

AMERICAN AND BRITISH ENGLISH

As we move away from the formal written English of the press (p. 300) in the direction of the informal spoken language, the differences between regional varieties dramatically increase. In the case of American and British English, the variation is considerable, but there are no accurate estimates for the number of points of contrast, for two chief reasons.

- Recent decades have seen a major increase in the amount of influence the two models have had on each other, especially American on British. The influence of US films and television has led to a considerable passive understanding of much American English vocabulary in Britain, and some of this has turned into active use (as in the case of *mail*, p. 302), especially among younger people. The reverse pattern is less obvious, but British films and TV programmes are seen sufficiently often in the USA to mean that a growth in awareness of UK vocabulary should not be discounted. What were originally fairly clear patterns of lexical differentiation have been obscured by borrowing on a worldwide scale.
- The regional dialect surveys of both countries, several of which have only recently begun to publish their findings, are bringing to light huge amounts of lexical distinctiveness (p. 309). Few of these forms have any literary background or enough breadth of use to warrant their inclusion in general dictionaries, but they do form an important part of the regional pattern, and several of them are retained in educated usage at local level as markers of group identity.

Nonetheless, when we take into account local festivals and folklore, abbreviations, localities, institutional differences (e.g. politics, banking, legal systems, armed forces, sports, honours), local fauna and flora, and everyday slang, the stock of regional differences is likely to be extremely large. In a casual collection made by the author in the 1970s, based solely on available dictionaries and literary works, 5,000 differences were found very easily, and it became apparent that the project was too large for such an informal treatment. A recently published dictionary by David Grote has some 6,500 entries, and deals *only* with British English for American readers. These totals, it must be appreciated, arise because we are dealing not only with different words (lexemes, p. 118), but also different senses of words. UK *chips* (= US (*French*) *fries*) is not the same as US *chips* (= UK *crisps*) – though American influence has brought both (*French*) *fries* and (*potato*) *chips* to Britain.

BEING ENGLISH

Kent The southeastern-most county* or shire* of England, * running from London* to the Channel. * Historically, this is the core of English history, with Dover* the principal access to the continent*, Canterbury* the home of the English Church, * and the Thames* ports on its north border the center of sea power and trading prosperity. It is one of the Home Counties* and is often called the Garden of England both for its agricultural riches and for the lovely rolling hills in the North Downs* that for many are the visual image of England itself, figuring in numberless works of literature.



Terms that British people would take completely for granted are asterisked in this entry from David Grote's *British English for American Readers* (1992), which shows some of the linguistic consequences of using a place-name. It is not unusual to find such terms as *Home Counties* being misapplied. A term such as *county* is also very differently used between the two nations.

The following selection of headwords from the middle of the book illustrates items which Americans would be likely to find distinctively British. Such lists have two kinds of relevance. They inform non-British people what certain terms mean, and they inform British people of the ways in which their usage is distinctive. This last point is important, especially for students of language: it is always easier to identify distinctive forms in varieties other than our own.

jiggery-pokery tricks, fraud
Jock nickname for a male Scot
joint roast meat, especially for Sunday lunch (not marijuana)
jolly as adverb (*jolly good*)
junction intersection
junior school the older section of a primary school
kibosh /kaɪbɒʃ/ ruin, disaster (as in *put the kibosh on*)
kite mark British Standards Institute label
knock-on rugby term
L learner driver
landlord operator of a pub
last call announcing closing time in a pub
Law Society solicitors' association
lay-by highway rest area
lbw cricket term

BEING AMERICAN

American identity is much bound up with home origins. Conversations between two Americans meeting abroad will commonly include an early focus on their home states or colleges, whereas this is unlikely with two Britons (assuming they talked to each other at all). These ties have a linguistic consequence in such matters as awareness of nicknames – a phenomenon which plays a much larger role in the USA than in Britain. Very few British counties have nicknames – and if they do (e.g. *Royal Berkshire*) they do not create a sense of identity. A recent letter from one North Carolinian to another now living in Britain, asking for some information, ended with a postscript which hoped that his request ('from one old Tarheeler to another') would not be too inconvenient. It is inconceivable that someone from Reading in Berkshire would end a letter to a former neighbour now living in Australia as 'one old Royal Berkshirian to another'.

In *The American Language* (1919), H. L. Mencken summarizes the linguistic history of the US states, including their various nicknames (p. 152). Here are his remarks on North Carolina:

The two Carolinas have been called variously, but *Tarheel State* for North Carolina and *Palmetto State* for South Carolina seem likely to prevail. Of the origin of the former the *Overland Monthly* gave the following account in 1869: 'A brigade of North Carolinians... failed to hold a certain hill, and were laughed at by the Mississippians for having forgotten to tar their heels that morning. Hence originated the cant name.' There are several more flattering versions of the origin of the nickname, but all of these suggest that North Carolinians were known as *Tarheels* before the Confederate War, or, at all events, that some notion of tar was associated with them. The DA [*Dictionary of Americanisms*] offers evidence that they were called *Tarboilers* as early as 1845... The newspaper of the students at the University of North Carolina has been *The Tarheel* since 1892, and when, in 1922, the state bankers launched a monthly organ at Raleigh it was given the name of *Tarheel Banker*. The other common nickname for North Carolina is *Old North State*; it arose naturally out of the geography and history of the state, and the DA traces it to 1839. *Land of the Sky* is applied to the beautiful mountain country in the far western part of the state; eastern North Carolina is far closer to the bottom of the Atlantic than to the sky.

SPELLING

The spelling differences between British and American English were noted as one of the chief sources of variation in the world press (pp. 80, 300). Several of them are productive, applying to large numbers of words, such as BrE *-re*, AmE *-er* (centre / center); BrE *-our*, AmE *-or* (colour / color), and BrE *-ogue*, AmE *-og* (catalogue / catalog). Many more apply to individual items, including the 100 shown in the following list. An asterisk indicates a usage which is common to both areas in some circumstances; for example, the spelling *aesthetics* will be found in certain US texts, and *inquire* is often found in British texts; *n.* stands for noun. Informal spellings (p. 275), such as *nite* (night), *hillo* (hillo), and *thru* (through), are not listed.

British	American
aeroplane	airplane
aesthetics*	esthetics
aether	ether*
amoeba*	ameba
anaemia	anemia
anaesthesia	anesthesia
appal*	appall
archaeology*	archeology

axe*	axe
bale out	bail out
battleaxe*	battleax
boloney	baloney*
B.Sc.*	B.S.
buses*	busses
caesarian*	cesarian
callisthenics	calisthenics
cantaloup	cantaloupe*
carat (gold)*	karat
cauldron*	caldron
cheque	check
chequer	checker
chilli	chili*
cigarette*	cigaret
cissy	sissy*
citrous (adj)	citrus*
connexion	connection*
councillor*	councilor
counsellor*	counselor
defence*	defense
diarrhoea*	diarrhea
disc (not computing)*	disk
doughnut*	donut
draughtsman	draftsman
draughty	drafty
encyclopaedia	encyclopedia*
enquire*	inquire*
ensure*	insure
faeces	feces
foetus	fetus*
floatation*	flotation*

gaol	garotte*
garotte*	gauge*
gonorrhoea	gonorrhea
gramme	gram*
grey*	gray
gynaecology	gynecology
haemo*	hemo-
homoeopath	homeopath
hosteller	hosteler
inflexion	inflection*
instil*	instill
jeweller*	jeweler
Jnr.	Jr.*
kilogramme	kilogram*
largesse*	largess
leukaemia	leukemia
libellous*	libelous
licence (n.)	license (n.)
liquorice	licorice*
manoeuvre	maneuver
marvellous*	marvelous
mediaeval	medieval*
mollusc*	mollusk
mould*	mold
moult*	molt
moustache*	mustache
M.Sc.*	M.S.
oedema	edema
oesophagus	esophagus
oestrogen	estrogen
offence*	offense

orthopaedics	orthopedics
paediatrician	pediatrician
panellist	panelist
paralyse	paralyze
pedlar*	peddler
plough*	plow
practice (n.)	practise (n.)
premise*	premiss
pretence (n.)	pretense (n.)
primaeval	primeval*
programme (not computing)	program
pyjamas	pajamas
renege	renege*
sanatorium*	sanitorium
scallywag*	scalawag
sceptical*	skeptical
smoulder*	smolder
snowplough	snowplow
Snr.	Sr.*
storey*	story (building)
sulphur*	sulfur
throughway*	thruway
titbit*	tidbit
traveller*	traveler
tyre	tire
vice (tool)	vise
wilful*	willful
woollen*	woolen

(After M. Benson, E. Benson & R. Ilson, 1986.)

PRONUNCIATION

There are several regular differences between Received Pronunciation (RP, p. 365) and General American (GA, p. 237), such as the pronunciation of final /-r/ in the latter. In addition, several words have individually different pronunciations.

Item	RP	GA
anti-	'anti:	'antai-, 'anti:
asthma	'asma	'azma
ate	et, eit	et
capsule	'kapsju:l	'kapsəl
chassis	'fasi:	'fasi:
clerk	klo:k	klɜ:k
clique	klik	klɪk
data	'dætə, 'dɛtə	'dɛtə, 'dætə
derby	'dɜ:bi	'dɜ:bi
erase	'rɛrɪz	'rɛɪs
fracas	'frakə:	'freikəs
geyser	'gaɪzə	'geɪzər
gooseberry	'gu:zbəri	'gu:zberi
goulash	'gu:lɒʃ	'gu:lɔ:ʃ
herb	hɜ:b	ɜ:rb, hɜ:rb
leisure	'leɪzə	'li:zər
lever	'li:və	'levər, 'li:vər
lieutenant	lef'tenənt	lu:'tenənt
medicine	'medsɪn	'medɪsɪn
missile	'mɪsaɪl	'mɪsəl
nephew	'nevju:, 'nefju:	'nefju:
nougat	'nu:gɑ:	'nu:gət
progress	'prəʊgres	'prɒgres
route	ru:t	ru:t, ru:t
schedule	'fedju:l	'skedʒuəl, 'skedʒəl
tissue	'tɪʃju:, 'tɪfu:	'tɪfu:
tomato	tə'mætəu	tə'metəu
vase	vɑ:z	veɪs, veɪz
wrath	rɒθ	rəθ
z	zed	zi:

SHORT AND LONG A

RP has many words in /ɑ:/ which are pronounced with /a/ in GA. They include the following:

advance	mask
after	mast
answer	monograph
ask	nasty
aunt	overdraft
banana	pass
basket	passport
bath	past
blast	pastor
broadcast	path
castle	plant
class	plaster
command	raft
dance	ranch
disaster	raspberry
example	rather
fasten	reprimand
France	sample
giraffe	slander
glass	slant
grass	staff
half	task
last	telegraph
laugh	vast

STRESS DIFFERENCES

There are many words whose stress varies between the two accents. Some of them can be grouped into patterns, such as those ending in *-ary/-ory* (e.g. *secretary, laboratory*) or *-et* (e.g. *ballet, beret*), which attract stress on the final syllable. Some of the words vary, depending on their sentence position, as in *Princess Anne is a princess*.

This is one of the areas where American influence on British English has been particularly strong, and probably most of the words in the first column can be heard in the UK these days with the American stress pattern, especially spoken by younger people. To a generation of British youngsters reared on episodes of *Star Trek*, there is only one way of pronouncing *frontier* (as in 'Space: the Final Frontier'). An asterisk marks words where the stress pattern shown in the other column may also be heard.

RP	GA
address	address*
advertisement	advertisement*
ballet	ballet
cafe*	cafe
cigarette	cigarette
controversy*	controversy
debris*	debris
frontier*	frontier
garage*	garage
inquiry	inquiry
laboratory	laboratory
magazine	magazine
moustache	mustache
premier	premier
princess*	princess
research*	research
veille	veille
translate*	translate
valet	valet
weekend*	weekend

CLASSIFYING LEXICAL DIFFERENCES

In describing the lexicon of the two regions, there are *three* distinctions which have to be made: some words (lexemes, p. 118) are found only in American English (AmE), some only in British English (BrE), and some (from either source) have become established throughout the world as part of Standard English (p. 111). While *Congress* and *Parliament* originate in their respective countries, it is no longer very useful to call one AmE and the other BrE, from a linguistic point of view. They are now part of World Standard English (WSE). Similarly, there are many items where the word is part of WSE, though the entity being referred to differs in certain respects from country to country. Many legal terms fall into this category: *jury*, *juvenile*, and *justice of the peace* are terms in common to both AmE and BrE, but their legal definitions are not. Such items are not the focus of interest on this or the opposite page.

