*, *dialog*, *monolog*. This simplification, which does not extend to words like *Prague*, *vague*, *vogue*, or *rogue*, is not fully accepted for use in formal AmE writing. Note also the simplification of words like (BrE) *judgement* to (AmE) *judgment*; similar with *abridg(e)ment* and *acknowledg(e)ment*.

BrE employs some simplified spellings which have not been adopted in AmE, such as BrE *skilful* and *wilful* for AmE *skillful* and *willful*. BrE *fulfil*, *instil*, *appal* may be interpreted as simplification, but AmE double <-ll-> in *fulfill*, *instill*, *appall* may have to do with where the stress lies (see Reflection of Pronunciation below). Nevertheless, AmE uses common

fulness alongside of (AmE) *fullness*; other words which have both forms in AmE are *instal(l)*, *instal(l)ment*, and *enthral(l)*.

BrE simplifies <-ection> to <-exion> in *connexion*, *inflexion*, *retroflexion*, and so on. Here AmE uses *connection*, and so on, thus following the principle of derivational unity (see below).

Regularization. This principle is again one which has been employed more completely in AmE than in BrE. It shows up most obviously in the regularization (and simplification) of the endings <-or> and <-our> to the single form <-or>. This seems justified since there are no systematic criteria for distinguishing between the two sets in BrE: *neighbour* and *saviour*, but *donor* and *professor*; *honour* and *valour*, but *metaphor*, *anterior*, and *posterior*; *savour* and *flavour*, but *languor* and *manor*, and so on. Within BrE there are special rules to note: the ending <-ation> and <-ious> usually lead to a form with <-or> as in *coloration* and *laborious*, but the endings <-al> and <-ful>, as in *behavioural* and *colourful*, have no such effect. Even AmE may keep <-our> in such words as *glamour* (next to *glamor*) and *Saviour* (next to *Savior*), perhaps because the <-our> spellings may be perceived by many people as somehow “better.” Words like *contour*, *tour*, *four*, or *amour*, where <-our> carries stress, are never simplified. Note that, although unrelated to the preceding, AmE also has *mold*, *molt*, *smolder* and *mustache* where BrE has *mould*, *moult*, *smoulder*, and *moustache*. Similar is AmE *gage* where BrE has *gaug*.

The second well-known case concerns <-er> and <-re>. Here BrE words in <-re> are regularized to <-er> in AmE. For example, BrE *goitre*, *centre*, and *metre* become AmE *goiter*, *center* (but the adjective form is *central*), and *meter* (hence leveling the distinction between *metre* “39.37 inches” and *meter* “instrument for measuring”). This rule applies everywhere in AmE except where the letter preceding the ending is a <c> or a <g>. In these cases <-re> is retained as in *acre*, *mediocre*, and *ogre* in order to prevent misinterpretation as a “soft” <c> = /s/ or <g> as /dʒ/. The AmE spellings *fire* (but note: *fiery*), *wire*, *tire*, and so on are used to insure interpretation of these sequences as monosyllabic. The fairly widespread use of the form *theatre* in AmE runs parallel to *glamour* and *Saviour*, as mentioned above: it supposedly suggests superior quality or a more distinguished tradition for many people.

Derivational uniformity. BrE writes *defence*, *offence*, *pretence*, but *practise* (verb) (all are also possible alternatives in AmE), while AmE alone has *defense*, *offense*, *pretense*, but *practice* (verb). What appears to be arbitrary (now <c>, now <s>) is really the application in AmE of the principle of derivational uniformity: *defense* > *defensive*, *offense* > *offensive*, *pretense* > *pretension*, *practice* > *practical* (cf. *connexion* vs. *connection*, see above simplification). In another case BrE observes this principle and AmE violates it, viz. *analyze* and *paralyze*. Here BrE *analyse* and *paralyse* (also possible in AmE) share the <s> with their derivational cognates *analysis* and *paralysis*).

Reflection of pronunciation. The forms *analyze* and *paralyze*, which end in *-ze*, may violate derivational uniformity, but they do reflect the pronunciation of the final fricative, which is clearly a lenis/voiced /z/. This principle has been widely adopted in spelling on both sides of the Atlantic for verbs ending in *-ize* and the corresponding nouns ending in *-ization*. The older spellings with *-ise* and *-isation* are, however, also found in both AmE and BrE. *Advertise*, for example, is far more common in AmE than *advertize* (also *advise*, *compromise*, *revise*, *televise*). The decisive factor here seems to be publishers’ style sheets, with increasing preference for <z>.

In AmE, when an ending beginning with a vowel (<-ing>, <-ed>, <-er>) is added to a multisyllabic word ending in <l>, the <l> is doubled if the final syllable of the root carries the stress and is spelled with a single letter vowel (<e, o>). If the stress does not lie on the final syllable, the <l> is not doubled; see the following:

<i>re'bel</i>	>	<i>re'bellig</i>	' <i>revel</i>	>	' <i>reveling</i>
<i>re'pel</i>	>	<i>re'pelled</i>	' <i>travel</i>	>	' <i>traveler</i>
<i>com'pel</i>	>	<i>com'pelling</i>	' <i>marvel</i>	>	' <i>marveling</i>
<i>con'trol</i>	>	<i>con'trolling</i>	' <i>trammel</i>	>	' <i>trammeled</i>
<i>pa'trol</i>	>	<i>pa'troller</i>	' <i>yodel</i>	>	' <i>yodeled</i>

While BrE uniformly follows the principle of regularization and doubles the <l> (*revelling*, *traveller*, etc.; also accepted in AmE), more usual AmE spelling reflects pronunciation. The AmE spellings *fulfill*, *distill*, and so on may be favored over simplified BrE *fulfil*, *distil*, and so on because they indicate end stress. A similar principle may apply to AmE *installment*, *skillful*, and *willful*, where the <ll> occurs in the stressed syllable. In a few cases BrE doubles the final <p> where AmE does not (e.g., *worship(p)er*, *kidnap(p)er*). Both varieties accept both *biased* and *biassed*, *busing* and *bussing*, *focusing* and *focussing*.

Perhaps the best-known cases of spellings adapted to reflect pronunciation are those involving <-gh->. Here AmE tends to use a phonetic spelling so that BrE *plough* appears as AmE *plow*, BrE *draught* (“flow of air, a swallow of liquid, depth of a vessel in water”), as AmE *draft* (BrE has *draft* in the sense of a bank draft or a first draft of a piece of writing). The spellings *thru* for *through* and *tho'* for *though* are not uncommon in AmE, but are generally restricted to more informal writing; however, they sometimes show up in official use as in the designation of some limited access expressways as *thruways*. Spellings such as *lite* for *light*, *hi* for *high*, or *nite* for *night* are employed in very informal writing and in advertising language. But from there they can enter more formal use, as is the case *lite* in the sense of diet drinks and the like.

Individual words which differ in spelling. For a number of words there are alternatives between <in-> and <en-> without there being any clear principle involved except for a slight preference in AmE for <in-> and in BrE for <en-> (cf. BrE *ensure*, *enclose*, *endorse* and AmE *insure*, *inclose*, *indorse*) but common *envelop* and *inquire* (beside BrE *enquire*).

The practice of writing compounds as two words, as a hyphenated word, or as a single unhyphenated word varies; however, there is a marked avoidance of hyphenations in AmE. Hence while BrE writes *make-up* (“cosmetics”), AmE uses *makeup*; BrE *neo-colonialism*, but AmE *neocolonialism*. Usage varies considerably from dictionary to dictionary; and no more can be said than that this is a preference; but there does seem to be an increasing tendency toward uniformity in the form of single unhyphenated words. Many Americans (and Australians) write compound numbers without a hyphen (e.g., *twenty five*), but most retain one (*twenty-five*), as do most British writers. In a similar vein, AmE drops French accent marks in some words (*cafe*, *entree*, and *resume*) while BrE may be more likely to retain them (*café*, *entrée*, and *résumé*). The tendency toward Anglicization (= no accent marks) is great in both varieties.

The following list includes the most common differences in spelling, always BrE first:

<i>aluminium/aluminum</i>	<i>tyre/tire</i>
(bank) <i>cheque/check</i>	<i>pyjamas/pajamas</i>
<i>gaol</i> (also <i>jail</i>)/ <i>jail</i>	<i>storey</i> (of a building)/ <i>story</i>
<i>jewellery/jewelry</i>	<i>sulphur/sulfur</i>
(street) <i>kerb/curb</i>	<i>whisky/whiskey</i> (also IrE)

In addition, nonce spellings, especially in advertising, can probably be found more frequently in AmE than in BrE (*kwik* (*quick*), *do-nut* (now almost standard for *doughnut*), *e-z* (*easy*), *rite* (*right*, *write*), *blu* (*blue*), *tuff* (*tough*), and many more).

9.3.7 Punctuation

Aside from the lexical differences in the designations for some of the marks of punctuation, there are only a few differences in practice worth mentioning here. But first, some different names: a BrE *full stop* is an AmE *period*; BrE *brackets* are AmE *parentheses*, while BrE *square brackets* are AmE *brackets* and BrE *curly brackets* are AmE *braces*. AmE and BrE *quotation marks* are frequently *inverted commas* in BrE. Note also that BrE uses single quotation marks ('...') in the normal case and resorts to double ones ("...") for a quotation within a quotation ('..."'..."'...'). AmE starts with double quotation marks and alternates to single ones for a quote within a quote. Common British-American *exclamation mark* is also called an *exclamation point* in AmE. And the *slash*, */*, may be termed an *oblique (stroke)* in BrE and a *virgule*, *solidus*, or *diagonal* in AmE.

Simplification vs. regularization. AmE opts for simplification whenever closing quotation marks occur together with a period or a comma: The period or comma *always* comes inside the quotation marks whether or not it "belongs" to the material quoted or not. BrE places its full stops and commas inside if they belong to what is quoted and outside if they do not. See, as an illustration, (a) where the punctuation belongs to the quotation vs. (b) where it does not:

- (a) BrE: *He belongs to the 'club', he told her. Or: He answered, 'She left an hour ago'.*
 AmE: *He belongs to the "club," he told her. Or: He answered, "She left an hour ago."*
- (b) BrE: *These may be called 'corruptions', 'degradations' and 'perversions'.*
 AmE: *These may be called "corruptions," "degradations," and "perversions."*

The principle of regularization is observed in AmE usage (as in BrE) for all other marks of punctuation, that is, question marks and exclamation points come inside the quotation marks if they belong, but are placed outside if they do not belong to the quotation itself.

Note also that in lists AmE usage is more likely than BrE usage to use a comma before the conjunction joining the final item in a list (AmE *x, y, and z* vs. BrE *x, y and z*). On the other hand, (conservative) BrE usage sets a comma between the house number and the street name in addresses (e.g., *331, High Street*), something which is not practiced in AmE.

The use or not of a dot (period, full stop) after abbreviations, especially titles, differs. While AmE opts for simplicity, always using a period, BrE distinguishes abbreviations which end with the same letter as their unabbreviated form and which therefore have no full stop (e.g., *Mister > Mr, Missus > Mrs, Colonel > Col, Lieutenant > Lt*). In contrast, abbreviations which end with a letter different from the final letter of the full form have a full stop (e.g., *General > Gen., Captain > Capt., (the) Reverend > Rev.*).

Miscellaneous differences in punctuation. In business letters, the salutation (*Dear Sir* or *Dear Madam*) is followed by a colon in AmE, but by a comma in BrE. Informal salutations (*Dear John*.) have a comma in AmE. The colon, when used as punctuation between two main clauses, is followed by a small (lowercase) letter in the second clause in BrE. In AmE, there may be capitalization (e.g., *One solution is quite evident: check (BrE)/Check (AmE) the credit-worthiness of the client carefully*). When a colon is used to introduce lists, it may sometimes be followed by an en dash in BrE; this is never the case in AmE (cf. *Several commodities have fallen in price significantly: – coffee, cocoa, tea and tobacco*). The symbol $\%$ is written out as two words in BrE (*per cent*), but is a single one in AmE (*percent*). In addition, BrE uses the abbreviation *p.c.* or *pc*, as in *16 pc Drop in Unemployment*, but AmE does not.

Dates can be the source of serious misunderstanding between the two varieties since BrE goes with European usage in placing the date before the month between oblique strokes or separated by (raised) dots: *2 April 1992* is *2/4/20* or *2·4·20*. In AmE *2/4/20* (oblique strokes

only) is *February 4, 2020*. In cases of possible confusion, it is recommendable to write out the name of the month or its abbreviation. The raised dots just mentioned are unknown in AmE, but are also used for decimals and times in BrE (e.g., *3·1416* or *10·43 a.m.*). A normal period/full stop may also be used in BrE. Clock times use a dot in BrE (*3.45 p.m.*), but a colon in AmE (*3:45 p.m.*). Both varieties abbreviate *number(s)* as *No.* or *Nos* (capitalized or not, with a dot or not according to AmE and BrE rules [e.g., *No. 8* or *nos 5 and 8*]); only AmE uses the symbol # (# 8).

9.4 GRAMMAR AND INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

9.4.1 The verb

Morphology. A number of verbs ending in a nasal (*dream, lean*) or an <l> (*spill, spell*) have two forms for their past tense and past participle; one is regular, adding {ed}; the other adds {-t} (sometimes with and sometimes without a change in the vowel). These include the following: *burn, dream, dwell, kneel, lean, learn, spell, spill, and spoil*. In each case, AmE is more likely to have the regular form and BrE to have the form in *-t*. For example, *leant /lent/* is rare in AmE in contrast to *leaned /li:nd/*. Note that there are verbs ending in <m, n, l> which do not have two forms; for example, there is only irregular *meant /ment/* in both varieties, just as there is only regular *quelled* and *teamed*. A further widespread phenomenon is the greater tendency in AmE for nonstandard past tense forms to be used higher up in the scale of stylistic formality. This is especially the case with the pattern *sprung* for *sprang* (cf. also past tense *rung, shrunk, sung, sunk, stunk, and swum*).

Most other differences in the past tense and past participle forms are singular, incidental ones, including the differing pronunciation of the past tense forms *ate* (BrE /et/ ~ /eɪt/; AmE /eɪt/) and *shone* (BrE /ʃɒn/; AmE /ʃoʊn/) or AmE past tense *dove* and *snuck* (beside common *dived* and *sneaked*) or BrE *quitted, betted, and fitted* (beside common *quit* and *bet* and AmE *fit*). AmE also sometimes uses *proven* and *shaven* as past participles next to shared *proved* and *shaved*. Furthermore, AmE has the past participles *beat, shook, and swelled* (beside normal *beaten, shaken, and swollen*) in the expressions, *to be beat* “completely exhausted,” *all shook up* “upset,” and *to have a swelled head* “be conceited.” *Slay* (itself more common in AmE) has two past tenses, literal, though archaic, *slew* “killed” and figurative *slayed*, as in *That slayed me* “caused me to laugh vigorously.”

Get and have. *Get* has two past participle forms in AmE, *got* and *gotten*, each used with a different meaning. *Have got* is used for possession and modality (obligation, or logical necessity) as also in BrE: possession: *I've got a book on that subject*; obligation: *you've got to read it*; logical necessity: *it's got to be interesting*. *Have got* for logical necessity, familiar in AmE, is apparently a more recent and less widespread phenomenon in BrE. *Have gotten*, which does not occur in standard BrE at all, means “receive,” as in *I've just gotten a letter from her*. In its modal sense *have gotten* means “be able, have the opportunity,” as in *I've gotten to do more reading lately*. These distinctions must be made lexically in BrE. In addition, the past form *had got* is not a real option for expressing possession in either variety – or maybe just a little in BrE. As a modal of obligation, it is just barely possible in BrE (e.g., *They had got to reply by yesterday*).

Pro-form do. A further difference involves *do* as a pro-form. This is the use of one of its forms (*do, does, did, done, doing*) to replace a lexical verb instead of repeating it (e.g., A: *Did you write to the hotel?* B: *Yes, I have done*). This type of construction is exclusively BrE; in AmE B's reply would be: *Yes, I have* or *Yes, I have done so*, both of which are also possible in BrE (Biber et al. 1999: 431).

Modal auxiliaries. Other differences between AmE and BrE in the area of the verb concern the frequencies of the modal verbs. *Should, shall, ought to, dare, need, and must*, all of which are relatively infrequent in BrE, are even more so in AmE (Leech et al. 2009: 71–78). *Dare* and *need*, furthermore, are more likely to be used as blends between operators and lexical verbs in AmE. This means that they will use *do*-periphrasis, but an unmarked infinitive (e.g., *I don't dare think about it*). The use of *ought* without *to* in questions and negations (i.e., nonassertive contexts) is an increasingly frequent pattern not only in AmE and BrE but also in AusE. Modal *must* is losing ground to *have (got) to* in its obligation meaning, especially in AmE; in its epistemic use for logical necessity, in contrast, “*must* is very much alive and is now met with also in clauses negated by *not*, a usage that appears to be fairly recent in origin” (Jacobson 1979: 311; cf. Leech et al. 2009: 109); Quirk and colleagues consider negated *must*, as in *His absence must not have been noticed*, to be particularly American (1985: §4.54).

The modal *used to* may still occasionally have direct negation in BrE (*used not to, usen't to*); in BrE the preferred – and in AmE the only – form of negation is with *do*-periphrasis (*didn't use(d) to*). The modal *would* is normally used in the *if*-clause of a conditional sentence when it indicates willingness (cf. *If you would agree, everything would be fine*). Here the two varieties agree. However, AmE extends the use of *would* to *if*-clauses where no volition is involved (cf. *If it would rain, everything would be okay*; cf. §4.3.5 modality). A further point involving *would* is that the expression ‘*d rather*, which is a contraction of *would rather* is sometimes reexpanded to *had rather*, chiefly in AmE. The growing use of the modal *will* with first person pronouns (*I/we will*) instead of traditional *shall* is an instance where British and American usage are converging: “Increasingly even in Southern Standard BrE the forms formerly associated with AmE are becoming the norm” (Quirk et al. 1985: §4.50; Leech et al. 2009: 81). *Shall* is heard in AmE almost only in questions inquiring about the desirability of the speaker's doing something (e.g., *Shall I get you an ashtray?*) More common, however, would be the phrasing, *Would you like me to ...? Should I ...? or Can I ...?* The semi-modals (*had*) *better* and (*have*) *got to (gotta)* are more common in conversation in BrE than in AmE, but *have to (hafta)* and *be going to (gonna)* are more common in AmE than in BrE (Biber et al. 1999: 488f).

The subjunctive. In AmE the subjunctive is far more common than in BrE. This is less the case with the so-called formulaic subjunctive (e.g., *I wish Ilhelselit were ...; If I were you, ...*), which is becoming less and less current in both varieties. Rather, what is typically American usage is the so-called mandative subjunctive, used after predicates of command or recommendation and other predicates which mark something as desirable future action (§8.4.7 the subjunctive) (e.g., *we suggest/recommend that Jerome be on time tomorrow; it is important/mandatory that Matteo not misunderstand me*). While this is somewhat formal usage in AmE, it is by no means unusual in the everyday speech. In BrE, in contrast, it is largely restricted to formal written usage, though it seems to be making a come-back due to American influence (§§7.4.1, 8.4.1, 8.4.7 Americanization). What BrE uses in its place is either what is called putative *should* (*it is mandatory that Clara should not misunderstand me*), which is also available in AmE, but used at a considerably lower frequency than the subjunctive (1:10) while BrE favors putative *should* over the subjunctive at 6:4, which is an increase in the subjunctive in comparison with LOB-corpus results from 1961 of 7 : 1 (Leech et al. 2009: 52ff). BrE usage includes the indicative (*it is mandatory that Clement doesn't misunderstand me*), an option impossible in AmE. See §4.5.2 verb classes (*suggest*).

The perfect. The use of the perfect is interpreted somewhat differently in the two varieties. While there is basic agreement, AmE speakers may choose to use the past in sentences with the adverbs *yet, just, or already*, all of which would almost automatically trigger the use of the present perfect in BrE (cf. AmE *He just/already came* for BrE and, less stringently, AmE *He has just/already come*).

Complementation. Of the more important differences in the patterns of complementation used in AmE and BrE one has already been discussed: the use of a *that*-clause with the subjunctive after verbs of command, suggestion, and desirable future action. A second pattern which differs is the use of an infinitive complement whose subject is introduced by *for* after verbs of emotion such as *love, like, hate, and prefer* (cf. *They would like for you to come*). While adjectives take such *for ... to* complements in both varieties (e.g., *They would be happy for you to come*), the occurrence of the *for ... to* construction after verbs is more typical of AmE. Note that this pattern is not employed all the time in AmE, nor is it completely unknown in some varieties of BrE. When something separates the main verb from the infinitive complement, *for* will occur in both varieties (e.g., *They would like very much for you to come*).

The third case involves copular verbs. These may be classified as ascriptive (*be, become: he is silly*), as cognitive (*seem, appear: he seems silly*), or sensorial (*look, sound, feel: he looks silly*). So long as what follows is an adjective, the two varieties follow the same pattern (as in the examples). When a noun follows, there are divergences. Both allow nouns following ascriptive *be* and *become: he is a fool*. The case is quite different with *appear* and *seem*, however, which may take noun predicative complements directly in BrE, but require *to be* in AmE (also possible in BrE): *he seemed (to be) a fool*. With sensorial copulas, finally, BrE once again allows a noun to follow directly while AmE requires intervening *like* (also possible in BrE): *he looked (like) a fool*. Note that even in BrE not every noun may follow directly (i.e., without *to be* or *like*); this seems to be possible only when the noun is more or less adjectival in nature (*to seem/look a fool = to seem/look foolish*). This practically dictates that the indefinite article be used, for then reference is general and serves the purposes of characterization just as an adjective does. In addition, the noun used must be gradable in the sense of more or less (someone can be *very much a fool*).

Help + bare infinitive or to-infinitive can express meaning differences: Dixon, for example, has argued that the *to*-infinitive represents more indirect causation or support than the bare infinitive, claiming that *John helped Mary to eat the pudding* suggests that he did so indirectly, for example “by guiding the spoon to her mouth”; while *John helped Mary eat the pudding* actually means that he himself ate part of it (2005: 201). More commonly, scholars assume this is a divergence preference in usage, “with the bare infinitive being the preferred option in AmE” (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 67).

Prevent/stop + NP + (from) + participle. The *from*-less variant was used in 18th and 19th century English in both AmE and BrE. In the 20th century there has been divergence, and the *from*-less variants “have become clear syntactic Briticisms today.” Example: “His alleged motive was *preventing them leaving* their £250,000 estate to his eight-year-old son instead of him. [FLOB A11]” (Leech et al. 2009: 193).

Concord. This is the final point concerning the verb. As elsewhere in the grammar the two varieties agree here almost completely. The one important divergence has to do with the greater degree to which *notional concord* is applied in BrE. While both types of English construe words like *people* and *police* as plurals, a large number of collective nouns for groups of people are often seen as plural in BrE, while they virtually never are in AmE (*government, team, committee, council, board, etc.*). Hence BrE frequently has *The council have decided to make further inquiries*, where AmE (but BrE as well) has *The council has decided ...*

Another development in GenE is that phrases like *a number of, a lot of, or a bunch of*, and many more which contain a singular noun are construed as complex determiners with the consequence that the object of the preposition *of* determines the number of the subject. In this sense, *A bunch/number/lot of politicians have disappointed the electorate* has a plural verb in agreement with plural *politicians*. A minor point of concord is the BrE use of interrogative *aren't I* for the nonexistent contracted form of *am*. This is rarer in AmE.

9.4.2 The noun, the pronoun, and the article

Singular and plural nouns. Besides the difference in interpretation of some collective nouns as notional plurals, as just discussed, it is perhaps of interest to note that some words appear regularly in the singular in the one, but in the plural in the other variety: Plural nouns as the first member of a noun-noun compound as in *the drugs business* or *the trades union* are more common in BrE than in AmE even though both share many such combinations such as *arms race* or *sales talk*. Comparisons between earlier (1961: Brown, LOB) and later corpora (1992: Frown, 1991: FLOB) show that such plural noun + singular noun combinations have increased in both varieties over time (Leech et al. 2009: 220f). Also, BrE has the plural *overheads* (and *maths* as mentioned in §9.2.4) where AmE has singular *overhead* (and *math*); on the other hand, AmE has plural *accommodations* and *sports* where BrE has noncount *accommodation* and *sport*. In AmE *inning* (as in baseball) is a count noun with a singular and a plural; in BrE there is only the unchanging form *innings* (as in cricket) plural in form and singular in meaning. BrE can (but need not) give words like *fish* or *shrimp* a plural ending (*fishes*, *shrimps*); in AmE this is strange. Furthermore, numbers are also sometimes treated differently: When a noun follows a number ending in *thousand*, *million*, and so on no plural {-s} is added (*five thousand books*); when the noun is elided BrE may add a plural (possible BrE: *five thousands*); AmE may not.

S- and of-genitives. The surge in the use of the *s*-genitive (*the book's cover*) is a surprising development between 1961 (Brown, LOB) and 1991–1992 (Frown, FLOB). This is surprising because it is a small move away from the equivalent analytic *of*-genitive structure (*the cover of the book*) in the direction of a more synthetic construction.⁴ In journalistic and academic writing AmE showed an increase in *s*-genitives in these two genres of 44% and 91%; in BrE, an increase of 36% and 35%. Written AmE English changed from a 40 : 60 proportion of *s*-genitives to an almost reversed ratio in these two periods. BrE underwent a similar, but slightly less dramatic change (Leech et al. 2009: 222–226).

The pronoun. In addition to what has been said about collective nouns and notional concord we should remember that both varieties agree in frequently, but not necessarily, using plural pronoun reference for “group” nouns (cf. *their* in the following: *The council is/are considering this at their next meeting*). A second point reveals greater divergence: a singular interpretation of a collective noun like *committee* or *council* will lead to the use of the relative pronoun *which*, while the BrE plural interpretation will be more likely to take *who* (cf. *The Committee, which is considering the move, ...* vs. *The Committee, who are considering the move, ...*) (§6.3.2, reference to males and females). On a different note in regard to relative pronouns, there is a tendency in AmE to use relative *that* in restrictive relative clauses noticeably more often than *which*.

Two additional pronoun differences are first the greater preference for *-body* (e.g., *anybody*) over *-one* (e.g., *everyone*) in AmE and, second, the widespread use of a distinct second person plural pronoun in Southern AmE, *you all*, sometimes shortened to *y'all* (possessive *you all's* or *y'all's*). Although a few other second person plural forms exist in both BrE and AmE such as *yous(e)*, none of them have the relative acceptance which *you all* has.

The article. A few differences in article choice include the following well known difference: BrE *to/in hospital* vs. AmE *to/in the hospital*. While all the seasons (*spring, summer, autumn, winter*) can be used with or without the article in both varieties, the usual AmE

4 Old English was a highly inflectional (hence synthetic) language which underwent a major typological change in which periphrastic, that is, multiple-word, (hence analytic) structures prevail. The change from subjunctive with inflections to modal auxiliaries plus infinitive is one result of this.

word for *autumn*, viz. *fall* cannot occur without it (*in the fall*, not **in fall*). Further differences in usage are of little significance.

9.4.3 The preposition, the conjunction, and the adverb

Differing items. While BrE and AmE both prefer *while*, *among*, and *amid*, BrE also uses the forms *whilst*, *amongst*, and *amidst*, which are rare in AmE. BrE sometimes also employs *in regard of* where both normally have *in regard to*. Common to both is *behind*, *apart from*, and *on top of*, but AmE also has *in back of*, *aside from*, and *atop* respectively, which are unfamiliar in BrE. AmE uses *in behalf of* in addition to shared *on behalf of*. Next to common *off*, *opposite*, and *alongside*, AmE also has *off of*, *opposite of*, and *alongside of* without any difference in meaning. AmE prefers *different than* next to BrE *different from* and *different to*. Furthermore, AmE usage is much more prone to leave the preposition out altogether in time expressions such as *Tuesdays*, where BrE has *on Tuesdays*. AmE also omits prepositions more freely in time expressions (cf. *She starts work (on) Monday*).

Differing meanings. The preposition *out* (AmE, informal BrE) is not used in the same way as common *out of*. The former may only be employed with two-dimensional objects which designate paths of exit, as in *out the window*, *door*, and so on. *Out of* may be used here as well, of course, in both varieties and is the usual form in BrE.

The pair *round* and *around* also overlap in much the same way except that here it is AmE which has no choice since the form *round* is scarcely found there. In BrE, in contrast, *round* may be distinguished from *around* as in *to go round the earth* “in a circular movement, as, for example, a satellite” vs. *to go all around the world* “to travel to various places anywhere in the world.” This distinction is missing in AmE.

The preposition *through* as in AmE *Volume one of the dictionary goes from A through G* is not current in BrE, where the ambiguous *A to G* or the cumbersome *A to G inclusive* might be found.

The present perfect of verbs expressing continuous activity regularly has *for* to introduce periods of time in both varieties (e.g., *I've been working for an hour*). For individual events within a period both varieties use *in* (e.g., *I have gone twice in [the past] two weeks*). Usage differs when a verb expressing individual events is negated: Here BrE uses *for*: *I haven't worked out once for (the past) two weeks*, while AmE prefers *in*: *I haven't exercised once in (the past) two weeks*. In other words, BrE usage is generalized from the continuity of nonaction, while AmE usage is generalized from the nonoccurrence of individual acts.

An additional difference in the application of generalities is the preference for *at* (BrE and common) vs. *over* (AmE) for longer holidays and weekends (*at/over Easter*). Here *at* stresses the relatively punctual nature of the time unit, while AmE usage underscores its longer length. The use of *at the weekend* (BrE; impossible in AmE) fits this pattern and treats *weekend* punctually. AmE *on* (beside *over*) *the weekend* treats *weekend* in the same way as a weekday (*on Monday*).

To indicate a fixed time in the future, the time of reference will always follow *from* in AmE while BrE may omit the preposition and even invert the elements (cf. common *We'll meet two weeks from Saturday* and BrE *We'll meet Saturday fortnight*). For clock time informal AmE uses *of* or *till* for common *to* as in *It's quarter of/till ten*. This usage with *of* is unknown in BrE; *till* is rare there. Informal BrE, on the other hand, has the preposition *gone* “past” as in *It's gone eight*, which would puzzle an AmE speaker. Equally undecipherable for this speaker is the time expression *It's half eight* for “eight-thirty.” AmE frequently uses *after* (*It's twenty after nine*), while BrE uses only the shared form *past*; however, AmE demands *past* in combination with *quarter* and *half* (*a quarter/half past ten*).

A few usages show preferences in the one or the other direction, for example, *lest* is more common in AmE (e.g., *Be quiet lest he call the police*). In BrE this counts as somewhat archaic. Instead the informal *in case* might be used in much the same sense (cf. *Be quiet in case he should call the police*, a usage which is not possible in AmE). Note that both could have ... *so that he won't call the police*.

Differing word class membership. In AmE the prepositions *plus*, *like*, and *on account of* are sometimes used as conjunctions (cf. *I don't feel like we should go out on account of it's late, plus I'm tired*; *plus* as a conjunction seems to be gaining ground in BrE). In BrE, on the other hand, the adverbs *directly* and *immediately* can also be conjunctions (cf. *Immediately/Directly you came, he left*). Furthermore, in BrE *nor* may be an adverbial conjunct and co-occur with the conjunctions *and* or *but* (e.g., *I don't like French cheese, but nor do I like cheddar*).

Adverbs. Perhaps the most noticeable difference in the use of adverbs is the greater tendency in AmE, especially in speech and in informal writing and sports journalism, to use adjectives rather than adverbs as in *You did that real good*. While the use of an adjective in the function of a manner adverb (*good* in the example) is rejected in more careful usage, adjectives as intensifiers (*real* in the example) are used much further up the stylistic scale. The use of adverbs formed from nouns plus the ending {-wise} (e.g., *timewise* "from the point of view of time" or *wordwise* "as far as words are concerned") is considered more typically American. A further morphological difference is the partiality of AmE to the ending {ward} (without a final -s) as in *toward* or *backward*.

9.4.4 Word order

BrE has *Will you give it me?* for common *Will you give me it?* or *Will you give it to me?* In the complimentary close to business letters American usage has *Sincerely yours*, while BrE uses *Yours sincerely*. In BrE inversion such as *Monday last* can be found but hardly in AmE (cf. also *the River Thames (Humber, Avon, etc.)* but *the Mississippi (Missouri, Hudson, etc.) River*). Premodifiers in journalistic style are perhaps still more frequent in AmE than in BrE, for example, *British novelist Graham Greene*, where more formal styles would have *Graham Greene, the British novelist*.

9.5 SOCIAL, REGIONAL, AND PRAGMATIC DIMENSIONS

Social distinctions are marked in both varieties with a selected number of often stereotyped features. The RP accent itself has very significant associations with social class and education. The use of GenAm is definitely not associated with social class or education. There is a propensity among the English to note U vs. non-U items of vocabulary. There does not seem to be any interest among North American speakers of English with anything like U and non-U usage.

What does show up strongly in both varieties is an awareness of region, which is marked strongly by accent. Americans are perhaps most aware of the Southerner-non-Southerner divide while further distinctions such as Eastern New England, the Midlands North, Canadian, or Californian accents do not play a major role in most people's consciousness (§8.1.1). The British and Irish seem to be much more aware of regional-national differences in accent recognizing the West Country, London-Cockney, Manchester, Liverpool, York, Durham, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and southern Irish. This may be the case because

of the presence of traditional dialects (§§6.1; 7.1, and 7.5), which are marginal or virtually absent in the United States and Canada.

It is more difficult to say anything meaningful about differences in the area of pragmatics. Of course, there are distinctly national departure forms such as British *cheerio!* or American *so long*. The informal British expressions of gratitude *ta* is unknown in the United States, while American confirmation of someone else's statement with *you betcha* or *you bet* is essentially American (see also §5.5.2, *Like*).