The remaining words represent many different kinds of semantic contrast, and there have been several classifications. One system includes the following important types among its categories (after M. Benson, E. Benson & R. Ilson, 1986):

- Some words reflect cultural differences but are not part of WSE: AmE *Ivy League*, *Groundhog Day*, *revenue sharing*; BrE *A-levels*, *giro*, *VAT*. There are no synonyms in the other variety. Several of these words are likely to enter WSE in due course. *Groundhog Day*, for example, received a boost in that direction following its use as the title of a successful film in 1993. Most people in Britain would not have known the tradition before seeing the film.

- Some words are straightforward: they have a single sense, and a synonym in the other variety: BrE *current account* = AmE *checking account*; BrE *estate car* = AmE *station wagon*. If only they were all like that.

- However, they are not, because we have to allow for words which have at least one WSE meaning and one or more *additional* meanings that are specific to either BrE or AmE: an example is *caravan*, which in the sense of 'group of travellers in a desert' is common to both varieties; but in the sense of 'vehicle towed by a car' it is BrE (= AmE *trailer*).

- Some words have one meaning in WSE and a synonym in one or other of the two varieties (sometimes both). Both AmE and BrE have *undertaker*, but only AmE has *mortician*; both have *pharmacy*, but AmE has *drugstore* and BrE has *chemist's*.

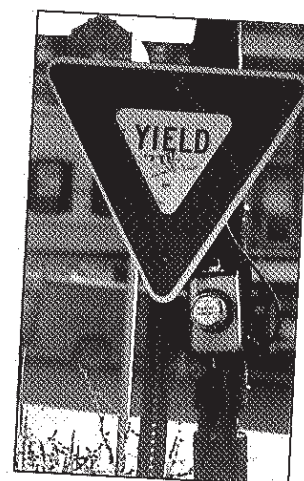
- Some words have no WSE meaning, but different meanings in AmE and BrE: AmE *flyover* = BrE *fly-past*; however, BrE *flyover* = AmE *overpass*.

- We also have to remember the effect of frequency. Some words are used in both varieties, but are much more common in one of them: *flat* and *apartment* are used in both, but the former is frequent in BrE and the latter in AmE. Other examples are *shop* vs *store*, and *post* vs *mail* (p. 300).

This set of categories does not exhaust the classificatory possibilities, but it should be enough to suggest caution when working through an apparently simple list of equivalents, as in the examples opposite.

A STRAIGHTFORWARD LEXICAL CONTRAST

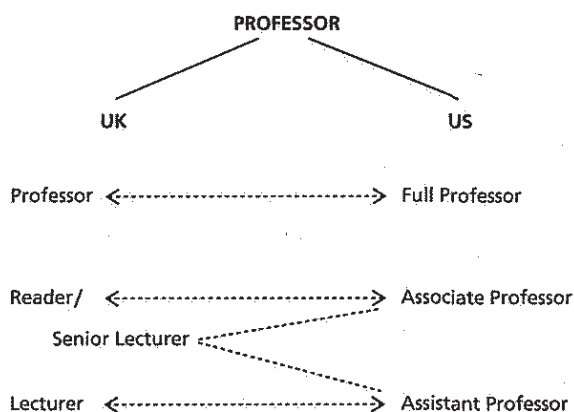
Road signs in the USA and UK.



AN IMPOSSIBLE LEXICAL CONTRAST

With hierarchies in organizations (p. 168), it is often impossible to give a precise answer to the question 'What's the equivalent of a – in BrE/AmE?' because there is no one-for-one correspondence between the different ranks, or at best only a partial correspondence. A good example is the hierarchy of university teaching, shown below.

A British professor is not exactly equivalent to a US professor, because the latter category divides into three levels: *full professor* (the most senior), *associate professor*, and *assistant professor* (the most junior). In the UK, the ranks below professor are *reader*, then *senior lecturer* (though some universities treat these grades as equivalent in salary, but different in function), then *lecturer*. An associate professor is roughly equivalent to a reader, and lower grades of lecturer can be equated with an assistant professor. But it is not possible to identify the AmE equivalent of a senior lecturer, and in the days when tenured positions were serious academic options, there was even less equivalence, as a BrE lecturing post was usually tenured, whereas an AmE assistant professorial position was usually not (but rather, 'tenure-track').



In this list of equivalent lexical items, the 'rules of the road' conventions of Benson, Benson & Ilson (1986) have been adopted. A solid line indicates that no crossing over into the other variety is possible: the item can be used only in the one variety. The broken line shows that the item can cross: it can be used in the other variety (i.e. it is

WSE). These distinctions can be illustrated as follows:

BrE	AmE
pillar box	mailbox
post	mail
lead/lid/	leash
rubbish	garbage

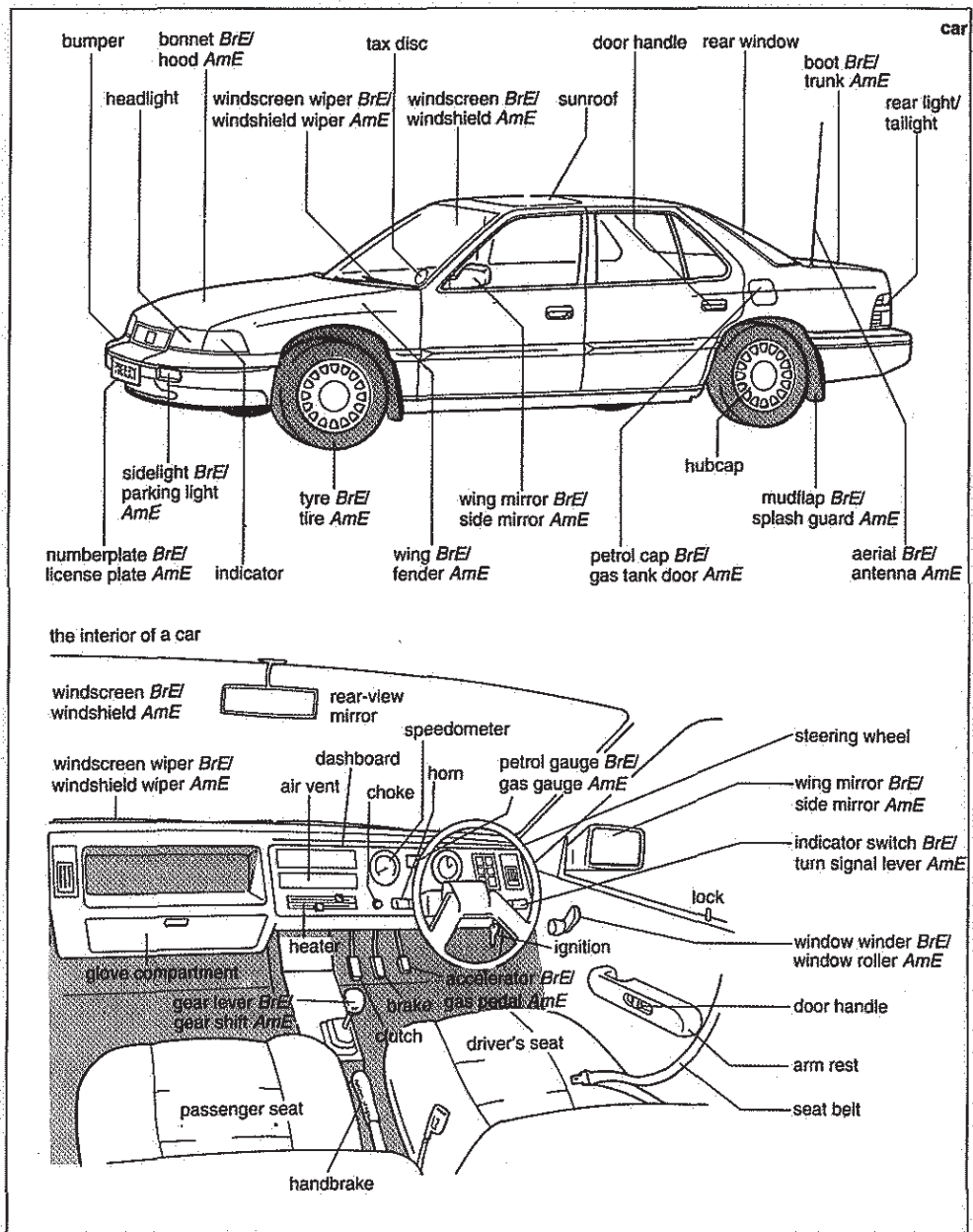
Items with stylistic labels (such as *colloquial*) have no marking.

In the top list, AmE items are given first. In the bottom list, a different selection of items has the BrE version first.

AmE	BrE	AmE	BrE	AmE	BrE
absorbent cotton	cotton wool	candy	sweets	driver's license	driving licence
Administration	Government	car (<i>train</i>)	carriage, waggon	druggist	pharmacist
airplane	aeroplane	carryall	holdall	dry goods	drapery, soft goods
allowance	pocket money	casket	coffin	dump truck	tipper lorry
aluminum	aluminium	catsup	(tomato) ketchup	eighth note	quaver
antenna	aerial	charge account	credit account	electric cord	flex
apartment building	block of flats	check (<i>restaurant</i>)	bill	elementary school	primary school
Archie Bunker (<i>colloq.</i>)	Alf Garnett	checkers	draughts	elevator	lift
ash can	dustbin	checking account	current account	emergency cord	communication cord
ass (<i>colloq.</i>)	arse	clothespin	clothes peg	engineer	engine driver
auto	car	comforter	eiderdown	eraser	rubber
baby carriage	pram	conductor (<i>train</i>)	guard	exhaust fan	extractor fan
back-up	tailback	cookie	biscuit (<i>roughly</i>)	expressway (<i>in city</i>)	motorway
baggage	luggage	corn	maize, sweet corn	fall	autumn
baseboard	skirting board	cot	camp bed	fanny (<i>slang</i>)	buttocks
bathroom	lavatory, toilet	cotton candy	candy floss	faucet	tap
bath tub	bath	county seat	county town	fire department	fire brigade
beltway	ring road	crib	cot	first floor	ground floor
Big Dipper	The Plough	crossing guard	lollipop man/woman	flashlight	torch
bill (<i>money</i>)	note	depot	(railway) station	floor lamp	standard lamp
billfold	wallet	derby	bowler (hat)	flutist	flautist
biscuit	(<i>roughly</i>) scone	desk clerk	reception clerk	football	American football
blue jeans	jeans (<i>blue denim</i>)	detour (<i>road sign</i>)	diversion	freeway	motorway
bobby pin	hair grip	dial tone	dialling tone	freight train	goods train
bookstore	bookshop	diaper	nappy	French doors	French windows
Bronx cheer	raspberry (<i>noise</i>)	dish towel	tea towel	French fries	chips
bulletin board	notice board	divided highway	dual carriageway	garbage	rubbish, refuse
bureau	chest of drawers	dollhouse	doll's house	garters	suspenders
caboose	guard's van	dormitory	hall of residence	gasoline	petrol
call-in (<i>program</i>)	phone-in (<i>programme</i>)	draft	conscription	Girl Scout	Girl Guide, Guide
can	tin	drapes	curtains	grade crossing	level crossing

BrE	AmE	BrE	AmE	BrE	AmE
hire purchase	installment plan	nil	zero, nothing	spanner	wrench
hoarding	billboard	nought	zero	spirits	(hard) liquor
holiday	vacation	noughts and crosses	tick-tack-toe	sports (<i>school</i>)	track meet
home help	homemaker	number plate	license plate	spring onion	scallion
houseman	intern	pancake	crepe	stalls	orchestra
ice	ice cream	pants	underpants	state school	public school
ice lolly	Popsicle™, ice	paraffin	kerosene	stone (<i>fruit</i>)	pit
immersion heater	hot water heater	patience (<i>cards</i>)	solitaire	stopcock	valve
Inland Revenue	Internal Revenue Service	pavement	sidewalk	subway	underpass, tunnel
interval	intermission	pillar box	mailbox	swede	rutabaga
jelly	Jell-O™	planning permission	building permit	swing door	swinging door
Joe Public	John Q Public	post	mail	swiss roll	jelly roll
jumble sale	rummage sale	post code	zip code	telegraph pole	telephone pole
jumper	sweater, pullover	prawn cocktail	shrimp cocktail	telephone box/kiosk	telephone booth
knave (<i>cards</i>)	jack	puncture	flat	terraced house	row house
ladder (<i>hosiery</i>)	run	pushchair	stroller	third-party insurance	liability insurance
lead	leash	queue	line	tights	pantyhose
lemonade	lemon soda	racecourse (<i>horses</i>)	racetrack	trade union	labor union
line (<i>railway</i>)	track	railway	railroad	trainers	sneakers
lounge suit	business suit	removal van	moving van	transport cafe	truck stop
lucky dip	grab bag	rise (<i>salary</i>)	raise	treacle	molasses
marrow	squash	roundabout	traffic circle	trolley	shopping cart
maths (<i>colloq.</i>)	math	rowing boat	row boat	trouser suit	pants suit
mince	ground / chopped meat	sailing boat	sailboat	tube	subway
motorcar	car, automobile	saltcellar	saltshaker	turn-up (<i>trousers</i>)	(trouser) cuff
mudguard	fender	shop assistant	salesclerk	underground	subway
mum, mummy (<i>colloq.</i>)	mom, mommy	signal box	signal tower	vest	undershirt
nail varnish	nail polish	sleeper (<i>railway</i>)	crosstie, tie	waistcoat	vest
newsagent	newsdealer	slip road	ramp	WC	rest room
nightdress	nightgown	solicitor	lawyer	whisky	scotch

There are certain semantic fields (p. 137) where groups of lexical differences cluster. Here is a presentation of the choices to be made with reference to automobiles, adapted from the *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* (1992).