9.6 EXERCISES

9.6.1 Exercise on phrasal and prepositional verbs

Give a paraphrase of each of the following and indicate whether it comes from AmE or from BrE or from both.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>to knock someone up</i> | 7. <i>to hive off</i> |
| 2. <i>to jack in</i> | 8. <i>to keep down</i> |
| 3. <i>to keep your pecker up</i> | 9. <i>to kiss off</i> |
| 4. <i>to lay for</i> | 10. <i>to juice up</i> |
| 5. <i>to light into</i> | 11. <i>to louse up</i> |
| 6. <i>to square off</i> | 12. <i>to suss out</i> |

9.6.2 Exercise on collocations

First identify as a collocation (C) or an idiom (I). For the collocations give a “translation” of them which is literal and noncollocationally fixed. In the case of the idioms give a nonidiomatic translation. Mark as AmE (A), BrE (B), or shared in common (C).

	C/I	Translation	A/B/C
1. cheese it			
2. cheese off			
3. chew out			
4. chew up			
5. chug-a-lug			
6. grab a bite			
7. hot up			
8. lay the table			
9. local pub			
10. plump out			
11. slim down			
12. tuck in (to food)			
13. wash up			
14. wipe up			

9.6.3 Exercise on taboo words and euphemisms

How do you ask your host, a salesperson in a store, or a waiter/waitress in a restaurant where the toilet is? Many people, especially Americans, find the word *toilet*, itself originally a (French) euphemism meaning “small cloth, doily, dressing table,” too crude to use. The

following terms are a selection from among the many words available in English to designate a toilet (room). Your task is to differentiate them by telling what regional-national variety they are used in and how they might be assessed stylistically. The first two items are given as an example of how your answer might look.

	Variety used in	Stylistic level
bathroom	AmE	euphemistic-polite
bogs	BrE	slang, unrefined < <i>bog house</i> (<i>bog</i> "defecate")
1. can		
2. comfort-station		
3. convenience		
4. gents		
5. the geography		
6. head		
7. john		
8. jerry		
9. ladies (room)		
10. latrine		
11. lavatory		
12. loo		
13. powder room		
14. restroom		
15. washroom		
16. W.C.		

9.6.4 Exercise on phonetic realization

The following transcriptions are narrow (phonetic, as opposed to broad phonemic or phonological) ones. This means that the manner in which the sounds in the words are realized are given in the phonetic script with allophonic realizations. Your task is (i) to give the word in its spelling form and (ii) to indicate which of the two versions is RP and which is GenAm.

		Spelling
(a)	[bʊʊt] [bəʊt]	_____
(b)	[saɪtɪd] [saɪrəd]	_____
(c)	[lʌvlʌɪf] [lʌvlʌɪf]	_____
(d)	[spɒt] [spɑ:t]	_____
(e)	[læk] [lək]	_____
(f)	[əʊklənd] [oʊklənd]	_____

9.6.5 Exercise on phonotactic distribution

Your task: (i) give the word in its spelling form and (ii) to indicate which of the two versions is RP and which is GenAm.

		Spelling
(a)	/eg'zæmpəl/ /eg'zɑ:mpəl/	_____
(b)	/'fɑ:ðə/ /'fɑ:ðər/	_____
(c)	/nu:d/ /nju:d/	_____
(d)	/'næpɪ/ /'næpi:/	_____
(e)	/'sentəns/ /'senəns/	_____
(f)	/tju'nɪzɪə/ /tu'ni:zə/	_____

9.6.6 Exercise on phonemic differences

What lexical set does the stressed vowel in the following words belong to in (i) RP and (ii) GenAm

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| (a) <i>chance</i> | (d) <i>beer</i> |
| (b) <i>fair</i> | (e) <i>hurry</i> |
| (c) <i>gone</i> | (f) <i>nearer</i> |

9.6.7 Exercise on lexical-incident differences

Transcribe each of the following words as they are usually pronounced in (i) RP and (ii) GenAm.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|----|-------|
| (a) <i>dynasty</i> | RP | GenAm |
| (b) <i>Nicaragua</i> | RP | GenAm |
| (c) <i>schedule</i> | RP | GenAm |
| (d) <i>lieutenant</i> | RP | GenAm |
| (e) <i>squirrel</i> | RP | GenAm |
| (f) <i>zebra</i> | RP | GenAm |
| (g) <i>her</i> | RP | GenAm |
| (h) <i>clerk</i> | RP | GenAm |
| (i) <i>tomato</i> | RP | GenAm |

9.6.8 Exercise on the use of the subjunctive and conditional

Choose the answers from the suggestions in parentheses. Is more than one answer possible? If so, what guides your own choice?

- 1) It is very important that all employees _____ in their proper uniforms before 6.30 a.m. (be dressed/are dressed/will be dressed)
- 2) I wish my brother _____ here. (will be/was/were)
- 3) The coach insisted that Fabio _____ the center position, even though he's much too short for that position. (play/played/plays)
- 4) Evelyn Smith moved that the meeting _____. (was adjourned/be adjourned/should be adjourned)
- 5) My mother would know what to do. Oh, would that she _____ here with us now! (was/were/has been)
- 6) If only Simon _____ a little more responsible in his choice of courses! (were/has been/was)
- 7) If Mrs. Lincoln _____ ill that night, the Lincolns would not have gone to Ford Theater. (had been/were/was)
- 8) Her employees treated Mrs. Greenblatt as though she _____ a queen. (had been/was/were)
- 9) If his parents _____ more careful in his upbringing, Holden Caulfield would have been quite different. (were/could be/had been)
- 10) I wish I _____ better today. (felt/have felt/feel)

FURTHER READING

General Gramley (2019) is a general historical treatment.

Vocabulary A typical comparative list: Moss (1994); examples of loan words: McArthur (1996: 137–143); for collocations: Benson et al. (2010) (both AmE and BrE) and *Oxford Collocations* (2002) (BrE); national differences in word formation and borrowing: Gramley (2001).

Pronunciation includes (for RP) Gimson (2001); (for GenAm) Bronstein (1960); and Wells (1982) (for both). Standard pronouncing dictionaries for RP are Jones (1997) and Wells (2008) for both.

Spelling For more on internal variation within BrE, see Greenbaum (1986); for AmE, see Emery (1975), Venezky (1999) for American spelling.

Punctuation is covered in a concise form at the front or back of most modern dictionaries. Most good dictionaries, whether AmE or BrE in their orientation, provide alternative spellings, but they cannot always be counted on to include the standard spellings of the other side of the Atlantic.

Grammar Quirk et al. (1985) and Biber et al. (1999) (corpus-based) make frequent comments on BrE-AmE differences; Leech et al.'s work (2009) does the same based on the Brown family of corpora.

English in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa

Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa have been grouped together for a number of reasons. First of all, they are the only large areas in the southern hemisphere in which English is spoken as a native language. This itself is related to the relatively large-scale settlement of all three by English-speaking Europeans at roughly the same time (Australia from 1788 on, South Africa essentially from 1820 on, New Zealand officially from 1840 on). All three were, for a considerable period of time, British colonies and hence open to British institutions (government, administration, courts, military, education, and religion) as well as the use of English as an official language – in Australia and New Zealand it is a *de facto* official language, while in South Africa it is a *de jure* official language. Other southern hemisphere places such as the Falkland Islands, South Georgia, Fiji, or Samoa will not be considered. Zambia and Tanzania are included briefly in Chapter 12 in the section on East Africa (§12.1.2); Papua New Guinea is treated in the chapter on pidgins and creoles.

This chapter starts with a short sketch of settlement history, which provides the background to the establishment of English as a local language. Mention is also made of the number of speakers of English and other important languages as well as official language policies and the status of English. Following this there is a characterization of English in these countries, taking into consideration vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, as well as social, regional, and ethnic variation.

10.1 SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE SETTLER ENGLISH

10.1.1 Australia and Australian English (AusE)

When the first European settlers reached Port Jackson (present-day Sydney) in New South Wales in 1788 the continent was inhabited by native or Aboriginal peoples. Since these peoples were linguistically divided and technologically far less advanced than the European newcomers, they had relatively little impact on further developments, including language, where the clearest influence shows up in vocabulary borrowing. Today the Aboriginal peoples and Torres Straits Islanders, at less 3% of the total population, number fewer than three-quarters of a million in a total population of over 25 million. Immigration policy changed significantly after World War II when the long practiced “white Australia” policy was gradually discontinued. This practice had discouraged non-European, especially non-British immigration (but was not applied to New Zealanders). The change, which took place between 1949 and 1973, led to more liberal policies: By the 1970s a third of the new immigrants were Asian and only a half were European.

Initially Australia served as a British penal colony and was populated chiefly by transported convicts. With the economic development of the country (wool, minerals) the number of voluntary immigrants increased, and it boomed after the discovery of gold in 1851. The convict settlers were chiefly Irish (30%) and southern English (most of the remainder). The latter had the strongest initial influence on the nature of AusE. Because of their largely urban origins, the English they used contained relatively few rural, farming terms and, considering the penal status of many of them, perhaps a greater number of words considered to be less refined in polished English society. The pronunciation which developed, while distinctly Australian, has a clearly urban southern English bias; and although it has often been compared to Cockney, the similarities are only partial, as will be explained below.

Today the vast majority of the population – almost 90% — is urban. Practically everyone can speak English, and three-quarters have it as their sole home language. Immigrant families are often bilingual and maintain a non-English home language, the top five currently being Mandarin Chinese, Arabic, Cantonese Chinese, Vietnamese, and Italian. Aboriginal languages are widely used only in Western Australia and the Northern Territory. All in all, perhaps as few as one in ten Aboriginal people have an Aboriginal home language. Despite the presence of numerous immigrant languages the primacy of English has never been called into question; the linguistic influence of both immigrant and Aboriginal languages has been limited to loan words.



Map 10.1 Australia

10.1.2 New Zealand and New Zealand English (NZE)

New Zealand was originally inhabited by a Polynesian people, the Māoris, starting about 700 years ago. The European settlement of New Zealand is closely related to but later than that of Australia. Before British sovereignty over the territory was officially proclaimed in 1840 there were already some 2,000 English-speaking people there. They had come, mostly via Australia, to establish whaling stations or to work as Christian missionaries to the Māoris. After 1840 European settlement was more closely regulated (but with no transported convicts and no penal stations) and grew gradually in the next decades, drawing on immigration chiefly from Great Britain and Australia. The discovery of gold (1852) and the first gold rushes (1861, 1865) brought ever more British and Australians to New Zealand even though sheep raising for the export of wool and later of meat turned out to be the long-term motor for the economy joined later by wine, timber, and tourism. More recently immigration from Asia (especially China) has grown rapidly.

The New Zealand population of almost four million claims a variety of backgrounds: European heritage makes up about 70% of the population; approximately 16.5% Māori; slightly over 15% Asian (various countries of origin); 8% Pacific Islanders, and less than 2% of other origin. Over 11% indicate more than one heritage, hence the total of over 100% in the percentages given. Today virtually everyone can speak English, and most have it as their native language or L1. It was the large number of early immigrants with an Australian



Map 10.2 New Zealand

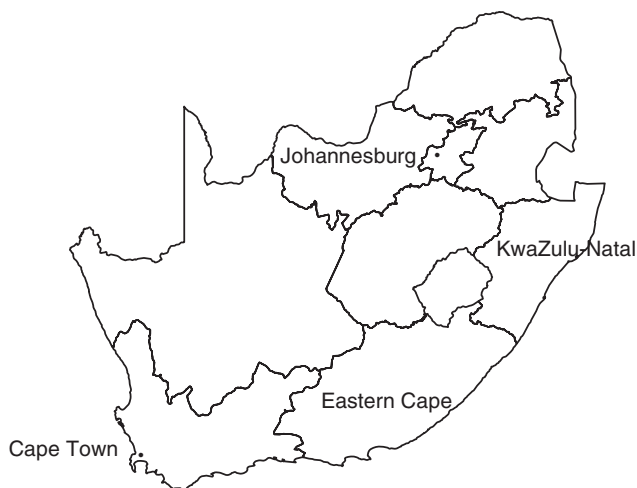
or a London bias to their speech who determined the linguistic character of New Zealand. NZE is so much like AusE that we may speak of one single dialect area with two major varieties. Indeed, it has sometimes been said that, linguistically speaking, New Zealand is to Australia as Canada is to the United States. The differences within each of the pairs are small, but for the smaller partner psychologically vital.

The large minority of Māoris, the native Polynesian people of New Zealand, have been losing their native tongue rapidly; no more than a quarter of them can speak Māori. The decision in 1987 to give Māori the status of an official language is unlikely to change this situation. Today they, together with other Polynesian immigrants, especially from Samoa, make up approximately a sixth of the population of New Zealand.

The vocabulary of NZE is noticeably different from that of non-New Zealanders; the pronunciation resembles that of AusE; but the grammar conforms fully with General English [§1.4], differing from other standard varieties only in preferential of use of some forms: The differences between NZE and other varieties are to be found in matters of degree rather than in **categorical distinctions**, but NZE is not just the same as BrE or AmE: it is a distinct variety, in grammar as well as in lexis and pronunciation. (Bauer 1989: 82)

10.1.3 South Africa and South African English¹

When the first group of English-speaking settlers arrived at Cape Town in 1820, there were not only Black Africans living in the colony (principally the Khoikhoi or Hottentots, the San or Bushmen, and the Xhosa), but also the descendants of Dutch settlers, called Afrikaners, who had begun arriving in 1652 and over whom the British had established colonial control in 1806. Both the Afrikaners and the British treated the native Africans much as the Europeans treated the Aboriginal peoples in Australia and the Māoris in New Zealand, for the latter were unable to offer lasting resistance to the Europeans or to influence the technologically significantly more advanced culture they represented.



Map 10.3 South Africa (ISPA)

¹ In this section only L1 South African English (SAfE) will be treated; for ESL varieties, see Chapter 12.

The British and Afrikaners, however, became rivals, and their subsequent history has been characterized by political, economic, cultural, and linguistic competition. After the Afrikaner National Party victory in the 1948 election English was no longer automatically the favored language in South Africa. Despite its relatively small number of native speakers English did, however, retain considerable influence and prestige. It and Afrikaans had (and have) numerous advantages over the languages of Black Africans:

- they are not divided into dialects.
- they were the exclusive official languages of the country during apartheid.
- they are spoken by the culturally, politically, and economically dominant Whites.
- they offer access to technological and scientific knowledge (and here English has the advantage over Afrikaans).

The Black population prefers English to Afrikaans both because of its utilitarian value and because it is more closely identified with liberal ideas than is Afrikaans. Indeed, English, in contrast to Afrikaans, is seen less as a group language and more as an “out-group” language, one shared by various ethnic groups. This function is the result of the fact that English-speaking White South Africans have relatively little group feeling, and it is strengthened by the fact that English is a widely used second language (ESL) for all groups in South Africa including the Afrikaners.

Today about eight and a half percent of the population of approximately 58 million speak English as their home language. These speakers are made up of about 35% of the Whites (themselves one-tenth of the population), somewhat more than one-fifth of the Coloured (of mixed White and non-White ancestry; one twelfth of the population), virtually all (more than 85%) of the Indian population (itself over 2% of the total population), and 3% of Black South Africans. Altogether somewhat less than five million people are English Native Language (ENL) speakers. This makes it the fourth largest language of the country. About 33 million speak a Black African language, two of which, Zulu and Xhosa, have far more speakers than English. Almost seven million are speakers of Afrikaans, the language of the Afrikaners and the vast majority (about 80%) of Colored South Africans (see *What languages do South Africans speak*: 2019).

The new, post-apartheid constitution of 1996 recognizes 11 languages as official: next to the previous official languages, Afrikaans and English, the others (listed according the number of speakers) are the African languages Zulu, Xhosa, Sepedi, Tswana, Sotho, Tonga, Swazi, Venda, and Ndebele. Further languages are to be promoted and developed: San, Khoi, Nama, and South African Sign Language. A large number of European and Indian languages spoken by immigrants and their descendants are also ensured promotion and respect. This is a clear break from the predominant status of Afrikaans in the apartheid period. According to constitutional principles all the African languages are supposed to be available for use in education and court proceedings. However, there are neither the necessary teaching materials and trained teachers to conduct multilingual education on a large basis, nor are there the necessary language skills among judges and lawyers to ensure the right of all South Africans to be tried in a language they understand. The Pan South African Language Board, established in 1996, is intended to help remedy this.

10.2 SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE: VOCABULARY

10.2.1 AusE vocabulary

AusE shares all but a small portion of its vocabulary with GenE; however, this small, Australian element is important, because next to pronunciation it is the distinctively

Australian words which give this variety its special character. Rhyming slang, though hardly of frequent use, is often regarded as especially typical of AusE (e.g., *sceptic tanks* “Yanks”). In addition, there are a number of Australian words which originate in English dialects and therefore are not a part of GenE elsewhere (e.g., *bonzer* “terrific,” *chook(ie)* “chicken,” *cobber* “mate,” *crook* “ill,” *dinkum* “genuine,” *larrikin* “rowdy,” *swag* “bundle,” *tucker* “food”) (Turner 1994; see also Australian English 2019; Australian English Vocabulary 2019).

The specific features of AusE vocabulary have been affected most strongly, however, by borrowing especially from the one or the other Aboriginal language such as *kangaroo* from Guugu Yimidhirr, and compounding (*kangaroo rat*; *black swan*; *native dog*, *lyrebird*, *ironbark (tree)*, *outback* “remote bush,” or *throwing stick* “woomera, boomerang”). Place names (toponyms), of course, are often specifically Australian (*Wallaroo*, *Kwinana*, *Wollongong*, *Wagga Wagga*), including fantasy names such as *Bullamakanka* (fictitious place); *Woop Woop* (fictitious remote outback locality), both with Aboriginal-sounding names. Sometimes there is uncertainty even among Australians about how to pronounce them. So the anecdote about the train approaching Eurelia, where one porter goes through the cars announcing /ju:rəliə/ (“You’re a liar”) and is followed by a second yelling /ju:ri:li:a:/ (“You really are”) (Turner 1972: 198). Regionally differing vocabulary is rare, but includes words for a bathing suit: *togs*, *cossie*, *swimmers* (east coast; also NZ: *togs*), *bathers* (South + Western Australia). See also Language Varieties Network (2012), which concentrates more on minority and stigmatized varieties, especially pidgins and creoles from a sociolinguistic viewpoint.

There are, of course, words which are Australian by origin but accepted throughout the English-speaking world because what they designate is some aspect of reality which is distinctively Australian. Chief among these are words for the flora, fauna, and topography of Australia as well as aspects of Aboriginal life. Many of these are borrowings from Aboriginal languages, of which some 40 words are still current in AusE and include *billabong* (“dried out river”), *boomerang*, *budgerigar*, *dingo*, *gin* “Aboriginal woman,” *koala* (an mammal), *kookaburra* (a bird), *mallee* (a tree, scrub), *nulla-nulla* “Aboriginal club,” *wallaby* “small kangaroo,” *wallaroo* “mountain kangaroo,” *womat* “burrowing marsupial,” *woomera* “throwing stick, boomerang.” There are a variety of words for Aboriginal hut: *gunya* (Port Jackson), *mia-mia* (Victoria), *humpy* (Queensland), *wurley* (South Australia). Many of these items have little international currency (exceptions: *kangaroo*, *boomerang*) and are not even universally known among Australians.

Other words are general StE, but may be applied somewhat differently in AusE. For example, early settlement gave AusE *station* for a farm (from *prison station*). *Paddocks* are fields. A *mob* of sheep is a flock or herd. *Muster* for rounding up cattle is explained as due to the military arrangement of the convict settlements, as are *superintendent* of the *station* and the *huts* of the men. *Squatter*, initially someone with small holdings but latter large ones, took on a connotation of wealth. Further terms from this period include *outback*, *overlanders* “cattle drivers,” *stockman* “man in charge of livestock,” *jackaroo* “apprentice on a station” (cf. *vaquero*) but also *cocky* “small farmer.” *Mat/mateship* grew into its present legendary meaning of egalitarian male friendship and interdependence, first in the workplace and then more generally. Today egalitarian mateyness contributes to the immediate use of first names, often abbreviated or given the Australian diminutive in *-o* as in *Robbo* from *Robin* or *Robert*.

The convicts also contributed *flash* (or *kiddy*) *language* (cf. *old hand*, *new chum*, *swag* “bundle, rolled-up belongings”; today: “a lot” as in *a swag of letters to answer*, and *swagman* “tramp” [dated]). AusE is well-known for its slang, cf. *bash* verb: “hit, criticize,” or noun: “a drinking spree,” *cadge* “borrow, pump from someone,” *croak* “die,” *dollop* “lump, mass,” *job* “robbery,” *judy* “woman,” *frisk* “steal,” *move* “action,” *mug* “face,”

pigs “police,” *quod* “prison,” *rattler* “coach; train,” *Romany* “gypsy,” *seedy* “shabby; out of sorts,” *sharper*, *snooze* “short jail term,” *stink* “furor,” *swell* “gentleman,” *whack* “share” (a number of these are shared with other varieties).

Borrowing was not only from Aboriginal languages and dialects, but also from both standard BrE and standard AmE. The former gives us *railway* (AmE *railroad*), *goods train* (AmE *freight train*), *guard’s van* (AmE *caboose*), but AmE *cowcatcher* (not needed in Britain). Australians have *semitrailers* or *semis* not BrE *articulated lorries*; and AusE has *truck* and *station wagon* (both AmE) and not BrE *lorry* and *estate car*. In the political arena we find *states* and *interstate*; *federalists* and *state-righters*; *Senate*, *House of Representatives* – all AmE in source, but each state upper house is called a *Legislative Council* and the lower, a *Legislative Assembly* (Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia) or *House of Assembly* (South Australia, Tasmania) – all more BrE. *Store* has the AmE meaning; other AmE borrowings include older *block* “area of land for settlement,” *township*, *bush* “the countryside as opposed to town,” and more recently *french fries*, *cookies*, and *movies*.

The lexical item *bush* has given rise to numerous compounds. The word itself may have come ultimately from AmE (Ramson 1981:41).² It is used to refer to wooded lands and has largely displaced the American and British words *woods* and *forest*. Because it is an essentially Australian word, the compounds it is a part of will be especially Australian (possibly also New Zealand-like) in provenance. In the *Macquarie Dictionary*, 3rd edition of 1997, *bush* appears in over 60 main entries. We need to ignore those cases of *bush* in the sense of a shrub (e.g., the North American *bushtit* “a chickadee-like bird”). The remainder are (1) based on the meaning “land covered with bushy vegetation or trees” (*Macquarie*, *bush*, q.v.). This is then (2) associated with an extended meaning “the countryside in general, as opposed to the towns” (*ibid.*). Then (3) in the manner of city people all over the world, who tend to consider city life urbane and sophisticated vis-à-vis rustic and unrefined country life (often nostalgically regarded as quaint), *bush* takes on the meaning of “uncivilised; rough; makeshift” (*ibid.*). This means that Australian compounds including *bush* will modify the element they are combined with in one of these senses. So *bush bashing* makes use of meaning (1): “clearing virgin bush” or “making a path through virgin bush” (*ibid.*, *bush bashing*, q.v.). But a *bush ballad* has meaning (2), a ballad “dealing with aspects of life in the Australian bush” (*ibid.*, *bush ballad*, q.v.), while *bush breakfast* represents meaning (3) “a rough, improvised breakfast partaken of while camping in the bush” (*ibid.*, *bush breakfast*, q.v.) (Gramley 2001: 92f).

“The AusE penchant for creating ad hoc informal words, usually by abbreviating and then extending them with hypocoristic suffixes such as *-ie* and *-o* is a pervasive feature of casual conversation ...” (Peters and Collins 2012: 591). This occurs in AusE³ more often than in other varieties. Examples: *Aussie*, *mozzie* < mosquito, *rego* < car registration, *pres-sie* < present, *metho* < methylated spirits, *footy* < football, *specio* < special staffer.

In derivational morphology AusE reveals a preference for processes of word formation which are less frequent in English at large, especially the relatively greater use of reduplication in designations for Australian flora and fauna borrowed from Aboriginal languages (*bandy-bandy*, a kind of snake, *gang-gang*, a kind of cockatoo), proper names (*Banka*, *Ki*, *Kurri Kurri*), and terms from Aboriginal life including pidgin/creole terms (*mia-mia* “hut,” *kai kai* “food”).

2 South African usage, reinforced by the Dutch word *bosch* (Baker 1966: 75), has also been influential.

3 The same process is also used in NZE (Peters and Collins 2012: 591).

10.2.2 NZE vocabulary

The vocabulary of NZE, as with AusE, has been influenced by new flora, fauna, topography, institutions, and the presence of an autochthonous, originally non-English-speaking people, the Māoris. In addition, it shares many items with AusE that differ from other national varieties of English. Like AusE there is relatively little regionally different vocabulary, but note that “a certain type of large, smooth sausage,” which in Auckland is called *polony*, is called in Christchurch: *saveloy* and in Southland: *Belgium*, *Belgium roll/sausage* (AusE uses *polony* and *saveloy*; Adelaide: *fritz*; Brisbane and Sydney: *devon*) (Burridge and Mulder 1998: 4).

What distinguishes NZE most from AusE is the sizable number of Māori borrowings. Examples include *hoot* “money,” *kiwi* “a kind of (flightless) bird, the NZ national symbol,” *ngaio* “a kind of tree,” *pakeha* “White New Zealander,” *wahine* “woman,” *whare* “small house, hut,” *yacker* “work.” The fact that /a:/ as in *whare* /wa:ri:/ can become /ɒ/ in NZE led one schoolboy to make the following spelling mistake: “Dad thought Mum looked tired so he hired a whore for the holidays” (Turner 1972: 129).

The following excerpt is taken from a newspaper review of the supplement on Australian and New Zealand vocabulary in the *Pocket Oxford Dictionary*. The passage makes highly intensive and unauthentically exaggerated use of NZE and AusE colloquial vocabulary; however, it also offers a little of the flavor of the language:

Stone the crows, sports, but with no more bobsy-die than a dag-picking bushy claiming compo from out in the boo-ay, the sticky-beaks of the Oxford University Press have been taking a squiz at Aussie and Enzed slang. They’ve now published a beaut new supplement to the Pocket Oxford Dictionary -1200 dinkydi words and expressions which are certainly giving the chooms something to chiack at.

(qtd. in Gordon and Deverson 1985: 51)

To help out, here is a short glossary:

stone the crows – expression of surprise
sports – “guys”
bobsy-die – “fuss, panic”
dag-picking – “sorting the wool from the dags”
dag – “wool around a sheep’s hindquarters,
 often dirty with mud and excreta”
bushy – “someone from the countryside, from
 the bush”
compo – “worker’s compensation”

boo-ay – “backblocks, remote country district”
sticky-beaks – “priers, meddlers”
squiz – “a look”
beaut – “fine, good”
dinkydi – “true, honest, genuine”
choom – “English person” (variant of *chum*)
chiack – “jeer, taunt, deride, tease”

10.2.3 SAfE vocabulary

As with other non-European Englishes, SAfE has borrowed words for flora and fauna which differs from European species. Like North America, Australia, and New Zealand many of the words borrowed came from indigenous languages. However, in the context of South Africa this included borrowings from a Germanic sister language, Afrikaans. The following small sample lists some borrowing by source language:

Afrikaans

- *brak* “salty, alkali water or soil”
- *gemsbok* “(large) antelope”

- *meerkat* “a type of mongoose native to southern Africa”
- *lekker* “pleasant, excellent, delicious”
- *trek* “arduous trip”
- *waterbuck* (< *waterbok*) “a type of antelope”
- *wildebeest* “gnu”

Zulu or Xhosa

- *donga* “river bank, gully”
- *kaross* “skin blanket”
- *mamba* a type of snake

Hottentot/Nama

- *quagga* (cf. Xhosa *iqwara*) “a zebra-like animal of southern Africa, now extinct”
- *tsamma melon* “pie or citron melon”

Portuguese

- *brinjal* “egg plant”
- *kraal* “native village”

Hindi

- *dhoby* “washerman”

The languages of non-English immigrants have also contributed to borrowings (e.g., *kugel* “wealthy Jewish woman; usually derogatory” from Yiddish). In addition, there are further words which have entered World English, usually items reflecting aspects of South Africa (e.g., *apartheid* or *veld*, grassland).

SafE calques or loan translations come most commonly from Afrikaans. This is probably due to the structural similarity of lexical items in the two languages. The following list (from Branford 1978, 1991) shows how densely interconnected such borrowings can be:

- *after-ox* < Afr. *agteros* “one of the hindmost pair in a *span* (q.v.) of draught oxen ...”
- *antheap* < Afr. *miershoop* “anthill”
- *bad friends* < Afr. *kwaavriende* “at enmity, not on speaking terms: ... usu. temporarily”
- *to lead water* < Afr. *water lei* “To irrigate, usu. by means of *sloots* (q.v.) or *furrows* (q.v.) from a public supply in towns which have *water erven* (see *erf*) from farm dams or other irrigation schemes ...”
- *lungsickness* < Afr. *longsiekte* “pleuropneumonia, a highly infectious disease of cattle, and horses”

Note how the definition of *after-ox* uses *span*; *to lead water* uses *sloots*, *furrows*, and *water erven*.

10.3 SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE: PRONUNCIATION

The pronunciation of all three Southern Hemisphere varieties treated here reflects the sources of the settler populations. Consequently, all of them are nonrhotic. Furthermore, all of them have taken part in the Southern Shift (§§7.3.6 and 8.3.2), each in a somewhat different way.

10.3.1 AusE pronunciation

AusE is most easily recognized by its pronunciation. The intonation seems to operate within a narrower range of pitch, and the tempo often strikes non-Australians as noticeably slow. Except for the generally slower pronunciations of rural speech, there is no systematic regional variation in AusE, but there are significant social differences. Frequently AusE pronunciation is classified in three categories: The first is referred to as Cultivated and resembles RP relatively closely; it may, in fact, include speakers whose pronunciation is “near-RP.” In one early study it was found to be spoken by proportionately few people (in one investigation of adolescent speakers approximately 11%). Despite its small speaker population, it is the type of pronunciation given in the *Macquarie Dictionary*. The second type is called General, used by the majority (Delbridge: 55%); its sound patterns are clearly Australian, but not so extreme as what is known as Broad (Delbridge: 34%), which realizes its vowels more slowly than General (Delbridge 1970: 19).

In the light of Australia’s early history, in which two groups stood in crass opposition to each other, namely the convicts and the officer class which supervised them, the following remark still seems to be fitting:

In sum, Australian English developed in the context of two dialects - each of them bearing a certain amount of prestige. Cultivated Australian is, and continues to be, the variety which carries overt prestige. It is the one associated with females, private elite schools, gentility and an English heritage. Broad Australian carries covert prestige and is associated with males, the uneducated, commonness and republicanism. The new dialect is “General” which retains the national identity associated with Broad but which avoids the nonstandardisms in pronunciation, morphology and syntax associated with uneducated speech wherever English is spoken.

(Horvath 1985: 40)

Younger native Australians tend to cluster in the area of General (ibid.: 175f).

AusE intonation. In addition to the remark made above on the narrower range of pitch in AusE, one further comment is appropriate. This is the use of what is called the high rising tone (sometimes also called Australian Question Intonation), which involves the use of rising contours (tone 2 in §3.4.3) for statements. It is part of the turn-taking mechanism, and it is used chiefly in narrative and descriptive texts. “And finally, at the heart of it all is a basic interactive meaning of soliciting feedback from the audience, particularly regarding comprehension of what the speaker is saying” (Guy and Vonwiller 1989: 28). Like adding, “Do you understand?” to a statement, it requests the participation of the listener (cf. CanE *eh* in §8.2). It is apparently a low prestige usage, favored more by young people; it is also more common among females than among males and may be observed increasingly often in other national varieties of English, especially among young women. It is sometimes called California Rising Intonation.

AusE consonants. There are a few significant differences in the realization of AusE consonants as compared both to RP and to GenAm. Among these few is the tendency to flap and voice intervocalic /t/ before an unstressed syllable in Broad and General, though hardly in Cultivated AusE. T flapping is very similar to the same phenomenon in GenAm. As a result, there is an absence of the glottal stop [ʔ], which many urban varieties of BrE have in the same environment: AusE *butter* is [bʌrɐ] = *budder* rather than British urban [bʌʔə] = *buh’er*.

Unlike GenAm but like RP, AusE is nonrhotic. As in Cockney there is also a certain amount of H-Dropping (*ouse* for *house*). However, Horvath’s Sydney investigation turned up relatively little of this (1985: 103). In addition, the sound quality of /l/ is even darker than

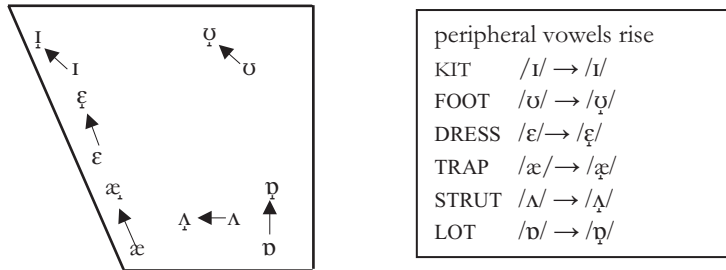


Figure 10.1 The short vowels in the Southern Shift (AusE)

a normal velarized [ɨ]; it is, rather, pharyngealized [ɨ^ɸ] in all positions. Furthermore, there seems to be widespread vocalization of /l/, which leads to a new set of diphthongs (§10.3.2 for examples from NZE, which is similar).

AusE vowels. In the following, the vowel system of General/Broad AusE is presented schematically in comparison with an unshifted RP point of departure. One of the main differences, noted by various observers, is a general raising of the short vowels (Figure 10.1).

A counterclockwise lowering and retraction of the first element in the diphthongs which move toward a high front second element, and clockwise lowering and fronting of the first element of the diphthongs which move toward a high back second element are further changes (Figure 10.2).

What Figure 10.2 shows is to some extent a continuation of the Great Vowel Shift, which began in the late Middle English period and which is continuing in the same general way as the Southern Shift in London English (Cockney) (Labov 2010: 12, 377).

Beyond such differences in the phonetic realization of the vowels, there are also far fewer unstressed vowels realized as /ɪ/ in AusE than in RP. This means that the distinction maintained in RP between <-es> and <-ers> (as in *boxes* /ɪz/ and *boxers* /əz/ or *humid* /ɪd/ and *humoured* /əd/) is usually not made. Indeed, it may be possible to say that there is a certain centralization of /ɪ/ which brings it closer to /ə/, but also sometimes to fronted [ʊ] as well. An Australia newsreader working for the BBC is supposed to have caused some consternation by reporting that the Queen had *chattered* /əd/ rather than *chatted* /ɪd/ with workers. In addition, note that the final unstressed RP /ɪ/ pronunciation of <-y> and <-i(e)> (*hurry*, *Toni*, *hurries*) is realized as /i:./

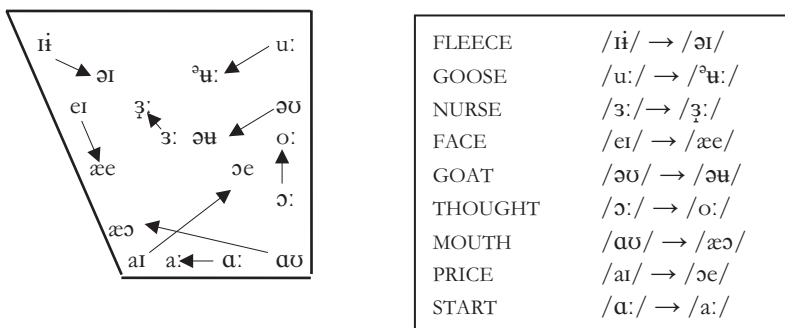


Figure 10.2 Long vowels and diphthongs in the Southern Shift (AusE)

The /æ/-/a:/ contrast in words of the BATH-type *ask, after, example, dance* etc. shows divided usage in AusE, reminiscent of the same type of contrast between GenAm and RP. Apart from the fact that vowel realization differs from word to word (i.e., does not affect this class of words as a whole, cf. §9.3.4), one study has shown significant regional distinctions. In an identical set of words (cf. *castle, chance, contrast, demand, dance, graph, grasp*) Adelaide lies closest to RP with a preponderance of /a:/ (only 9% /æ/), while Hobart is closest to GenAm with 72% /æ/. Furthermore, working-class speech favors /æ/ with the difference between working and middle class largest in Melbourne (33% points) and least in Brisbane (3% points) (Bradley 1991: 228–231).

Among the vowels there is, finally, also a tendency to monophthongize the centering diphthongs through loss of the second element. This levels the distinction, for example, between /eə/ and /e/ (*bared* = *bed*). Together with the fronting and monophthongization of /aʊ/ this can occasionally lead to misunderstandings such as the following one quoted in Taylor between himself and a postal agent in the outback (1973/74: 59):

- author:* Do you sell stamps?
agent: Yes.
author: I'd like airmail [= *our mail* for Australian ears], please.
agent: Sorry, but your mail hasn't come in yet.

Years of prescriptive schooling have not failed to have their effect on Australians, who have only recently begun to gain a more positive attitude toward their own variety of English (mostly pronunciation). Cultivated forms correlate “strongly with sex (nine girls for every one boy), with superior education (especially in independent, fee-paying schools), and comfortable urban living” (Delbridge 1990: 72). Another linguist (Poynton) is quoted as remarking that Cultivated was “good speech used by phony people whereas Broad was bad speech used by real people” (qtd. in Horvath 1985: 24).

10.3.2 NZE pronunciation NZE

For all practical purposes New Zealanders sound like Australians, at least to outsiders; of course, “... to New Zealanders the Australian accent seems quite different” (Gordon and Deverson 1985: 10). Within New Zealand itself there seems to be little or no regional difference in pronunciation despite the fact that New Zealanders feel there is (but see remarks below on Otago and Southland). Social class differences do, however, show up, though less than in Britain. Furthermore, it may also be the case that RP is a model in New Zealand more than in Australia; certainly, it is favored in serious broadcasting and the news. Investigations of attitudes show associations of RP with ambition, education, reliability, intelligence, and higher income and occupational prestige, but association of NZE accents with friendliness and a sense of humor. While RP has high overt prestige, North American accents show the overall highest covert prestige. In contrast to AusE: “A true New Zealand standard is still evolving” (Bayard 1990: 67, 92). Note, too, that correction in the direction of the prestige sometimes results in such hypercorrect forms as /eɪ/ for /aɪ/ in such words as *I* or *like*.

The vowel patterns presented above for AusE, apply to NZE as well. This includes the raising of /ɔ:/ almost to [o:] (*Auckland, NZ* = *Oakland, CA*). The shifts shown there include such items as the growing merger of /e/ and /eə/, which compounded with the raising of /æ/ to /e/ led to the following misunderstanding: A visiting American phoning a colleague at his house got one of the man's children on the line. The American heard, much to his astonishment, “He's dead” rather than the intended “Here's Dad” (Gordon and Deverson 1985: 82).

While much of NZE pronunciation is the same as in AusE, including the even more frequent use of the high rising tone, a few points are arguably different and merit pointing out. One of these is the greater retraction and centralization of /ɪ/ in NZE, a point which non-New Zealanders have often commented on. Hence the vowel of *kit* becomes [i] or even a stressed schwa [ə]. This explains the surprise of an American hearing Flight 846 at Wellington Airport announced as follows: “Flight ite four sucks” (Gordon and Deverson 1985: 82).

There is also a very noticeable tendency to vocalize /l/ in NZE. The result has had a far-reaching effect on the vowel system because it has created a number of new diphthongs. This occurs more commonly after front than after back vowels and often involves neutralization of otherwise different vowels which are no longer distinguished when followed by /l/ (e.g., *bill* = *bull*, *fool* = *full* and *kill* = *cull*, or, even more extreme, *pool* = *pull* = *pill* = *pall*, all of which might be rendered as *pooh*). A related phenomenon is the neutralization of the /e/ - /æ/ opposition in words like *helicopter*, *help*, *Wellington*, which then sound like *hallicopter*, *halp* and *Wallington*. The centering diphthongs /ɪə/ and /eə/ are merging (*beer* = *bear*) for more and more young people, as in AusE and SAfE as well. On the other hand, young people show signs of increasing use of the glottal stop [ʔ] in words with final /t/ (Bayard 1991: 184).

10.3.3 White SAfE pronunciation

The White English-speaking community (not counting numerous White Afrikaans-English bilinguals) in South Africa uses a variety of English which is close to StE in both grammar and vocabulary. Variation within this community is largely in the dimension of pronunciation: White SAfE is phonologically virtually identical with the English of southern England. However, phonetically there are numerous differences, most noticeably in the variety referred to as Extreme SAfE, less so in what is called Respectable SAfE and least so in Conservative SAfE. These three distinctions correlate to some extent with class and, as comments will show, to region and to the gender of the speaker.

Conservative SAfE is very similar to RP, and, indeed, it is said that most White SAfE-speakers cannot distinguish the two. Among the few differences between the two is vowel retraction before /l/ ([tʃʌldrən] for *children*), centralization of [u:], especially after /j/ and raising of /ɔ:/ to or toward [o:]. All of these features turn up in AusE and NZE as well. Conservative SAfE correlates with high socioeconomic status and remains the widely accepted standard of pronunciation in South Africa as seen in its use in radio and television.

Respectable SAfE is an informal, local standard and enjoys high social prestige though sometimes faulted for not being “correct.” This type of White SAfE has developed from Natal English, is recognized as local in KwaZulu-Natal, and is therefore not so highly regarded there (Lanham 1985: 246); however, it is representative of “upwardly mobile groups elsewhere” (ibid.: 243). Natal SAfE differs from RP because of its tendency to monophthongize /aɪ/ to [a], especially before /l/, /m/, /n/, /v/, /z/, and /s/.

SAfE pronunciation is generally nonrhotic; however, because of the influence of rhotic Afrikaans, it is not consistently so. It may be characterized by the following eight features (Figure 10.3):

- /eɪ/ starts lower: [əɪ] (*may*)
- /əʊ/ starts lower as well: [ʌʊ] (*go*)
- /ɔ:/ raised toward [o:] (*four* = *foe*)
- /e/ raised to toward [e:] (*yes* = *yace*)
- /æ/ likewise raised: [e] (*man* = RP *men*)
- /ɪ/ realized as [i] (*kiss*) in stressed syllables next to velars, after /h/ and initially; otherwise as [ə] (*pin* = GenAm *pun*)



Figure 10.3 Short front vowels in the Southern Shift (White SAfE)

- final /t/ is longer and closer: /i:/ (*city* = *citee*)
- /eə/ is monophthongized: /e:/ (*shared* = *shed*, except the latter is longer)

All of these characteristics, as well as the occasional occurrence of a flapped and voiced /t/ = [ɾ] (*latter* = *ladder*), are reminiscent of AusE and/or NZE. In addition, /dj/ and /tj/ are palatalized /dʒ/ (*due* = *Jew*) and /tʃ/ (*tune* = *choon*).

Extreme SAfE has low social prestige, but is connected with the covert values of toughness, manliness, independence, and lack of regard for what is considered refined. Its speakers are marked by gregariousness, unselective social relations, un-Englishness, strong local loyalties, and Afrikaaner patriotism (Lanham and Macdonald 1979: 25ff). It shares some features with Afrikaans English and is associated with the Eastern Cape. These phonetic characteristics include the use of an obstruent, often trilled /r/ and retracted /a:/ (so that *park* is like RP *pork*). /aʊ/ is fronted and glide-weakened [æʊ], and /a/ is realized as [ɒ]. Yet even this “broadest” of varieties does not share such working-class variables as /ɪn/ for <-ing> or H-Dropping, which are typical of Cockney. Although the influence of Afrikaans on SAfE may be called into question, especially in regard to pronunciation, some evidence of grammatical influence remains.

10.4 SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE ENGLISH: GRAMMAR

10.4.1 AusE grammar and morphology

There are no really significant differences in grammar between standard AusE and standard BrE or AmE. Formal usage in all areas tends, however, more toward BrE. An investigation of the use of *dare* and *need* as modal auxiliaries or lexical verbs has shown, for example, that there are some differences in preferred usage, but no absolute ones (Collins 1978). The mandative subjunctive is undergoing a revival in (written) AmE and BrE. Whether the same is happening in AusE or not has not been established, but this construction is remarkably frequent – in NZE as well (cf. Table 10.1):

Table 10.1 Mandative subjunctive (in comparison with mandative-*should*)⁴

Southern Hemisphere English		BrE	AmE		
ACE	77.7%	LOB	12.9%	Brown	88.1%
WCNZE	66.7%	FLOB	39.6%	Frown	89.5%

Hundt et al. (2008: 315).

⁴ The corpora used: Australian Corpus of English (1980s); Wellington Corpus of NZE (1980s); the LOB Corpus (BrE; 1961); FLOB (BrE; 1991); the Brown Corpus (AmE; 1961); and Frown (AmE; 1992).

Table 10.2 Frequencies of progressive aspect (in corpora of one million words)

<i>Southern Hemisphere English</i>		<i>BrE</i>	<i>AmE</i>		
ACE	789	LOB	606	Brown	593
WCNZE	802	FLOB	716	Frown	663

Hundt et al. (2008: 314).

In the case of the progressive, as we can see in Table 10.2 (same corpora), AusE and NZE have the highest frequencies even though both BrE and AmE have shown increases over time:

It might be added that AusE, like White SAfE (Bowerman 2012: 517) or AmE, also makes greater use of the past for the present perfect than does BrE. And the frequency of *shall* is much less common in AusE (and NZE) than in BrE.

Nonstandard AusE usage is also very much like that of other countries in which English is a widely spoken native language. If there are any differences in nonstandard AusE, they are in relative frequencies. For many AusE speakers, as with speakers of White SAfE (Bowerman 2012: 515), the use of existential *there's*, even with plural subjects, is virtually categorical (Peters and Collins 2012: 588; *pace* Eisikovits 1991: 243f). Differentiation according to gender seems to be stronger in Australia than in the United States or Great Britain (especially in pronunciation, cf. Guy 1991: 222). A study of Inner Sydney usage reveals greater use of third person singular *don't* by males, probably “as a marker of group identity, ‘maleness’ and working-class values” (Eisikovits 1991: 238f).

Other points include the leveling of the past to match the past participle (e.g., *shrunk*, *sung*, *begun*, *rung*, *sprung*, *swum*). The indicative *was* is preferred 2:1 over subjunctive *were*. Adverbs frequently appear without {-ly}.

The use of discourse markers shows increasing use of *like* as a focusing device. “... in clause-initial position (as exemplification), clause-medially (to highlight something), or clause-finally (countering or anticipating incorrect inferences), distinctions not noted in previous research” and prevalent in all age classes (Peters and Collins 2012: 589). This is not exclusively AusE. Nor is the use of clause-final *but* “though, really.” The discourse marker *yeah-no* “serves to maintain discourse cohesion and speaker rapport, by linking together different speakers’ contributions to the discussion.” It is both a hedge and a face-saving utterance used to soften the force of an utterance and to indicate agreement, yet coupled with the wish to include a negative response. As such it may “display its typical propositional function of expressing both assent and dissent, reflecting the conversational preference of agreement and compromise that has been noted to be strong in Anglo-Australian culture ...” (Peters and Collins 2012: 590).

10.4.2 NZE grammar and morphology

It is commonly accepted that the grammar of NZE does not deviate much from StE and even less from NSGenE. The most likely source of nonstandard forms is the settlement patterns in which the effects of Northern and Irish settlement throughout New Zealand and Scottish settlement in Southland played a role. Bauer (2007: §§3–5) has listed a number of candidates for nonstandard NZE usage in addition what has already been mentioned. Here is a selection.

Shared with other spoken varieties

- second person plural pronouns include, besides *you*, *youse/youz* and *you(se) guys*; also used elsewhere (nonstandard in IrE, ScotE, Northern English, and AmE)
- object-case pronouns in conjoined subjects (e.g., *Me and Kim went to the cinema*) (widespread, nonstandard), but subject-case pronouns as the second member of a conjoined object (e.g., *She saw Kim and I at the cinema*) (widespread, approaching standard)

- “regularization” of the plurals of *roof* and *wharf* pronounced as *rooves* and *wharves* (NSGenE)
- the distinction between *shall* and *will* is largely lost with *shall* used chiefly in 1st person questions (e.g., *Shall I close the window*) (spoken NZE)
- *there’s* + plural subjects (e.g., *There’s several reasons why they’re worried*) (widely used)
- double comparison (e.g., *most unkindest*) (vernacular)
- adjectives for adverbs (e.g., *It was real funny*) (NSGenE)
- double negatives (e.g., *They don’t have none*) (NSGenE)
- epistemic *mustn’t* for *can’t* as in *She mustn’t be a good teacher* (shared with IrE, ScotE, and AusE)
- the use of *never* as a simple negator (e.g., *I’ve never seen a meeting of this size in Tanea-tua for some time*) (also in many of the regional dialects of Britain)

Specifically NZE

- *us* for *me* (e.g., *Give us (Gissa) a chance*) (vernacular NZE)

Chiefly Southland English

- the construction *The car needs washed* for StE ... *needs washing* (as in Scotland)

Regarded as standard

- reflexive pronouns in conjoined noun phrases (e.g., *The proposer and seconder of the first motion was myself and Miss C-*) (also in BrE; regarded as standard)
- unmarked plurals (e.g., plural *woman*) (due perhaps to the lack of phonemic contrast between /ə/ and /ɪ/); more generally: no marking of plurals of words borrowed from Māori, (e.g., *the pipi* “an edible New Zealand clam” singular or plural (prescriptively – and politically – supported))
- the present perfect co-occurs with past-time adverbials (e.g., *Sanctions have been imposed by the UN thirteen years ago*) (perceived as more formal and weightier) but also the use of the past with present perfect adverbials as in *Did you do it yet?* (now standard among younger speakers)
- *may* sometimes appears in counterfactual conditionals in place of *might* (e.g., *The accident may have been prevented if traffic lights had been installed*) (standard NZE usage); also *would have* or *had have* in the *if*-clause, as in *I wish you wouldn’t/hadn’t have told me that* (chiefly spoken usage)
- varying number agreement with nouns designating groups (*committee, team, government, army, family*) as in *The family are/is going away for the holidays* with singular used for unity vs. plural for individual actions (both considered standard)

Part of a general tendency

- participles vary (e.g., *proved* vs. *proven*, *got* vs. *gotten*, *beaten* vs. *bet*; also *-nt* vs. *-ned* [type: *lean*] and *-lt* vs. *-led* [type: *spell*]). Past tense forms vary as with *dived* vs. *dove* and *swam* vs. *swum*, *did* vs. *done*, *seen* vs. *saw*, and *came* vs. *come*. (“This may be part of a more general move to reduce verbs with three forms to just two different forms”; Bauer 2007: 14)

10.4.3 (White) SAfE grammar and morphology

As with AusE, White SAfE shows little morphosyntactic diversion from StE. The following, all of which have to do with pronominal forms, are fairly well established: Instead of *Me too*, we find agreement in conversation signaled by *Ja, myself*. *Myself* also appears for *I*

in coordinated subjects (*Junior and myself are going*), as do object forms (*Me and her are going, too*). Instead of *we* you might hear *us guys* and the reflexive plural can be *ourself* instead of *ourselves*. The 2nd person plural is not just *you*, but also *you guys* or, less often, *you all*. *She* and *her* are frequently used for vehicles, and the 3rd person may have an associative plural (*Junior and them* “Junior and his friends”) (Bowerman 2012: 514f).

Tense, aspect, and modality usage may diverge somewhat from standard BrE, as when the existential construction *there's* appears not only with singular but also with plural subjects (*There's lots of people here*). Much as in AusE, NZE, and AmE the past can stand in for what would be the present perfect in BrE (*Did you have lunch yet?*). The deontic modal *must*, regressive in AusE and NZE as well as elsewhere, occurs more commonly (*Must* [“shall”] *I make you some tea?* and *You must* [“can”] *just knock on my door when you get here*). More specifically SAfE are incomplete predications (e.g., A: *I was looking for some shoes in town. B: And did you find?*), third person singular present tense without an {s} (e.g., *I'm no musician but the wife play*), and some prepositional usage, for example *to be scared for* [“of”] *something; explain me* instead of *explain to me* (examples from Branford 1978: xv).

A specifically SAfE construction is “*busy Verb-ing*,” which is a kind of progressive form. In StE only an action verb may occur as the verb (e.g., *I'm busy working*). In SAfE nonactivity verbs are possible as well (e.g., *I'm busy waiting*). This includes *busy relaxing*, *busy losing my house*, or *busy dying* (Bowerman 2008b: 165), all expressions strange to outsiders. This specifically South African construction was presumably borrowed from a parallel construction in Afrikaans with *besig* “busy” (Lass and Wright 1986: 219f).

Pragmatic features. *Like* came into more frequent use after apartheid ended and access to new linguistic input introduced *like* both “as a focusing device” and a quotative particle. Further more specifically South African usages from the area of pragmatics are *no* as a sentence initiator (*No, that'll be fine. We can do that easily for you*) and third person address (*Will Doctor [said to this person] lend me two rand?*).

10.5 VARIATION IN SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE ENGLISH

10.5.1 Ethnic groups and language in Australia

With the loosening of immigration policy Australia has ceased to be the almost totally English-speaking country it once was. Immigrants from Asia, America, and Europe use some 140 languages as their mother tongues, many regarded as “community languages.” In her study of Sydney English pronunciation Horvath found it useful to add to the Cultivated-General-Broad division the further one which she terms Ethnic Broad (1985: 69). However, as is the case in the United States as well, the children of immigrants switch rapidly not only to English, but to a kind of English virtually indistinguishable from that of their peers with native-born parents (*ibid.*: 94).

It has already been mentioned that a number of Aboriginal languages are still spoken. Although about 1% of the Australian population is aboriginal, only those in the remoter parts of the interior still speak these languages. Furthermore, in parts of Queensland, Western Australia, and the Northern Territory the mixing of Aboriginals who speak mutually unintelligible mother tongues has led to the adoption of (Roper) Kriol, Torres Strait Broken (Cape York Creole), and Aboriginal English.

Kriol is spoken by at least 15,000 people in the north of Australia. Like Torres Broken, which is spoken on many of the islands between Australia and New Guinea and on Cape York, it is a pidgin for many speakers, but the first language, that is, a creole, for numerous

others. Aboriginal English, spoken especially in remote areas, denotes varieties located between standard AusE and one of the creoles.

These Creoles are distinct languages They show an ingenious blend of English and Australian structural features, producing a language that seems quite appropriate to the bicultural milieu in which many Aboriginal Australians find themselves. Indeed, in some areas an increasing number of young Aborigines [sic] are speaking Kriol - instead of or as well as an Australian language - and it is coming to be thought of by them as “the Aboriginal language.”

(Dixon 1980: 73f)

In most Aboriginal communities there is a continuum which runs from standard AusE to Aboriginal English. However, those Aboriginals who live in urban areas such as Sydney speak like their non-Aboriginal neighbors, though the variety of AusE they use tends to be on the nonstandard side of GenE.

10.5.2 Māori English

Although the Māoris (in contrast to the Aboriginal peoples of Australia) have a single language, it has not provided significantly more loan words to NZE than Aboriginal languages have to AusE, and it has been constantly giving way to English. Māori is now spoken by less than a quarter of the Māoris, who themselves make up about 15% of the population. Many of these speakers are older (and bilingual) and even the traditional domain of the *marae* is giving way to English (Burrige and Mulder 1998: 275). Most Māoris have, in other words, adopted English, and they speak it virtually indistinguishably from Pakehas (New Zealand Whites) of the same socio-economic stratum. However, Māori English may have (marginally) more Māori words in it than NZE (e.g., *kai* “food” as just one example); the frequent employment of the high rising terminal intonation among Māori school children has also been remarked on (cf. Australian Question Intonation). “The use of the tag question *eh?* [ay] is generally attributed to Maori and then Maori English as its source, but is today a general feature of New Zealand English” (Bauer 1994b: 416).

Maori-speakers often transfer terms and rules from the Maori address system to their English – for example, a three-way distinction in second-person pronouns *you* (singular), *youse* (dual), and *youse fullas* (plural), and address forms such as *cuz*, *sis*, *bro*, *aunty*, and *uncle*, which reflect Maori kinship relationships

(Burrige and Mulder 1998: 12)

Proportionately more Māoris speak a broad, working-class type of NZE than their numbers would warrant. In one experiment recorded samples of Māori speech were rated lower in social prestige than samples from High and Middle Status Pakehas, but the Māori recordings were given high ratings on the “Warm” scale (as opposed to the “Hard-working” and “Intelligent” scales). Overall, Māoris seem to be evaluated “as if Low Status Pakehas” (Huygens and Vaughan 1983: 222).

10.5.3 Varieties of SAfE

The population of South Africa consists, as pointed out in §10.1.3, of people of quite varied ethnic-linguistic backgrounds. So far in this chapter it is White SAfE which has been at

the center of attention. There are, of course, reasons which speak for this. Here are three of them: (1) White SAfE is an ENL speech community; (2) it conforms most closely to StE; and (3) it is the variety most widely aimed at in ESL learning in South Africa. All the same, each of these points must be seen with reservation. (1) Most speakers of Indian SAfE are ENL speakers and many of the speakers of Coloured SAfE are as well. (2) Only some subvarieties of White SAfE come close to StE. Respectable and, especially, Extreme White SAfE diverge from the still often recognized RP standard especially in adopting features of Afrikaans. (3) Black SAfE is widely used by the largest ethnic-linguistic group in South Africa and may well be on its way to becoming a new, parallel national standard in South Africa. It will be discussed in Chapter 12. With this in mind we can now review Indian SAfE one the major non-White ENL varieties of SAfE.

Indian SAfE

This variety of SAfE has a long history (a century and a half) and is spoken by approximately one million South Africans of Indian extraction; most of them live in largely English-speaking KwaZulu-Natal. In a case of language shift, English has largely replaced the Indian languages, which are still spoken as the home language of about 5% of Indian South Africans. Indian SAfE shows stratification along the lines of a basilect-mesolects-acrolect continuum with a gradual shift toward the last of these, but with the possibility of code-switching within the continuum (Mesthrie 2012b: 501). Indian SAfE of the more basilectal type has a certain covert prestige “in informal and intimate situations” (ibid.: 502).

Linguistically Indian SAfE, especially that of older speakers, has a number of characteristics of IndE (cf. Chapter 12), such as the merger of /w/ and /v/, the use of retroflex alveolar consonants and [e:] and [o:] for /eɪ/ and /əʊ/. Yet Conservative SAfE appears to be the overt standard of pronunciation, and younger speakers seem to be shifting toward it.

The grammar of South African Indian English as evidenced by many basilect speakers employs nonstandard constructions to form relative clauses, using, for example, personal pronouns instead of relative ones (e.g., *You get carpenters, they talk to you so sweet*) or allowing the relative to precede the clause containing the noun it refers to (e.g., *Which one haven' got lid, I threw them away* “I threw the bottles that don't have caps away”) (Mesthrie 1991: 464–467). Furthermore, in basilect speech *that faller*, pronounced *daffale* in rapid delivery, is used as a personal pronoun. It is also reported that the area of topicalization (e.g., the fronting of elements in a sentence to make them thematic) and the use and nonuse of the third-person present tense singular and the noun plural ending {-s} vary socially among Indian SAfE speakers. These and other (next paragraph) constructions and usages are less likely to be employed by younger and better educated South Africans of Indian ancestry. As native speakers of English they share most features of their English with other mother-tongue speakers of SAfE.

Mesthrie (2012b) points out that Indian SAfE may be characterized as having (remnants of) typologically different substrate Indian languages. This is seen in the Object-Verb (OV) word order as found with quasi-postpositions, where the preposition (hence: postposition) follows the object:

<i>side</i> for direction	<i>I'm going Umzinto-side</i>
<i>time</i> for time (duration)	<i>Winter-time I'm perspiring like this</i>
<i>part</i> for time (delimited)	<i>They came morning-part</i>
<i>way</i> for manner	<i>We talk Telugu-way</i>

In a similar fashion titles can follow rather than precede names (e.g., *Johnny Police* “Policeman Johnny”; *Nevin uncle, Dolly aunty*). Other evidence of Indian substrate influence

includes reduplication to denote multitude, frequency, intensity, distribution, and the like. Such reduplication does not occur with nouns but with adjectives, adverbs, and pronouns (e.g., *hot-hot pies*, *quick-quick*, *who-who*). Nor do finite verbs reduplicate; only nonfinite verbs do, as in *sweeping-sweeping*. These examples usually apply to speakers with a northern Indo-European Indian language heritage and not to ones with a southern Indian Dravidian heritage (2012b: 503).

SLA influence is one factor which may help to explain some of the differences in Indian as contrasted to White SAfE: semantic transparency, regularization, overgeneralization, simplification, and analogy.

Semantic transparency:

- *sick patient*, *reverse back*, *go bring*, *more worse*
- *my one*, *your one*, *our one*, and so on
- *he-one* “male” and *she-one* “female”

Transparency and regularization:

- *you all-y'all*

Overgeneralization:

- *leafs*, and so on
- grammatical tag *isn't* regardless of preceding verb; even initially (*Isn't, I can color this red*)
- tag *no /nɔ:/* (not the same as ordinary *no /nɒs/*)
- various preposition substitutions

Simplification and analogy

- synonymy of *talk* and *speak*, *see* and *watch*
- double conjunctions (*Although they could speak fluently, but they were not so good*)
- *why because*, *supposing if*, and so on

Creolization is a factor suggested by the following (from Mesthrie 2012b: 504f):

- “*Stay* and *leave* serve as quasi-auxiliaries, with *stay* denoting a habitual sense and *leave* a completive sense. Thus *We should stay and laugh* = ‘We used to talk merrily (at length)’, while *We whacked him and left him* = ‘We beat him up thoroughly/completely’”
- some use of habitual *be*
- *finish* “as a marker of perfective aspect (*You finish drink your tea?, ...*)”
- *should* “used to” as the regular past habitual aspectual marker
- *them* as an associative plural (*Johnny-them are going away tomorrow*); also *all* (*mother-all*)

Coloured SAfE

The Coloured population has traditionally spoken Afrikaans. However, among the speakers of Coloured SAfE the characteristics of this type of English are similar to (low-prestige) Extreme SAfE/Cape English. Yet its speakers seem to cultivate it as a symbol of group identity and solidarity.

10.6 EXERCISES

10.6.1 Exercise on semantic shift

The following words are either totally distinct to AusE or have a meaning in AusE different than in AmE or BrE.

1. Give a definition of the term and
2. mark it as totally distinctive of the variety or,
3. if different, mark it as a case of broadening or narrowing.
 - a) bachelor flat
 - b) outback
 - c) black stump
 - d) (own your own)
 - e) block
 - f) paddock
 - g) bush
 - h) project house
 - i) duplex
 - j) scrub
 - k) flatette
 - l) squatter
 - m) granny flat
 - n) the suburbs
 - o) home unit
 - p) station
 - r) homestead
 - r) township
 - s) never-never
 - t) villa home

10.6.2 Exercise on AusE borrowing from AmE or from BrE

Circle the item which is the AusE choice.

railway	railroad	House of Lords	Senate
goods train	freight train	chips	french fries
guard's van	caboose	biscuits	cookies
lorry	truck	film	movie
estate car	station wagon	shop	store
House of Commons	House of Representatives		

10.6.3 Exercise on compounds with *bush*

Find out whether the following are AusE, NZE, SAE, or AmE (or more than one of them) in provenance. For the AusE terms decide whether meaning (1), "land covered with bushy vegetation or trees," (2) "the countryside in general, as opposed to the towns," or (3) "uncivilised; rough; makeshift" is the more prominent. Which of the terms may now be regarded as a part of GenE?

	regional provenance	meaning	if AusE: 1, 2, 3
1. bushbaby			
2. bush carpenter			
3. bushcraft			
4. bush cure			
5. bush-faller			
6. bush farm			
7. bushfire			

8. bush lawyer
9. bush league
10. bush-line
11. bushman/Bushman
12. bush-pilot
13. bushrat
14. bush week
15. bushwhacker

FURTHER READING

General treatments Burridge and Mulder (1998) describes both AusE and NZE; Turner (1994) and Moore (2008) look at AusE; Bell and Holmes (1990) is a general treatment of NZE, as is Holmes, Bell and Boyce (1991) and Bauer (1994a); SAfE is treated in Branford (1994) and in the contributions in De Klerk (1996).

Vocabulary Baker (1945, 1966) is a pioneering book on AusE vocabulary; see also Delbridge (1990) and Turner (1994); Branford (1991) is an excellent source for SAfE lexical items; Gramley (2001) deals with all three countries.

Pronunciation Horvath (2008) on AusE; for regional differences, Bradley (1989); for sociolinguistic ones, Horvath (1985); Bauer and Warren (2008) as well as Cox and Fletcher (2017) for NZE; on SAfE see Lanham (1984) and Bowerman (2008a); Wells (1982) covers each of these national varieties.

Grammar see Collins and Peters (2008) on AusE; Hundt, Hay, and Gordon (2008) cover NZE; Bowerman (2008b) goes into SAfE grammar; Kortmann and Lunkenheimer (2012) contain short characterizations of numerous nonstandard varieties, including those of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

Minority and stigmatized varieties, including pidgins and creoles: These are treated in The Language Varieties Network (2012); Arthur (1997) deals with Aboriginal English.

Pidgin and creole English

11.0 UNDERSTANDING WHAT PIDGINS AND CREOLES ARE

Creoles, while often linguistically very different from GenE, are, all the same, native languages. They are arguably English since the historical source of most of their vocabulary is English and the present-day reality of their use lies in a framework determined in the end by English.

Creoles ... are described as those contact varieties that typically developed in settings where a group of (socio-economically inferior) speakers acquired some variety of English. In most of these settings there was heavy pressure upon the non-English-speaking group to acquire the language of the socio-economically superior group, while exposure to its native speakers was usually very limited, and the number of the native (and L2) speakers of English was proportionally low. Today, many creoles have become the native language of the majority of the population

(Schneider 2012: 875)

This explains why this chapter has been placed within Part III as an ENL variety. It is less clear why pidgins, which are by definition nobody's L1 are also included here. The situation of many English-lexifier pidgins is that the ones dealt with here have an extended range of functions and are employed in more and more domains. Even more important, many of them have increasing numbers of native speakers, for example, Nigerian PE (Faraclas 2008: 340) and Tok Pisin (Smith 2008: 192), as pointed out in A. Schneider (2012: 876).

As a consequence, no consideration of modern English is complete without taking into account the Englishes which emerged, above all, as one result of European exploration and colonization as contact languages. Over a period of some 350 years (from the beginning of the 17th century) Great Britain was a world power which exerted enormous influence on the economies and the societies of many parts of the world. This influence can be seen in the wide spread of the English language in all parts of the world today. Among its numerous varieties are what are sometimes called mixed languages. This frequently used term comes from the assumption that such languages derive their lexicon from a powerful and prestigious superstrate or lexifier language, usually a European language such as English spoken by outside traders or by plantation owners. In contrast the syntax is strongly influenced by the substrate languages, which are the less prestigious vernaculars of the local population or of the plantation workers. While this conception has been called into question, contacts between English-speaking seamen, merchants, plantation owners and

overseers, missionaries, colonial magistrates and officers, and many others, on the one hand, and native colonized populations, on the other, did lead to new languages whose

very existence is largely due to the processes – discovery, exploration, trade, conquest, slavery, migration, colonialism, nationalism – that have brought the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the rest of the world to share a common destiny.