'THE PLAY WAS A REAL BOMB!'

The question is: did the speaker like it or not? If you are an American reader, you are in no doubt: it was a total disaster. If you are a British reader, you are in no doubt: it was a tremendous success. The point illustrates the need to be careful with idioms, as well as individual words, when crossing the Atlantic. The author recalls a situation where he was at cross-purposes with a US acquaintance who had asked him what someone thought of a book. The response *Hilary was full of it!* was interpreted by the American to mean that she hated it – whereas in BrE the meaning of this idiom is quite the reverse.

It is unusual for there to be an exact idiomatic

equivalent between BrE and AmE. Among the exceptions are the following (in each case, the BrE variant is given first):

if the cap/shoe fits, wear it
the lie/lay of the land
to turn on sixpence/a dime
a skeleton in the cupboard/closet
cash on the nail/barrelhead
blow one's own trumpet/horn
off the back of a lorry/truck
put in my two penniworth/two cents' worth.

Most idioms have no easy equivalent, and must simply be interpreted. They include:

BrE
hard cheese! (=bad luck!)

drop a brick (=blunder)
in queer street (=in debt)
a turn-up for the book (=a surprise)
the best of British! (=good luck!).

AmE
right off the bat (=with no delay)
feel like two cents (=feel ashamed)
out of left field (=unexpectedly)
take the Fifth (=refuse to answer)
play hardball (=no holds barred)
a bum steer (=bad advice).

There is a growing awareness of AmE idioms in Britain, and many originally AmE items, such as *ants in his pants* and *a quick buck*, are now commonplace.

GRAMMATICAL DIFFERENCES

There are relatively few grammatical differences between educated BrE and AmE. A leading reference grammar (p. 197) notes regional trends affecting only c. 250 points in morphology or syntax, with many of these affecting individual items (e.g. irregular verbs), and very few being general points of syntactic construction. (AmE examples precede BrE in the following paragraphs; for grammatical terminology, see Part III.)

- In the verb phrase, AmE prefers *have to have got* for possession (*Do you have the time?* vs *Have you got the time?*); answers also tend to vary (*I don't* vs *I haven't*); AmE prefers such forms as *burned* to *burnt* (p. 441), and there are some special past tense forms (colloquial *snuck out, dove*); AmE also sometimes uses a simple past tense where BrE has a present perfect (*I just ate* vs

I've just eaten); *will/won't* is generally found for *shall/shan't*; there are also differences in the use of tag questions (p. 218).

- In the noun phrase there are some differences of word order (e.g. *Hudson River* vs *River Thames*, *a half hour* vs *half an hour*) and the use of the article (*in the future* vs *in future*, *in the hospital* vs *in hospital*); AmE prefers collective nouns (p. 209) in the singular (*the government is*), whereas BrE allows plural also (*the government are*).

- Clausal patterns sometimes differ, as in AmE *Come take a look* (vs *Come and take*); AmE also makes more use of the subjunctive (p. 216), as in *I asked that he go* (vs *I asked him to go*), and prefers *were* to *was* in such sentences as *I wish she were here*; *different than/from* is more common than *different to/from* (p. 441).

- There are several differences in prepositions (see below) and adverbs, such as AmE *I'll go momentarily* (vs *in a moment*), *real good* (vs *really good*), and *backward* (vs *backwards*).

PARALLEL PREPOSITIONS

AmE	BrE
It's twenty of four.	It's twenty to four.
It's five after eight.	It's five past eight.
It's in back of the building.	It's behind the building.
I'll see you over the weekend.	I'll see you at the weekend.
I haven't seen her in ages.	I haven't seen her for ages.
Mondays we take the bus.	On Mondays we take the bus.
Monday through Friday.	Monday to Friday inclusive.
I looked out the window.	I looked out of the window.
I moved toward the car.	I moved towards the car.
You're on the firing line.	You're in the firing line.
He's got a new lease on life.	He's got a new lease of life.
It caters to all tastes.	It caters for all tastes.
Half the cash goes for clothes.	Half the cash goes on clothes.
She's in heat.	She's on heat.
They live on X street.	They live in X street.

These are some of the ways in which prepositions (p. 212) contrast between AmE and BrE, and given the everyday nature of some of the contexts, it would appear that this is an area of major grammatical differentiation. There are in addition several cases where preferences differ: AmE prefers *round to around* in such sentences as *We went round the corner* and *around to about* in *They walked about a mile*. *Amongst* is much more likely in BrE, and *atop* in AmE (literary style). Compound prepositions also show some contrasts, such as the AmE preference for *aside from* (BrE *apart from*), *in behalf of* (BrE *on behalf of*), and the informal *off of* and *back of*.

Are prepositions such a major area of differentiation as these examples suggest? A study comparing the distribution of prepositions in two million-word samples of printed text, one BrE and the other AmE (the Brown and LOB corpora, p. 438), found that this was not so.

- The percentage of prepositional occurrences in BrE was 12.34 per cent; in AmE it was 12.21 per cent.
- There were 81 prepositions that occurred in both corpora, accounting for 99.9 per cent of all prepositional occurrences. Just 13 prepositions were found only in BrE, and (coincidentally) just 13 in AmE.
- The distribution of the six most commonly used prepositions

Prepositions occurring only in the AmE corpus		Prepositions occurring only in the BrE corpus	
Preposition	Frequency	Preposition	Frequency
unlike	42	worth	104
pursuant	20	barring	3
excluding	13	less	3
pro	5	failing	2
astride	3	re	2
atop	3	touching	2
involving	3	bar	2
post	3	afore	1
vis-à-vis	2	à la	1
dell'	1	bout	1
infra	1	qua	1
inter	1	vice	1
with-but-after	1	neath	1

(which represent over 70 per cent of all the occurrences) is almost identical in both varieties. (After D. Mindt & C. Weber, 1989.)

The conclusion is plain: whatever the differences in prepositional usage between the two varieties, as represented in these corpora, they are far outweighed by the similarities. However, in interpreting the figures two points must be borne in mind. These samples are of written English only, and many of the examples above (such as asking the time) are characteristic of speech. The differences are likely to be greater when medium (p. 292) is taken into account. Also, BrE usage is changing under the influence of AmE, as we have seen in other areas of language use (p. 306): *talk with* is now common in BrE (as opposed to *talk to*), and while the British traditionally fill in (or sometimes up) forms, they now commonly fill them out, as Americans do. How far the factor of language change will fundamentally alter the linguistic picture remains to be seen.

Top prepositions	Preposition	AmE	BrE
The rank order of the top six prepositions is identical, with some of the totals being remarkably close.	of	36,432	35,287
	in	20,870	20,250
	to	11,165	10,876
	for	8,992	8,738
	with	7,286	7,170
	on	6,183	6,251
	at	5,375	5,473
	by	5,244	5,724

THE GOTTEN/GOT DISTINCTION

Gotten is probably the most distinctive of all the AmE/BrE grammatical differences, but British people who try to use it often get it wrong. It is not simply an alternative for *have got*. *Gotten* is used in such contexts as *They've gotten a new boat* (= 'obtained'), *They've gotten interested* (= 'become') and *He's gotten off the chair* (= 'moved'), but it is not used in the sense of possession (= 'have'). AmE does not allow **I've gotten the answer* or **I've gotten plenty*, but uses *I've got* as in informal BrE. The availability of *gotten* does however mean that AmE can make such distinctions as the following: *they've got to leave* ('they must leave') vs *they've gotten to leave* ('they've managed to leave').

PUNCTUATION

Many of the differences which can these days be observed in punctuation stem from different conventions in AmE and BrE. Almost all the set of punctuation marks are shared by the two varieties, but there have been a few exceptions:

- # is used for 'number' in AmE (as in #12), but not in BrE (which would write No. 12). However, this symbol, often called a 'hash', is increasingly used in BrE because of its role in computational work.
- The raised dot is used for a decimal point in BrE; an ordinary period in AmE.
- A colon plus dash (:-) is very unusual in AmE, but is also now decreasing in BrE.
- Other differences between the two varieties are referred to in the discussion of individual punctuation marks on p. 282.

REGIONAL VARIATION IN AMERICAN ENGLISH

Many of the distinctive features of American English can be established by comparing it with the other major model of English-language use, British English (p. 306); but this exercise is very much an idealization. To make any comparison practicable, we have to work with a single linguistic version from each region, and this is usually (in the case of pronunciation, p. 307) General American and Received Pronunciation. However, as soon as we put external comparison aside, and begin to investigate each dialect as an end in itself, we are faced immediately with a vast amount of variation, some of it regional, some social (p. 362). These pages illustrate aspects of the regional variation which exists.

The scientific study of US regional dialects is over a century old, having begun with the formation of the American Dialect Society in 1889. A series of linguistic atlases was planned, the first of which appeared between 1939 and 1943: *The Linguistic Atlas of New England* (see opposite). Most other areas have now received systematic study, and some, such as the Upper Midwest and the Gulf Coast, have had extensive material published. These studies have established the existence of three broad dialect areas:

- **Northern:** an area not to be confused with the political 'north' of the Civil War period (1861–5). Histori-

cally it is the area of New England, but it now extends west in a narrow northern strip from western Vermont through New York and across all the northern states to the Pacific coast. Dialect studies show that there is an important boundary (roughly along the Connecticut River) separating western and eastern New England. To the east there is a distinctive accent, a major feature of which is the loss of final (postvocalic) *-r* (p. 93).

- **Southern:** the coastal and piedmont areas of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, the Gulf States, and extending into the eastern part of Texas. In this area also there is frequent loss of final *-r*.

- **Midland:** a very large area extending across almost the whole country, from southern New Jersey and Pennsylvania and northern Delaware, down through the mountainous areas of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, westward across Tennessee and western Arkansas, then spreading into the whole of the western United States. Northern and Southern dialect sub-regions can be identified. One of the Northern features, shown on the map, is a merger of pronunciation between /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/, so that such pairs as *cot* / *caught* and *don* / *dawn* sound the same. It is the vast size of the Midland area that accounts for the impression of general uniformity in American English speech.

(After F.G. Cassidy, 1982)



AMERICAN DIALECT ATLASES

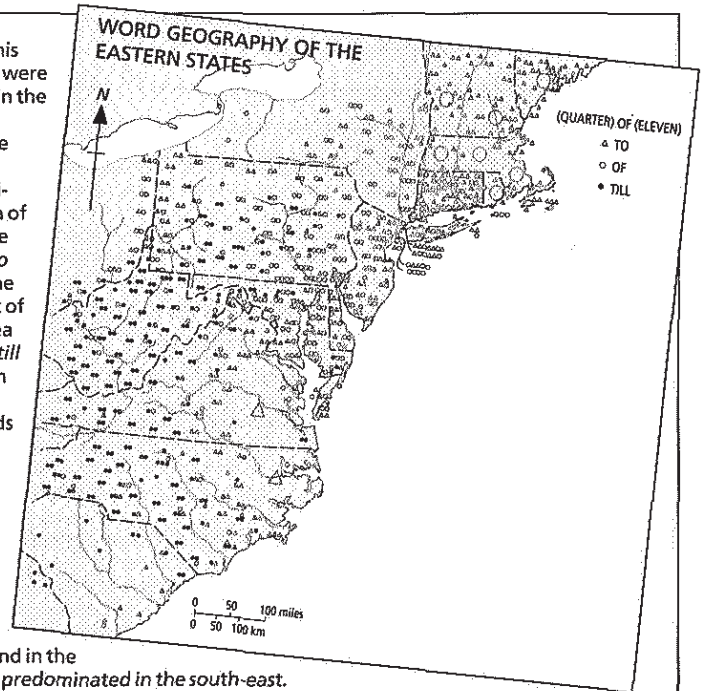
The detailed research required to demonstrate the existence of dialect patterns can be seen in these two maps from *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States*, one of the first products of the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States*, which began its survey work in 1931. The survey area covered all the coastal Atlantic states from Maine to Georgia, and included Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and eastern Ohio – an area which at the time contained nearly two-fifths of the US population. Over 1,200 local people were interviewed from a large number of locations. Interviewers spent between 10 and 15 hours with each informant, and obtained data on over 1,000 points of usage.