(Hymes 1971: 5)

Two kinds of mixed languages will first be defined, pidgins (briefly) and then creoles. In a second step some of the theories about the possible origins and historical development of those pidgins and creoles which have an English-based vocabulary will be outlined. They will then be reviewed according to major geographic areas and illustrated with some of their linguistic features.

11.0.1 Definition of pidgins and creoles

The attempt to explain what pidgin and creole languages are leads in three different directions: the linguistic, the social and the historical.

From the linguistic point of view pidgins are second languages; no one has a pidgin as their mother tongue. This is so because pidgins grow out of contact situations in which none of the people who need to communicate with each other have an established language in common. (If an already existing language is chosen, possibly in a simplified form, this is known as a *lingua franca*.) Motivated by the necessity of communicating, pidgin-speakers make do by taking the majority of the vocabulary from the lexifier language and resorting to grammatical patterns which may be either a common denominator of sorts or the result of universal processes of language acquisition which are innate in every human.

In comparison with the native languages of their speakers, pidgins are less elaborated. This means that they have a smaller vocabulary, reduced grammar, and less elaborate phonology. Furthermore, pidgins are used in a much more limited set of circumstances and are stylistically less varied than first languages are. In Melanesian Pidgin English (in Papua New Guinea), now most often called Tok Pisin, or in Hawaiian Pidgin English (Hawaiian PE), for example, this looks as follows:

- reduced vocabulary leads to extensive use of paraphrase and metaphor (e.g., in Tok Pisin: /skru bilɔŋ arm/ “screw of the arm” is the word for elbow just as /gras bilɔŋ hed/ “grass of the head” means “hair”)
- as compared to StE there is a simplified and changed phoneme inventory: often missing are, for example, /θ/ and /ð/ (cf. Hawaiian PE [t^hri ijá] “three years”). Often mentioned is also the lack of consonant clusters and the resultant sequences of consonant-vowel-consonant(-vowel) (CVC(V)), as in early Tok Pisin *pelet* < *plate*
- inflections are rare as compared to GenE; for example, there is no plural {-s} in Hawaiian PE: /t^hri ijá/ “three years”
- syntactic reduction as compared to GenE frequently leads to the lack of the copula, prepositions, determiners, and conjunctions (e.g., Hawaiian PE *I think one year me school teacher* “I think that I was a school teacher for one year”; *Baby name me no like* “I did not like the baby name”)

The historical context was that from the 15th century on Europeans ventured out into the (for them) newly discovered lands of Africa and Asia, where they met and communicated

with peoples all the way down the coast of West Africa around the Cape of Good Hope and across the Indian Ocean to India, the Spice Islands, and China. To do this they relied largely on pidgins, in their (even) more reduced form sometimes called trade jargons. The same need for communication with a polyglot population grew with the establishment of plantations. Those established in the Caribbean area as well as Brazil and what is now the southern United States relied on the massive importation of slaves from West Africa. Later plantation systems employed contract labor and also moved workers from their homelands, sometimes for a set period of time (e.g., the Queensland sugar-growing area), sometimes as permanent immigrants (the sugar- and pineapple-growing areas of Hawai'i). In all of these places pidgins which drew on English for their lexicon came into existence.

The social situation in which these pidgins were spoken was characterized by the very limited needs and social circumstances of communication in the trading posts in West Africa. Consequently, it is no wonder that the registers which developed were equally limited: fewer contexts, fewer topics, more limited interaction.

Pidgins have sometimes been referred to as marginal languages because they are, indeed, marginal in regard to the conditions under which they came into existence and the attitudes of their users toward them, especially the speakers of the European lexifier languages. Nevertheless, quite a number of pidgins were able to survive long enough to develop beyond the stage of a trade jargon. This was especially the case in the plantation situation, where pidgins were used to facilitate communication not only between master and servant, which was surely very limited, but also between the various laborers who seldom shared a common mother tongue. These pidgins gained in stability and entered into a process of linguistic and functional elaboration.

Creoles. At the "end" of this process of elaboration lies the creole, which is a pidgin which has become the first language of its speakers. This means that it may be either a mother tongue or a primary language, that is, the speakers' dominant language. A creole is an enriched, expanded, and regularized language; it has the full complexity characteristic of any natural language. This seems to have happened quite rapidly on the plantations of the New World. African slaves who were only able to communicate with each other in a pidgin had children for whom this language was the only or the main medium available. These new speakers clearly added to the vocabulary, and they gradually established a relative stability of grammatical forms and phonological norms. In West Africa, Pidgin English is the home language of some people (and the mother tongue of children in these homes) in urban areas. When it is used relatively constantly in the routines of daily life, it may be expected to expand. However, pidgins are also widely employed as market languages. Here they may be considerably simpler. Pidgin and creole, in other words, can stand at the two ends of a linguistic continuum (§11.0.3) which stretches from a minimal pidgin/trade jargon to a fully elaborated creole. Tok Pisin, the pidgin-creole of New Guinea, is a native language in the towns and is becoming progressively more elaborated. It exists, however, in ever more simplified and pidgin-like forms as you move into the rural and mountainous areas. It is this continuum and the historical relationship between a pidgin and its creolized form which distinguish a creole from any other natural language. Viewed on its own, as an independent linguistic system, there is nothing about a creole which is essentially different from any other natural language.

11.0.2 The origins of English pidgins and creoles

A great deal of linguistic discussion has centered round the question of how pidgins and creoles come into existence. One of the intriguing points of departure for the various considerations involved is the high degree of structural similarity between many of the English

pidgins and creoles (for examples, see §11.4). These pidgins and creoles are too different from StE to be related to it as the regional dialects of Britain are. The pidgins and creoles were presumably the result of rapid change in a contact situation involving obviously different languages. Furthermore, not only are the English pidgins and creoles similar as a group, but there is also an astonishingly high degree of structural correspondence between them and the pidgins and creoles which have lexicons based on French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch. The similarities are too great to be the product of pure coincidence. Three different views are offered to explain the similarities:

- 1 These languages all share a common source (the monogenetic hypothesis).
- 2 The historical conditions for the genesis of each were similar and hence they developed in a similar way (the parallel development hypothesis).
- 3 All pidgins are subject to the same principles of reduction and simplification, and all creoles expand according to the same principles of elaboration and extension of grammatical categories (the hypothesis of universal processes of language acquisition).

The **monogenetic hypothesis** assumes that the first Europeans who came into contact with West Africans in the 15th century, the Portuguese, used a simplified language for their contacts. This may have been a form of the original *Lingua Franca* (Latin: “French language”), which had been in use for trade throughout the Mediterranean for centuries. This language was then employed by the Portuguese in West Africa and along the trade routes in the Indian Ocean to China. Its grammatical structure remained basically unchanged, but its vocabulary drew heavily on Portuguese. This language would then have been firmly entrenched in the ports of West Africa so that when the Dutch began to make incursions on the Portuguese slave trade from 1630 on, they would have made use of the same language; however Portuguese words would begin to be replaced by Dutch ones, and instead of Portuguese Pidgin it was *Negerhollands* which developed. In the case of the French, the same process resulted in *petit nègre*.

In the 17th century, the English, too, entered the slave trade, which they dominated by the 18th century. In addition, they were also intent on acquiring colonial territories in the Caribbean. The first settlements were in the Lesser Antilles (St Kitts, 1624; Barbados, 1627; Nevis and Barbuda, 1628; Antigua, 1632; Montserrat, 1633; Anguilla 1650). In 1651 they began a colony on the mainland of South America in Surinam, which they ceded to the Dutch in 1667. At about the same time (from 1655) the English captured the Greater Antilles island of Jamaica from the Spanish. In all of these territories as well as in the slave trade Pidgin English would have come to be used.

The actual mechanism by which the originally Portuguese Proto-Pidgin vocabulary is supposed to have become Dutch or French or English is referred to as relexification, a process in which words originating in one language are replaced by those of another without there being any comparable change in the grammatical structure. This can be illustrated in the following manner: Perfective aspect (i.e., the designation of an action as completed) drew on the Portuguese marker *acabar de* (“finish, complete doing something”). It was adopted as Proto-Pidgin *kabe*, which was relexified as French Pidgin / Creole *fèk* (from *faire* “make, do”) in Haiti and as English Pidgin/Creole *done* (as in ... *ain't I done tell you 'bout dat*). The word changed, but what remained was perfective aspect, referring to something completed in the (recent) past. Not all the Portuguese words were replaced; this would explain the presence in English creoles of such words as *pickaninny* “small child” (from Port. *pequenino*) or *savvy* “know” (from *saber*).

The **parallel development hypothesis** postulates that pidgins came into existence under a set of conditions so similar that languages with comparable structures were bound to be the result. The most important of those conditions include (1) the similar grammatical

structure of many West African languages and (2) the influence of Pidgin Portuguese, and (3) possibly similar processes of simplification, for example, something like baby-talk (grammatically reduced language) for communication with slaves on the part of the European native speakers who provided the language model.

There is evidence that many nonlinguistic features of shared West African culture survived under New World slavery, including elements of folklore, religion, family structure, music, and performance styles. Some linguistic features can also be traced fairly directly back to African languages. Dalby sees African influence when he defines Black English as

all those forms of speech in which an English or English-derived vocabulary is used with a grammatical structure divergent at a number of points from so-called “standard” English, but reminiscent at those same points of certain widespread features in West African languages.

(1971: 116)

The **hypothesis of universal processes of language acquisition** is based on the assumption that people everywhere simplify language in the same way, for example, by

- 1 using a simplified phonology such as the structure Consonant-Vowel-Consonant-Vowel (CVCV) (cf. Nigerian PE /filaŋ/ “flag” with an intrusive vowel or /tori/ “story” with one consonant deleted from the initial cluster.
- 2 placing markers directly in front of the propositions they apply to; this involves the markers for negation, past, progressive aspect, and irrealis (conditional); as an example, note the preposed negative particle *no* in Neo-Solomonic *no kačim eni ples i-kwajifela* (literally: no catch-him any place he-quiet-fellow) “[we] did not come to any place which was quiet.”
- 3 leaving off inflectional endings, for example Australian PE *aj* “eye” or “eyes.”

In a converse procedure, in accord with universal principles, people are then said, under certain circumstances, to enrich and expand pidgins to creoles. One of the pieces of evidence adduced is the presence of similar categories of tense, modality, and aspect expressed as particles; for example, in Sranan, an English-lexified creole of Suriname, *ben* marks past tense, *sa* modality-future, and *e* progressive aspect. All three appear in preverbal position, and all three always appear in the same relative order, as listed above, when they occur simultaneously. This approach, relying as it does on universal, innate processes, is sometimes referred to as bioprogram hypothesis, which applies presumably to all creoles (Bickerton 1988; Fasold 1990: 202–207).

All three hypotheses have something to recommend them, and currently there is little chance that conclusive evidence can be produced for any one of them. Perhaps factors involved in all three have had some effect on the English pidgins and creoles presently spoken in the world (see also the special issue of *Linguistic Typology* 5, 2001).

11.0.3 The linguistic continuum

Regardless of whether the various English creoles are more or less mutually comprehensible, more or less creolized, they all have one thing in common: All of them are diglossically Low languages in relation to the High language, which is StE in the Anglophone countries, Dutch in Surinam, and Spanish in Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Columbia, where creole English is spoken in some language communities. This means that StE

(and Dutch and Spanish) are used in government administration and state schools even though changes are in progress in the direction of more use of the creoles, especially in Belize, Jamaica, and Trinidad. StE dominates most of the printed media and all but a little of the electronic media. The creoles are the languages of everyday life, the home, family, and neighborhood. Church sometimes uses the vernacular, sometimes the High language. Literature makes a few forays into creole. Only Sranan, a creole relatively distantly related to English, is used widely for literary and religious purposes.

If it is not unjustified to regard the English creoles as separate languages, as remarked above; it is also not fully justified to do so. Many people see StE and the creoles as two extremes related through a spectrum or continuum of language varieties, each of which is only minimally different from the nearest variety upward or downward from it on the scale. The lowest or broadest form is called the basilect; the highest, Caribbean StE, the acrolect. In between lie the mesolects, which are any of numerous intermediate varieties. Evidence of a linguistic nature indicates, however, that there is a fairly strong, perhaps substantial break between the basilect and the higher mesolects. The underlying grammatical categories shared by the mesolects and the acrolect (though realized in distinct forms) are essentially different from those of the basilect and lower mesolects (see Devonish and Thompson 2012).

The basilect lacks overt prestige while the acrolect commands respect. The lower a person's socio-economic status and the poorer his or her education, the more likely that person is to speak the basilect. Rural dwellers will also be located closer to the basilect than the urban part of the population. Age is an additional factor, since younger speakers generally seem more likely than older ones to adopt some of the more standard forms, which, however, need not be all the way up to the level of StE.

Despite the overt prestige of the acrolect individual and group loyalties may lead to dominant use of the (near-)basilect for some speakers. This is the effect of covert local norms, which favor creole language and culture. Indeed, certain speech genres, especially those associated with some performance styles, can hardly be imagined apart from the vernacular: teasing, riddles, traditional folktales such as the Anansi stories with their spider hero, ritual insults, and the like (cf. a similar bias in AAE use as well). Furthermore, the forms people use with one another may be a good indication to both of where they feel they belong on the social scale and how they feel toward their conversational partners:

The speaker of Jamaican creole who controls a substantial segment of the linguistic spectrum on the island knows when he meets an acquaintance with the same control speaking with another speaker who controls a lesser range, that if his friend uses *nyam* and *tick* he is defining the situation on the axis of solidarity and shared identity whereas if he is using *eat* and *thick* he is interested in the maintenance of social distance and formality.

(Grimshaw 1971: 437)

The continuum is not the same in all the territories mentioned. The English of Barbados, Trinidad, and the Bahamas is so decreolized that it is possible to say that there is, relatively speaking, no basilect. Guyanese Creole English has basilect, mesolect, and acrolect varieties, but the fluidity of the continuum may not be unbroken, as argued by Devonish (summarized in Devonish and Thompson 2012: 266–269). In countries where English is not the official language, the opposite might be said to be the case: there is no acrolect because the High language is some completely different language. In the Caribbean, this is actually the case only in Surinam, where Sranan has gone its own way, no longer oriented toward English.

Due to the fact that more and more people are learning English, there is some evidence of an incipient continuum. This is most noticeable in Urban Tok Pisin, or *Tok Pisin bilong taun* “Tok Pisin of the town,” or in Anglicized Tok Skul, where mixing and switching between English and Tok Pisin is more frequent and, especially, where borrowing from English is stronger. One of the results of this is that the mutual comprehensibility of Urban Tok Pisin and *Tok Pisin bilong ples*, or Rural Tok Pisin, is becoming less complete, to say nothing of the more distant *Tok Pisin bilong bus* or Bush Pidgin used as a contact language and lingua franca in remoter areas.

11.1 ENGLISH PIDGINS AND CREOLES

English-based pidgins and creoles are spoken in three general areas, the Caribbean, West Africa, and the Pacific. Although the social situation of each is in some way different from that of the others, there are three important variations in regard to the political-cultural-linguistic framework which affects them all, and these differences have an important effect on the status and the stability of the pidgins/creoles of each of the regions:

- 1 The pidgin/creole is spoken in a country in which English is the official language and is in general use. This is the case throughout most of the Caribbean, in Australia, and Hawai'i.
- 2 The pidgin/creole is spoken in an officially English-speaking country, but one in which there are few native speakers of English. This is the case in most of West Africa and in Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu.
- 3 The pidgin/creole is in use in a country in which English is neither the official language nor the diglossically available High language. Surinam is an example of this, and the same applies on a smaller scale in parts of West Africa, such as the francophone part of Cameroon.

The West African and Caribbean pidgins/creoles share many features, due to their shared history (in the slave trade and plantation system) and the similar substrate input from Niger-Congo languages (Faraclas 2012: 417, but see Schneider 2012: 893–902 for a somewhat different view). The Pacific pidgins/creoles are structurally different due to “the different typology of their substrate languages” (Holm 1989: 405). All three groups were shaped in part by linguistic universals of language acquisition.

11.1.1 The Caribbean

The Caribbean stretches over a wide geographical area and includes, for our purposes, at least 19 political units which have English as an official language (see Map 11.1): Anguilla, Antigua-Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Puerto Rico (with Spanish), St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad-Tobago, the Turks and Caicos Islands, and the American Virgin Islands.

In addition to these countries and territories there are numerous others with Spanish as the official language as well as a few with French and Dutch. Although the majority of the islands are Anglophone, the largest are not (Cuba and Hispaniola [the latter consists of the Dominican Republic and Haiti]); Puerto Rico is chiefly Spanish-speaking. The only mainland countries south of the United States with English as their official language are



Map 11.1 The Caribbean

Guyana and Belize. The five to six million inhabitants of the Anglophone countries are greatly outnumbered by their Spanish-speaking neighbors. Below the level of official language policy lies the linguistic reality of these countries. Here English is truly a minority language, for the vast majority of people in the Anglophone countries are speakers not of StE or even GenE but of the one or the other English creole, which are the real major languages in most of the Anglophone islands and which are in use on the Caribbean coast of several Central American countries. As one linguist tellingly remarks, “the vernaculars spoken in the area are creoles, the majority of which coexist with English as an official language in former British colonies” (Hackert 2012: 705). The English-lexifier creoles of the Caribbean islands are frequently labeled as belonging to a western and an eastern branch (cf. Holm 1989: 445), where the creoles of the Bahamas and Jamaica as well as Belize on the mainland are the main western and those of Barbados (Bajan), Guyana, Trinidad, and St. Vincent are the main eastern ones (Hackert 2012: 705; Schneider 2012: 893).

The various English creoles share a similar historical development; in addition, migration patterns between the various Caribbean countries as well as with West Africa may have further heightened their mutual resemblance. More recently migration to and from the United States, Canada, and Great Britain have had an added unifying factor for many West Indians. Furthermore, tourism has increased exposure to AmE speech. Despite all of this the various English creoles are, in actual fact, often so different that mutual comprehension between, for example, Guyana and Barbados cannot be taken for granted, sometimes not even between GenE speakers and creole speakers within a single country such as Jamaica (Sand 2012: 211).

The explanation lies in the fact that each of the territories has its own history. In the case of Barbados (less than 300,000 inhabitants) and Trinidad and Tobago (1.4 million), for example, the vernacular was never as strongly creole as varieties in Guyana (almost 800,000) and Jamaica (almost four million). Special factors influencing Barbados are the higher rate of British and Irish settlers in the early colonial period, the greater development of the

infrastructure, the relatively small size of the island, and the high degree of literacy (97%). Trinidad and Tobago shifted to a variety of English which can scarcely be regarded as a creole (Holm 1989: 460). Jamaica, in contrast, received slave imports over a much longer period of time; this led to a lengthening of the pidgin phase and a subsequent strengthening of the creole. Guyana is linguistically similar to Barbados because there was a great deal of immigration there from Barbados. However, besides its Black population Guyana also has an approximately equal number of East Indians (most of whom have, in the meantime, adopted the creole for daily use); their arrival (between 1838 and 1924) slowed down the decreolization process by acting as a buffer between the StE top of society and the creole bottom.

No pidgins are present in the Caribbean, but English creoles are spoken throughout the Caribbean basin as well as on the mainland of South America (Surinam and Guyana), in Central America (above all in Belize, but see Holm 1983) and, though not part of the Caribbean, along the Georgia-South Carolina coast in the United States. In most of the Caribbean countries there is a continuum between the creole and StE. This is a series of more or less closely related forms ranging from the broadest creole (the basilect) at one extreme to StE (the acrolect) at the other. Although broad creole is structurally very different from English, its speakers usually consider themselves to be speakers of English, however “bad” or “broken” they may regard their “patois” (or “patwa”) as being. Furthermore, English is the public language of government, school and most of the media and is regarded as a means of social advancement. As a result of all this there has been a continuous pull toward the standard, and this has a decreolizing effect on the creole.

Some people believe that American Black English is a decreolized form of an earlier Plantation Creole, which was allegedly spoken throughout the American South. Gullah, the creole still spoken along the coast and on several of the islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia is possibly related to this putative Plantation Creole. Today it is spoken by fewer and fewer people as it gives way to local forms of English. Among the more extensively treated creoles of the Caribbean are Jamaican Creole, Guyana Creole, and Belize Creole, all of which are decreolizing in varying degrees. Some of the Anglophone territories in the Caribbean have local basilect forms which have so few creole elements as to be considered more dialects of English than creoles, so, for example Bajan, as the vernacular of Barbados is called.

Only in Surinam is English completely missing as the diglossically High language. As a result there is no continuum and no process of decreolization there. The major creole of the country, Sranan (earlier known as Taki Taki) is, consequently, only historically related to English and not in the least mutually intelligible with it.

11.1.2 West Africa

Pidgins and Creoles. Europeans went to the Atlantic coast of Africa in the first phase of European colonialism from 1450 on. Initial trade contacts gradually expanded as a part of the West Indian-American plantation and slave system, in which West Africa’s role was chiefly to supply the slaves. Throughout the era of the slave trade (Britain and the United States outlawed it in 1808; other European countries slowly followed) Europeans and Africans conducted business by means of contact languages called pidgins. Pidgin English continues to be used today all along the West African coast from Gambia to Gabon though it is not always immediately intelligible from variety to variety (see Map 12.1). It is a diglossically Low language like most of the indigenous vernaculars and is said to be the most widely used language in Cameroon. It is perhaps so easily learned not only because it is

simplified but also because it is structurally so close to the indigenous languages. Its spread and importance in Cameroon is influenced by its use on plantations and other work sites, in churches, markets, playgrounds, and pubs. It is the regular language of the military and the police and is commonly used in the law courts.

The linguistic situation in West Africa is significantly different inasmuch as there is no large native English-speaking population in this region. English is, it is true, the official language of Cameroon (with French), Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone, but it is almost exclusively a second language. One of the chief results of this is that there is no continuum like that found in the Caribbean. Instead, English is the diglossically High language (as are such regional languages as Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa in Nigeria), and West African Pidgin English (WAPE) is diglossically Low (as are the numerous local indigenous languages). There are intermediate varieties of English and therefore a continuum of sorts. However, these forms are not like the mesolects of the Caribbean but are forms of second language English noticeably influenced by the native languages of their various speakers. Note that in West Africa there are relatively few creole speakers and relatively many pidgin users. West African Standard English is in wide use by the more highly educated in the appropriate situations (administration, education, some of the media). WAPE is employed as a lingua franca in interethnic communication in multilingual communities, sometimes for relaxed talk or joking and as a market language, even in the non-Anglophone countries of West Africa.

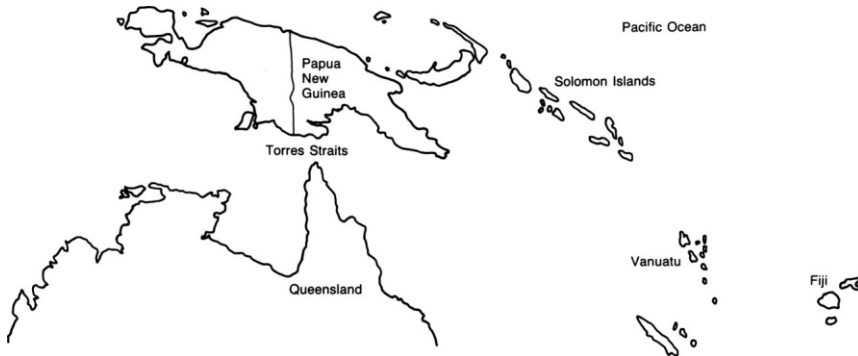
However, because the pidgin has such a great amount of internal variation, some people feel that there is a need for some type of standardization of it. Sometimes the pidgin is a marginal pidgin or (trade) jargon, which is more severely limited in use, vocabulary and syntax, and sometimes, an extended pidgin, which has all the linguistic markers of a creole without actually being a mother tongue. Furthermore, creolized (mother tongue) forms of it are in wide use in Sierra Leone, where it is becoming more important than English, and in Liberia, both of which are countries to which slaves were returned – either from America, Canada and the West Indies or from slave ships seized by the British navy – from the late 18th century on. Their first language was or became a form of (Creole) English. This accounts for the approximately 5% of Liberians who are native speakers of English and the 2–5% of Sierra Leonans who speak Krio, the English-based creole of that country. Today, creolized forms of Pidgin English are continuing to emerge among the children of linguistically mixed marriages in many urban centers, especially in Cameroon and Nigeria.

11.1.3 The Pacific

The major focus of interest in the Pacific has been on the pidgins and creoles of Melanesia, especially Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea; Neo-Solomonic or Solomon Islands Pijin; Bislama of Vanuatu (the New Hebrides); and Australian PE. There is also increasingly more information available about Fiji. Polynesia includes the major case of Hawai'i, where Hawai'i PE, Hawai'ian Creole English, and a spectrum of decreolized varieties are in use.

Fiji and Hawai'i are cases in which there is a continuum similar to that of the Caribbean, which means that there is a great deal of decreolization. This is also the case in Australia wherever contact with speakers of AusE is strong. Solomon Islands Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin, on the other hand, are relatively independent pidgins/creoles despite the fact that they coexist with English as an official language. In the following Tok Pisin will be discussed in somewhat more detail.

In Papua New Guinea, Tok Pisin is the most widely used language even though English is the official language. It is “the linguistically most developed and the socially most



Map 11.2 The Pacific

established variety” of the Pacific pidgins with between three quarters of a million and a million users among the two million inhabitants of the country; some 20,000 households have it as their first language (Mühlhäusler 1986b: 549). It is “a complex configuration of lects [= varieties] ranging from unstable pidgin to fully fledged creole varieties” (Mühlhäusler 1984: 441f). Creolization is relatively rapid both in the towns and in non-traditional rural work settlements. Even the majority of parliamentary business as well as university level teaching is conducted in it as well.

In Papua New Guinea as in other countries in which there is widespread use of a pidgin/creole speakers seem to be in a permanent dilemma as to its status. The local pidgin/creole is often not regarded as good enough for many communicative functions and is rejected in education in favor of a highly prestigious international language such as English.

On the other hand, some people argue that such pidgins/creoles should be espoused and developed because of their contributions to the internal integration of the country and possible favorable effects on literacy if used in the schools. Pidgins and creoles are certainly emotionally closer to local culture than StE. In most of the countries reviewed in this section, there will probably be continued decreolization. A few creoles may stay on an independent course, most likely Sranan, possibly Tok Pisin, Solomon Islands Pijin and Bislama. Some will eventually disappear entirely: Gullah seems to be going that course. And in many cases the status quo will surely be maintained more or less as it is for an indefinite period in the future.

11.2 VOCABULARY AND WORD FORMATION IN ENGLISH-BASED PIDGINS AND CREOLES

Pidgins have to manage with a limited vocabulary. For this reason pidgins rely on multifunctionality (*full* “full” (adj) and “fill” verb), circumlocution (*gras bilong fes* “beard”), and polysemy. In this final case one lexical Pidgin item may be applied to various referents on the basis of shared semantic components or features or a certain concept expressed by the original source word. Tok Pisin *as /ars/* can mean “arse” (the source) but also “seat,” “buttocks,” “origin,” or “cause.” When a given lexical item is transferred from a lexifier language into a jargon or pidgin it may change in form and/or meaning. Contrasts with the lexifier language (for the following, cf. Mühlhäusler 1986a: 165–175) may occur in terms of:

pronunciation: Morpheme boundary may shift, as when, for example, the lexifier source consists of two (or more) words which merge into one:

Tok Pisin	Source	Meaning
<i>sekan</i>	<i>shake hands</i>	“to make peace”
<i>baimbai</i>	<i>by and by</i>	“soon”
<i>lasup</i>	<i>la soupe</i> (French)	“soup”

range of meanings: Words frequently acquire a more general meaning (hypernym) and so lose some of their force of distinction:

<i>mao</i>	<i>ripe banana</i>	“ripe, mature”
<i>tumuch</i>	<i>too much</i>	“much”
<i>kontri</i>	<i>country</i>	“home area, maternal village”

grammatical status: Words change their category in their transition from lexifier to pidgin:

<i>hariap</i>	<i>hurry up</i> (verb)	“quickly” (adverb)
<i>heap</i>	<i>heap</i> (noun)	“many, plenty” (adverbial quantifier)

social acceptability: Many words are rude in the lexifier but universally acceptable in the pidgin:

<i>sit</i>	<i>shit</i>	“tired, ruined”
<i>bulsitim</i>	<i>bullshit a person</i>	“deceive” (may be avoided because of lexifier connotation)

When a pidgin stabilizes and later becomes a creole there arises a need for lexical expansion. This leads to continuing borrowing, but also instigates processes of word formation and the use of gradually increasing derivational depth.

11.2.1 The Vocabulary of the Caribbean Englishes

The vocabulary of both standard CaribE and the English creoles of the Caribbean contains a considerable number of terms not widely known outside the area. Inasmuch as its speakers move easily between the acrolect and the mesolect, it is only natural that standard CaribE draws on these lexical resources. The special regional (or subregional) vocabulary of the Caribbean drew ultimately on two major sources: the nonstandard regional English of the early settlers from Britain and Ireland and the African languages of the slaves.

English resources

In the early stages of creolization there were only single words and no affixes. “Later, through analogy (e.g. contrasting items like *jij* ‘judge’ and *jijman* ‘judgment’) and possibly further contact with the European lexical source language, some (but not all) creole words derived from European morpheme combinations became reanalyzable ...” much as in the source language and could be used more widely (Holm 1988: 99).

The lexifier as a source. Besides the borrowing of current words from the lexifier there are also (cf. Holm 1988: chap. 3) cases of

- archaic usage and/or pronunciation: *liard*, *criard* (with agentive {-ard}) or *bail* “boil” or *jain* “join” (Miskito Coast Creole English) (ibid.: 75)
- regional usage: Miskito Coast CE *krabit* < Sc. *crabbed*, *crabbit* “ill-tempered”; *lick* “to hit, strike,” *dock* “to cut the hair,” *heap* “a great deal” (ibid.: 77)
- nautical usage: Miskito Coast CE *gyali* < *galley* “kitchen” or “cooking hut”
- slang and vulgar usage: *pis* “urine,” *switpis* “diabetes,” *pisbag* “bladder,” *pisol* “urethra” (ibid.: 78)

New morpheme combinations: compounding is frequent (e.g., intensifying *up* as in *dark up*, *drunk up*, *hug up*, *old up*, *wet up*, *wind up* “fart”). Doublings such as *mout lip* or *rakstuon* (rock stone) may be due to the effects of second language acquisition (ibid.: 99f).

New coinages: *bra:tapsi* (< *brought up* + *-cy*) “well bred” or *makošas* (< *mako* “gossip” + *-ious*) “gossippy”; Trinidadian CE *bobolups* “fat lady” or Bahamian CE *spokadocious* “very pretty (woman)”

Semantic change: *lion* for “cougar” and *tiger* for “jaguar”

Semantic broadening: words with additional meanings: *hand* “arm, hand” (*She has her left hand in a sling*); *tail* “hem” (*The tail of her dress has come loose*);

Semantic narrowing: *to stew* in Miskito Coast for meat and vegetables boiled in coconut milk; in water: *run down*.

Metaphor and euphemism: *donkeyfy* “be uncaring” < don’t care if I do or don’t + donkey; *hip* also for “bottom” (ibid.: 102).

The substrate as a source

Turner shows numerous West African retentions in Gullah¹; Cassidy (1986) does the same for Jamaican Creole (JC). Both list about 250 items plus personal names and formulae in stories, songs, and prayers. Areas with particularly many survivals were sexuality (*njimi* “female breast”) and food (JC *fungee* < kiMbundu *funji* “cornmeal mush”). This interplay between English, creole and standard, on the one hand, and the substrate, on the other, is reflected in a variety of ways. The following offers some examples.

- words from the creole which are used despite generally known standard CaribE counterparts: *foot-bottom* “sole” (*The corns on my ~ are painful*); *hand-middle* “palm” (*Show me your ~ and I’ll tell your fortune*)
- newly fixed collocations: *best butter* “butter” (*I don’t want margarine. I must have ~*); *tall hair* “long ~” (*John’s girlfriend is the one with ~*)
- boundary shift, especially plurals reanalyzed as singular: *ants*, *matches*, *tools*; or JC *nej* “to ache (of teeth)” < *on edge*. Similarly, some past tense forms have been adopted as present tenses (e.g., *brok*, *leff*, or *loss*); in Bahamian CE even *-ing* forms appear as the base form: *to courtin*, *to loadin*, *to fishin*.
- syntactic extension of part-of-speech assignment: *sweet* “give pleasure to” (*The joke sweets him*).
- semantic broadening. *stick* meaning “stick,” but also “tree” or “woods” (Holm 1988: 83).
- loan translations or calques: *eye water* “tears,” *sweet mout’* “flatter,” and *hard ears* “persistently disobedient, stubborn.”

1 Gullah is found on the South Carolina-Georgia coast but has clear Caribbean affinities.

- reduplication: different from mere repetition for emphasis (*a long, long walk*): “It seems likely that reduplication became a productive mechanism for word formation in the creoles via calquing on African models” (Cassidy 1961: 88). Cassidy traced 16 (of 200 examples of reduplication) in JC to African sources, including *putta-putta* “mud” from Twi *petcpetc* “muddy” or Yoruba *pòtòpòtò* or Baule *pòtopòtó* “mud.” But there is also great internal productivity (cf. *holiholi* “bus” < *hold it, hold it*; *ibid.* 1961: 88f). *Little-little* “very small” is also probably an African carryover.
- folk etymology: An example of a direct borrowing from an African language is *John Canoe*, the term for the mumming parade at Christmastime. Its source is the Ewe language, but reanalyzed after the fashion of folk etymology. Cassidy explains it as follows:

The chief dancer in the underlying African celebration seems to have been a medicine man, and in Ewe we find *dzonc* ‘a sorcerer’, and *kúnu* ‘a cause of death’, or alternatively *dzonkc* ‘a sorcerer’s name for himself’, and *-nu*, a common suffix meaning ‘man’. Some African form or forms of this kind meaning ‘sorcerer-man’ has been rationalized into *John Canoe*.