The maps show the kind of distributional information obtained. The upper map shows a point of grammatical variation: the choice of preposition in telling the time. The use of *of* has been identified as a 'standard' feature of American English, when comparing it with British English (p. 311). The dialect data shows just how much of a simplification that kind of statement can be. The lower map illustrates a point of lexical variation – the several words used for *seesaw*.

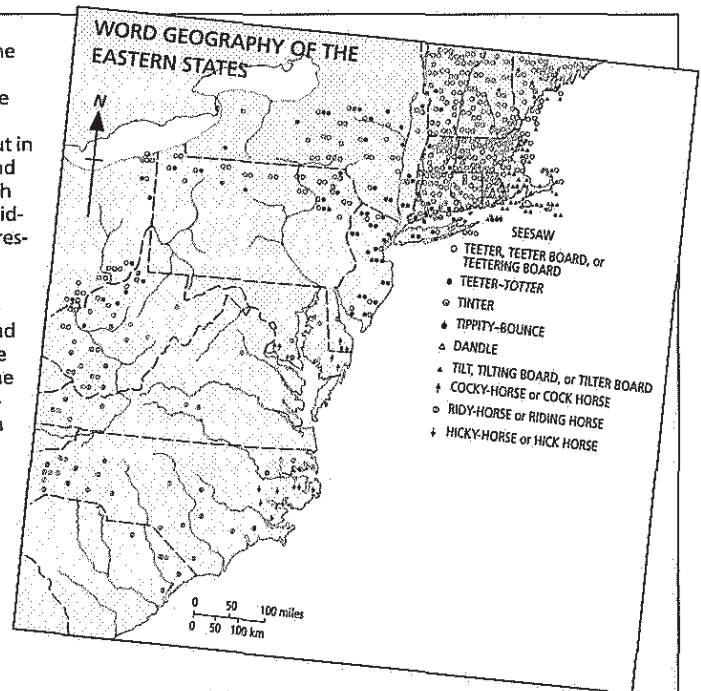
Three dialect subdivisions are recognized, providing evidence for the nationwide regions shown opposite. The *Northern* division includes the New England settlement area, upstate New York and the Hudson Valley, NE Ohio, and beyond. The *Midland* division extends south from N Pennsylvania and parts of New Jersey, and west into C Ohio and beyond; its southern boundary swings in an arc from C Delaware along the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia, and into the Carolinas. The *Southern* division comprises the southern two-thirds of Delaware, the eastern parts of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, most of South Carolina, and (p. 315) the Gulf States. (After H. Kurath, 1949.)

	South	Midland	North
	South Carolina North Carolina Virginia Piedmont Eastern Shore	South Midland North Midland	Hudson Valley Upstate New York Western New England Eastern New England
×	regular		
—	fairly common		
•	rare		
quarter to (vs of/till)	— × —	•	— — —
curtains (vs shades/blinds)	• — — —	—	• — × ×
piazza (vs porch)	× × •	—	— × ×
gutters (vs eaves troughs, etc.)	× × × —	—	× • — ×
corn house (vs corn crib)	— • × —	•	• • —
spider (vs frying pan)	— — • •	•	— × × ×
low, loo (vs moo)	× × × ×	• •	— — —

At the time of this survey, *of* and *to* were both important in the Northern area, around Delaware and Chesapeake Bays; *of* predominated in the area of Boston and in the Hudson Valley; *to* was striking in the north-east. Most of the Southern area had only *to*, but *till* was moving from the South Midland area towards the coast in the southern part of South Carolina. Pennsylvania presented a very mixed picture: *till* was common in the centre, but seemed to be yielding ground in the east to *of*, which predominated in the south-east. In the Pittsburgh area, it was being superseded by *of* and *to*.



At the time of the survey, the word *seesaw* was in use throughout the whole region, but in New England, and parts of the South and the South Midlands, other expressions were more current. *Seesaw* had no real competitors in a broad swathe down the central part of the area, from Pennsylvania to South Carolina, and seemed to be in the process of supplanting many of the earlier regional expressions, especially in urbanized areas.

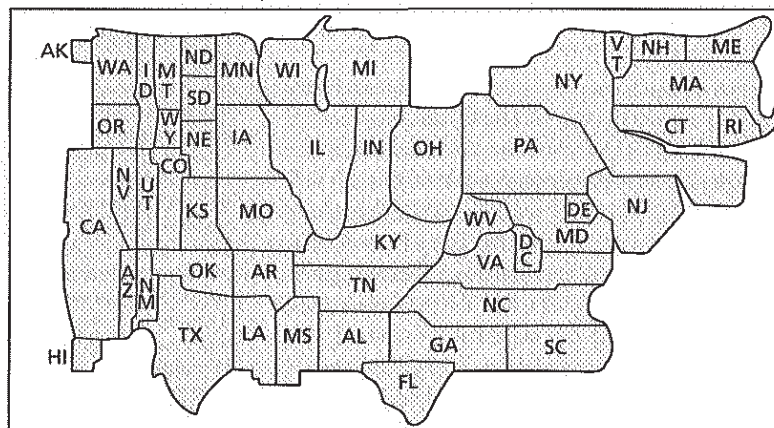


SHARED FEATURES

Regional dialect divisions are never clear-cut, because of the influence of other (e.g. social) factors. This table shows how some of the words in the Eastern States survey are shared by Northern and Southern areas, but are largely absent in the Midlands. (After H. Kurath, 1949, p. 49.)

DARE

The *Dictionary of American Regional English* is the official dictionary of the American Dialect Society. Based at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, under the direction of Frederic G. Cassidy (1907–), it is a project planned in five volumes, two of which have already appeared (in 1985 and 1991) covering the letters from A to H. The data came from interviews with 2,777 informants in 1,002 communities spread across the 50 states, and was collected between 1965 and 1970. The informants were natives or long-term residents of their communities. The 80 fieldworkers used a questionnaire of 1,847 items dealing with general concerns of daily life, and also made tape recordings. In the final form of the dictionary, use is additionally made of some 7,000 other oral and written sources between the 17th century and the present-day. The illustration shows the entries for the items *chic sale(s)* and *hurting*, along with a computerized map showing the distribution.



An innovation of the DARE study was the use of computers to handle the large quantities of data. It also enabled a US map to be generated which reflects population sizes (and thus the number of communities selected as part of the survey) rather than geographical area. New York and California especially are enlarged through this

approach. In using the map to show distributions (see below), a dot is placed on each community which gave a particular response to a question; a blank space means that there was either some other response or no response at all. (For an explanation of state abbreviations and the usual shape of the USA, see p. 312.)

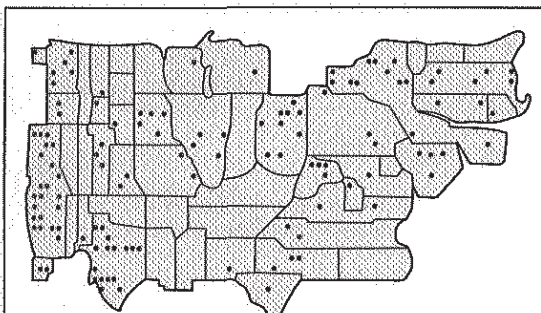
TWO EXAMPLES FROM THE DARE MATERIALS

Abbreviations

c	central
cap	capitalized
coll	college
DC	Washington
DC	DC
DN	Dialect Notes
educ	educated
infs	informants
joc	jocular
LAUM	Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest
MD	Maryland
Midl	Midlands
MO	Missouri
n	noun;
	north(ern)
ne	north-east
NY	New York State
Qq	questions
Qu	question
quot	quotation
s	south(ern)
Sth	south
TX	Texas
usu	usually
Var(r)	variant(s)
w	west(ern)
WELS	Wisconsin English Language Survey
WI	Wisconsin

Chic sale(s) n, also attrib Usu cap Also *chick sale(s)* [See quot 1929] scattered, but chiefly NEast, N Midl, West See Map somewhat old-fash, joc An outhouse, outside toilet.

[1929 *Sale Specialist* [6], There's Chic Sale, Doc Sale's boy / From Urbana, Illinois, *Ibid* 11, You are face to face with the champion privy builder of Sangamon County.] 1950 WELS (*An outside toilet building*) 5 Infs, WI, Chick Sales; 2 Infs, Chick Sale; 1 Inf, Chic Sales; 1 Inf, Chick Sales Classic Palace; 1 Inf, Chick Sale Special. 1962 *Atwood Vocab. TX* 53, *Chic Sale*. 1965–70 DARE (Qu. M21b, *Joking names for an outside toilet building*) 119 Infs, scattered, but chiefly NEast, N Midl, West, Chic sale(s); DC2, MD48, Chic sale house; NY127, Chic sale special; (Qu. M21a, *An outside toilet building*) Inf MO4, Chic sale. [Of all Infs responding to Qu. M21b, 6% were young, 26% coll educ; of those giving these responses, none were young, 50% coll educ.] 1970 *Tarpley Blinky* 149 ne TX, *Chick Sales*. [1 Inf] 1971 *Bright Word Geog. CA & NV* 150, *Chic Sale(s)*. [75 Infs, Central and Southern Nevada, scattered in California] 1973 *Allen LAUM* 1.181, *Chic Sale*. [6 Infs, 2 in Iowa, 4 in Nebraska]



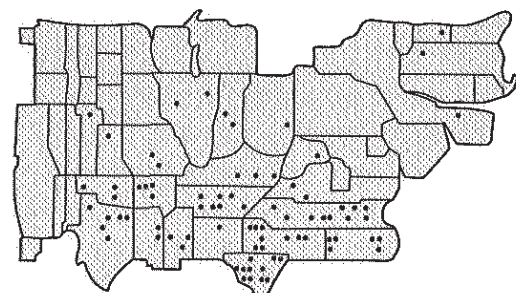
• chic sale(s) + varr (Qq, M21a, b)

hurting n

1 An ache or pain. chiefly Sth, S Midl See Map 1902 DN 2.237 sIL [Pioneer dialect], *Hurtin* [sic]. . . A pain. 1917 DN 4.413 wNC, *Hurtin*. . . A pain. 1950 WELS 1 Inf, WI, *Hurting*. c1960 *Wilson Coll. csKY*, *Hurting*. . . A sort of indefinite ache or pain, like a hurting in the chest. 1965–70 DARE (Qu. BB4, *Other words for a pain*. . . "He's had a _____ in his arm for a week.") 77 Infs, scattered, but chiefly Sth, S Midl, *Hurting*; GA67, *Hurting* — [used by] Negroes; (Qu. BB3b) Infs FL26, NH16, OH44, TN30, *Hurting*; (Qu. BB3c) Inf IN28, *Hurting*; TN16, *Hurtin*. 1965 DARE Tape MS61, I had t' go t' the doctor for a hurting' across my breast. . . When I go t' stoop over, why this hurting' cumulates across here. 1976 *Garber Mountain-ese* 45 *Appalachians, Hurtin*. . . pain, soreness. I jist kain't do my work no more since I got this hurting' in my back.

2 in phr put a hurting on: To cause a physical mark or pain; see quot.

1970 DARE (Qu. Y11, *Other words for a very hard blow*: "You should have seen Bill go down. Joe really hit him a _____") Inf NY249, Put a hurting on the cat; (QR near Qu. Y35) Inf NY249, Put a hurting on the coffee pot; (QR near Qu. AA9) Inf NY241, She put a hurtin' on him — in a good sense. [Both Infs Black, male]



• hurting 1 + var (Qq, BB4, BB3b, c)

APPALACHIAN SPEECH

This story of a raccoon hunt, part of the data collected by a US sociolinguistic study, illustrates some of the features of the Appalachian speech of SE West Virginia – an area that has attracted particular attention because of its supposed conservatism in dialect use. The authors of the study showed that there were certainly several older features still present, but the notion that the dialect is a living example of Elizabethan English, although carrying 'a certain romantic charm', they conclude is too simplistic to be meaningful, as many new developments in grammar and phonology exist alongside the older forms.

Nonetheless, the extract does illustrate some interesting older features. In particular there is the use of the *a-* prefix with *-ing* forms of verbs in certain functions (*a-trying*), which in late Middle English was widely found in Midland and Southern British dialects (p. 50), and which is often used as a literary stereotype of Appalachian speech. There is also evidence of the lack of present-tense subject-verb concord (*we's, I's, he's*). This generalization of the *-s* form has clear antecedents in Middle English, especially in the varieties used in Scotland (and later Northern Ireland) and northern England, and is found in

many parts of England in the Early Modern period (p. 65). A strong case can thus be made for the colonial influence of these areas on the continuing use of these features in this dialect.

...John supposedly had a sack to put the coon in if we caught one. We's gonna try to bring it back alive, so we tromped through the woods 'til along about six o'clock in the morning. The dogs treed up a big hollow chestnut oak, and we proceeded to cut the thing down. It's about three or four inches all the way around. About four foot through the stump. We tied the dogs and cut the thing down. Well, we cut it down and turned one dog loose, and he went down in that thing, way down in the old hollow of the tree and it forked, and we couldn't get up in there so he backed out and he tied 'im. And we's a-gonna chop the coon out if it was in there. It's a kinda halfway thought maybe it just treed a possum or something. Well, I chopped in and lo and behold, right on top of the dang coon. Eighteen pounder, Jack Stern says, kitten coon. I run in with the axe handle down in behind him to kep him from getting out or backing down in the tree. He reached, fooled around and got him by the hind legs and pulled that thing out, it looked as big as a sheep to me. Turned 'im loose, he said 'kitten, Hell.' We had an

old carbide light and he turned that over and the lights were...that's all the light we had. And, we had to hunt it then and the dogs took right after the coon right down the holler and the dogs caught it and Jack beat us all down there. Went down there and he's a-holding three dogs in one hand and the coon in the other hand. And they's all a-trying to bite the coon and the coon a-trying to bite Jack and the dogs, and Jack pulled out a sack and it wasn't a dang thing but an old pillow case that Maggie had used, his wife, it was about wore out. So we fumbled around 'ere and finally got that coon in that sack and he aimed to close the top of it and the coon just tore the thing in half, in two, and down the holler he went again. With that sack on him, half of it and we caught that thing, and you know, E.F. Wurst finally pulled off his coveralls and we put that thing down in one of the legs of his coveralls and tied that coon up. He's tearing up everything we could get, we couldn't hold him he's so stout. And I brought that thing home and kept 'im about a month, fed 'im apples and stuff to eat so we could eat 'em. Well, I did I killed him and tried eat that thing, I'd just soon eat a tomcat or a polecat, I wouldn't make much difference. And, that's about the best coon hunt I believe I was on.

(From W. Wolfram & D. Christian, 1976, p. 181.)

MIGHT IT COULD?

The *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States* (LAGS) is a multi-volume project which began publication in 1986, under the direction of Lee Pederson of Emory University, Georgia. Entries in the concordance to the materials are based on over 5,000 hours of tape-recorded speech from over 1,000 interviews conducted by fieldworkers. The inclusion of a great deal of free conversation in the interviews permits a dimension of description which is usually missing in questionnaire responses to specific enquiries.

An interesting example of the range of dialect data brought to light by this project is the use of 'double modals' (such as *will can* or *might could*). In Standard English, modal verbs do not co-occur (p. 212). The double forms are sometimes said to be characteristic of Appalachian speech (and certainly there are antecedents in Middle English, notably in Scotland and northern England, which would support the historical connection hypothesized above). Might it could be a feature?

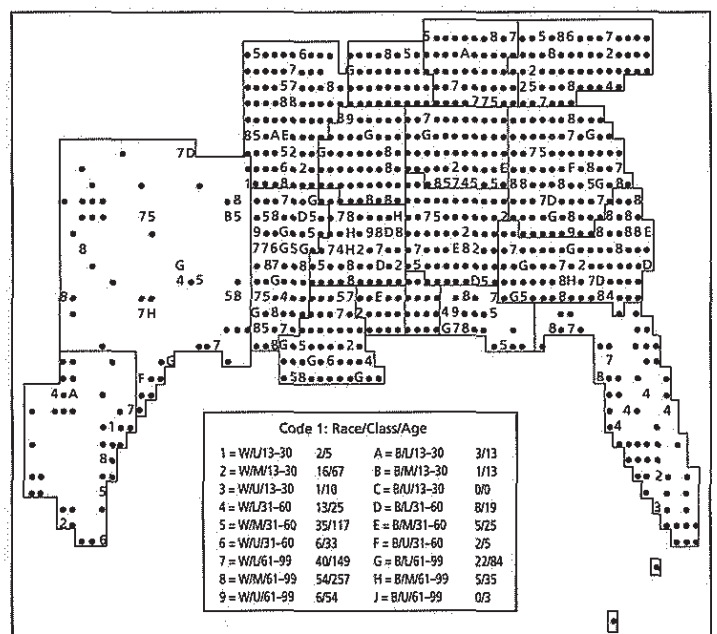
The combinations, ordered in terms of frequency, are as follows; a remarkable 39 forms use eight different first elements.

might could	219
used to could	124
might can	54
might would	41
used to would	19
used to wouldn't	11

used to couldn't	10
may can	9
might ought to	6
shouldn't ought to	6
might better	3
might have could have	3
might have used to	3
might wouldn't	3
shouldn't have ought to	3
used to used (to) could	3
might couldn't	2
might have would have	2
might will	2
and single instances of:	
can might, could might, could used to, may not can, may not ought to, may would, might cannot, might can't, might could've, might have could, might just could, might not can, might not could, might should, might used to, ought to could, shouldn't oughtn't (to), used to used (to) wouldn't, would might, would use to	

A LAGS computer-generated codemap is shown (right) for the most frequent of these combinations. The map gives social, age, ethnic, and geographical patterns. The age of informants was classified into three broad bands: 13 to 30, 31 to 60, and 61 to 99. The following abbreviations are used: W 'white', B 'black', L 'lower class', M 'middle class', U 'upper class'.

On the map, each dot represents an informant location. If a double modal form was used, a dot is replaced by a letter or a number. The key to the symbols is shown alongside the map. A, for example, is



a black, lower-class informant, aged 13 to 30; the figure to the right refers to the number of people in this category who used the form (3 out of 13, in this case). Locator codes on the printout margins have been omitted in this display.

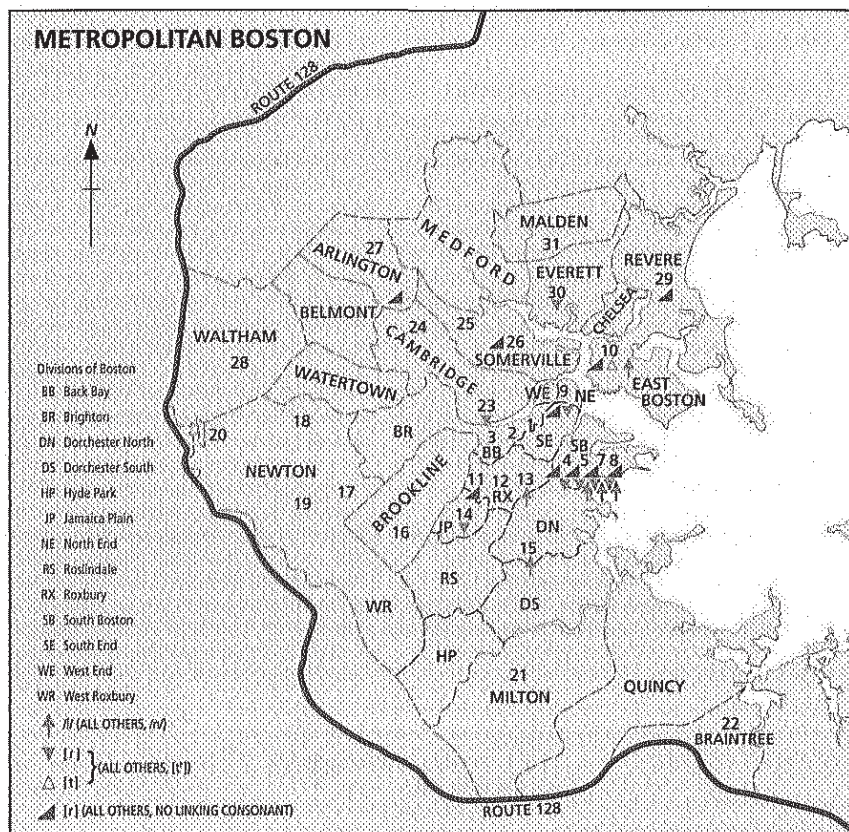
There is evidently a greater concentration of the form in the Lower South, especially stretching from EC Georgia westward to N Louisiana. It occurs relatively infrequently in Tennessee and N Georgia. There is no ethnic

difference in the use of the form (23 per cent of whites and 24 per cent of blacks used it). Over-60s are somewhat less likely to use it (22 per cent vs 31 per cent). There is a definite trend with class, with lower-class people using the form most (30 per cent), followed by middle (23 per cent) and upper (14 per cent) classes. There is, however, no evidence for a prevalence of this modal combination in the Appalachian areas. It might couldn't.

URBAN OBSERVATIONS

A great deal of dialectology has been taken up with the speech and subject-matter of rural areas – very often restricted to older people who have lived their whole lives in the same locality. Increasingly, studies are now being made of urban settings, though the mixed nature of the population invariably defies clear linguistic classification.

The map (right) is part of a study of the greater Boston area carried out in the mid-1960s, in which 30 informants responded to 110 test sentences designed to elicit all the vowels and consonants of Boston English. The study concluded that there were at least three sub-dialects in the city: one accent prevailed, typifying most levels of society outside the central area; a second characterized a minority of upper-class speakers, mainly from certain districts (such as Beacon Hill, Back Bay, Milton); and the third occupied districts at the centre of the city (such as South Boston, East Boston, South Cambridge). For example, among the various differentiating features of the city centre subdialect were three consonantal characteristics: the use of a linking /t/ in such sequences as *law and order*, the replacement of /n/ by /l/ in *chimney*, and the use of a flapped [ɾ] for the second /t/ in *potatoes*. (After R. L. Parslow, 1971.)



CITY TALK

A hint of the complexity to be found in the Chicago area is given in this sketch from a leading US dialectologist, Raven I. McDavid, Jr, with several comments about other dialects thrown in for good measure.

Needless to say, we do not always agree on which vowel or consonant we will use, even when we share the whole repertoire. North of Peoria one is likely to find *greasy* with /-s/, further south with /-z/; a person familiar with both pronunciations is likely to consider one more repulsive than the other – depending on which is his pronunciation at home. In metropolitan Chicago the natives of smaller suburban communities are likely to pronounce *fog*, *hog*, *Chicago* with the vowel of *father*; in the city itself these words normally have the vowel of *law*. Many Pennsylvanians rhyme *food* with *good*; many highly educated Southerners rhyme *soot* with *cut*. *Roof* with the vowel of *foot* is widespread in the area of New England settlement and some of the areas settled from Pennsylvania; *coop* with the vowel of *do* is almost universal north of the Kanawha River; *root* rhyming with *foot* is characteristic of Yankee settlements...

We even show differences in our grammar. No one in South Carolina, however uneducated, would say *hadn't ought*, which is still current in educated Northern speech, nor would we say *sick to the stomach*, which in the North is almost universal. But many educated Southerners – and I include myself – find a place in conversation for *might could*, *used to could* and *used to didn't*. I

have heard the basketball announcer for the *Chicago Tribune* become almost schizoid as he hesitated between *dived* and *dove* (with the vowel of *go*), and there seems to be no regional or social distinction between *kneeled* and *knelled*. Even *ain't* – a four-letter word still taboo in writing despite *Ulysses*, *Lady Chatterly* and Norman Mailer – may be found in educated conversation, especially among the first families of Charleston. When we realize this, we can take calmly the diversity of names for the grass strip between sidewalk and street, the earthworm, the dragon fly or cottage cheese; the debate among New Englanders as to whether a doughnut should be made with yeast; or the fact that the New Orleans poor boy sandwich may be a *hoagy* in Philadelphia, a *submarine* as in Boston, a *grinder* as in upstate New York or a *hero* as in New York City. Only in recent years have people outside learned that *clout* is our local Chicago name for political influence, a *Chinaman* is a dispenser of such influence, a *prairie* is a vacant lot and a *gangway* is a passage, usually covered, between two apartment buildings...

Yet if we are sometimes bewildered by the differences in American English, we should be comforted to learn that by European standards these differences are very small. We can notice, in fact, that not only are the differences along the Atlantic Seaboard fewer and less sharp than one finds in the much shorter distance between Cumberland and Kent, but that differences diminish as we go west. We owe our relative uniformity of speech to several forces. First, the speakers of the more extreme varieties of British local speech were not the ones who migrated... There was dialect mixture in all of



the early settlements – a situation repeated in the westward movement – so that what survived in each area was a compromise. [(see p. 94) And after referring to traditions of geographical and social mobility, industrialization, urbanization, and general education, McDavid concludes:] All of these forces have combined – and are still combining – to replace local and even regional terms with commercial terms of national use, to eradicate the most noticeable non-standard grammatical features and even to reduce the differences between the pronunciation of one region and that of another. Yet though these forces have reduced some of the regional differences in American English, they have not eliminated them. (R. I. McDavid, 1971.)