(Cassidy 1986: 137)

11.2.2 West African Pidgin English (WAPE)

WAPE has numerous lexical borrowings from local West African languages. Krio, spoken in Sierra Leone, with 80% of its vocabulary from English, may have as much as 10% from Yoruba. Many of the processes just described apply here as well. For example, semantic broadening, where *tea* is used for any hot drink or *belly* for “appetite, hunger, pregnancy, internal parts, seat of emotions, secret place, or secret” in Cameroon PE (Holm 1988: 100f).

11.2.3 Tok Pisin

Tok Pisin (TP) ultimately derives much of its vocabulary from English, but there is also evidence of borrowing from other sources, both Melanesian (e.g., Tolai *tultul* “messenger, assistant village chief”) and European (e.g., *sutman* from German *Schutzmann* “policeman”). In the first of the stages proposed in Mühlhäusler (1986a) there is only borrowing.

1. Jargon stage: There is no productive internal word formation. New material is borrowed either from the lexifier or substrate language. This includes reanalysis (e.g., Cameroon PE *æns* [< *ants*] but singular in meaning) (Holm 1988: 73).

An additional important source of new vocabulary lies within the language itself. In TP, “which is not an Atlantic creole, the ‘powerful derivational lexicon distinguishes NGP from virtually all other pidgins and many creoles’” (Mühlhäusler qtd. in Holm 1988: 99). Derivation gradually expands in the further stages.

2. Stabilization stage: circumlocution is used to express new ideas

<i>gras</i>		“grass”
<i>gras bilong fes</i>	grass of face	“beard”
<i>gras bilong hed</i>	grass of head	“hair”

3. Early expansion stage: increase of endocentric word-level compounds

<i>manhors</i>	man + horse	“stallion”
<i>manpig</i>	man + pig	“boar”

4. Late expansion stage: With increasing independence the pidgin in its late expansion state draws on language internal development as a means of word formation. These include:

- avoidance of phrase-level-items in favor of single (but complex) words:

<i>manki bilong masta</i>	> <i>mankimasta</i>	“(male) servant”
<i>hatpela wara</i>	> <i>hatwara</i>	“soup, hot water”
<i>mekim hariap</i>	> <i>hariapim</i>	“to speed someone up”

- reduplication:

<i>laslas</i>	“the very last”
<i>pokpok</i>	“slow passenger boat with an engine”
<i>kilkilim</i>	“to hit with force” (from <i>kilim</i> “to hit”)

- compounds which indicate purpose or the material of a noun:

<i>boks tul</i>	“tool box”
<i>lif kokonas</i>	“coconut leaf”
<i>lif aranis</i>	“orange leaf”

- calquing/loan translation, that is, lexifier items based on underlying indigenous idiomatic expressions:

<i>big áy</i>	big + eye	“greedy”
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- compounds (often adjective + noun), frequently exocentric:

<i>biknem</i>	big + name	“fame”
<i>bikples</i>	big + place	“mainland”
<i>haiwara</i>	high + water	“flood, tide”

- derivations using suffixes; here {-*man*} serves as means to form agent nouns from verbs.

<i>wasman</i>	watch + man	“watchman”
<i>stilman</i>	steal + man	“thief”
<i>paniman</i>	funny + man	“a joker”

In the process of expanding their lexicon pidgins and creoles draw on various language internal as well as external sources, frequently mixing the two. Borrowing is not the only way to acquire new vocabulary.

11.3 THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH PIDGINS AND CREOLES

The phonology of the creoles is essentially different from that of other ENL varieties, and this has to do with the fact that creole features “are not the product of ordinary language change.” Indeed, the basilect varieties may be different languages from English – or at least different linguistic systems (Holm 1988: 105). There may well be some phonemic correspondences between GenE and creole phonology, but it is likely to be irregular. Furthermore, creole pronunciation will show the influence of language universals and the process of second language acquisition, most probably at the early pidgin stage or at the point of initiation of the creolization process. The latter helps to account for the presence of such

“non-European” sounds as labio-velar stops or word-initial prenasal stops (mb-, nd-, ñdj-, ŋg-), phonemic tone, and a preference for CVCV syllable structure (ibid.: 106ff).

11.3.1 CaribE pronunciation

Pronunciation marks CaribE as regional more than anything else. Here the carryover between basilect and acrolect is especially prominent. One of the most noticeable features is the stressing, which gives each syllable more or less equal stress (syllable-timing). In addition, in a few cases pitch may play a decisive role in interpreting a lexeme; *kyan* with a high-level tone is positive “can,” while the same word with a high falling tone means “can’t.”

The consonants in comparison to RP and GenAm include the following particularly noticeable differences:

- 1 /θ/ and /ð/ are freely, but not exclusively realized as [t] and [d] (*tick* for *thick*; *dem* for *them*)
- 2 /v/ may be a [b] or a bilabial fricative [β] (*gib* for *give*, *bittles* for *vittles*)
- 3 the ending {-ing} is regularly /-ɪn/ (*talkin*)
- 4 simplification of consonant clusters, especially if homorganic and voiced after /l/ and /n/ (*blind* → *blin*); in the basilect even initial clusters are sometimes simplified (*string* → *tring*)
- 5 palatalization of /k/ and /g/ + /a:/: *car* /kja:r/
- 6 clear /l/ in all phonetic environments

Some territories are rhotic (Barbados); some are nonrhotic (Trinidad, the Bahamas); and some are semirhotic, that is, stressed final *r* as in *near* is retained (Jamaica, Guyana) (Wells 1982: 570); in the basilect /r/ is sometimes realized as [ɹ], *flitters* for *fritters*, but this is growing less common.

The vowels differ most vis-à-vis RP and GenAm. In Jamaica, for instance, /eɪ/ and /oʊ/ are the monophthongs [e:] and [o:]. /æ/ is realized as [a], which is also the realization of /ɒ/, so that *tap* and *top* are potential homophones. Both are distinguished by length from the vowel of *bath* [a:]. Central vowels are less a fixed part of the system; hence schwa is often [a] as well as [e] and /ɜ:/ may be [o] (cf. Jamaican Creole *boddem* “birds”). In the basilect /ɔɪ/ sometimes merges with /aɪ/, making *boy* and *buy* homophones.

11.3.2 West African pronunciation

The pronunciation of WAPE is distinctly African, reflecting the phonology of the first languages of its speakers. The most dramatic differences are the use of tones as well as the coarticulated labiovelar stops /kp/ and /gb/. Like many forms of West African English, the long-short distinctions such as /i:/ vs. /ɪ/ are not maintained. The general orientation of varieties closer to the acrolect differ between Liberia, “which is more American than British” and the other Anglophone countries of West Africa (Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon), which has a stronger British bias (Holm 1989: 424).

11.3.3 The pronunciation of Tok Pisin

As the forms of words borrowed into Tok Pisin from English reveal, the phonologies of the two languages differ considerably. This is most dramatically illustrated by the convergence

of English /s/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, and /dʒ/ as Tok Pisin /s/, which together with the lack of a Tok Pisin /i:/-/i/ distinction and the devoicing of final obstruents renders *ship*, *jib*, *jeep*, *sieve* and *chief* homophonous as Tok Pisin *sip*. Likewise, since /b/, /p/, and /f/ are not distinguished Tok Pisin *pis* may be equivalent to English *beach*, *beads*, *fish*, *peach*, *piss*, *feast*, or *peace*. Here, of course, borrowing might profitably be employed to reduce the number of words which are pronounced identically. Too much homophony can lead to misunderstandings as when a member of the House of Assembly said: *les long toktok long sit nating*, meaning “tired of talking to empty seats (sit nating)” but was mistranslated as saying “tired of talking to a bunch of shits” (Mühlhäusler 1986b: 561).

11.4 GRAMMAR

In the pidginization and creolization processes grammar (like pronunciation) is highly likely to reflect the substrate languages of the early pidgin speakers. Consequently, it is not hard to find numerous grammatical features reminiscent of West African or Pacific languages. Yet the similarities found in English pidgins and creoles with distinctly different substrate languages indicate the importance of the influence of the English superstrate as well as strategies involved in second language acquisition. Processes of grammaticalization apply both to numerous if not all pidgins and creoles, for example the development of *wan* “one” into an indefinite article. Grammaticalization may also apply to subsets of the pidgins and creoles, as with *for* + NP to mark possession or serial verb constructions using *go* + a further verb (*go tell*) for movement away from the speech situation or *come* plus a further verb to mark movement toward it (*come see*). In both cases grammaticalization may operate free of both substrate and superstrate influence (Schneider 2012: 888).

11.4.1 The Caribbean creoles

Even where mutual intelligibility is not given, the English creoles of the Caribbean share numerous linguistic features. For example, all of them have become simpler in losing the inflections of English (e.g., they do not use the noun plural morpheme {s}, cf. Jamaican Creole *bag* “bag” or “bags”). If the plural is marked (in mesolect varieties), this is done, though rarely, by adding *-dem* < English *them* (cf. *boddem* “birds”) (Patrick 2012: 223f). This can even lead to a double plural as in Guyanese Creole *di aafisiz-dem*, “the offices”; *di skuulz-dem*, “the schools.” Possession is marked by juxtaposition *Mieri gyardan* “Mary’s yard” or periphrastically with *fi* “for” + a noun phrase (e.g., *A fe me car*, literally “it [zero copular] for-me car” “It is my car”). There is a partially different set of personal pronouns (cf. Jamaican Creole *yu* “you [sing.]” and *unu* “you [plur.]”), often without case distinctions (Jamaican Creole *wi* “we, us, our”).

Likewise, the past tense marker {d} is typically missing from the basilect (cf. JC *sie* “say” or “said”). Yet past may optionally be marked with the preverbal particle (*benbinmilme* (cf. Guyanese Creole English *bin gat* “had” *yu noo ou laang wii bin gat a mashiin?* “Do you know how long we had that machine?”). The particle *benbinmilme* is found throughout the Caribbean and, indeed, elsewhere as well (cf. Nigerian PE *been meet* (standard spelling) “met”; Australian PE *bin si* “saw”; TP *bin katim* “divided”). In mesolect varieties creole *bin* may be replaced by forms closer to StE such as *had* or *did* in Bajan or *did* or *woz* in Guyanese.

The future and irrealis (contrafactual conditional) marker *sa* from English *shall* (Sranan, Guyanese Creole, but rare in the latter) or its more general West Indian equivalent *go* or

decreolized *gain* or *gwain*; for example, *ju gwain fain out* “you will/are going to find out” is a further form common to the Caribbean creoles. Likewise, past perfective or completive *done* is found in these creoles.

The verb does not have to be marked for tense, although the particle *been* (or *did* or *had*) + verb is available for the marking the past and *go* or *gain* + verb (sometimes + *-in*) are used for the future. However, aspect is always expressed, whether progressive (e.g., *a* or *dalde* + verb, sometimes with the ending *-in*) or completive (e.g., *dun* + verb) or *active* of a dynamic verb or *stative* of a state verb (both with zero marking). These particles can also be combined in various more complex structures. As examples we see the progressive aspectual marker *delda* + verb (e.g., for the JC future *de go hapm* “is/was going to happen”). A second example combines the past marker *ma* with the progressive marker (*de*) in Belizean Creole English:

a me de wahk ina bush dis mahnin

subject + past marker + progressive marker + verb + adverbials

I was walking in the bush/woods this morning

In addition, the creoles make use of serial verbs, such as *come* or *go*, indicating movement toward or away from the speaker (*carry it come* “bring it”) or instrumental *tek* (*tek whip beat di children dem* “beat them with a whip”) (Roberts 1988: 65). The passive is widely expressed by the intransitive use of a transitive verb (*The sugar use already* “... was used ...”), but there is also a syntactic passive with the auxiliary *get* (*The child get bite up* “got bitten up”). Due to the lack of a Germanic type of passive, we may find instead an impersonal passive (*Dem bil dat hous laas yiir* “They built that house last year” or an ergative type (*Dat hous bil laas yiir* “That house built [itself] last year”) (Holm 1988: 82–84).

11.4.2 West African Pidgin English

Linguistically, WAPE has many parallels to the Caribbean creoles, due no doubt to the historical connections between the two areas. Here, too, for example, the past marker is *bin*; the aspect marker is *a* or *daldeldi*. The pronoun system is remarkably like that of the Caribbean creoles as well. Nouns may be followed by *den* to mark the plural in Liberia, but they may also be followed by {-s}. Here, interestingly, the basilect-acrolect dimension is of less importance than semantic considerations since *den* is used most often to mark the plural of nouns designating humans (Singler 1991: 552–556).

11.4.3 Tok Pisin

The grammar of Tok Pisin has re-expanded, as is typical of elaborated and, especially, creolized or creolizing pidgins. The following selection of features has been tailored to fit the text which follows in §11.5.

The verb:

i before predicates (except first and second person singular) (example: see next)
-im marker of transitive verbs (from English *him*) (*samting i bin katim tripela hap* “something divided it into three pieces”)

<i>i gat</i>	existential <i>there is / are</i> (<i>i gat tripela naispela ailan</i> “there are three nice islands”)
<i>i stap</i>	progressive-existential marker - <i>trak i stap long rot</i> “The truck is on the road” - <i>mi stap we?</i> “where am I?” - <i>mi stap gut</i> “I am well” - <i>mi dring i stap</i> “I am drinking”
<i>pinis</i>	completive or perfective aspect (after the predicate) (from English <i>finish</i>)
<i>bin</i>	past marker (preverbal) (<i>samting i bin katim ...</i> “something divided it ...”)
<i>bai(mbai)</i>	future marker (preclausal) <i>bai mipela i save</i> “we will know”
<i>save</i>	modal of ability (<i>mi save rait</i> “I can write”)
<i>laik</i>	immediate future marker (<i>trak i laik go nau</i> “the truck is about to leave”)
<i>laik</i>	“want to” (<i>em i laik i go long trak</i> “he wants to ride on the truck”)

The adjective:

<i>-pela</i>	marker of attributive adjectives; only added to monosyllabic ones (<i>naispela</i> “nice”)
∅	no adjective marker = adverb (<i>gut</i> “well”)
<i>móa</i>	comparative marker (<i>liklik móa</i> “smaller,” <i>gutpela móa</i> “better”)
<i>long ol</i>	superlative marker (<i>liklik long ol</i> “smallest”)

The noun:

<i>ol</i>	plural marker (<i>ol sip</i> “the ships”)
<i>wanpela</i>	singular article (<i>wanpela lain</i> “a line”)

The personal pronoun (Table 11.1):

Table 11.1 The personal pronouns of Tok Pisin

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
			<i>exclusive</i>	<i>inclusive</i>
First person	<i>mi</i>	<i>mipela</i>		<i>yumi</i>
Second person	<i>yu</i>	<i>yúpela</i>		
Third person	<i>em</i>	<i>ol</i>		

Conjunctions:

na “and”; *o* “or”; *tasól* “but, if only”; *sapós* “if”

11.5 A CREOLE IN USE

In a somewhat different procedure than in the preceding chapters, this section will show language in use in the form of a narration. The following excerpt from the story “A Demon Made Three Islands” offers a useful illustration of some of the features just listed. Its narrator is Selseme Martina from Ais Island, West New Britain Province; the story was modified by Thomas H. Slone (ed.) in the collection *One Thousand One Papua New Guinean Nights* (*Wan Tausen Wan Nait bilong Papua New Guinea*, 1996).

<i>Text</i>	<i>Glossary</i>
Long [p]asis bilong Kandrian long Wes Nu Briten [Provins] i gat tripela naispela ailan i sanap long wanpela lain tasol [Moewehafen Pipel].	<i>long</i> generalized locative “at, in, on, with, to, until,” etc.; <i>bilong</i> generalized case (genitive, ablative, dative) “of, from, for” <i>i sanap</i> “they stand” <i>tasol</i> “also, however”
Tripela i wanmak na antap bilong wan wan i stret olsem ples balus.	<i>tripela</i> “the three” <i>wanmak</i> “the same” <i>wan wan</i> “each, several”; <i>ples balus</i> (place bird) “airfield”
I luk olsem bipo ol i wanpela tasol, na i bin katim tripela hap.	<i>olsem</i> “like” <i>bipo</i> “before, once, used to” <i>hap</i> “half/-ves, part(s)”

By the shores of Kandrian in West New Britain [Province], there are three nice islands that stand in a row [Moewehafen People]. The three islands are the same size. Each is flat on top like an airfield. Before, they did not look like this. There was just one island and something divided it into three pieces.

Na tru tumas, ol lapun i stori olsem.	<i>tumas</i> “too much, very”; <i>lapun</i> “old; olsem” “this way”
Wanpela bikman bilong ples ol i kolim Ais [Ailan]	<i>bikman</i> “leader”; <i>ples ol i kolim</i> “place that they call”
i sindaun stori long <i>Wantok</i> ripota [wokman bilong niuspepa] i raun long dispela hap.	<i>stori long</i> “tell”; <i>wokman</i> “worker” <i>raun</i> “about”
Na wanpela lapun meri tu i sindaun long dua bilong haus bilong em long nambis na i stori tu.	<i>meri</i> “woman” <i>nambis</i> “coast, beach”
Nem bilong lapun mama ya, em Selsema Martina.	<i>ya</i> “here” (= “this”)

This is the very truth. The old people tell the story like this. A leader from a place called Ais [Island] sat down and told the story to a *Wantok* Newspaper reporter [who was around] this place. An old woman sat at the door of her house by the beach and told it too. The name of this woman is Selseme Martina.

This chapter has made it clear how close the relationships within this “family” of English-based creoles are. These correspondences have sometimes been strengthened and sometimes weakened by the one factor or the other such as population movement in the Caribbean. The single most important factor affecting almost all of these English creoles is the presence of Standard Caribbean English as the acrolect or the High language.

11.6 EXERCISES

11.6.1 Exercise on translating Jamaican Creole

Translate the following sentences by first providing (a) a word-for-word equivalency translation and then (b) a free translation into idiomatic Present-Day English.

1. Im [Anansi] staat fi wanda ow ima goh fine food fi im wife Crooky han im pickney dem.
 - (a)
 - (b)

2. Mi a-go lef today.
(a)
(b)
3. Mi back a hat mi.
(a)
(b)
4. Dat is fe mi bredda.
(a)
(b)

11.6.2 Exercise on translating Tok Pisin

Translate the following sentences by first providing (a) a word-for-word equivalency translation and then (b) a free translation into idiomatic Present-Day English. (Example sentences from *The Masalai of Lep Island* (Wantok 429, August 7, 1982, p. 44)

1. Ol i save kisim ol prut na kaikai.
(a)
(b)
2. Mitupela i mas painim we na ranawe i go long narapela hap.
(a)
(b)
3. Wapela meri i tokim narapela.
(a)
(b)
4. Bai yumi kisim na kukim na givim masalai i dring.
(a)
(b)
5. Strongpela win i kirap.
(a)
(b)

FURTHER READING

General Short sketches concentrating on the grammatical structure of a wide variety of nonstandard Englishes including pidgins and creoles can be found in Kortmann and Lunkenheimer (2012).

Pidgin and creoles Useful introductions are Mühlhäusler (1986a), Holm (1988, 1989), Singh (2000), Siegel (2008).

Contact languages A wider view of a variety of languages affected by different sorts of contact is offered in Sebba (1997) and Winford (2003).

English as a Second Language

The previous chapters in Part 3 have looked at those countries in which English is spoken as a native language, if not by the total population at least by a significantly large group. This chapter continues the geographic survey of English by observing its use as a second language in Africa and Asia. We begin with some remarks on ESL vs. EFL and ELF.

The idea of a second language is only gradually different from that of a foreign language, for it is less the quality of a speaker's command than the status of the language within a given community that determines whether it is a second or a foreign language. In an unambiguous case a foreign language is a language learned in school and employed for communicating with people from another country. A second language, in contrast, may well be one learned in school, too, but one used within the learner's country for official purposes and reinforced by the power of the state and its institutions.¹

English as a Foreign Language (EFL) as just outlined is a global phenomenon. Currently, English is widely learned not because of its official or semiofficial status in any given country, but because it is a highly useful tool in international communication, be it political, scientific-technical, or commercial. English in this context is usually learned in the framework of formal teaching and is subject to the interference so often associated with second-language acquisition.² Many attempts have been undertaken to see what similarities there are in the English so learned (see the contributions in Mukherjee and Hundt 2011). Because second-language English understood in this way is so often used as a *lingua franca* in international communication (e.g., academic conferences, business negotiations, and publications of all sorts) there has been a significant movement to capture commonalities of this English as a *Lingua Franca* (EFL) (see Jenkins (2017) for a summary view by one of the field's main proponents).

As far as this book is concerned, the focus is on English with official second-language status. This is quite common. In bilingual Irish-English Ireland (Chapter 7), French-English Canada (Chapter 8), and multilingual South Africa (Chapter 10) English is, for some people the first and for others a second language; in addition, English is a second language in numerous countries in Asia and Africa, where it is an official or semiofficial language, a status sometimes shared with one or more other languages. In the latter set of states English is typically not the native language of more than a relatively small group of

1 Interestingly, this difference seems to have an effect on the typological features of the language as learned. ESL makes use of fewer analytic structures and more synthetic ones than does ENL (Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann 2011: 182).

2 Note the *second-language* in this context has nothing to do with official language status; it does not differ in meaning from *foreign language*, but only in status.

people. There are some 57 such countries, 41 in which English is an official language and 16 further ones in which it is de facto so.

The first group includes

Botswana	Mauritius Namibia (with	Sierra Leone
Burundi	Afrikaans and German)	Singapore (with Chinese,
Cameroon (with French)	Micronesia	Malay, and Tamil)
Eswatini (Swaziland) (with	Nauru (with Nauru)	Solomon Islands
siSwati)	Nigeria (with Igbo, Hausa,	Somaliland
Fiji	and Yoruba)	South Sudan
Gambia	Niue	Sudan
Ghana	Pakistan	Tanzania (with Kiswahili)
India (with Hindi)	Palau	Tonga (with Tongan)
Kenya	Papua New Guinea	Tuvalu
Kiribati	Philippines (with Filipino/	Uganda
Lesotho (with Sesotho)	Pilipino/Tagalog)	Vanuatu (+ Bislama,
Liberia	Rwanda	French)
Malawi (with chi-Chewa)	Samoa (with Samoan)	Zambia
Malta (with Maltese)	Seychelles	Zimbabwe
Marshall Islands		

The second group consists of

Bahrain	Ethiopia	Maldives, the
Bangladesh	Israel	Myanmar (Burma)
Brunei	Jordan	Oman
Cyprus	Kuwait	Qatar
Eritrea	Malaysia	Sri Lanka
		United Arab Emirates

The number of second-language users of English, which can only be estimated, lies at about 360 million, that is, roughly the same number as that of English native speakers (pace Crystal 1997: 61, who opts for one billion ESL users). Whatever the exact figure may be, English is the premier present-day language of international communication.

The circumstances that have led to the establishment of English, an outside language, as a second language in so many countries of Africa and Asia are not education and commerce alone, however important English is for these activities and however strong the economic hegemony of the English-speaking world is. Quite clearly it was “linguistic imperialism” (cf. Phillipson 1992) and the legacy of colonialism that has made English so indispensable in so many countries.³ The retention of the colonial language is a conscious decision and may be assumed to be the result of deliberate language policy and planning. Among the factors which support the use of English as an official language we find:

- the lack of a single indigenous language that is widely accepted by the respective populations; here English is often neutral vis-à-vis mutually competing native languages and hence helps to promote national unity;
- the usefulness of English in science and technology as opposed to the less developed vocabularies of the vernaculars;

³ Where the colonial master was France, Belgium, or Portugal, French and Portuguese are the second languages.

- the availability of school books in English;
- the status and use of English for international communication, trade, and diplomacy.

In these countries English plays an important role in government and administration, in the courts, in education (especially secondary and higher education), in the media, and for both domestic and foreign economic activity. English is, in other words, an extremely utilitarian, public language. It is also used in some cases as a means of expressing national unity and identity as opposed to ethnic parochialism (cf. especially Singapore). As a result, second-language English users are in the dilemma of diglossia: They recognize the usefulness of English, yet feel strong emotional ties to the local languages. English is the diglossically High language, used as the official, public language vis-à-vis the indigenous languages, which are more likely to be diglossically Low, and therefore to be preferred in private dealings and for intimacy and emotion. Family life is typically conducted in the ethnic or ancestral vernaculars. Where the High language is StE and the Low one is a non-standard variety of English divergent from it and where there are also a number of varieties along a continuum between the High and Low, it is common to refer to the High language as the *acrolect*, the Low one as the *basilect* and the intermediate ones as *mesolects*.

English is far from displacing the vernaculars. Historically, the conditions for language replacement have been, as the cases of Latin and Arabic show,

- 1 military conquest,
- 2 a long period of language imposition,
- 3 a polyglot subject group, and
- 4 material benefits in the adoption of the language of the conquerors.

(cf. Brosnahan 1963: 15–17)

In modern Africa and Asia additional factors such as

- 5 urbanization,
- 6 industrialization and/or economic development,
- 7 educational development,
- 8 religious orientation, and
- 9 political affiliation.

(Fishman, Cooper, and Rosenbaum 1977: 77–82)

are also of importance. Yet the historical period of English language imposition was generally relatively short and economic development at the local level was less directly connected with the colonial language, so that English has tended to remain an urban and an elite High language.

All the same, where English is widely used as a second language there is often as much local pride in it on the part of the educated elite as there is resentment at its intrusion. As a result, there has been widespread talk of the recognition of a “local” standard, especially in pronunciation, either a regional one such as Standard West African English or a national one such as Standard Nigerian English. Some have emphasized the negative aspects of such “nativization” or “indigenization,” which may sometimes lower international intelligibility, but more important, preclude the development of the indigenous languages. A neglect of the vernaculars includes the danger of producing large numbers of linguistically and culturally displaced persons. Yet, English may be spreading with little emotional coloring – whether positive or negative – for most of its users. Indeed, some would go so far as to maintain: “The use of a standard or informal variety of Singaporean, Nigerian, or Filipino English is ... a part of what it means to *be* a Singaporean, a Nigerian, or a

Filipino” (Richards 1982: 235). As the following sections show, there is, indeed, room for a wide diversity of opinions on this subject, and the developments in one country may be completely different in tendency from those in another.

12.1 ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (ESL) IN AFRICA AND ASIA

Second-language English in Africa may be divided into three general geographic areas: the six Anglophone countries of West Africa (Cameroon, Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone), those of East Africa (Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Malawi) and those of Southern Africa (Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa (Chapter 10), Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe). English is an official language for millions of Africans in these countries, but in most of them the number of native speakers probably lies overall at around 1% of the population.

The first group includes two countries which have native speakers of English (Liberia, 5%) or an English creole (Sierra Leone, up to 5%). All six are characterized by the presence and vitality of Pidgin English, used by large numbers of people. Neither Eastern nor Southern Africa has pidgin or creole forms of English. However, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia all have fairly many non-Black native speakers of English (South Africa: approximately 40% of the non-Black population; Namibia, 8%; Zimbabwe, virtually all the White population).

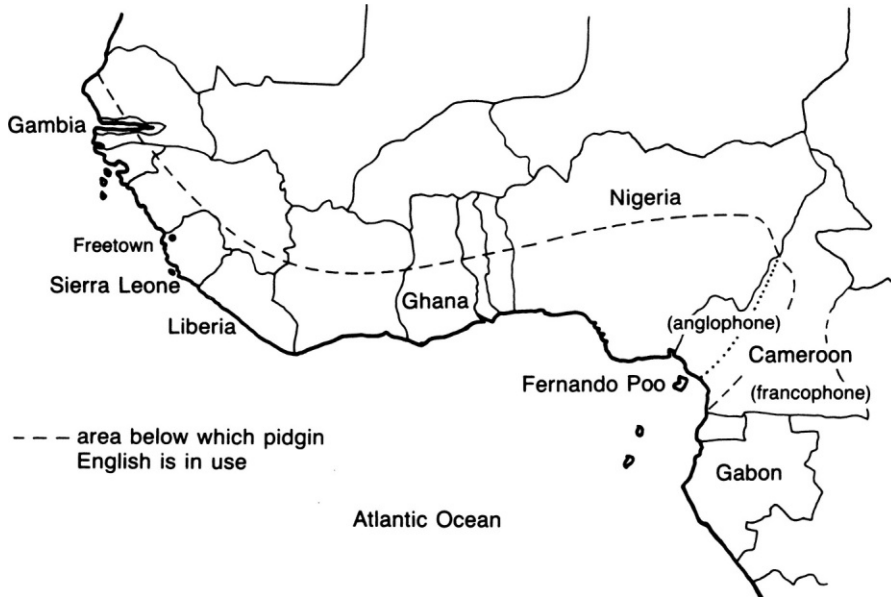
English in Africa, though rarely a native language of African Blacks, is, nevertheless, sometimes a first language in the sense of familiarity and daily use. Certainly, there are many fluent, educated speakers of what has been called African Vernacular English who “have grown up hearing and using English daily, and who speak it as well as, or maybe even better than, their ancestral language,” enough of them for their language to serve as a model (Angogo and Hancock 1980: 72). Furthermore, the number of English-users is also likely to increase considering the number of Africans who are learning it at schools, especially secondary schools, throughout the continent.

Despite numerous variations, due especially to the many mother tongues of its speakers, this African Vernacular English is audibly recognizable as a type, and it is distinct from, for instance, Asian English. It tends to have a simplified vowel system vis-à-vis native-speaker English. Furthermore, it shares certain grammatical, lexical, semantic, and pragmatic features throughout the continent, many of which will be treated in this chapter.

In none of the three Asian countries, India, Singapore, and the Philippines, in which English plays an important role, is English a native language. It is, rather, a part of the colonial legacy and serves important domestic and international purposes. In other former colonial possessions in Asia in which English once had a similar status, such as Sri Lanka or Malaysia, its role has gradually been reduced to that of an important foreign language.

12.1.1 West African English

The six Anglophone countries (with population figures in millions in 2020), Cameroon (26m), Gambia (2.4m), Ghana (31m), Liberia (5m), Nigeria (204m), and Sierra Leone (8m) (Map 12.1), are all polyglot. Nigeria has up to 415 languages; Cameroon, 234; Ghana, 60; and even Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Gambia have 31, 20 and 13 respectively (Brann 1988: 1418f). In this situation it is obvious that any government has to be concerned about having



Map 12.1 West Africa

a language adequate for education and suitable as a means of general internal communication. Where there is no widely recognized indigenous language to do this, the choice has usually fallen on the colonial language. In Cameroon both colonial languages, French (80% of the country) and English (the remainder) were adopted when the two Cameroons were united. A bilingual French-English educational policy is pursued. Of the six states just mentioned only Nigeria has viable lingua francas available for written use: Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo, the regional languages of wider communication; and superimposed on the whole, the outside or exogenous language, English (*ibid.*: 1416). For the most part the vernaculars and English are not in conflict, but are complementary, with English reserved for the functions of a High language in the sense of diglossia while the local languages are the Low languages. Note: Speakers who do not share a native language prefer to communicate in a regional one. If that is not feasible, they will choose Pidgin English. English itself is likely to be the last choice in diglossically Low communication.

English in West Africa. English is present in West Africa in a continuum of types which runs from British StE (in Liberia oriented toward AmE because of its history), to a local ESL variety, to a local vernacular, to West African Pidgin or one of its creolized varieties. This diversity of levels is one of the results of the history of European-African contact on the west coast of Africa.

Standard English. StE was introduced in the second major phase of colonialism in the 19th century, when the European powers divided up as much of Africa and Asia as they could. As a part of this movement there was a wave of Christian missionary effort in Africa: “English was to become the language of salvation, civilisation and worldly success” (Spencer 1971: 13). Although the church made wide use of the native languages and alphabetized various of them for the first time, it had little use for Pidgin English. The result was the suppression of Pidgin and Creole English by school, church, and colonial administration in favor of “‘correct’ bourgeois English” (*ibid.*: 23). StE was and is used in education, in government, in international trade, for access to scientific and technical

knowledge, and in the media. It is a status symbol, a mark of education and Westernization. While StE thus functions as the badge of the local elite, Pidgin English has little prestige, but does signal a good deal of group solidarity. Linguistically speaking, pidgin and creole English are often regarded as independent languages and hence outside the continuum of English; for "... throughout West Africa, speakers are usually able to say at any time whether they are speaking the one or the other" (Angogo and Hancock 1980: 72). Nevertheless, many people as well as the governments generally view pidgin and creole as English, albeit of an "uneducated" variety. For speakers who have a limited command of the stylistic variations of native-speaker English, Pidgin English may function as an informal register.

Whatever perspective is taken, it is a fact that only a local, educated variety may be regarded as a serious contender for the label West African StE. Such a form of English, which implies completed primary or secondary education, is available to perhaps 10% of the population of Anglophone West Africa. In any case there is a great deal of variation within WafE. The higher the education of a user, the closer his or her usage is likely to be to StE. Although this variety is internationally intelligible, it is not popularly acceptable for native Africans in local West African society. This is substantiated to some extent by the fact that a good deal of the difference between the StE of ENL speakers and that of educated West Africans can be explained by interference from the L1 of the latter, that is, the effects of second language acquisition on their English. All of this notwithstanding, there are, nevertheless, features of educated WafE which form a standard in the sense that (a) they are widely used and no longer amenable to change via further learning and (b) they are community norms, not recognized as "errors" even by the linguistically most highly trained Anglophone West Africans.

12.1.2 East African vocabulary

The main countries of East Africa to be reviewed are Tanzania (59m in 2020), Kenya (53m), and Uganda (45m) (see Map 12.2). All three share one important feature: the presence of Kiswahili as a widely used lingua franca (less so in Uganda). Structurally speaking, Kiswahili is therefore somewhat parallel within East African society to Pidgin English in West Africa. However, while Pidgin English is almost totally without prestige, the same cannot be said of Kiswahili, which is an official language in Kenya and Tanzania (together with English). In each of these countries English is used widely in education, especially at the secondary and higher levels (starting earliest in Uganda and latest in Tanzania). However, in Tanzania, despite the continued prominence of English in learning and much professional activity, Kiswahili is the preferred national language; it is also probably slowly displacing the autochthonous mother tongues. Yet, in both Tanzania and Kenya the (local) mother tongues provide ethnic identity and solidarity; Kiswahili contributes to national identity; and English serves to signal modernity and good education (Abdulaziz 1991: 392, 400). In all three countries English is a diglossically High language in comparison to the various local mother tongues.

A survey of the domains of English reveals that it is used in a full range of activities in Uganda, Zambia, Malawi, Kenya, Zimbabwe, and even Tanzania such as: high (not local) court, parliament, civil service; primary and secondary school; radio, newspapers, films, local novels, plays; traffic signs, advertisements; business and private correspondence; at home. Kenya and Tanzania are, despite many parallels, not linguistic twins. After independence the position of English weakened in Tanzania as the country adopted a language policy which supported Kiswahili.



Map 12.2 East Africa

In Kenya, where Kiswahili was also officially adopted, English “is more widely spoken (as the official medium of instruction) and enjoys high prestige (as a long-standing official language) among educated Kenyans” (Buregeya 2012: 466). Although Kenya has a small non-Black ENL speech community (0.2% of the population), Black Kenyan English, spoken by about 40% of Kenyans, maintains a firm role as second language (ibid.). Attitudes toward the language are generally positive, being associated with high status jobs; English has even become the primary home language in some exclusive Nairobi suburbs; and many middle- and upper-class children seem to be switching gradually to English. In Kenya, in particular, multilingualism has led to a great deal of mother tongue-Kiswahili-English code-mixing among urban dwellers. This has even given rise to a mixed language jargon called Sheng.

In Tanzania, in contrast, where there is no ENL community, attitudes vary considerably from a great deal of acceptance to indifference. Early on (from 1923) Tanzania instituted a policy of triglossia: English = H (elite and international); Kiswahili as a regional lingua franca; tribal and vernacular languages for local communication. Yet, English is perceived

as more or less foreign; and Kiswahili is promoted. English, although an official language, is used officially only “on the ‘highest levels’ of the educational and legal system, and in the media” (Schmied 2012a: 454). Today English is the medium of instruction in private schools (because of the perceived advantages which English brings). English has not been displaced by Kiswahili, nor has a national variety (TznE) developed. But in Tanzania school students use an interlanguage called Tanzingereza (< Kiswahili *Tanzania* + *Kiingereza* “English language”). English itself is only a school language, a minority language; even with several million speakers only 5% of the 44 million population know it (ibid.).

The language situation in Uganda is more ambiguous because of the ethnic rivalries between the large anti-Kiswahili Baganda population and the anti-Baganda sections of the population, who favor Kiswahili. While Kiswahili is used in the army and by the police, English is the medium of education from upper primary school (year four) on.

English is the official language and used as a second language by a considerable number of people in the country. Particularly in the capital, Kampala, it is a neutral language among the elite and in homes with mixed marriages where both parents speak different first languages.

(Ssempuuma 2012: 475)

12.1.3 Southern African English

South Africa (population in 2020: approx. 59m), the major southern African country, is at the center of what will be dealt with as representative of ESL in this area. South Africa’s neighbors, Botswana (2.3m), Eswatini (Swaziland) (1.2m), Lesotho (2.1m), Malawi (19m), Namibia (2.5m), Zimbabwe (14.8m), and Zambia (18.2m), have much smaller ESL speaker communities, and the English used there shows the influence of South Africa (Kamwangamu and Chisanga 1996; Schmied 1996). All the same, each of these countries shows independent linguistic developments in the type of English used. The case of Namibia is particularly interesting (cf. Buschfeld 2020, Schröder and Zähres 2020).

Estimates indicate that “at least half the present population of 50 million speakers speaks English as an L1 or L2,” and that Black SAfE shares “many similarities with other L2 varieties of English in sub-Saharan Africa.” True, the relatively few Blacks who even in apartheid times went to private schools and learned English there were linguistically no different than the Whites “except possibly for subtleties of articulatory setting” (Mesthrie 2012a: 493). But in this chapter it is the broader Black ESL community that will be looked at. Their language “is the dominant variety in parliament, political discourse on radio and television (...), and is increasingly prominent in other domains like tourism, commerce, etc.” (ibid.).

Several different varieties of English are current in South Africa, three of them are English as a Native Language (ENL) varieties, White SAfE, Indian SAfE, and Coloured SAfE (see Chapter 10). In addition, there are two English as a Second Language (ESL) varieties, Afrikaans SAfE and Black SAfE.

Black SAfE. English, as a worldwide language of wider communication, offers the best chances for advancement. For this reason, many Black Africans are eager to learn it despite their resentment of White hegemony in economic and political life. As a result, English, with its generally high prestige and utility has remained predominant in public life, and the number of South Africans who speak it (some even as their home language) is increasing (see Languages of South Africa: 2019). Some even see White SAfE as “a waning variety” due to the shrinking size and lessening influence of the original European heritage



Map 12.3 Southern Africa

Whites who spoke it.⁴ Black SAfE is widely used, but often stigmatized. All the same, Black SAfE has been gaining in influence and prestige since the end of apartheid and may contribute to the long-term stratification of SAfE (Bowerman 2012: 517).

Black South Africans speak a kind of English which is clearly identifiable as an ESL variety. Despite the large number of English native speakers in South Africa, few teachers in Black schools have a sufficiently L1-like command of the language to offer an ENL model. Nevertheless, a large portion, if perhaps less than half of the Black population read, speak, or understand English. This means that millions of South Africans use English, even though this English reflects “Bantu-language phonology, idioms and fixed expressions, redefined semantic content, and peculiar grammatical structures” (Lanham 1985: 244). These are largely urban dwellers who read English-language newspapers, listen to the English media, and need English in education and in their work lives.

Afrikaans SAfE. Since English is recognized as extremely useful in business life and since English culture is attractive for numerous young White Afrikaans native speakers, many of them use it widely. More than one in eight claims to be fully bilingual, while less than 10% of White SAfE-native speakers know Afrikaans well enough to make a similar assertion (Lanham 1984: 335f). Together with less fluent Afrikaans users of English a large

4 Many of the older Whites emigrated from post-apartheid South Africa. While new White immigrants “replaced” them, they were speakers of non-SAfE.

number of White South Africans speak Afrikaans English. Generally, this variety carries little prestige and is associated closely with Extreme SAfE, which it also resembles to a large extent.

12.1.4 South Asian English

In India (approx. 1,375m in 2020), the largest of the South Asian countries, English plays a special role. The other countries in this area, which, like India, were also once British colonial possessions, are Bangladesh (164m), Nepal (29m), Pakistan (219m), and Sri Lanka (21.4m). Each of them has a certain amount of linguistic diversity and each continues to use English in some functions. The most data, however, are available on India, which dwarfs its neighbors with its ethnic diversity, its large geographic size, and its enormous population of over a billion. The 3–4% who speak English make up a total of no less than 35 million speakers, most of them in positions of relative prestige.

English has been used in India for hundreds of years, but it was an outsider's language for most of this time. The British colonial administration used it, and colonial educational policy encouraged its wider use for the creation of a local elite. To a limited extent, this goal has been reached, for English is well established as one of the important diglossically High languages of India. The National Academy of Letters (Sahitya Akademi) recognizes literature by Indians in English as a part of Indian literature. It is a "link language" for the Indian Administrative Service (the former Indian Civil Service); it is a medium in the modernization and Westernization of the country; it is an important language of higher education, science, and technology, due, in part, to the general spread and use of English throughout the world, especially in science and technology, trade and commerce. However, English also has an official status. Fifteen "national languages" are recognized in the Indian constitution; one of them, Hindi, the language of over one-third of the population, is the official language, but English is designated the "associate official language."

Its status is supported by continuing resistance in the non-Hindi parts of India to the spread of Hindi, which automatically puts non-Hindi speakers at a disadvantage. Where everyone must learn English, everybody is on a par linguistically.

One of the practical results of this linguistic rivalry has been the application, in secondary education since the late 1950s, of the "three language formula," which provides for the education of everyone in their regional language, in Hindi, and in English. (If the regional language is Hindi, then another language, such as Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, or Malayalam, is to be learned.) The intention of this not completely successful policy has been to spread the learning burden and to create a population with a significant number of multilingual speakers. Sridhar remarks,

The Three Language Formula is a compromise between the demands of the various pressure groups and has been hailed as a masterly – if imperfect – solution to a complicated problem. It seeks to accommodate the interests of group identity (mother tongues and regional languages), national pride and unity (Hindi), and administrative efficiency and technological progress (English).

(quoted in Baldrige 1996: 12)

The weakness of the policy lies in the failure of the states to carry it out. This is most prominent in the failure of Tamil Nadu to fully institute Hindi teaching in Tamil Nadu. The usual medium of teaching is Tamil in the state schools and English in the private ones; Hindi is, at best, a second language. Schools in Tamil Nadu and elsewhere run



Map 12.4 South Asia

by the central government, the *Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan* (“Central Schools”), are Hindi-medium schools and serve government officials and military families wherever they are posted.

English has maintained a kind of hegemony in several areas: English-language newspapers or magazines are published in all of the states of India and the readers of the English-language newspapers make up a large portion of the reading public. A great number of books appear in English, as do scientific and nonscientific journals.

One of the most important motivations for learning English is that people feel it significantly raises their chances of getting a good job. One survey in Karnataka (South India) reveals that two-thirds of the students investigated felt their job prospects were very good or excellent with an English-medium education (Sridhar 1982: 145). Note that this group of students was aiming at jobs like bank manager, university or college teacher, high level civil servant, or lawyer. “English is felt to be the language of power, a language of prestige” (ibid.: 149). It is, in other words, the language of the classes, not the masses.

English is more the language of the intellect than of the emotions. The language intrudes less on intimate areas such as communication with family or neighbors than on domains of business, politics, technology, communication with strangers, or pan-Indian communication. Where English is used it signals not only a certain level of education but also serves to cover over differences of region and caste. Through a judicious use of code-switching

and code-mixing various speaker-identities can be revealed. English, for example, is used not only for certain domains and to fill in lexical gaps in the vernacular but also to signal education, authority, and a cosmopolitan, Western attitude.

Although IndE is not a native language for most Indians, it is far too entrenched in Indian intellectual life and traditions to be regarded as a foreign language. Furthermore, a local standard IndE seems to be developing in the process of nativization/indigenization, though it is not universally acknowledged. All the same, there seems to be little doubt that IndE has established itself as an independent language tradition. While most of the English which educated Indians produce is close to international StE, there are obvious differences in pronunciation, some in grammar, and a noticeable number in vocabulary and usage. In looking briefly at each of these areas, it is the English of educated Indians that we will be looking at.

12.1.5 Singapore and Malaysian English

The English language plays a special role in both Singapore (population in 2020 5.8m) and Malaysia (32.2m), a role, however, developing in two very different fashions. The demographic situation in each state is comparable inasmuch as both have major ethnic elements in the population consisting of Malays, Chinese, and Indians. In Peninsular Malaysia this is 69% Malays to 23% Chinese to 7% Indians. In Singapore, which lies at the tip of the Malay Peninsula, the relationship is 15% to 76% to 7.5%. Both states were formerly under British colonial administration, and in both countries English was an important administrative and educational language. For a short period in the 1960s the two were federated and shared the same “national language,” namely, Malay (or Bahasa Malaysia). After Singapore left the Federation, it retained Malay as its national language alongside of its further official languages, English, Mandarin Chinese, and Tamil. Malaysia, on the other hand, abandoned English as a second language (National Language Policy of 1967) and became officially monolingual in Bahasa Malaysia.

Singapore upholds a policy of maintaining four official languages; however, the *de facto* status of each has been changing. The Chinese ethnic part of the population, which is divided into speakers of several mutually unintelligible dialects, above all, Hokkien, Teochew, and Cantonese, has been encouraged to learn and use Mandarin, and indeed, younger Singaporeans of Chinese descent do use more Mandarin, especially in more formal situations. Malay remains the “national language,” and it is widely used as a lingua franca; yet, it is English which is on the increase, so much so, in fact, that it is sometimes regarded as a language of national identity. For Malay is associated with the ethnic Malays, just as Mandarin and the Chinese vernaculars are associated with the ethnic Chinese, and Tamil, with the ethnic Indians. In contrast, English is viewed as an interethnic lingua franca (Platt 1988: 1385). As such, English plays an important role in modernization and development in Singapore.

The pre-eminent position of English in Singapore is most evident in the area of education. Since the introduction of bilingual education in 1956, the teaching medium was to be one of the four official languages; if this was not English, English was to be the second school language. Consequently, virtually 100% of the students in Singapore are in English-medium schools (Platt 1991: 377). This means that about 60% of teaching time is in English. Yet with 40% for Mandarin, Malay, or Tamil, literacy in these languages is assured. This is important in the case of Malay because the neighboring states of Malaysia and Indonesia both use forms of Malay as their national languages. Mandarin is obviously useful because of the size and importance of China. Tamil – never the language of more than about two-thirds of the ethnic Indians – is apparently losing ground, largely to English.



Map 12.5 Malay Peninsula and Singapore

All four languages are also prominent in the media, both print and electronic. In both cases English is gaining proportionately, and it alone draws on a readership/audience from all three major ethnic groups. Most parliamentary work is conducted in English, and it is the sole language of the law courts. Unsurprisingly, it is predominant in international trade.

Nevertheless, English is not universal. Rather, it is the diglossically High (H) language, reserved for more formal use, though a local Low (L) vernacular variety of SingE, sometimes called Singlish⁵ is used in a wider range of more informal situations including both inter- and intra-ethnic communication. Despite its increasing spread English is seldom a home language. Nevertheless, Platt does see English in Singapore as “probably the classic case of indigenization” because its range of domains is constantly expanding and this includes its use among friends and even in families (1991: 376), thus becoming a “seminative variety.” Within SingE there is obviously a variety of levels. At the upper, acrolect level there is little difference in grammar and vocabulary between SingE and other national varieties of StE. As in any regional variety there are, of course, increasingly more local items of vocabulary and grammar influenced by the substrate as the level broadens to the mesolects and basilect.

The Future of SingE. While it is evident that the role of English will continue to decline in Malaysia as Bahasa Malaysia extends its domains, it is clear that Singapore is, and will

5 Not to be confused with Sinhalese English, also sometimes referred to as Singlish.

remain, a multilingual state in which English has a position of increasing preeminence. In Singapore, speech patterns are polyglossic. This means, concretely, that there is more than one High language (usually English and Mandarin) and several Low ones (usually Bazaar Malay, Hokkien, and, increasingly, Singlish). English is seldom the first language in the sense of the first learned; it is, however, the first school language of practically everybody who has entered Singapore schools since the early 1980s. It has also grown to be the language of national identity, of work, and of inter-ethnic (and even some intra-ethnic) communication.

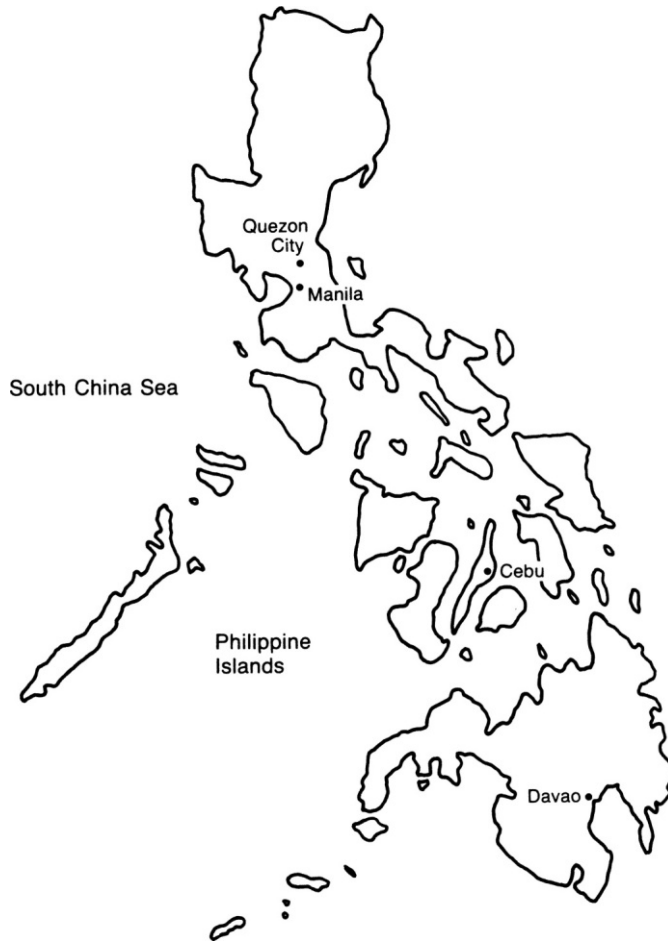
12.1.6 English in the Philippines

Aside from the very size (109m) and the regional significance of the Philippines, they are the only example treated more broadly in this chapter in which the tradition of AmE is of importance. The islands had been a Spanish colony for well over 300 years when the United States took possession of them as one of the results of the Spanish-American War (1898). Despite considerable Filipino resistance (1898–1901) to the new colonial master, the United States was soon firmly in control and established English as an official language beside and fully equal to Spanish in 1901. English was given favorable treatment (government jobs were more readily available to those who could use English) and soon began to displace Spanish. By 1936, when the Constitution of the Philippines provided for a national language (Pilipino/Filipino, a modified form of Tagalog), English had in fact become preeminent in education.

After independence (1946) little changed at first, but in the early 1950s a policy of vernacular education in years one and two of school with a later shift to English was implemented. In 1974 the new Bilingual Education Policy was initiated, in which Pilipino/Filipino and English were to be the shared languages of education. This policy provided for the teaching of science and mathematics in English and the use of Pilipino/Filipino in social studies and the arts. The revised Bilingual Educational Policy of 1987 seeks to maintain English since this language is highly important for science and technology and international relations (trade, worker flows in and out of the Philippines). The country continues to pursue the goal of establishing a national language, Filipino, which is approximately 80% Tagalog/Pilipino and Spanish (Gonzalez 1988: 47). The Bilingual Education Policy has served to spread Pilipino/Filipino (*vis-à-vis* other Philippine languages); however, it has also furthered the elite, who have access to English, while lessening access to English for the talented among the masses, thus slowing social mobility and increasing language-based social stratification (Gonzalez and Bautista 1985: 119).

There are seven to eight major languages spoken in the Philippines and over a hundred all told. The largest are Cebuano and Tagalog, each with approximately a quarter of the population. Ilokano and Hiligaynon together make up perhaps another 20%. Filipinos and Filipinas are, as a rule, at least bilingual, often trilingual or quadrilingual (in their vernacular, the regional language, Filipino/Pilipino, and English).

The vernacular is the language of emotion and is used for swearing and for dreaming. English is used in banks and book stores and especially for numbers and counting, which reflects the influence of schooling. At markets, in the popular press, and on radio and TV Pilipino/Filipino and the vernaculars predominate. Only the news is generally in English. Books and the serious newspapers and magazines are in English; technical reports are in English; communication upward – with a department head or boss – will tend to be in English. The more formal the occasion and the higher the level of education, the more likely it is that English will be used.



Map 12.6 The Philippines

English remains predominant in government administration, legislation, the law and the judiciary, higher education, the professions, business, commerce, science, and industry. The bar exams, Certified Public Accountant-exams, engineering and medical board exams, and the National College Entrance Examination are all in English; the Senate and the House of Representatives are conducted mostly in English; laws are passed in English with a Filipino/Pilipino translation. The general population is obviously quite aware of the advantages of English, and parents want their children to learn it because of the advantages it offers, namely, social mobility, higher paying jobs, power, and prestige. After the immediately preceding remarks it is not surprising to read,

The better educated [people are], the better the approximation (in lexis and in morphology and syntax though not in pronunciation) to Standard American English; the less educated, the more the discrepancies in word usage and especially in morphology and syntax (with likewise a more varied pronunciation) as compared to Standard American English).

(Gonzalez and Bautista 1985: 25)

Outlook. Although there is a steady move to Filipino/Pilipino in all domains, English will remain important for economic reasons – both because widespread knowledge of English may induce foreign employers to move to the Philippines and because it facilitates the ability of Filipinos and Filipinas to find jobs abroad (a half a million go every year, cf. Gonzalez 1988: 10). However, despite claims that there is a standard variety of English in the Philippines, this applies only to the better educated parts of society. In general, the level of Philippine English is and will remain relatively low and may even fall to the status of a foreign, rather than a second, language, albeit an important one.

12.2 VOCABULARY IN ESL VARIETIES IN AFRICA AND ASIA

As the following sections show, the ESL varieties presented here reveal the same means of vocabulary change, borrowing from the L1, and reinterpreting already existent English words by means of broadening, narrowing, amelioration, and pejoration of meaning and the use of metaphor. Of course, the same processes of affixation, compounding, and calquing as in ENL varieties are in common use.

12.2.1 West African English vocabulary

The vocabulary of WAFE. The English vocabulary of West Africa has special words for local flora, fauna, and topography. In addition, special elements of West African culture and institutions have ensured the adoption of numerous further items. Most of these are restricted in use to West Africa, but some may be known and used more widely (e.g., *cal-abash*, *kola*, or *palm wine*). This more than grammar gives WAFE its distinctive flavor, reflecting as it does the sociolinguistic context of WAFE. The words themselves may be:

borrowings from:

- a native language, *awujor* “ceremony giving the ancestors food”; *krain-krain* “a leafy vegetable”
- pidgin/creole, *tai fes* “frown”; *chop* “food”
- other languages, *palaver* (Portuguese) “argument, trouble”; *piccin* (Portuguese) “child”
- older BrE/AmE usage: *deliver* “have a baby”; *station* “town/city where a person works”

semantic shift:

- English words with a broadening of meaning, for example, *chap* “any person, man or woman”
- narrowing, as with *smallboy* “low servant”; *cane* “bamboo”

derivations:

- coinages using processes of affixation or reduplication: *co-wives* “wives of the same husband”; *rentage* “(house)rent”; *slow slow* “slowly”
- compounds, *check rice* “rice prepared with krain-krain”; *bush-meat* “game”; *head tie* “woman’s headdress”
- calques/loan translations, *next tomorrow* “day after tomorrow” from Yoruba *otunla* “new tomorrow”

12.2.2 East African English vocabulary

Specific EAFē vocabulary includes, as everywhere else as well, words for African flora (like *baobab* “adansonia”) and fauna (e.g., *simba* “lion”). The most obvious sources are the autochthonous languages of East Africa: “Lexical features are noticeable from the several dozen words borrowed from Kiswahili and other indigenous languages” (Buregeya 2012: 467). Social phenomena which are specific to East African ways of life and political life may serve as examples (most from Schmied 2012a: 247ff):

- food and eating: *githeri* “a Gikuyu bean dish”; *vitumbua* “rice cakes”; *bajia* an Indian dish made with potatoes; *chai* “black tea”
- human relations: *lobola* “bride-price”; *bwana* “master”; *askari* (originally from Arabic) “soldier”; *detoother* used in Uganda for a woman who has a sexual relationship with a member of the opposite sex (e.g., a sugar-daddy) for financial gain
- politics: *uhuru* “independence” (Kenya); *harambee* “sticking together” (Kenya); *ujamaa* “familyhood” (Tanzania); *kujigetemea* “self-reliance” (Tanzania)
- travel: *safari* “travel”; *matatu* “collective taxi” from Kiswahili for the fare of “three (shillings)”; mostly Kenyan; *boda-boda* “(motor-)bicycle taxi” from English *border-border* where the custom originated to ferry people across the no-man’s-land between Uganda and Kenya

EAFē idioms may have fully unexpected meanings for ENL speakers: “Thus if an unsuspecting traveller needed to make a short call in East Africa, he might be shown the way to a toilet (or place used for that purpose)” (ibid.: 249) Furthermore, EAFē idioms and collocations may vary from ENL ones, as, for example, when *sail in the same boat* is equivalent to ENL: *be in the same boat* or the collocation *commit an action* (ENL: only crime) strikes the outsider as strange. The cultural background is often enough so divergent as to cause misunderstandings: The connotations (if not the denotations themselves) of terms like *rich*, *Sunday*, *game*, *holiday*, or *travel* mean different things for rural East Africans and urban Euro-Americans (ibid.: 250).

12.2.3 South African ESL vocabulary

The major vocabulary differences in Black SAfē lie in the higher number of words borrowed from the one or the other L1. Gough lists *kwela-kwela* “taxi or police paddy wagon,” *impimpi* “police informant,” or *mama*, form of address directed to an older woman. *Skebenga* “criminal” is used in Xhosa-speaking areas and *madumbies* for an edible root heard in KwaZulu-Natal. In addition, words of English provenance may be used differently than in ENL varieties. *Scarce* in the sentence *You are scarce* means “you haven’t been around for a while” (cf. ENL *to make yourself scarce*), and *worse* is a general intensifier as in *Jane is pretty, but Thandiwe is worse*, that is, “even prettier” (1996: 64f).

12.2.4 Indian English vocabulary

The vocabulary of IndE is universally recognized as containing numerous characteristic items. For convenience they can be classified as follows:

- adoption of Indian words, which often “come more naturally and appear more forceful in a given context than their English equivalents. *Sister-in-law* is no match for *sali*, and *idle talk* is a poor substitute for *buk-buk* ...”

- newly coined compounds (e.g., *black money* “illegal gains”; *change-room* “dressing room”)
 - hybrid formations or loan blends (e.g., *lathi charge* “police attack with sticks”; *coolidom* “condition of being a servant”)
 - English words used differently (e.g., *four-twenty* “a cheat, swindler”)
- (Mehrotra 1982: 160–162)

The use of Indian words in English discourse is said to be more common in more informal, personal, and relaxed situations; nevertheless, there may be the need to use Indian terms in formal texts as well (cf. *Urad and moong fell sharply in the grain market here today on stockists offerings. Rice, jowar and arhar also followed suit, but barley forged ahead* [Kachru 1984: 362]).

12.2.5 Singapore English vocabulary

Borrowings from Chinese and Malay are especially prominent (e.g., Malay *jaga* “guard, sentinel,” *padang* “field,” *kampong* “village,” *makan* “food,” and Hokkien *towday* “employer, business person”). But other languages have also contributed to SingE (e.g., *dhobi* “washerman” from Hindi; *peon* “orderly, office assistant” from Portuguese; *syce* “driver” from Arabic via Hindi; or *tamby* “office boy, errand boy” from Tamil). SingE vocabulary also includes colloquialisms. *To sleep late* means, on the Chinese pattern, to go to bed late and hence possibly to be tired. This, of course, stands in contrast to StE *to sleep late*, which indicates longer sleep in the morning and probably being refreshed. The loan translation of Malay *goyang kaki* as *shake legs*, rather in contrast to StE *shake a leg* “hurry,” means, in SingE, “take it easy” as in “*stop shaking legs and get back to work la*” (Tay 1982: 68).

12.2.6 Philippine English vocabulary

Lexical items which are specific to the Philippines are often patterned on Tagalog expressions. Examples *my headtooth is painful* “I have a headache/toothache”; *close/open the light* “turn the light off/on”; or *I slept late yesterday* “I went to bed late yesterday” (as in SingE).

12.3 THE PRONUNCIATION OF ESL IN AFRICA AND ASIA

The pronunciation of the varieties treated here is marked most strongly by the influence of the substrate or L1 accents brought to English by its ESL speakers. The perhaps most prominent divergencies are in the vowel system because of the relatively large phoneme inventories of ENL varieties. Other differences which repeatedly occur are the realization of the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ as [t] and [d], [s] and [z], and sometimes [f] and [v]. In some varieties the sibilants /s/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/ and /z/, /ʒ/, and /dʒ/ are not fully differentiated. Finally, it should be noted that substrate patterns of syllable-timed rhythm often prevail over the stress-timing of most ENL varieties.

12.3.1 West African English pronunciation

The pronunciation of WAfE. Most noticeable to a non-African is, as with all the types of StE reviewed in this book, the pronunciation. Generally speaking, West Africans have the three diphthongs /aɪ/, /aʊ/, and /ɔɪ/ and a reduced vowel system as represented

WAFÉ	RP	as in	WAFÉ	as in	
i	i:	bead	ɔ	ɜ:	bird
	ɪ	bid		ʌ	bud
e	eɪ	bayed		ɒ	body
ɛ	e	bed		ɔ:	bawdy
a	æ	bad	o	əʊ	bode
	ɑ:	bard	u	ʊ	Buddha
				u:	booed

Figure 12.1 The vowels of WAFÉ in comparison with RP

as in Figure 12.1. What is notable about the list is the lack of central vowels. This means that schwa /ə/ is also relatively rare, which fits in with the tendency of WAFÉ to give each syllable relatively equal stress (syllable-timed rhythm). In the same way cleft sentences, which stress the topic of a sentence using a grammatical structure, are likely to be more frequent in the spoken language of Nigerian speakers than of non-African native speakers (Adetugbo 1979: 142). In addition, the intonation is less varied. Important grammatical distinctions made by intonation, such as the difference between rising and falling tag questions, may be lost. Emphasis may be achieved lexically, by switching from a short to a long word, for instance from *ask* to *command* to show impatience (Egbe 1979: 98–101). The consonant system is the same as in RP, but there is a strong tendency toward spelling pronunciations of combinations such as <mb> and <ng>; this also means that although WAFÉ is in principle nonrhotic, less educated speakers may pronounce /r/ where it is indicated in the spelling. There are, of course, numerous regional variations such as that of Hausa speakers, who tend to avoid consonant clusters so that *small* becomes [s^umɔl] (Todd 1984: 288). Among other things, for some speakers /θ/ becomes /t/.

12.3.2 East African English pronunciation

The heading of this section is somewhat doubtful because it is not clear whether Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania – with their different historical, political, and linguistic characteristics – share enough to support the idea of East African English. Nonetheless, these three countries share a colonial past which included numerous common British East Africa institutions (the mass media, university education, the post office, and governmental enterprises) and free movement of people and goods. In addition, many of the ethnic languages are closely related: over 90% in Tanzania and over 75% in Kenya speak a Bantu language. All this notwithstanding, many of the same types of interference and nativization/indigenization processes described for WAFÉ apply here as well. This includes a simplified five-vowel system as outlined in Figure 12.2. The wide diphthongs PRICE /aɪ/, MOUTH /aʊ/, and CHOICE /ɔɪ/ (not shown in the figure) are retained but more as a sequence of two monophthongs than a “true” diphthong. The centering diphthongs NEAR, SQUARE, and CURE, are realized similarly, each ending in [a] (Schmied 2012a: 236f).

All the consonants of English except /ʒ/ have counterparts in Kiswahili though some speakers do not differentiate /r/ and /l/. /r/ may be flapped or trilled; /l/ is usually clear; /dʒ/ may be realized as /dj/; /θ/ and /ð/ may be [t] and [d], [s] and [z], or even [f] and [v]; and /p/, /t/, and /k/ are likely to be unaspirated. Rhythm is syllable-timed, and there is a tendency to favor a consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel (CVCV) syllable structure with no consonant clusters (ibid.: 237ff).

EAFē	RP	as in	EAFē	as in	
i	i:	bead	o	ɒ	body
	ɪ	bid		ɔ:	bawdy
e	eɪ	bayed	u	əʊ	bode
	e	bed		ɔ	Buddha
a	æ	bad	u:	booed	
	ɑ:	bard			
	ɜ:	bird			
	ʌ	bud			

Figure 12.2 The vowels of EAFē in comparison with RP

12.3.3 South African ESL pronunciation

Phonetically Black SAfE is strongly influenced by the pronunciation patterns of the L1 African substrate of its users. In the case of both the Nguni languages with only five vowels or the Sotho languages with only seven many of the vowel contrasts of ENL are lost. Among other things this means that the long-short contrasts of English are not consistently maintained: *tick* (KIT) = *teak* (FLEECE); *head* (DRESS) = *haired* (SQUARE); *pull* (FOOT) = *pool* (GOOSE), and there are no central vowels /ə/, /ʌ/, and /ɜ:/. This means that the NURSE-vowel of *bird* may be confused with the DRESS vowel of *bed*. Schwa is commonly realized as [a] as in *mother* or [ɛ] as in *seventy*. The strut, bath, and palm vowels may also be realized as [a], and the trap, dress, and nurse ones as [ɛ]. Lot, thought, force, and north are all pronounced with [o]. The price, mouth, and choice diphthongs may be stretched out over two syllables: [ajɪ], [awu], and [oji] (Lanham 1985: 244; Gough 1996: 59).

With the exception of /θ/ and /ð/, which are often realized as [t] and [d], most of the consonants of ENL are rendered more or less one-to-one, though the “the cumulative effect of such consonantal features in the Zulu English mesolect is a fairly drastic decrease in intelligibility” (according to Jacobs 1994: 23, qtd. in Gough 1996: 60). Comprehensibility will hardly be facilitated by the sometimes different word stress patterns and stress-timing of Black SAfE (ibid.). In general, however, the higher a person is on the social-educational scale, the more likely their English is to resemble White SAfE.