THE BLUE RIDGE MOUNTAINS



A 650-mile strand of the Appalachian Mountains, running from Pennsylvania through Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina to Georgia. Geographically famous for its wooded scenery, it is linguistically well-known as a boundary region between Midland and Southern dialect areas.

ACCENT ATTITUDES

American regional differences are less widespread than, say, in Britain, as Raven McDavid suggests (p. 316), but the ones that do exist seem to attract just as much publicity, fascination, and concern, as appears from this newspaper report from *The Monitor*, published in McAllen, Texas (30 August 1992).

Instructor helping students modify the y'all drawl

GREENVILLE, S.C. — Stories told in David Pence's class often are tragedies on a small stage. If they sound comic, you must not be from around here.

The class is called "How to Control Your Southern Accent."

There was the story of the Southern auto racer, trying to buy clothing in California, who couldn't make the vendor understand that "rice wire" translated to "race wear".

There was the pair of travelers, far from their home in the Piedmont, who ordered "ahss tay." The waitress begged their pardon. "Ahss tay, plaze," they repeated, meaning the cool drink made from steeped tea leaves. The waitress tapped her pencil on the order pad.

"Finally they said, 'Can we have a soda?'" explained Pence, a speech pathologist by day who has taught the evening course at Greenville Technical College for 3½ years.

He smiled in telling the iced tea saga but said accents are not a laughing matter. A student in his first class burst into tears.

"All these handkerchiefs came out," he recalled, as the woman sobbed, "I've been harassed about my accent so much . . . you don't know how upsetting it is."

The encyclopedia of Southern Culture says Southerners are "often schizophrenic about their speech" — proud of its color and expressiveness, but "insecure" about being heard outside their region. Some parents, it adds, try to expunge Southern features from their children's speech.

The goal of Pence's six-week, \$65 class is straight-

forward but hardly simple: to give his students a choice in how they communicate, especially with non-Southerners.

"If people start listening to how you're saying something, instead of what you're saying, then you're losing effectiveness," he said.

But in a region wary that Yankee influences are already spreading like the unkillable kudzu vine, Pence's effort sounds to some like "Gomer Pyle Meets Henry Higgins" — and they hear snickers.

"Go home. We'll never miss you!" declared one of several hate letters he's received. ("I'm from Arkansas; that's considered Southern," Pence protests, his own native twang threading faintly through his speech, like the still-blue seams of jeans bleached to white.)

Another letter writer stormed that he'd rather hear "someone from central Georgia read the phone book than listen to Beethoven. . . . To my mind you are participating in the destruction of a priceless piece of Americana."

An editorial in *The News and Courier* of Charleston, S.C., took note of Pence's class and just chuckled.

"Can y'all stand it?" the newspaper scoffed. Southern speech "has character and resonance that sets it apart from the unaccented, homogenized speech that afflicts most of the nation."

No argument there from Pence. But what about those who don't want their accent to set them apart?

One student told his class she's passed around on the phone whenever she calls her company's New York office. "It's the girl from the South," she hears.

Kathy Young, an executive secretary who's taking the course for the second time, said, "There's no room in the professional world for a hillbilly secretary" — a perception she hears reflected in Northerners' comments and blames on television.

Portrayals of rubes ['country hicks'], from "The Beverly Hillbillies" to the "Dukes of Hazzard" and beyond, have stereotyped those who use any of the 25 or so distinct Southern dialects that researchers have counted. Even Yale- and Oxford-educated Bill Clinton didn't escape the "Bubba" tag in New York.

Pence gave a more positive reason for wanting to control a Southern accent: As major corporations locate in this booming corner of the Sunbelt — BMW, the latest, announced in June it would build a \$250 million auto plant outside Greenville — getting and keeping a job depend on being understood.

It was the influx of foreign companies that indirectly led Pence to offer his course.

Typical clients he sees in his private practice are stutterers or stroke patients relearning speech, but a few years ago Pence began offering foreign-born executives help in pronouncing English.

Not long afterward, he said, "I started getting people saying, 'Can you work on my Southern accent?'"

One of these was Nancy Humphries. "In 1987, I was crowned Miss South Carolina," she said, and state pageant officials gave her some advice. "To go to Miss America, they wanted me to have more of a general American accent."

She didn't win the national title but she did land the broadcasting job she wanted. And her Southern accent?

"I turn it on and turn it off," she said from her office at the ABC-TV affiliate in Charleston, WCBD, where she's a reporter and morning news anchor.

"When I'm Nancy I can be Nancy. So I still keep my Southernness. It's just in my professional world that I lose my accent."

Another student of Pence's, 67-year-old Dr. George Grimball, took the class after being named district governor of Rotary International; he knew he'd be making many speeches.

Grimball defended Pence's efforts, despite "criticism from these longtime Confederates." Still, his own success was limited by a schedule that kept him from studying tapes and doing other homework — and by the complexity of his goal to begin with.

"I like the way Southerners talk," Grimball said in a modified version of the rich drawl that Americans heard when South Carolina Sen. Ernest Hollings ran for president in 1984.

(Christopher Sullivan of The Associated Press.)

VARIATION IN BRITISH ENGLISH

Awareness of regional variation in English is evident from the 14th century, seen in the observations of such writers as Higden/*Trevisa* (p. 35) or William Caxton (p. 56) and in the literary presentation of the characters in Chaucer's *Reeve's Tale* or the Wakefield *Second Shepherd's Play* (p. 58). Many of the writers on spelling and grammar in the 16th and 17th centuries made comments about regional variation, and some (such as Alexander Gil, p. 66) were highly systematic in their observations, though the material is often obscured by a fog of personal prejudices. The scientific study of dialect in England began in the late 19th century. The English Dialect Society was founded in 1873 by W. W. Skeat, and remained active until the launch of the first major work of British dialectology: Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898–1905).

The Survey of English Dialects

The next major step was planned in 1946 by Swiss professor Eugene Dieth (1893–1956) and British scholar (later Leeds professor of English) Harold Orton (1898–1975), and became known informally as the Dieth–Orton Survey. A questionnaire of over 1,300 items was developed, and a field survey undertaken between 1948 and 1961 in 313 localities throughout England. It was biased towards rural communities, its topics being the farm and farming, animals and nature, the house and housekeeping, the human body, numbers, time and weather, social activities, and abstract states, actions, and relations. Agricultural communities with a static population were selected, and newly built-up areas avoided. The informants were all locally born, working class, almost all over 60, and mainly men. Responses to the questions (over 404,000 items of information) were transcribed by nine fieldworkers in phonetic transcription, and tape recordings were also made of the unscripted speech of the informants. Much of the material remains in archives, but between 1962 and 1971 the basic material was published in an introduction and four volumes. Then in 1978 the *Linguistic Atlas of England* appeared, containing an interpretation of a selection of the data.

A great deal of other work has since taken place in British dialectology, especially focusing on the speech of urban populations. It has also moved away from the classical model of English dialects, as illustrated in the older rural population, and towards a model which better reflects the more complex sociolinguistic situation of a world of considerable population mobility and rapid social change.

EARLY VARIETY OBSERVATIONS

Commentary

I know not what can easily deceiue you in writing, vnlesse it bee by imitating the barbarous speech of your countrie people, whereof I will giue you a taste...Some people speake thus: the *mell* standeth on the *hell*, for the *mill* standeth on the *hill*; so *knet* for *knit*; *bredg* for *bridg*; *knaue* for *gnaw*...Take heed also you put not *id* for *ed* as *unitid* for *united*, which is Scottish. And some ignorantly write a cup a *wine* for a cup of *wine*: and other like absurdities. (Edmund Coote, *The English Schoole-Master*, 1597)

It cannot pass my Observation here, that, when we are come this Length from London, the Dialect of the English Tongue, or the Country-way of expressing themselves, is not easily understood. It is the same in many Parts of England besides, but in none in so gross a Degree, as in this Part...It is not possible to explain this fully by Writing, because the Difference is not so much in the Orthography, as in the Tone and Accent; their abridging the Speech, *Cham*, for *I am*; *Chill* for *I will*; *Don*, for *do on*, or *put on*; and *Doff*, for *do off*, or *put off*; and the like. (Daniel Defoe, *Tour thro' the whole Island of Great Britain*, 1724–7)

There is scarcely any part of England, remote from the capital, where a different system of pronunciation does not prevail. As in Wales they pronounce the sharp consonants for the flat, so in Somersetshire they pronounce many of the flat instead of the sharp: thus for *Somersetshire*, they say *Zomerzeshire*; for *father*, *vather*; for *think*, *THink*; and for *sure*, *zhure*. (John Walker, *Pronouncing Dictionary*, 1791)

Characterization

Good gentleman, go your gait, and let poor volk pass. And 'chud ha' bin zwagger'd out of my life, 'twould not ha' bin zo long as 'tis by a vortnight. Nay, come not near th'old man; keep out, che vor' ye, or ise try whither your costard or my ballow be the harder. Chill be plain with you. (Shakespeare, *King Lear*, IV.vi. Edgar, adopting a south-western dialect)

By the mess, ere these eyes of mine take themselves to slomber, ay'll de gud service, or I'll lig i'th'grund for it; ay, or go to death; and I'll pay't as valorously as I may, that sall I suerly do, that is the breff and the long: Marry, I wad full fain hear some question 'tween you tway. (Shakespeare, *Henry V*, III.ii. Jamy, a representation of Scots)

For other examples of dialect representation in literature, see pp. 331, 348, 353.

OLD LANCASHIRE

This extract from *Tummus and Meary* ('Thomas and Mary') by Tim Bobbin – the pseudonym of John Collier (1708–86) – is an example of the genre of dialect literature which grew up in the 18th century. It appears here in an 1854 edition by Samuel Bamford who considers the account of a century before 'a very imperfect setting forth of the Lancashire dialect' and corrects many allegedly Cheshire forms in it. A translation is given alongside.

Well Mester Cunstable, sed th'Justice, what hanyo brought meh neaw?

Why pyles yur worship, ween meet neaw ta'en a hawse steyley at wur mayin off with tit as hard as he cud.

Odd! thought I t' mehsel, neaw or never, Tum, spyek for thesel. So aw speak op, an sed, 'That's no true, Mr. Justice, for awr boh gooin foots pace.'

Umph! sed th'Justice, there's no mitch difference as to that poynt. Howdtee the tung yung mon, an speake when theawrt spokken too. Well! theaw mon i'th breawn cwot theaw, sed th'Justice, what has theaw to say agen this felley? Is this tit thy tit, sesto?

It is, Ser.

Heer clark, bring that book an let's swear him.

Th'clark brought th' book, an th'Justice sed a nomony to th'felley; an towd him he munt tye care o' whot he sed, or he moot as helt be forsworn, or hong that yeawth theer.

Well, Master Constable, said the Justice, what have you brought me now?

Why please your worship, we have just now taken a horse stealer that was making off with it as hard as he could.

Odd! thought I to myself, now or never, Tim, speak for yourself. So I spoke up, and said, 'That's not true, Mr. Justice, for I was but going a foot's pace.'

Umph! said the Justice, there's not much difference as to that point. Hold you your tongue, young man, and speak when you are spoken to. Well! you man in the brown coat you, said the Justice, what have you to say against this fellow? Is this horse your horse, do you say?

It is, Sir.

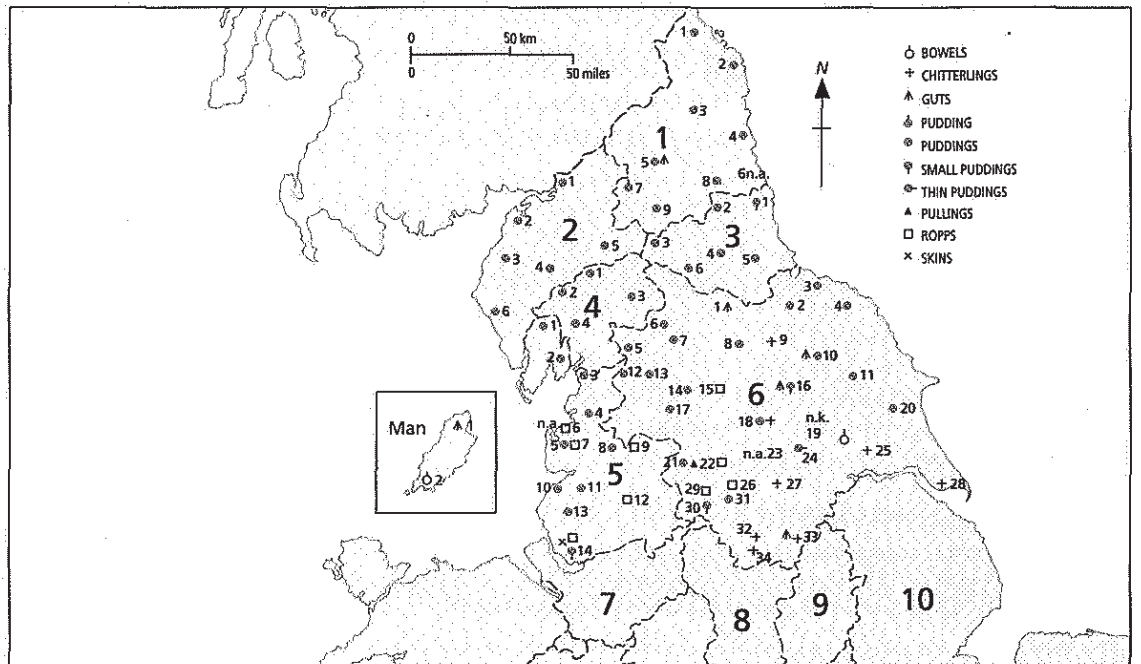
Here, clerk, bring that book and let's swear him [in].

The clerk brought the book, and the Justice said a speech to the fellow; and told him he must take care of what he said, or he might as likely be forsworn, or hang that youth there.

The rural emphasis of the Survey of English Dialects is well represented by this extract. The question is taken from Book 3 of the Survey, on animals, and the responses shown here are for six counties and the Isle of Man. All transcriptions are in the International Phonetic Alphabet (p. 239).

Abbreviations

Nb Northumberland
Cu Cumberland (now part of Cumbria)
Du Durham
We Westmoreland (now part of Cumbria)
La Lancashire
Y Yorkshire
n.a. not available
n.k. not known
p. point to
s.w. suggested word



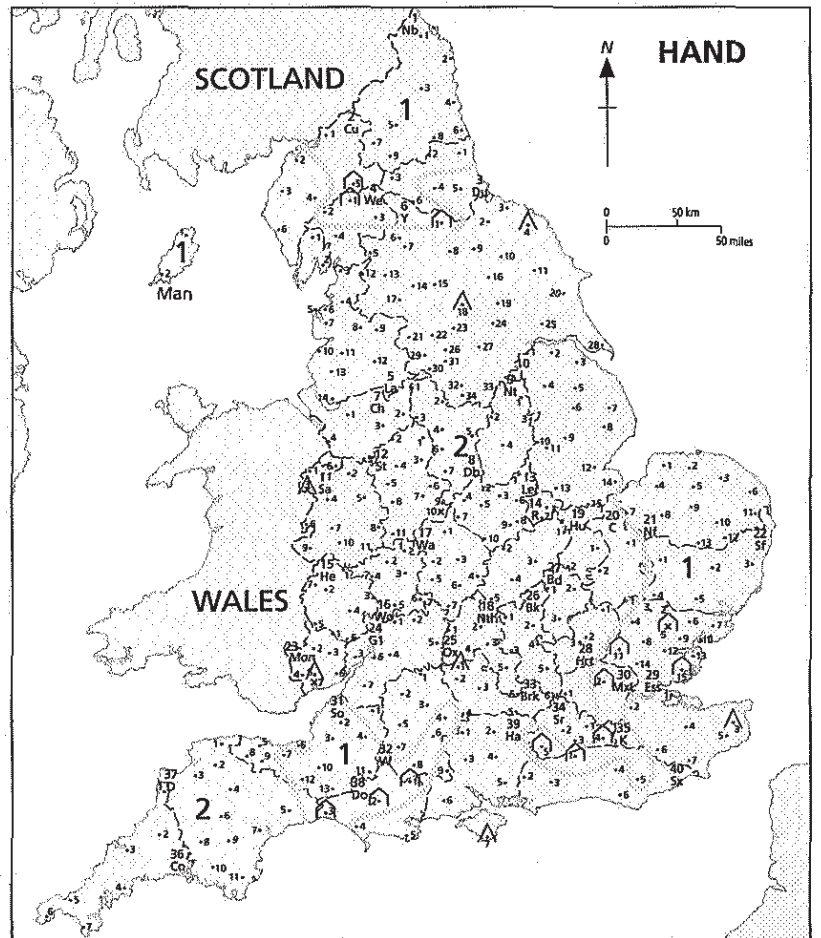
CONSONANT VARIATION

One of the phonological maps from *The Linguistic Atlas of England*, showing the regional distribution of one of the consonants: initial /h/. This has generally been lost in regional speech, but has been retained in three specific rural areas: the far North; an area from East Anglia to N Sussex; and a small area in the South-West.

In these and the following maps, a dot represents the use of a particular form in a locality (numbered in each county). A small cross (x) shows that the fieldworker did not elicit the form. The occurrence of an alternative form in an area is shown by special symbols: $\wedge$ is used for the dropping of /h/ in area 1, and Δ for the retention of /h/ in area 2. If these symbols are centred on the dot, it means that both forms are found in that locality; if centred on the cross, only the alternative form is found.

Key

OE *hand*, *hond*
OE *h-*
 Δ h retained
 $\wedge$ h dropped



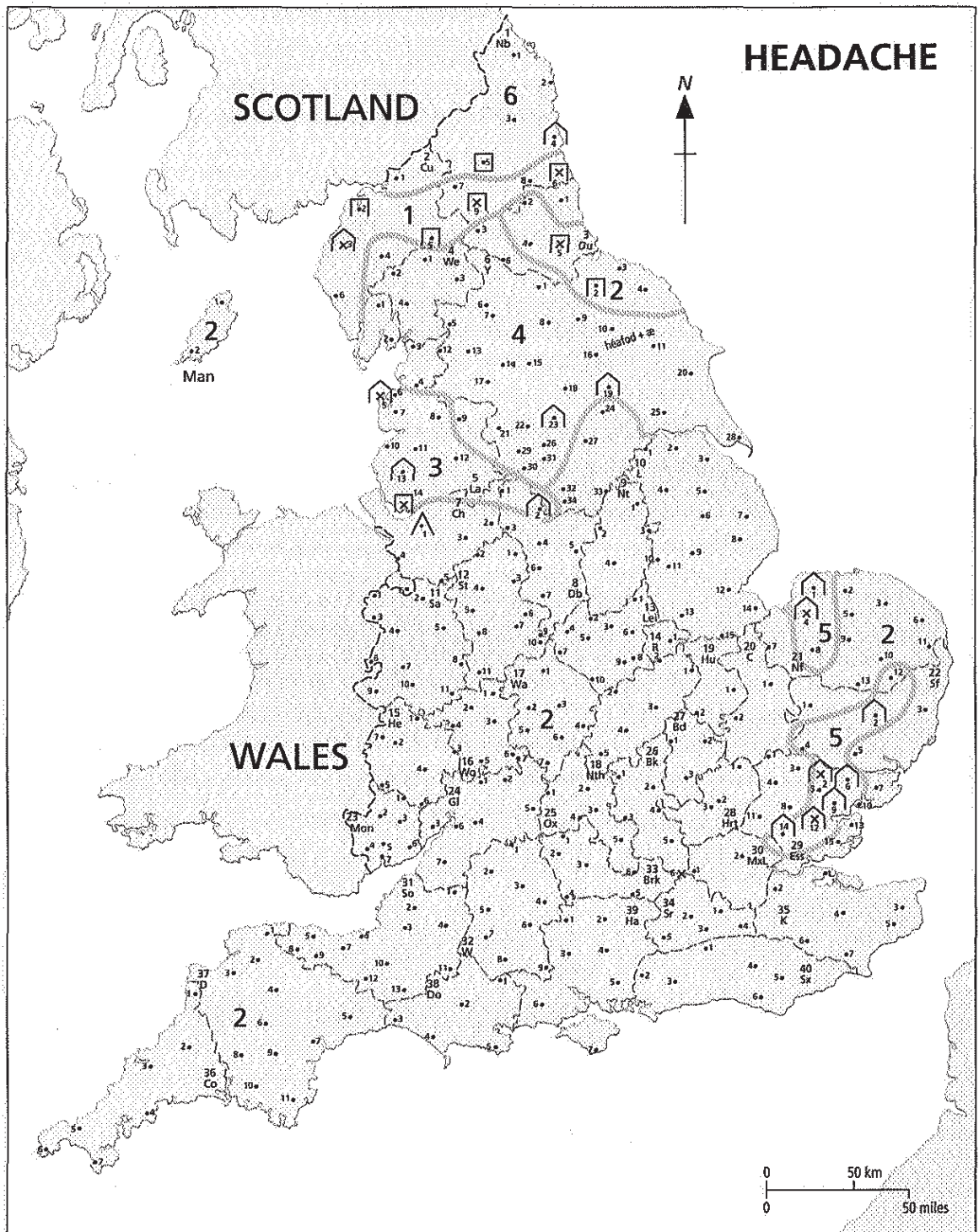
HANDY 6Y *1, 29Ess *11; HAND v 39Ha *7

LEXICAL VARIATION

Some of the maps of the English Dialect Survey (p. 318) show extensive lexical variation. There are nine chief variants noted for *threshold*, for example, and a further 35 alternatives. In the case of *headache*, there is a fairly clear picture. The standard form is used throughout most of the country, but in the North and parts of East Anglia there is a competing regional form, *skullache*. The variant form *head-wark* is found in the far North, with a further variant, *head-warch*, mainly in S Lancashire. Northumberland opts for the more prosaic *sore head*, with *bad head* used in adjacent localities to the south. The Survey also shows the range of words used as premodification (p. 222), where there is an interesting distinction between people who say a *headache* and those who say *the headache*. (For the location of English counties, see p. 143.)

Key

- △ BAD HEAD
- ⤴ HEADACHE
OE *hēafod* + *æ* *ce*
tc1000
- HEADWARCH
OE *heafodwærc*,
ON *hofuðverkr*
tc1000
- HEADWARK
tc1350
- SKULLACHE
- SORE HEAD
OE *sar* + *-*
†1549



The following pre-modifications were rec:

A (BAD HEAD) 1Nb 7/8, 2Cu*2/5/6, 7Ch*1
A BIT OF (HEADACHE) 31So 7;
A (HEADACHE) 7Ch 4/6, 9Nt*1/3,
10L 2/10, 11Sa 4, 13Lei 7/9, 17Wa 3/7,
18Nth 2/4/5, 19Hu 1, 20C 2, 21Nf 2/9,
22Sf*2, 23Mon 5, 24Gl 7, 25Ox 3, 26Bk 3-5,
27Bd 1-3, 28Hrt 2,
29Ess 1/*6/8/*10/12/13/*14, 30MxL 2,
31So 3/8, 32W 4, 33Brk 5, 34Sr 2, 37D 9,
38Do*2, 40Sx 1;

A NASTY (HEADACHE) 16Wo 7;
AN (HEADACHE) 9Nt*1, 13Lei 1-6/10,
14R 1/2, 17Wa 7, 23Mon 7;
THE (HEADACHE) 1Nb*4, 3Du 2,
5La 5, 6Y*2/4/*23/24/27/32-34, 7Ch*1/3/5,
8Db 7, 9Nt 4, 10L 8/9/15, 11Sa 1/2/5-11,
12St*9, 15He 1-6, 16Wo 1-6, 17Wa 1/4-6,
18Nth 1/3, 19Hu 2, 20C 1, 21Nf 4/7, 22Sf 1/3/5,
23Mon 1/2/6, 24Gl 1-6, 25Ox 1/2/5/6, 26Bk 2,
28Hrt 1, 29Ess 2/*10/*14, 30MxL 1,
31So 4/6*9/13, 32W 3/5/6/8, 33Brk 4,

35K 2, 36Co*1/3/5/6, 37D 1/2/5/7/10/11,
38Do*2/3/5, 39Ha 1/3
THE (HEADWARCH) 5La 6/8/10, 8Db 1
A BIT (HEADWARK) 3Du*6;
A (HEADWARK) 2Cu*5, 6Y 1/8/10;
A TERRIBLE (HEADWARK) 6Y 7;
A (SKULLACHE) 29Ess*6/*14;
THE (SKULLACHE) 22Sf 4, 29Ess 5/*14
A (SORE HEAD) 1Nb 1-3/*4, 2Cu 1;

MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION

There is a remarkable diversity in the use of the verb *to be* in English dialects, especially in its negative forms. The map shows the range encountered for the first person singular: 16 variants are shown on the map, and a further eight isolated forms listed below.

Among the interesting features are: the use of *is*/'s in the North (compare the use of this feature in American dialects, p. 315); *ain't* is widespread in the East Midlands and South-East, with variant forms (*en't*, *yun't*) further west; and forms based on *be* dominate in the South-West.