Afrikaans English is, like Black SAfE, influenced by the substrate, in this case, of course, Afrikaans. Yet, Afrikaans English “remains close to standard SAfE” (Watermeyer 1996: 105). Some of the more extreme divergencies of Afrikaans English are compared to Extreme White SAfE in Table 12.1:

As for consonants, /r/ may be realized at the ends of words (*car* [kɑ:r]) and is consistently trilled, as in Black SAfE. Initial stops may be deaspirated, and final voiced obstruents are devoiced (*believe* = *belief*). /j/ may replace /h/ as in *hill* /jɪl/ or *here* /jɛr/ (Lanham 1984: 340). On the other hand, /h/ may be inserted between vowels as in *piano* [pihænəʊ], and /t/ may be flapped as in *better* [berə] (ibid.).

Table 12.1 Divergencies in Afrikaans and Extreme White SAfE

	Change in Afrikaans English		Change in Extreme White SAfE	
KIT vowel in <i>bit</i> vs. <i>hit</i>	split	[i ~ ə] vs. [i:]	split	[i] vs. [ə]
FOOT and GOOSE vowels	merger	[y:] = [y:]	no merger	[ʊ] vs. [u]
BATH-START vowel (<i>Mars</i>)	fronting	[ä]	backing	[ɔ:]
PRICE vowel (<i>side</i>)	long, tense off-glide	[a-ɪ]	glide weakening	[ɑ:]

Watermeyer (1996: 106f); Wells (1982: 612ff).

12.3.4 Indian English pronunciation

The pronunciation of IndE offers the most difficulties for native speakers unfamiliar with this variety. Although there is a great deal of local variation (depending on the L1 of the user) and although spelling pronunciations are common, there do seem to be a number of relatively widespread features in the pronunciation of IndE. What is perhaps most noticeable is the way words are stressed in IndE. Often (but not universally) stress falls on the next to last syllable regardless of where it falls in RP or GenAm. This produces, for example, *Pro'testant* rather than *'Protestant* and *'refer* rather than *re'fer*.

The effect of education is often evident. Among the segmental sounds one of the most common features is the pronunciation of non-prevocalic <r> in words like *part* (a non-standard feature), at least among “average” as opposed to “prestigious” speakers, that is, especially the young and women. A further (though again not universal) difference is the use of retroflex [ʈ] and [ɖ] (produced with the tongue tip curled backward) for RP/GenAm alveolar /t/ and /d/. The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ of RP/GenAm are often realized as the dental stops [t̪] and [d̪], and the labiodental fricatives /f/ and /v/, as [p^h] and [b^h]. The latter sound or [v^h] is also frequently used for /w/, which does not seem to occur in the phonology of IndE. For Hindi speakers, initial consonant clusters are difficult and may be pronounced with a preposed vowel so that *school* becomes /ɪskul/, *station*, /ɪstefan/, and *speech* /ɪspitʃ/. As we see in *station*, unstressed syllables often have a full vowel.

Many of these points as well as numerous differences (always as compared with RP/GenAm) in the vowel system (phonemics) or in vowel realization (phonetics) are due, in the end, to the phonetic and phonological nature of the varying mother tongues of the speakers of IndE. Even within the IndE community there can be difficulties in communication. Hence the panic among the guests at a Gujarati wedding when the following was announced over the public address system, “The snakes are in the hole.” The subsequent run for the exit could only be stopped when someone explained that, actually, the refreshments (snacks) were in the hall (Mehrotra 1982: 168).

12.3.5 Singapore English pronunciation

The pronunciation of SingE is what is most distinctive about it. Once again this is the result of interference from the non-English vernaculars. The vowels of SingE are generally shorter or less tense than in RP/GenAm, and diphthongs are often monophthongized, for example, /əʊ/ → [o:], /eɪ/ → [e:], /eə/ → [ɛ:].

The consonants of the acrolect are distinguished by a lack of voiced obstruents in word final position; furthermore, there is less frequent release of all final stops and affricates. In the mesolects final consonant clusters are simplified to the first consonant only, as in *this radio sound good* with *sound* for *sounds* as a third person present tense form, and often the final stops are replaced by a glottal stop. /θ/ and /ð/ are commonly realized as [t] and [d]. In the basilect, finally, Chinese speakers realize /r/ as /l/ (*rice* = *lice*); Malay speakers may replace /f/ with /p/ (*face* = *pace*); and Indian speakers may fail to distinguish between /v/ and /w/ (*vary* = *wary*).

The rhythm of SingE, which is staccato-like and syllable-timed, is one of its most noticeable features. This means each syllable gets approximately equal stress, where RP, GenAm and most other native speaker varieties have a rhythmical pattern which places the stressed syllables at approximately equal intervals often separated by one or more unstressed syllables. This has the effect of leveling the distinction made in RP and GenAm between the noun *'in-crease* and the verb *in-'crease*. In SingE both sound more like the latter.

Furthermore, SingE has less range in pitch and fewer distinctive intonational patterns, due perhaps to the fact that Chinese, as a tone language, does not use word stress as English does: stress is signaled by greater length and loudness in SingE, while native-speaker type stressing also employs pitch change.

12.3.6 Philippine English pronunciation

The pronunciation of Filipino/Pilipino English is strongly characterized by the native language of the speaker. For this reason, it is no surprise when a speaker says *as a matter of fact*, since this reflects that fact that Pilipino has no /f/. Among the differences in pronunciation there is the absence of aspiration of /p/, /t/, and /k/; more stress on schwa; a tendency toward syllable-timing; spelling pronunciations; dental [t] and [d]; and lack of release of all final stops.

12.4 THE GRAMMAR OF ESL IN AFRICA AND ASIA

In this area as elsewhere, there are often similarities across ESL varieties. The sources may lie in transfer from an L1, which is a shared process with potentially very different results, due, of course to the differing structures of the various L1s. Or deviation from StE may be due to similar universal strategies of second language acquisition.

12.4.1 West African English grammar

The syntactic features of standard WAFE are difficult to define. It seems that standard WAFE is perhaps less a fixed standard than a more or less well learned second language. At the upper end of the continuum of Englishes in West Africa there are few syntactic or semantic differences from native-speaker English. A study of prepositional use in Nigerian English provides support for the view that an independent norm is growing up which contains not only evidence of mother tongue interference but also of what is termed “stable Nigerianisms.” In addition, this study shows that a meaningful sociolinguistic division of Nigerian English is one which, reflecting the educational structure of the country, distinguishes the masses, the subelite, and the elite (Jabril 1991:536). Some of the characteristics of Nigerian English will be enumerated in the following section.

A study of deviation from StE in Ghanaian newspapers reveals numerous syntactic problems, but very few general patterns (1981). Among the points that are frequently mentioned and which therefore presumably have a fair degree of currency are the following:

- 1 the use of noncount nouns as count nouns (*luggages, vocabularies, a furniture, an applause*)
- 2 pleonastic subjects (*The politicians they don't listen*)
- 3 an overextension of aspect (*I am having a cold*)
- 4 the present perfect with a past adverbial (*It has been established hundreds of years ago ...*)
- 5 comparatives without *more* (*He values his car than his wife*)
- 6 a generalized question tag (*It doesn't matter, isn't it?*)
- 7 a functionally different use of *yes* and *no* (*Isn't he home? Yes [he isn't]*)

Most of these points (except 5) show up in Asian English as well, which suggests that their source may well lie in the intrinsic difficulty of such phenomena in English. Indeed, (6) may appear in BrE as in the following example:

“Yeah, well, we don’t need strength,” said Millat tapping his temple, “we need a little of the stuff upstairs. We’ve got to get in the place discreetly first, innit? ...”

(Zadie Smith, *White Teeth*, Penguin, 2001, p. 474)

12.4.2 East African English grammar

The grammar of EAF_E may be distinguished by cases of (1) overgeneralization of {s} plural markers; (2) omission of determiners; (3) invariant question tag forms (*isn’t it?*) (especially Kenyan English) (Buregeya 2006: 203). Schmied lists a number of common features under more abstract headings. Here is a selection (2012b: 456ff; Buregeya 2012: 467ff):

- I. Explicitness
 - *it* where StE has zero (*as it has been pointed out*), which is regarded as the only really pervasive feature
 - resumptive conjunctions (*When quizzed and but couldn’t explain ...*)
 - polite *would* (*Would you wish I have stayed.*)
 - comparatives with *than* but without *more*
 - double determiners (*this our city*)
- II. Internal variation and regularization
 - emphatic *myself* (*Myself I have been to museum premises only to attend seminars and work*); also in conjoined subjects
 - indirect question word order (unchanged from direct questions);
 - no inversion in *yes-no* questions (*You get the point?*)
 - lack of fronting of *wh*-words (*We’ll meet him where?*)
- III. Cognitive restructuring (general in the New Englishes vis-à-vis ENL):
 - nonstandard plurals (*informations, curriculumms*)
 - expanded use of the progressive (*... a house wife who was depending on ...*)
 - lack of articles (*Ø President should ...*), largely in free variation with their use
 - some instances of *do* as a habitual marker (*As a tradition I do visit my home area ...*)
 - invariant grammatical tag questions (*We are all God’s children, isn’t it*)
 - *yes/no* as a response to the form of the question rather than the content

“As for grammatical features, they are largely similar to those found in other varieties of African and Indian English” (Buregeya 2012: 467).

12.4.3 Black South African English grammar

Gough provides a list of 23 grammatical features presumably shared across “a range of new Englishes,” in particular ones used in Africa. The following is a selection from his list with his numbering (1996: 62f):

- 1 Noncount as count nouns (*efforts; a luggage*)
- 2 Omission of articles (*He was Ø good man*)

- 3 Resumptive pronouns (*The man **who** I saw **him** was wearing a big hat*)
- 6 Extension of the progressive (*She **was loving** him very much*)
- 7 Simplification of verbal concord (*The survival of a person **depend** on education*)
- 8 Patterns of complementation (*I tried **that** I might see her*)
- 11 Preposition choice (*They were refusing **with** my book*)
- 12 Structures of comparison; omission of *more* (*She was **o** beautiful than all other women*)
- 19 *Nè* as an invariant tag question (from Afrikaans) (*You start again by pushing this button, **nè?***)
- 23 *Can be able to* as a modal verb (*I **can be able to** go*)

These examples demonstrate processes which might count as

- extension of the areas of application (1, 6)
- simplification (2, 7, 12)
- repetition without replacement (3, 23)
- mismatching structures or lexical items (8, 11)
- borrowing from another language (with simplification) (19)

We might add to these points what Mesthrie calls undeletions (of what in StE would be deleted) including the following (with selected examples) (2012a: 495, 497, 499):

- *that* retained before direct quotations (*She was telling me **that** “You will have to learn a new language”*); also in *As you know (**that**) ...*, *As you can see (**that**) ...*)
- *make*, *let*, and *help* plus *to*-infinitive (*Why do you **let** your child **to** speak Zulu*)
- resumptive pronouns in relative clauses (*... these things **that** you call **it** ideophones ...*)
- dummy *it* in adjunct comparative clauses (*As I make **it** clear before, ...*)
- *being* in small clauses (*I find things are **being** tough*)
- verb retention in context of repetition (*Come what may **come***)

Added to this are insertions (which effect “either a degree of double marking (showing parallelism, regularization and explicitness) or the occasional formulation of a concept not expressed in Standard English” (ibid.: 495); see, by way of comparison, the following:

- insertion of a conjunction in the main clause of sentences beginning with *although*, *though*, *thus*, *so*, *but*, etc. (a widespread phenomenon in sub-Saharan Africa)
- phrase-internal insertions (also common in sub-Saharan Africa) (e.g., *can be able*, *that one for anaphoric that*; *supposing if*; *if maybe*; *because why*, *more better*, *mention about*, *discuss about*, *voice out*)

At present there is considerable dialect mixing, which means that Black SAfE may adopt nonstandard forms from Indian or from Coloured SAfE (the tag *nè* or unstressed *do*) (ibid.: 496).

12.4.4 Indian English grammar

The grammar of IndE is hardly deviant vis-à-vis StE; yet, here, too, there are differences. Some of the points commonly mentioned, whether due to native-language interference or the result of patterning within IndE, include

- invariant tag questions: *isn't it?* or *no?* (e.g., *You went there yesterday, isn't it?*)
- the use of the present perfect in sentences with past adverbials (e.g., *I have worked there in 1990*)
- the use of *since* + a time unit with the present progressive (e.g., *I am writing this essay since two hours*)
- a *that*-complement clause after *want* (e.g., *Mohan wants that you should go there*)
- *wh*-questions without subject-auxiliary inversion (e.g., *Where you are going?*)

12.4.5 Singapore English grammar

The grammar of SingE is virtually identical with that of StE in the formal written medium. In speech and more informal writing (including journalism) and, increasingly, at a lower level of education, more and more nonstandard forms may be found, many of them reflecting forms in the non-English vernaculars of Singapore. Indeed, this is so pervasive that it has been called systemic (Bao 2017: 621).

The verb is perhaps most central. Since the substratum languages do not mark either concord or tense, it is no wonder that the third person singular present tense {s} is often missing (*this radio sound good*) and that present forms are frequently used where StE would have the past (*I start here last year*). This tendency is reinforced by the substratum lack of final consonant clusters, but it also includes the use of past participles for simple past (*We gone last night*). On the other hand, the StE progressive is overused (*Are you having a cold?*), and *used to* is employed not only for the habitual distant past as in StE but also for the present habitual as in

SingE speaker: The tans [military unit] use to stay in Serangoon.
Non-SingE speaker: Where are they staying now?
SingE speaker (somewhat sharply): I've just told you. In Serangoon.
 (from Tongue 1974: 44)

Aspectual categories of SingE are the result of a restructuring of GenE to reflect the Chinese substrate resulting in “Chinese categories expressed with English expressions which obey English grammatical rules” (Bao 2017: 625). Consequently, SingE has seven aspectual categories (less than the ten of Chinese, but more than the four of English, cf. Table 12.2).

As Table 12.2 reveals, some of the different categories of SingE take the same form as others (completive = inchoative = inceptive; and dynamic = stative). Only the context can disambiguate the competing categories.

Table 12.2 Aspect in SingE

Category	SingE	GenE
completive	sentence + final <i>already</i>	<i>did</i> or <i>has done</i>
experiential	<i>ever</i> + infinitive	<i>has ever done</i>
emphatic	<i>got</i> + past; or verb + <i>finish</i>	–
inchoative ^a	stative sentence + final <i>already</i>	[lexically expressed: e.g., <i>started doing</i>]
inceptive ^a	dynamic sentence + final <i>already</i>	[lexically expressed: e.g., <i>started to be</i>]
dynamic	dynamic verb + <i>-ing</i>	<i>is doing</i>
stative	stative verb + <i>-ing</i>	more or less like <i>is being nice</i>

After Bao (2005: 252–254, 2017: 626).

^a Inchoative goes with stative and inceptive with dynamic predicates (Bao 2005: 240f).

One further example shows how the Chinese substrate affects SingE. The verb *want* is a translation of Chinese *yào*. This can be preceded by a subject *wǒ* “I” and followed by a verb *bào* “to carry.” The whole relexifies (i.e., translates word-for-word) as “I want to carry.” The Chinese sequence of words (*wǒ yào bào* → *I want carry*) used in SingE in a situation in which a small child is talking to their father is correctly interpreted to mean “I want you to carry me.” Here SingE adopts a “Chinese” interpretation of *I want carry* according to the context of use and not the requirements of GenE (Bao 2005: 255) For someone without the necessary background knowledge this aspect of SingE cannot be properly decoded.

Numerous other points including modal use, the auxiliary *do*, the infinitive marker *to*, and the deletion of the copula might be added.

The noun may lack the plural {s} in local basilect forms, probably due to the different nature of plural marking in Chinese (using a plural classifier) and Malay (using reduplication), hence *how many bottle?* There is also a tendency to have fewer indefinite articles (*You got to have proper system here*) and to use noncount nouns like count nouns (*chalks, luggages, fruits, mails, informations*, etc.). See Bao (2005: 255–257) on quantifiers.

Sentence patterns also sometimes differ from those of StE elsewhere. Indirect questions often retain the word order of direct questions (as they do increasingly often in GenE as well) as in *I'd like to know what are the procedures?* Both subjects, especially first-person pronoun subjects, and objects may be deleted where StE would have them:

- A: Can or cannot?
- B: Cannot
- C: Why cannot?

(Tay 1982: 65)

12.4.6 Philippine English grammar

Filipino grammatical features include local rules for agreement, tense, tense sequence, article usage and prepositional usage as well as localized usage of the progressive, present perfect, and past perfect tenses (Llamzon 1969: 48).

12.5 PRAGMATIC VARIATION IN AFRICAN AND ASIAN ESL

Style and appropriateness, it has often been pointed out, in IndE diction have a bookish and old-fashioned flavor because the reading models in Indian schools are so often older English authors. Certainly, the standards of style and appropriateness are different in IndE as compared to most native-speaker varieties. There is a “tendency towards verbosity, preciosity, and the use of learned literary words,” a “preference for exaggerated and hyperbolic forms” (Mehrotra 1982: 164); “stylistic embellishment is highly valued” (Kachru 1984: 364). While, for example, profuse expressions of thanks such as the following are culturally appropriate and contextually proper in India, they would seem overdone to most ENL speakers:

I consider it to be my primordial obligation to humbly offer my deepest sense of gratitude to my most revered Guruji and untiring and illustrious guide Professor ... for the magnitude of his benevolence and eternal guidance.

(Mehrotra 1982: 165)

In an effort to use the idioms and expressions learned, an IndE user may, as a nonnative speaker, mix their levels of style (and metaphors) as did a clerk who, in asking for several days leave, explained that “the hand that rocked the cradle has kicked the bucket” (ibid.: 162). Likewise, the following wish: “I am in very good health and hope you are in the same boat” (Das 1982: 144).

Equally difficult for the outsider to comprehend is the way power differences may find subtle expression as in the following active-passive switch:

A subordinate addressing his boss in an office in India writes, “I request you to look into the case,” while the boss writing to a subordinate will normally use the passive, “you are requested to look into the case.” If the latter form is used by a subordinate, it may mean a downright insult.

(Mehrotra 1982: 166)

A number of NSL varieties use the pragmatic device of the “grammatical” tag question in a fashion different from ENL. All varieties, ENL and ESL, employ tag questions to elicit support or to make a statement less direct and hence potentially less aggressive sounding. In most ENL varieties grammatical tags vary according to the subject and the verb in the clause they are attached to: *We can, can't we? They did, didn't they? You are, aren't you?*⁶ As Algeo points out, “Varieties of English that have been heavily influenced by other languages use invariant question tags that superficially resemble the echo tag of mainstream English. An invariant *isn't it?* or *is it?* has been reported for Welsh, Chinese, West African, Indic, and Papua New Guinean English in constructions like ‘You’re going home now, isn’t it?’...” (Algeo 1988: 174f). See, by way of comparison, the following:

You went there yesterday, isn't it?

(IndE; Verma 1982)

The Director is busy now, is it?

(SingE; Tay 1982: 64)

Das waz a swiit stuori, duonit? “That was a nice story, wasn't it?”

(Moskito Coast CE; Holm 1994: 380)

12.5.1 West African English pragmatics

Kinship terms. The difference in family structure between the Western world and West Africa means that kinship terms (*father, mother, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, etc.*) may be used as in the West, but, because polygyny is practiced in West African society, family terms may be extended to the father and all his wives and all their children, or even to the father and all his sons and their wives, sons and unmarried daughters. The terms *father* and *mother* are sometimes also applied to distant relatives or even unrelated people who are of the appropriate age and to whom respect is due. When far from home, kinship terms may be applied to someone from the same town or ethnic group, or, if abroad, even to compatriots.

⁶ This passes over nongrammatical tags like *eh? huh? okay?* and potentially many others the invariant tags *We can, right?, They did, okay?, or You are, huh?* in EN.

Speech act realization. The cultural background of West African society often leads to ways of expression which are unfamiliar if not misleading for outsiders. This is surely one of the most noticeable ways in which ESL varieties become “indigenized.” A frequently quoted example is the use of *Sorry!* as an all-purpose expression of sympathy, that is, not only to apologize for, say, stepping on someone’s toes but also to someone who has sneezed or stumbled. Likewise, *Wonderful!* is used to reply to any surprise (even if not pleasant), and *Well done!* may be heard as a greeting to a person at work. A further example of such culturally constrained language behavior concerns greetings, where different norms of linguistic politeness apply: “the terms *Hi*, *Hello*, and *How are you* can be used by older or senior persons to younger or junior ones, but not vice-versa. Such verbal behavior coming from a younger person would be regarded as off-hand” (Akere 1982: 92).

12.5.2 East African English pragmatics

Kinship terms. As in West Africa kinship terms for brother, sister, father, and so on,

... go far beyond the British core meanings related to the biological features of consanguinity, generation and sex and are related to the social features of seniority (age), solidarity, affection and role relations. Thus, all the mother’s co-wives or sisters may be addressed as *mother*, many elderly men as *father* and people from the same village without direct blood relations as *brothers* and *sisters*. As it is very important to show respect to older people in general, even older sisters may be ascribed the higher status of *auntie*.

(Schmied 2012b: 248)

There are also culturally determined ways of expression that reflect the nativization/indigenization of ESL. For example, a mother may address her son as *my young husband*; and a husband, his wife as *daughter*. A brother-in-law is a *second husband*. The social reality associated with a given language can be seen not only in the differing prestige and domains of English and Swahili but also in the behavioral roles associated with each:

Certain social-psychological situations seem to influence language maintenance among the bilinguals. One of the respondents [among a group of fifteen informants] said that whenever he argued with his bilingual wife he would maintain Swahili as much as possible while she would maintain English. A possible explanation is that Swahili norms and values assign different roles to husband and wife (socially more clear cut?) from the English norms and values (socially less clear cut, or more converging?). Maintaining one language or the other could then be a device for asserting one’s desired role.

(Abdulaziz 1972: 209)

Speech act realization. A Ugandan discourse example is *mbu*, a speech act marker like StE *that*, but with skeptical overtones (*nti* is supposed to be more neutral). Since these are borrowings from Luganda, they are not used in Kenya and Tanzania (Schmied 2012a). In WAFE outsiders may notice the frequency of *Sorry!* which, as mentioned above, is not always an apology, but a way of “expressing solidarity or sympathy, ... because a gap in the vocabulary seems to have been felt by African users” (Schmied 2012b: 249).

12.5.3 South African ESL pragmatics

Kinship terms. SAfE makes some use of kinship terms borrowed from Afrikaans: *boet* “brother” and diminutive *boetie*,⁷ the latter for a relative or a friend, signaling affection, friendship, or, sometimes reproof, as in *There’s a lot of things you don’t know, bootie*. There is also the form *bra* (sometimes *bla*) “mate, buddy, pal,” as in *Bra Victor* or *my bra*. The same is true of *nef* “nephew,” *oom* “uncle,” *tante* “aunt,” *ouma* “granny,” and *oupa* “grandpa,” (diminutives *oomie*, *oopie*) for both affection and disrespect (cf. also *oom* and *nef/neef* as common nouns: *Everyone is oom or neef to his neighbour*). But there is also *Ma*, an African honorific (e.g., *Ma-Hadebe* “daughter of the Hadebe clan” or “mother of” as in *Ma-Robert*) (Branford 1994:461ff). The influence of a further language, this time of Malay, makes use of,

... the respectful third-person form of address, ...: “When does Tannie (Auntie) want me to bring it?” In this, third-person *does* is in concord with *Tannie*. This practice has parallels in Malay (Lewis 1947), once the language of substantial numbers of slaves and others at the Cape, which avoids second-person pronouns in respectful speech.

(Branford 1994: 490)

Speech act realization. A specifically South African discourse marker is *mos*, borrowed from Afrikaans. In the sentence *He can’t mos catch our goats like that, Baas (Praying Mantis)*. A. Brink. London: Secker & Warburg, 2005, p. 28) *mos* means “indeed, of course.” And the term of address *baas* is directed to someone in power. A further instance of a discourse particle is *no*, also adopted from Afrikaans. It is an informal sentence initiator which functions more or less like GenE *well* (e.g., A: *Can you deliver it?* B: *No, sure, we’ll send it this afternoon*) (Bowerman 2008a: 482).

12.5.4 Indian English pragmatics

Speech act realization. A native speaker may find it hard to understand the differing communicative strategies of answers to *yes-no* questions. The words *yes* and *no* are used throughout the ENL-speaking world as pro-forms for complete affirmative and negative statements. If someone asks someone else *Would you like to go for some coffee?* *yes* is equivalent to saying *I would like to go for some coffee* and *no*, to saying *I wouldn’t like to go for some coffee*. When the question is phrased negatively (*Wouldn’t you like to go for some coffee?*), ENL speakers in answering with *yes* would be saying *I would (like to go...)* and in saying *no* mean *I wouldn’t (like to ...)* in this way agreeing with the *content* of the question. The IndE speaker may instead agree or disagree with the *form* of a statement, hence the following type of exchange:

A: Didn’t I see you yesterday in college?

B: Yes, you didn’t see me yesterday in college.

(Kachru 1984: 374)

In IndE *yes* in answer to a negatively formulated question means *I didn’t* and *no* means *I did*. IndE affirms the speech act, namely, *Yes, it is the case that you did not see me* or *No, it is not the case that you saw me* (also SingE, WAfE (Angogo and Hancock 1980: 77f); EAfE

7 Note that spellings can vary as with *boetie* and *bootie*.

Table 12.3 Discourse particles in SingE

<i>arlah</i> (negative connotation; with rising tone: rhetorical; with midlevel tone: genuine question)	<i>hah</i> < English (question marker)
<i>hor</i> < Hokkien, Cantonese (solicits support)	<i>leh</i> < Hokkien (makes requests and commands less imposing)
<i>lor</i> < Cantonese (obvious; sense of resignation;)	<i>mah</i> < Cantonese (marker of (obvious) truth)
<i>meh</i> < Cantonese (expresses skepticism)	<i>oi</i> (attention getter – surprise or indignation)
<i>siah</i> < Malay (expresses emphasis, envy)	<i>wat</i> (information is obvious and contradictory)

Wee (2008b: 602ff).

(Schmied 2012b: 458)). This suggests that this difference to ENL varieties may be due to the substrate languages.

Pragmatic markers. More recent research has revealed that speakers of IndE and of BrE use a comparable number of three-word pragmatic markers (e.g., *and I think, I wanted to, I don't know*, and many others), but that they used them differently. While the British ENL speakers used them to organize the text, for the Indian ESL they were much more strongly topic-oriented (Götz and Schilk 2011: 98).

12.5.5 Singapore English pragmatics

Speech act realization. SingE speakers make wide use of a remarkably large set of discourse particles: *ahlar, hah, hor, la(h), leh, lor, mah, meh, oi, siah, and wat* (see Table 12.3). The widely known element *lah*, for example, probably comes from Hokkien and is also found in Malay. It is in use everywhere in everyday diglossically Low SingE: “Perhaps the most striking and distinctive feature of L [= Low] English ...” (Richards and Tay 1977: 143). It signals what kind of relationship people have: “... there is a positive rapport between speakers and an element of solidarity” (ibid.: 145) (cf. *Come with us lah* [persuasion]), but it can also go in the opposite direction: *Wrong lah* (annoyance), or *No lah* (strong objection). Mesolectal utterances with *lah* have the effect of politeness in comparison to ones without it: “This has led to claims that the particle is a marker of solidarity, functioning to mitigate face-threatening speech acts” (Wee 2008b: 603).

12.5.6 Philippine English pragmatics

Speech act realization. The expression *I will go ahead of you* is a specifically Philippine English leave-taking formula.

Code-switching. In a society in which two languages, English and Pilipino/Filipino, play such a prominent role it is not astonishing that a great deal of code-switching occurs. The use of English may be functional and prestigious, but the intermixture of Tagalog/Filipino establishes sender-receiver solidarity and may mark the speaker as a (Westernized) nationalist. This mixing is pejoratively referred to as Mix-Mix (or *Halo-Halo*). If there is more Tagalog it is sometimes called *Taglish*; if more English, *Engalog* (Gonzales 1982: 214). The following illustration of it comes from the beginning of a short story:

Maniwala ka kaya, pare, kung sabihin ko sa iyo that a mere whisper can cause death.
It may even create chaos.

Tipong heavy and intro ko, pero it happened one night dito sa destitute place namin. Ganito iyon, listen carefully

[Can you believe it, friend, if I were to tell you that a mere whisper can cause death. It may even create chaos.

[It looks like my introduction is heavy [too serious], but it happened one night here at our destitute place. It was like this, listen carefully.]

(quoted from Gonzalez 1982: 213)

12.6 EXERCISES

12.6.1 Exercise on ESL vocabulary

Match the items in list I. with those in list II.

I. ESL words

1. *boda-boda*
2. *buk-buk*
3. *kampong*
4. *kwela-kwela*
5. *lathi charge*
6. *makan*
7. *piccin*
8. *simba*
9. *tamby*
10. *uhuru*

II. ESL variety

- a. WAFE
- b. EAFÉ
- c. SAFÉ
- d. IndE
- e. SingE

12.6.2 Exercise on ESL pronunciation

Match the pronunciation with the proper orthographic word and the variety.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| 1. [bed] | (a) till | i. Afrikaaner SAFÉ |
| 2. [bi:t] | (b) station | ii. Black SAFÉ |
| 3. [by:ks] | (c) small | iii. EAFÉ |
| 4. [rsteʃan] | (d) rhyme | iv. IndE |
| 5. [ʃil] | (e) hill | v. Philippine English |
| 6. [lam] | (f) fact | vi. SingE |
| 7. [pæk] | (g) books | vii. WAFÉ |
| 8. [s ^u m ə] | (h) bit | |
| 9. [tɪl] | (i) bird | |

12.6.3 Exercise on ESL grammar

Label each of the following items and indicate in which of the varieties (WAFÉ, EAFÉ, SAFÉ, IndE, SingE, Philippine E) it might typically occur (as presented in this chapter).

Item	Label	Varieties
1. A: Aren't you tired? B: Yes, I'm not.		
2. He came yesterday, isn't it?		
3. How it is working out?		
4. I have read it last year.		
5. She's having the flu.		
6. That's the book that I read it.		
7. The sun is mos hot today.		
8. They're coming when?		
9. Too slow lah, I find that printer.		
10. We gave him some advices.		
11. Weather is terrible than yesterday.		
12. You can be able to do that fast.		

FURTHER READING

General Useful individual articles and contributions are contained in Ammon et al. (2006), Mukherjee and Hundt (2011), Mesthrie (2008a) (phonology) and (2008b) (grammar), Kortmann and Lunkenheimer (2012) (grammar), Filppula, Klemola, and Sharma (2017); for pronunciation Wells (1982, vol. 3).

WafE for pronunciation see Gut (2008); Alo and Mesthrie (2008) and Taiwo (2012) on grammar.

EafE Abdulaziz's work (1988) gives a less Euro-centric view than most authors; for pronunciation see Schmied (2008a) and for grammar (2008b) as well as Buregeya (2012).

Black and Afrikaans SAfE for pronunciation see van Rooy (2008) and Finn (2008); on grammar Mesthrie (2008c) and (2012a); and McCormick (2008).

IndE Agnihotri and Khanna's work (1997) deals with the role of English; on pronunciation Gargesh (2008); Bhatt (2008) for grammar; on vocabulary Nihalani (1989); Lewis (1992); Yule (1995).

SingE a comprehensive view in Deterding (2007); for pronunciation see Wee (2008a, 2008b) on grammar; more advanced on grammar is Bao (2005).

Philippine English a comprehensive view in Dayag (2012); pronunciation is presented in Bautista (1988); for grammar see Borlongan and Lim (2013).

Key to the exercises

CHAPTER 1

1.6.1 Exercise on prescriptive attitudes

1. plural *data* + singular *has been*: solecism; 2. *either* is a dual (for two only) not three *either Lou or Jan or Lee*: solecism; 3. *unique* is not gradable: impropriety; 4. *voilà*: barbarism; 5. *inferred* for *implied*: impropriety; 6. *disinterested* for *uninterested*: impropriety; 7. *as well or better than* for *as well as or better than*: solecism; 8. singular *everyone* + plural *their*: solecism; 9. *ex animo*: barbarism; 10. *between you and I* for *between you and me*: solecism; 11. *It was us* for *It was we* (!): solecism; 12. *laid down* for *lay down*: impropriety; 13. *adjuvate* and *adnichilate*: barbarisms (much too archaic-learned).

1.6.2 Exercise on types of English

(a) traditional dialect: Glasgow Scots: *och* (*oh*), *yersel'* as a subject, *tae* (*to*), *hame* (*home*) (source: Billy Connolly's play *An Me Wi Ma Bad Leg Tae* 1975: 3f); (b) code-switching from StE to NSGenE (*e* for *he*; *wiv* for *with*; *star?ed* with a glottal stop; *stap* for *stop*) to creole (*me* for *I*; *nuo* for *knew*; *se* for *that*; *n'av* for *didn't have*; *notin* for *nothing*; *ina* for *in*); (c) NSGenE: double negation; use of *ain't*; (d) StE: standard grammar throughout including the otherwise rather seldom past perfect form *had been whittled down*; (e) NSGenE: object-case conjoined subject for StE *E. and I*; concord *speaks* for StE *speak*; ditto *is this people* for StE *are these people*; (f) Creole English (Jamaican Creole) simplification of final consonant clusters in *jus* for *just*, *understan* for *understand*; *oda* for *other* and *di* for *the*; lack of palatalization *edicated* /di/ for *educated* /dʒə/ or /dʒɔ/; *the* /aɪ/ of *highly tighty* for *hoity toity* indicates a merger of /aɪ/ and /ɔɪ/; *translate* has no tense marking for the past; *dem* for *they*; missing auxiliary *be* in *dem trying*; *fi* for infinitive marker *to*.

1.6.3 Exercise on register

Function: descriptive-directive (large number of adjectives; wish to get to know someone);
Style: newspaper (abbreviations, compact style);
Medium: written (clipped style; list-like attributes);
Field: matrimonial ad (description of self, expression of wish to get to know someone)

1.6.4 Exercise on gender, ethnicity, and class

Gender: male (use of intensifier *damn*); **ethnicity:** African American (zero-copula; inverted expletive; *yo*; double negative); **class:** lower MC or WC (use of nonstandard English)

CHAPTER 2

2.6.1 Exercise on the concept of word

(a) word forms: each of the 34 individual graphemic words; (b) lexemes: all of those in (c) + (d), that is, 11 + 12 = 23; (c) lexical words: *sleep, little, girl, dream* (2x), *exciting, go* (2x), *bedroom, dining room, get, new, girl's bike* (= 11); (d) grammatical or function words: *after, shelter* (4x), *had, to* (2x), *the* (2x), *in, a(n)* (2x), *that, from, where, was, going to* (= 12).

2.6.2 Exercise on etymology

(a) *buckaroo* from Spanish *vaquero* by folk etymology; (b) *bungalow* from Hindi *bangla* “house”; (c) *cardina* from Latin *cardinalis* < *cardo* “hinge”; (d) *dollar* from Dutch or Low German *daler* < German *Taler* short for *Joachimstaler* < Sankt Joachimsthal in Bohemia where talers were first made; (e) *ketchup* from Malay *kechap* “fish sauce”; (f) *orange* from Old Provincial *auranja* < Arabic *nāranj* < Persian *nārang* < Sanskrit *nāranga* “orange tree” (g) *skunk* from Algonquian (cf. Abenaki *segank8*); (h) *tea* from Chinese (Xiamen) *t'e*; (i) *verandah* from Hindi *veranda*; (j) *yob* from back slang (reverse spelling) from *boy* (British).

2.6.3 Exercise on processes of word formation

1. shift, conversion, zero-derivation; 2. secondary shift (mass > count); 3. derivation; prefix; 4. clipping < Latin *mobile vulgus*; 5. back-formation < *television*, which is a learned derivation: {tele-} + {vision}; 6. clipping < *afternoon*; 7. complex compound; endocentric compound; 8. clipping + compound (= blend) < *situation comedy*; 9. secondary shift; pseudo-intransitive (active > passive); 10. abbreviation; 11. derivation: {warm} + {-th}; 12. compound with the combining form {eco}; 13. acronym < *situation normal, all fucked up*; 14. derivation {blue eye} + {ed}; 15. blend < *smoke + fog*; 16. exocentric compound “nuts”; 17. ellipsis < *laptop computer*; exocentric compound; 18. secondary shift; transitive < intransitive.

2.6.4 Exercise on inflection and derivation

D	R	R	R	D	R	R	D	I	D	R	D
anti	freeze	blue-	eye	(d)	book	keep	er	s	de	flower	ed
		d									
R	D	R	R		R	D	I		R	I	
employee		lamp	shade		live	li	est		refer(r)	ing	

2.6.5 Exercise on morphological structure

a. *finger* (monomorphemic vs. bimorphemic); b. *folly* (monomorphemic vs. bimorphemic); c. *lice* (monomorphemic vs. bimorphemic); d. *reddish* (bimorphemic vs. monomorphemic);

e. *repay* (free base vs. bound base); f. *naked* (monomorphemic vs. bimorphemic); g. *limber* (monomorphemic vs. bimorphemic); h. *waver* (noun-agent with {-er} vs. adjective + comparative {-er}).

2.6.6 Exercise on lexical semantics

1. complementarity (either/or); 2. (partial) synonymy (cf. *start* / **begin a motor*); 3. converseness; 4. converseness (wife of ...; husband of ...); incompatibility (+ various in-laws); 5. meronymy; 6. inclusion: superordinate *move*: hyponym *jog* (jogging implies moving); 7. antonymy (intermediate stages); 8. complementarity (either/or); 9. antonymy (gradable intermediate stages); 10. incompatibility (+ various other tastes, *salty*, *bitter*, *bland*, ...); 11. antonymy (gradable intermediate stages); 12. (partial) synonymy: regional variation, connotation of size: Note problem of denotation and connotation. What do you understand by this? Strictly speaking, *truck* and *lorry* may be synonymous, but only if we overlook the fact that they belong to different subsystems or varieties of the language; 13. inclusion: superordinate *vehicle*: hyponym *bicycle*.

CHAPTER 3

3.6.1 Exercise on minimal pairs

1. yes /si:s/ vs. /si:z/ ; 2. yes /lʌv/ vs. /ʃʌv/; 3. no both are /aɪl/; 4. No /nu:s/ vs. /nɒʊz/ or /nəʊz/ (two differences); 5. yes /ku:/ vs. /kju:/; 6. no both are /dɪskʌst/ (no distinction between <c> and <g>); 7. no both are /kɜ:(r)b/.

3.6.2 a and b Exercises on distinctive features

1a. a short, low, front vowel; 2a. a voiced/lenis, post-alveolar affricate; 3a. a voiceless/fortis, dental fricative.

1b. /g/; 2b. /ɜ:/; 3b. /i/; 4b. /m/; 5b. /aɪ/.

3.6.3 Exercise on spelling and pronunciation

1. bushes; 2. loose; 3. chef; 4. revise; 5. feat; 6. Thoreau; 7. wringer; 8. horny; 9. glove.

3.7.4 Exercise on stress

Arabic, category, economy, semester, hotel, relax, restricted, antipathy, Brooklyn Bridge, homogeneous, Berlin serenade, serendipity, thermometer, Anglicism, Hyde Park Corner.

3.6.5 Exercise on /ŋg/ vs. /ŋ/

1. /fɪŋgər/ is a monomorphemic word; there can never be a final <-ng>; hence no /g/ dropping.
2. /sɪŋər/ has the root {sing}, which has a final <ng> which demands that the (once) final /g/ be dropped.

**3.6.6 Exercise on silent **

 is pronounced

amber, bumble, chamber, crumble, lumber,
ramble, number (n), somber, symbol

 is not pronounced

climb, comb, limb, plumber, number (adj),
succumb, womb**CHAPTER 4****4.6.1 Exercise on clause analysis**

1. Roberta shook her great fluffy head.
 (a) noun verb det. adj. adj. noun
 (b) NP VP NP
 (c) S V O
2. Her cameraman was standing six feet away.
 (a) det. noun verb verb det noun adv.
 (b) NP VP AdvP
 (c) S V A
3. He would tell her the rest of the story, too.
 (a) pron. verb verb pron. det. noun prep. det noun adv.
 (b) NP VP NP NP (PP) AdvP
 (c) S V O O Adjunct
4. Both of them looked down the street.
 (a) pron. prep. pron. verb prep. det Noun
 (b) NP (PP) (NP) VP PP (NP)
 (c) S V Adjunct
5. Six boys in their teens were drinking coke and smiling.
 (a) det. noun prep. det. noun verb verb noun conj. verb
 (b) NP (PP) (NP) VP NP CONJ VP
 (c) S V O CONJ V

4.6.2 Exercise on clause structure

1. SVA; 2. SVO; 3. SVOO; 4. SVOAdjunct; 5. SVA; 6. SVOC; 7. SVO; 8. SVOO; 9. SVAdjunct; 10. SVO.

4.6.3 Exercise on aspect

1. *was telling* (background to the narrative); 2. *(had) heard* (background); 3. *came* (narrative); 4. *were* (state verb); 5. *were* (state verb); 6. *caught* (passive voice; narrative without the auxiliary); 7. *kept* (narrative); 8. *didn't have* (state verb); 9. *lived* (state verb); 10. *didn't take* (narrative); 11. *thought/were thinking* (background; verb of cognition); 12. *guess* (verb of cognition); 13. *live* (state verb); 14. *means* (state verb); 15. *pretend* (habitual); 16. *are* (state verb); 17. *think* (verb of cognition); 18. *are* (state verb).

4.6.4 Exercise on the expression of future

1. *'ll/will read; get*; 2. *'s/is leaving*; 3. *want; (will) have to*; 4. *will/would; invitel/invited*; 5. *would; doesn't/didn't*; 6. *leave; am going to see*; 7. *is about to land*; 8. *'ll/will go*; 9. *say; 'll scream*;

10. *do; make/going to make*; 11. *have to; drive*; 12. *'m going (to go)*; 13. *will know/do know; 're going to be/ll be*; 14. *decide/lare deciding; 'll know*; 15. *leave; must/have to arrange*.

4.6.5 Exercise on conditional clause

1. *leave*; 2. *invents*; 3. *only does*; 4. *is just right*; 5. *are willing*; 6. *can experience*; 7. *should*; 8. *demand*; 9. *won't work*; 10. *hadn't put*; 11. *would never have developed*; 12. *see*; 13. *can be sure*; 14. *want*; 15. *had better leave*; 16. *hadn't seen*; 17. *would've been tempted/would be tempted*.

4.6.6 Exercise on embedding imperatives

1. She asked Jerry to open the window; She said Jerry should open the window; She warned Jerry to open the window. 2. They cautioned us not to buy ...; They beseeched us not to buy ...; They whispered we shouldn't buy ...; 3. He suggested we be on time the next day; He called that we should be on time the following day; He believed for us to be on time the ...; 4. We urged Mark not to be late; We ordered that Mark shouldn't be late; We told Mark not to be late; 5. I declared that she should do her reading assignments regularly; I demanded she do reading assignments regularly; I required she do her reading assignments regularly.

4.6.7 Exercise of complement clauses

- I. 1. to say; 2. seeing.
- II. 1. talking; 2. to take; 3. talking; 4. coming.
- III. 1. driving; 2. to wait; 3. going; 4. to take; 5. to have;
- IV. 1. drinking; 2. to drink; 3. drinking; 4. doing
- V. 1. servicing; 2. do; 3. to be; 4. hearing; 5. say

4.6.8 Exercise on the passive

1. [?]**Manfred is loved by Roberta*. **Problem:** *love* is a state verb; state verbs are seldom passivized.
2. [?]*His/Dennis's political ax was ground*. **Problem:** animate, especially personal subjects have priority over inanimate ones.
3. *We were given a good-bye present by our friends* is better than *A present was given to us by our friends*.
4. *This book reads easily*, a **medio-passive**: active verb form together with an adverb of manner.
5. **Lucinda's/Her aunt is taken after by her/Lucinda*. **Problem:** reciprocal (also state) verbs do not passivize.
6. [?]*Your advice is hung on/to by my sister*. **Problem:** animate, especially personal subjects have priority over inanimate ones.
7. [?]*The couch was slept on by my brother* is a questionable passive whose prepositional object becomes the active voice subject; marginally better: [?]*The couch gets slept on by my brother*.
8. *The story was/got made up by my girl-friend*. *Make up* is a **phrasal verb** and phrasal verbs are transitive; hence good passives.
9. **A glance was cast up the street by Ruth*. **Problem:** *cast a glance* is an idiom; objects do not easily passivize out of an idiom.
10. *The tutoring is/gets paid for by Gordon*. *Pay for*, a prepositional verb, has *for* as a transitive. Although *tutoring* is inanimate, the passive works because of the action-nature

- of tutoring*. The *by*-prepositional phrase may be dropped. *Gordon has the tutoring paid for*. **Note:** The *have*-passive is possible when something is caused.
11. *The pond was/got frozen in the cold snap*. **Note:** *by* (agent or cause) is less likely than *in* (circumstance). **Note also:** *was* may indicate a state; *got* is for a happening.
 12. *Conversations are/get struck up by Barbara at the drop of a hat*. **Problem:** Animate, especially personal subjects have priority over inanimate ones.
 13. *A good time was had by all*. **Note:** this is a fixed expression and represents *bad* journalism. **Problem:** *Everyone*, even though indefinite, is animate and is the preferred subject
 14. No passive is possible because there is no object and if there were, it would be *each other* making *divorce* a reciprocal verb.
 15. **Note:** The preferred subject is the active bird rather the passive worm.
 16. *My sister Lola was torn up by the disaster*. A good passive: it makes the personal, animate sister the subject.
 17. *Alcohol and drugs were forsworn by Michael*. **Problem:** animate, especially personal subjects have priority over inanimate ones.
 18. *Their own scarves were woven by them*. **Problems:** Scarves are inanimate. *By-agent* prepositional phrases are unlikely with personal pronouns.
 19. A good passive: the victims are animate (though more passive than the terrorists).
 20. *My hair was cut by the barber*. *I had / got my hair cut by the barber*.
 21. *He was / got blown up by the fireworks*. Both make good passives in which the animate participant is the subject.
 22. The apples cost a lot. No passive is possible because there is no object. **Note:** *a lot* is a nominal adverbial.

4.6.9 Exercise on modal and semi-modal auxiliaries

1. (a) is impolite; (b) is colloquial (more AmE); (c) is colloquial BrE; both (b) and (c) are acceptable.
2. (a) is more formal; (b) is not appropriate; (c) is colloquial and appropriate.
3. (a) is a bit formal; (b) is impossible; (c) is “normal.”
4. (a) is off; (b) is impolite; (c) is appropriate.
5. (a) is wrong because unreal; (b) appropriate (because implicational); (c) is not grammatical.
6. (a) is normal (evidential); (b) is normal (epistemic); (c) is colloquial (epistemic).

CHAPTER 5

5.6.1 Exercise on ESP: textual register characteristics

Field: technology; **Purpose:** directions/instructions; **Medium:** written; **Personal tenor:** formal.

5.6.2 Exercises on ESP

Exercise 1: the passive voice

1. *have* is a state verb; does not enter the passive; 2. passive is possible (*as was seen ...*), but stylistically more formal; 3. passive is necessary; no agent is conceivable: focus on the

activity alone; 4. *consist of* is a state verb; no passive is possible; 5. see (3) above; 6. could be expressed in the passive; the use of the active voice gives this sentence a more informal effect; 7. this passive is stylistically very formal; a more informal active form could be something like *We should note that ...*; 8. *is* is a state verb and copula; no passive is possible; 9 + 10. *functions* is intransitive; no passive possible; 11. *is to* is a state verb and cannot be used in the passive even though the infinitive complement (*to be classified*) is; the whole is a bit formal and stiff; a stylistic alternative: ... *we cannot classify this as a sentence element*

Exercise 2: nominalization

- (a) because of the size of the corpus
- (b) despite the compilation of the data
- (c) in the taxonomic subdivision of a superordinate category
- (d) the modification of specific nouns
- (e) the recordation of the Policy at the Home Office

Exercise 3: terminology

- (a) physics and chemistry
- (b) biology
- (c) shipping
- (d) International Standards Organization
- (e) International Information Centre for Terminology (UNESCO)

Exercise 4: word formation

The first element designates an individually occurring instance (or token); the {-eme} is the derivational suffix indicating “class type to which the token belongs.”

seme – sememe, morph – morpheme

5.6.3 Exercises on speech acts and politeness

Situation 1: Evaluations:

- a: Impolitely short apology; no explanation; no offer of restitution.
- b: Almost too effusively polite an apology; explains the action; expresses concern.
- c: Polite apology; suggests (indirectly) making this good.

Situation 2: Evaluations:

- a: Bluntly impolite; gives a reason, but offers no excuse.
- b: Polite; offers an apology; supplies a reason for the refusal of the offer.
- c: Curt apology; just barely polite.

Situation 3: Evaluations:

- a: Polite; gives a reason; uses a modal verb in the “imperative” question.
- b: Impolite; uses bare imperatives with no mitigating forms like *please* or a modal question.
- c: Barely polite; an “imperative” question, but no modality as in *Could you tell me where ...?*

5.6.4 Exercise on the discourse marker *well*

A's first *well* prefaces an answer which does not consist of a simple *yes* or *no* and also demonstrates a lack of appreciation of B's contribution, perhaps even resentment of the *we* often used by doctors: it is not *we*, but the doctor whom A expects to do something about his rash. The context for the second use is again a contrast between B's question (*any other place*) and A's answer, which informs B that the rash has, in fact, spread all over his or her body. *Well* can be viewed, both here and in the first use, as a means of softening disagreement or deferring an embarrassing answer. This seems to apply also to the third and fourth tokens. But, more importantly, the fourth illustrates the use of the discourse marker in contexts where it introduces responses not to another participant's utterance but to one's own. Self-repairs are thus signals of a shift in speaker orientation and belong to the participation framework.

The tokens discussed so far are all placed in contributions immediately next to the utterance which solicited them. This is different for the fifth token, which looks back to the beginning and answers A's first question, a request for a prescription. This second major use of *well* is in the action structure: put in interactional terms, *well* functions in head exchanges which are preceded by a number of pre-responding exchanges. Another nonlocal use of *well* has already been mentioned (§5.5.1): *well* can bridge the business and closing phases of an encounter. *Well* therefore functions at both the local level of the exchange or adjacency pair and the global level of discourse phases.

CHAPTER 6

6.6.1 Exercise on gender: a short quiz

1. false; 2. false; 3. false; 4 true; 5. true; 6. (a) + (d); (b) + (c)
7. (b) helluva good
8. Inclusive: *their* or *his or her / her or his*; Traditional generic: *his*
9. The mayor is his mother.

6.6.2a Exercise on what ethnicity is

Possible criteria:

- physical features
- provenance
- language
- family descent or race
- nationality
- culture/tradition/religion

Ethnicity can show up in:

- eating habits
- clothing customs
- hair and beard styles
- modes of transportation

Commonly mentioned aspects of ethnicity:

- shared and distinctive values,
- common ancestry,
- a collective consciousness and self-perception as
- different from others

But central to ethnicity is also:

- linguistics performance

6.6.2b Exercise on who I am

- biologically (as a persisting community): I [SG] am a white heterosexual male Protestant American from the American South and a Democrat. Note that this description touches on race, gender, religion, nation and region, and political stance.
- behaviorally (as loyalty to groups ways of doing things): I go to church irregularly, contribute to international aid projects, spend a lot of time with my family, keep up with current events, and love to teach.
- epistemologically (acceptance of a native philosophy, history, and cosmology): I believe in an open democratic society, hard work, religious and political tolerance,

CHAPTER 7

7.6.1 Exercise on historical names and events: antonomasia

1. *a bobby* “police officer” after Sir Robert Peel, founder of the London Metropolitan Police (19th century);
2. *to boycott* “refuse to buy, patronize”; after C. Boycott, English estate manager in Ireland (19th century);
3. *to bowdlerize* “to expurgate” after Thomas Bowdler, editor of Shakespeare (19th century);
4. *a cardigan* “a sweater open in the front”; after the 7th Earl of Cardigan (19th century);
5. *to Hoover* “vacuum-clean”; from the British trademark (20th century);
6. *macintosh* “a raincoat”; after Charles Macintosh (19th century);
7. *a sandwich* “bread with something between”; after the 4th Earl of Sandwich (18th century);
8. *wellies* “rubber/gum boots, Wellingtons”; after the Duke of Wellington (19th century).

7.6.2 Exercise on meaningful places: toponyms

a. the royal family/head of state; b. the world of finance; c. the government; d. the press; e. the (criminal) courts; f. Parliament; g. the administration; h. any imaginary, remote area

7.6.3 Exercise on British cultural institutions: abbreviations

a. British Museum; b. Financial Times Stock Exchange; c. Greenwich Mean Time; d. Irish Republican Army; e. Member of Parliament; f. Military Intelligence Section 6; g. National Health Service; h. Order of the British Empire; i. Police Constable; j. Queen’s Council; k. Scottish National Party; l. Victoria and Albert (Museum)

7.6.4 Exercise on minimal pairs

(a) in RP: *caught-cot*; (b) in Northern English: *mud-mood* or *mode*; (c) in SSE: *witch-which*; (d) in IrE: *ask-asp*

7.6.5 Exercise on the strut-foot split

/ʊ/	/ʌ/	something else
<i>bullet, bush, butcher, cushion, foot, look, pulpit, pull, push, put, sugar</i>	<i>but, butt, come, cut, flood, luck, pulp, putt, such</i>	<i>comb, food, Luke, pool, pour</i>

The factors which come closest to explaining when we can expect /ʌ/ and when /ʊ/:

- The STRUT-FOOT distinction regularly affects words spelled with <u> (or <o> if next to <m, n, u, v>).
- The vowel /ʊ/ (spelled with <u> or <o> + CC or Cø) only occurs when a neighboring consonant involves rounding, as is the case with /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ or /p/ and /b/.
- There are a number of cases where /ʌ/, nevertheless, occurs (*but(t), pulp, putt, such*).

In the list above, <oo> follows its own “rules.”

7.6.6 Exercise on SSE-RP pronunciation differences in Britain

(a) in Scotland /wi:l/-/hwi:l/; not in RP/wi:l/-/wi:l/; (b) in both RP: /kæt/-/kɑ:t/ and SSE /kat/-/kart/; (c) in RP /kɒt/-/kɔ:t/; not in SSE /kot/-/kot/; (d) in SSE /kot/-/kort/; not in RP /kɔ:t/-/kɔ:t/; (e) in SSE /mɑθ/-/pɑθ/, but not in RP (two differences) /mɑ:θ/-/pæθ/; (f) *cote* – *coat* neither: RP: /kəʊt/-/kəʊt/ vs. SSE: /ko:t/-/ko:t/ (g) *latter* – *ladder* both RP /lætə/-/lædə/ and SSE /latər/-/ladər/.

7.6.7 Exercise on nonstandard General British English

(a) Scottish English; (b) NSGenE; (c) Scottish and Irish English; (d) traditional dialect of the Southwest; (e) London Jamaican / British Black English.

CHAPTER 8

8.6.1 Exercise on AmE-BrE synonyms

1s; 2h; 3g; 4b; 5r; 6m; 7q; 8a; 9l; 10o; 11d; 12c; 13n; 14e; 15j; 16f; 17i; 18k; 19t; 20p.

8.6.2 Exercise on pronunciation

1. *them* (AAE); 2. *outcome* (CanE); 3. *matter* (GenAm), CanE; 4. *can* (Midland North; Am. South); 5. *star* (New England); 6. *rang* (AAE); 7. *example* (RP); 8. *bike* (CanE); 9. *steak/stake*: (CanE); 10. *hurry* (RP); 11. *caucus* (New England; Midland North); 12. *cider*(GenAm), CanE.

8.6.3 Exercise on grammar: multiple negation

- | Nonstandard sentence | StE |
|---|--|
| 1. He don't hardly know what to do. (NSGenE) | <i>He hardly knows what to do.</i> |
| 2. It is not unlikely that they will come. (StE) | <i>Probably they will come.</i> |
| 3. Ain't nobody at home. (AAE) | <i>There isn't anybody at home.</i> |
| 4. You definitely cannot not go to her party.
(StE) | <i>You definitely must go.</i> |
| 5. Nobody didn't do nothing. (AAE); NSGenE | <i>Nobody did anything.</i> |
| 6. The teacher didn't go nowhere. AAE (NSGenE) | <i>The teacher didn't go anywhere.</i> |
| 7. She don't believe there's nothing
she can't do. (NSGenE)
(AAE) | <i>She doesn't believe there is anything she
can't do.
She doesn't believe there is anything she
can do.</i> |
| 8. We don't think they won't come. (StE) | <i>We think they will come.</i> |

8.6.4 Exercise on negation in AAE

1. *They **ain't get** [the perfect may be formed with the infinitive rather than the past participle] me into anything that I know I hated.*
2. *They ain't get me in **nothin** that I know I hated.*
3. *They ain't get me in nothin that I know I **idn't hate**.*

CHAPTER 9

9.6.1 Exercise on phrasal and prepositional verbs

1. (BrE) "to wake someone up"; (AmE) "to get someone pregnant"; 2. (BrE) "give up, stop";
3. (BrE) "remain cheerful"; (AmE) *pecker* = "penis"; 4. (AmE) "to ambush"; 5. (AmE) "to attack"; 6. (AmE) "to face in order to fight"; 7. (BrE) "to leave"; 8. (BrE) "not to promote";
9. (AmE) "say good-bye to something"; 10. (AmE) "make more lively"; 11. (AmE) "to ruin";
12. (BrE) "to get to know."

9.6.2 Exercise on collocations and idioms

1. idiom "look out, run away" AmE; 2. idiom "cause to lose interest in something," AmE; 3. idiom "scold," BrE; 4. idiom "to bite, destroy, scold," AmE; 5. idiom "drink in one draught," AmE; 6. collocation "eat on the run, in a hurry," common to both;
7. "warm up," BrE; 8. collocation "set out plates, flatware, and so on," common to both; 9. collocation "bar," BrE; 10. idiom "get plump," common to both; 11. idiom "get thinner, diet," BrE; 12. idiom "attack food, eat with an appetite," BrE; 13. idiom "wash the dishes," BrE; 14. idiom "wipe a table, and so on clean of liquid," common to both; "dry dishes," BrE.

9.6.3 Exercise on euphemisms for toilet or toilet room

1. *can* AmE, slang, slightly vulgar; 2. *comfort-station* AmE, AusE, public use; 3. *convenience* BrE, AusE, public use (also *public* ~); 4. *gents* BrE, colloq. (< *gentlemen's room* by shortening); 5. *the geography* general, colloq. “the location in a private house of the ‘facilities’”); 6. *head* nautical (< originally from position at the head or bow of a ship); 7. *john* AmE, colloq. or slang; 8. *jerry* BrE, AusE slang for *chamber pot*; 9. *ladies (room)* BrE, AusE (AmE, AusE), public use; 10. *latrine* military; *latrine* is of restricted use in GenE; 11. *lavatory* general, public use; 12. *loo* BrE, AusE, colloq.; 13. *powder room* general, polite usage, for women; 14. *restroom*; especially AmE, public use; 15. *washroom* AmE, public use; 16. *W.C.* especially BrE, AusE, colloq., slightly old-fashioned; abbrev. (< *water closet*); also: *closet* arch. “outhouse” (< *private closet, privy*).

9.6.4 Exercise on phonetic realization

(a) *bout* GenAm, RP; (b) *cited/sighted* GenAm, RP; (c) *lovelife* GenAm, RP; (d) *spot* RP, GenAm; (e) *luck* RP, GenAm; (f) RP *Auckland*, GenAm *Oakland*.

9.6.5 Exercise on phonotactic distribution

(a) *example* GenAm, RP; (b) *father* RP, GenAm; (c) *nude* GenAm, RP; (d) *nappy* RP, GenAm; (e) *sentence* RP, GenAm; (f) *Tunesia* RP, GenAm.

9.6.6 Exercise on phonemic differences

(a) *chance* BATH-TRAP; (b) *fair* SQUARE-SQUARE; (c) *gone* LOT-LOT/CLOTH; (d) *beer* NEAR-NEAR; (e) *hurry* STRUT-NURSE; (f) *nearer* NEAR-NEAR.

9.6.7 Exercise on lexical-incident differences

(a) RP /'dɪnəsti/-GenAm /'dɑ:nəsti:/; (b) RP /nɪkə'ræɡjuəl/-GenAm /nɪkə'rɑ:ɡwəl/; (c) RP /'fedju:əl/-GenAm /'skedʒju:əl/ (d) RP /lef'tenənt/-GenAm /lu:'tenənt/; (e) RP /'skwɪrəl/-GenAm /'skwɜ:ɹəl/; (f) RP /'zebrəl/-GenAm /'zi:brəl/; (g) RP /hə/-GenAm /hət/; (h) RP /klɑ:k/-GenAm /klɜ:rk/; (i) RP /tə'mɑ:təs/-GenAm /tə'meɪrəs/.

9.6.8 Exercise on the use of the subjunctive and conditional

Choose the answers from the suggestions in parentheses. Is more than one answer possible? If so, what guides your own choice?

1. *be dressed*: subjunctive; more AmE; *are dressed*: only BrE
2. *was*: normal; *were* slightly old-fashioned
3. *play*: subjunctive (especially AmE); *played*: past (especially BrE)
4. *be*: subjunctive (especially in such a formal context); *should be*: an acceptable alternative
5. *were*: subjunctive in a largely fixed expression
6. *was*: unreal conditional; *were*: unreal conditional + subjunctive

7. *had been*: contrafactual conditional
8. *had been*: reference to a former state; *was*: unreal conditional; *were*: unreal conditional with subjunctive
9. *had been*: contrafactual conditional
10. *felt*: unreal conditional

CHAPTER 10

10.6.1 Exercise on semantic shift

1. bachelor flat	a small flat or apartment (cf. NZE <i>bach</i> “vacation house”)	distinctive
2. black stump	beyond the pale, outside civilization	narrowing
3. block	section of land	narrowing
4. bush	woods, forest	broadening
5. duplex	a house with a flat or apartment on each floor	narrowing
6. flatette	bachelor flat (q.v.)	distinctive
7. granny flat	garage apartment	distinctive
8. home unit	condominium, condo (AmE)	distinctive
9. homestead	ranch house	narrowing
10. never-never	ultima Thule	narrowing
11. outback	backwoods, boondocks	distinctive
12. (own your own)	home unit (q.v.)	distinctive
13. paddock	field	broadening
14. project house	standard design (series) house	distinctive
15. scrub	barrens	narrowing
16. squatter	large landowner	narrowing
17. the suburbs	suburbia (dreary, philistine)	narrowing
18. station	ranch	broadening
19. township	small town or townsite (cf. in North America, an administrative unit within the county; in Britain, a division within a parish usually with its own church; in South Africa an area formerly set aside for Black Africans)	broadening
20. villa home	row or terrace houses connected by garages	distinctive

10.6.2 Exercise on AusE borrowing from AmE or from BrE

railway, goods train, guard's van, truck, station wagon, House of Representatives Senate, french fries, cookies, movie, store

10.6.3 Exercise on compounds with *bush*

1. *bushbaby* SAfE “a small lemur”; 2. *bush carpenter* AusE “rough, amateur carpenter” (3); 3. *bushcraft* AusE “ability to live in the bush with little equipment and help” (1); 4. *bush cure* AusE “a household remedy” (3); 5. *bush-faller* (also: *bush-feller*) NZE “lumberjack”; 6. *bush farm* NZE “farm cleared from the forest”; 7. *bushfire* GenE “fire in forest or scrub country”; 8. *bush lawyer* AusE/NZE “a type of prickly, trailing plant” (1);

AusE “someone who pretends to know the law” (3); 9. *bush league* AmE “minor league; amateur, inferior, mediocre”; 10. *bush-line* AusE “timberline, tree line” (1); 11. *bushman* AusE “pioneer; someone with bushcraft” (1); NZE “bush-faller”; SAE (capitalized) San, ethnic group in South Africa; 12. *bush-pilot* AusE “small airplane pilot serving the out-back” (2); 13. *bushrat* AusE “an Australian species of rat” (1); 14. *bush week* AusE “fictitious festive week when country people come to town” (2); 15. *bushwhacker* AusE “a bushie; a native (Aboriginal) person” (3); NZE “a bush-faller”; AmE “a backwoodsman; a guerilla, outlaw.”

CHAPTER 11

11.6.1 Exercise on translating Jamaican Creole

1. *Im staat fi wanda ow ima goh fine fi im wife han im pickney*
food dem.
 (a) *him started wonder how would go find for his wife and his child-*
to food plur.
 (b) He begin wonder how he was going to find his wife and his children
to food
2. *Mi a-go lef today.*
 (a) *me am going leave today*
 (b) I am going to leave today.
3. *Mi. back a hat mi*
 (a) *me back is hurting me*
 (b) My back hurts.
4. *Dat is fe mi bredda.*
 (a) *that is of me brother.*
 (b) That is my brother.

11.6.2 Exercise on translating Tok Pisin

1. *Ol i save kisim ol prut na kaikai*
 (a) *They verb marker would modal take + all fruits and eat*
habitual transitivity
marker marker
 (b) They would take all this fruit and eat (it).
2. *Mitupela i mas painim we*
 (a) *Us two verb marker must (modal) find + transitivity marker way*
 (b) We must find a way
- na ranawe i go long narapela hap
 (a) *and run away verb marker go to (prep.) another + adj. marker place.*
 (b) and run away (and) go to another place.
3. *Wanpela meri i tokim narapela*
 (a) *One Mary “woman” verb marker talk + trans. marker another + adj. marker*
 (b) One woman talked to another
4. *Bai yum i kisim na kukim*
 (a) *future we (inclusive) choose + trans. and cook + trans.*
 marker marker marker

(b) Let's	us / you and me	take it	and	cook it
<i>na</i>	<i>givim</i>	<i>masalai</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>dring</i>
(a) <i>and</i>	<i>give</i> + trans. marker	<i>masalai</i>	verb marker	<i>drink.</i>
(b) <i>and</i>	<i>give</i> it	to the Masalai		to drink.
5. <i>Strongpela</i>		<i>win</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>kirap.</i>
(a) <i>Strong</i> + adj marker	<i>wind</i>		verb marker	<i>get up</i>
A strong	wind			came up.

CHAPTER 12

12.6.1 Exercise on ESL vocabulary

1-b; 2-d; 3-e; 4-c; 5-d; 6-e; 7-a; 8-b; 9-e; 10-b.

12.6.2 Exercise on ESL pronunciation

1-i-iii; 2-h-i; 3-g-i; 4-b-iv; 5-e-i; 6-d-iii or vi; 7-f-v; 8-c-vii (or iii); 9-a-iv.

12.6.3 Exercise on ESL grammar

1. functionally different response WSfE, ESfE, IndE; 2. invariant tag WAFe, EAFe, IndE; 3. no inversion in question IndE; 4. pres. perf. + past adverb WAFe, IndE; 5. expanded progressive WAFe, EAFe, SAfE, SingE; 6. resumptive pronouns SAfE; 7. variety specific discourse marker (*mos*) SAfE; 8. no *wh*-fronting in question EAFe; 9. variety specific discourse marker (*lah*) SingE; 10. noncount as count nouns WAFe, SAfE, SingE; 11. comparative without *more* WAFe, EAFe; 12. redundant insertion (*can be able to*) SAfE.



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