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

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

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

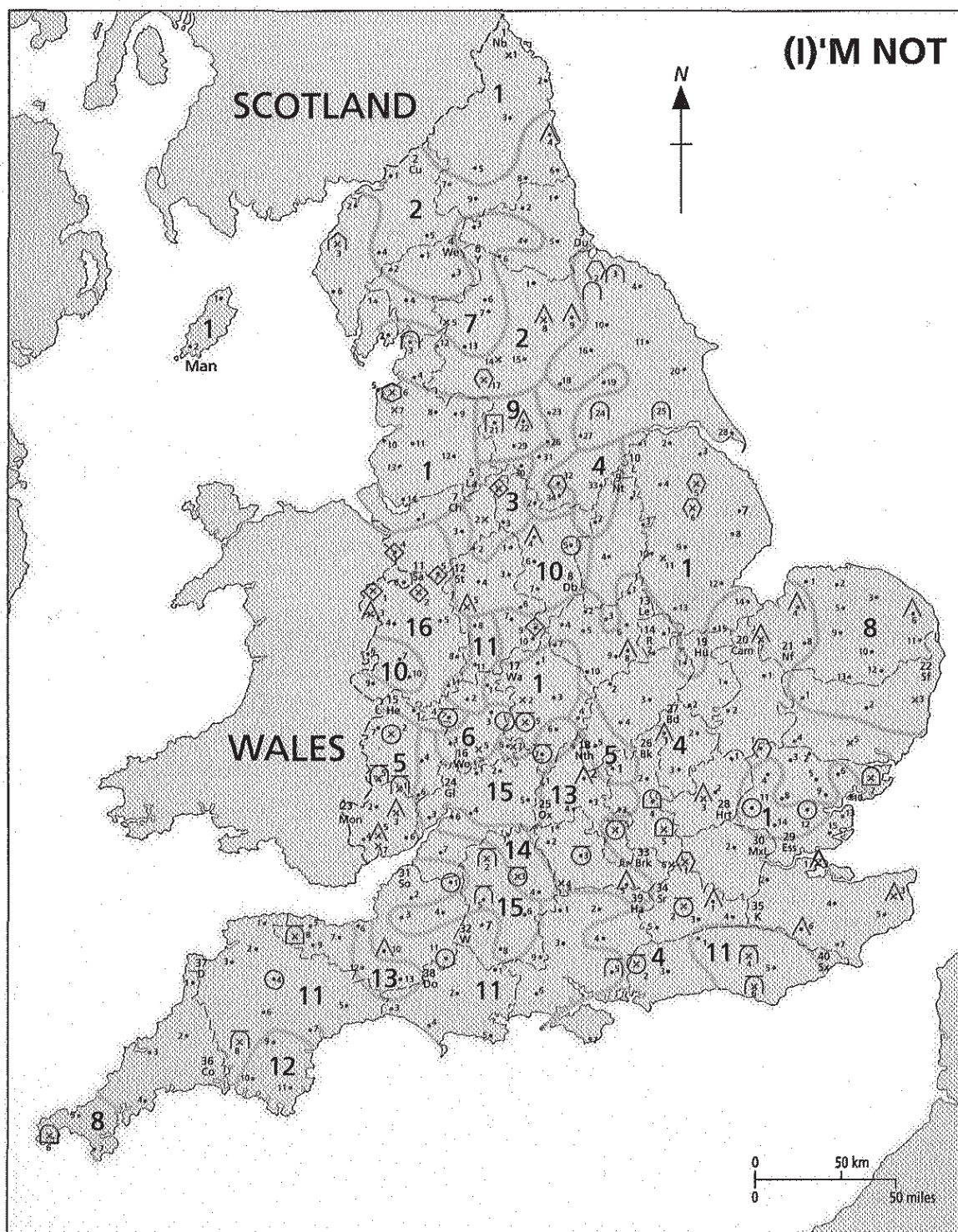
she is: is, be, bin, (am, bist)

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

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

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

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



Key
 ▲ 'M NOT
 △ 'S NOT
 □ 'M NONE
 ○ AIN'T
 ○ EN'T
 ○ YUN'T
 □ ISN'T
 ○ AREN'T

◇ AMMET
 ◇ AMNO'
 □ BAIN'T
 □ BAAN'T
 □ BEN'T
 □ BYEN'T
 □ BYUN'T
 □ BINNO'

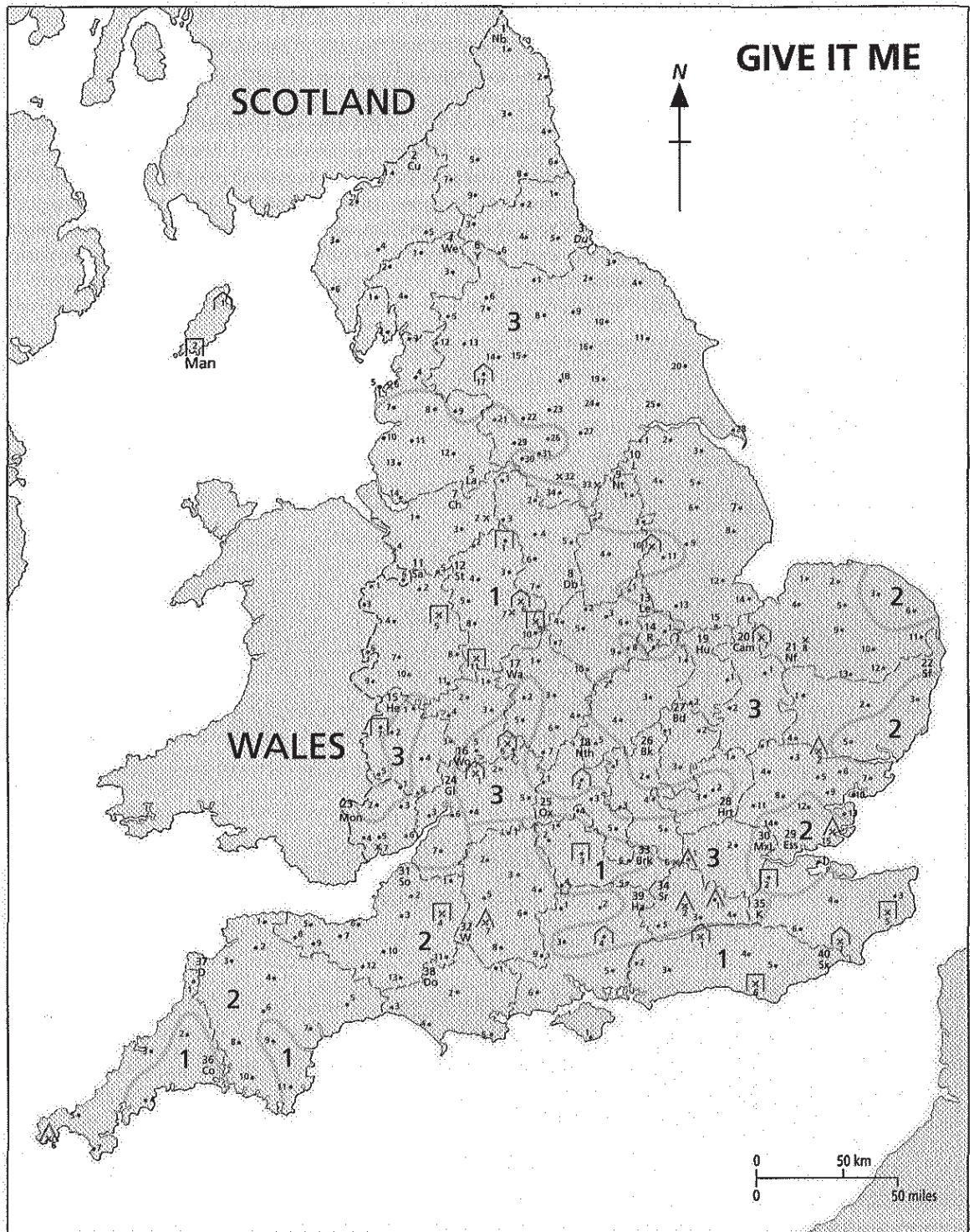
AMMENT 1Nb 1
 AM NOT Man *2
 AMN' 25Ox *5
 BISN'T 16Wo 5
 IN'T 22Sf 1/3
 'RE NOT 35K *1/'7
 'S NOT 6Y *15
 YEN'T 33Brk 4

SYNTACTIC
VARIATION

An example of a dialect map showing variations in syntax (p. 214). The word order *give me it* is usual in the North, most of the East, and in a narrow band across the South Midlands; *give it me* dominates in the lower North-West, West Midlands, and South-East, with the prepositional form, *give it to me*, the norm in the South-West, and also occurring in enclaves around the Thames estuary and in East Anglia. The pronoun-less form *give me* is recorded once, in Surrey. This is doubtless one of the forms which would be much more widely represented in an urban dialect survey. (The map summarizes word order patterns only, ignoring the actual choice of pronouns.)

Key

- △ GIVE IT ME
- ◡ GIVE IT TO ME
- GIVE ME IT

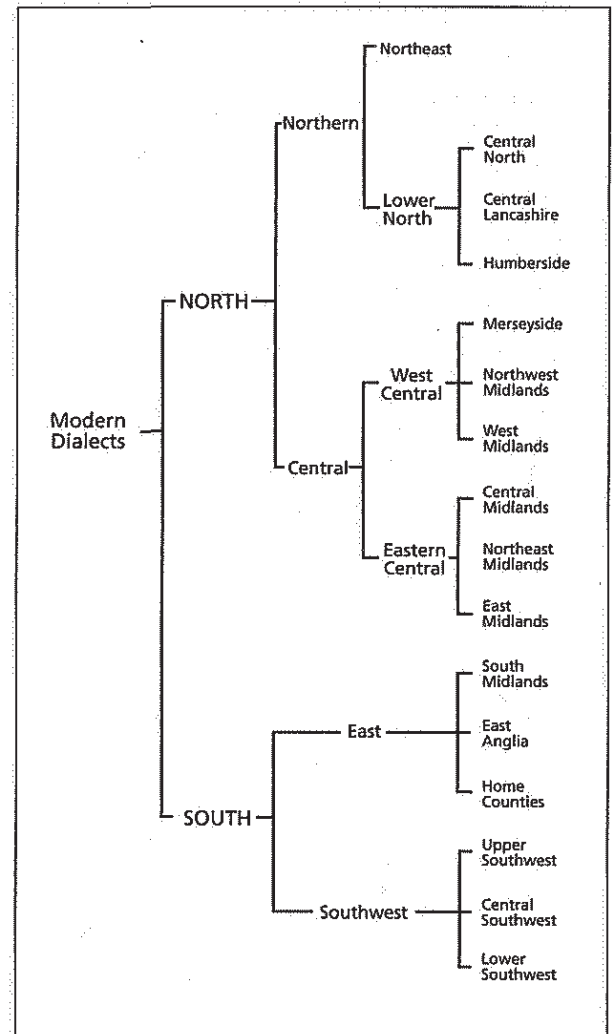


GIVE ME (no it) 345r *5

Relatively few people in England now speak a dialect of the kind represented on the facing page. Although such forms as *zeven* 'seven' will still be encountered in real life, they are more often found in literary representations of dialect speech and in parodies by comedians or in dialect humour books (p. 410). The disappearance of such pronunciations, and their associated lexicon and grammar, is sometimes described as 'English dialects dying out'. The reality is that they are more than compensated for by the growth of a range of comparatively new dialect forms, chiefly associated with the urban areas of the country.

If the distinguishing features of these dialects are used as the basis of classification, a very different-looking dialect map emerges, with 16 major divisions. Once again, a series of pronunciation criteria illustrate the areas (*gg* represents the use of /g/ after /ŋ/, as in *finger*; *ioo* represents

the use of a very short [u] vowel before [l]), and a hierarchical representation of the dialect relationships is given below. In this analysis, the vowel in such words as *up* ([ʊp] 'oop' in the North, [ʌp] in the South) is considered to be the chief distinguishing feature, and a division between North and South has been made on this basis (from P. Trudgill, 1990). A division using another well-known feature, 'short vs long *a*' (p. 307) would also be possible, though this would make the boundary run somewhat differently in the Midland area. What is plain is that few of the dialect areas coincide with those shown opposite. Moreover, the traditional North-South boundary turns out to be no longer in England, but on the border between England and Scotland, and it is this division which gives rise to the most noticeable dialect distinction in modern British English (p. 328).



Area	very	few	cars	made	up	long	hill
Northeast	veree	few	cahs	mehd	oop	long	hill
Central North	veri	few	cahs	mehd	oop	long	ill
Central Lancashire	veri	few	carrs	mehd	oop	longg	ill
Humberside	veree	few	cahs	mehd	oop	long	ill
Merseyside	veree	few	cahs	mayd	oop	longg	ill
Northwest Midlands	veri	few	cahs	mayd	oop	longg	ill
West Midlands	veree	few	cahs	mayd	oop	longg	ill
Central Midlands	veri	few	cahs	mayd	oop	long	ill

Area	very	few	cars	made	up	long	hill
Northeast Midlands	veree	few	cahs	mayd	oop	long	ill
East Midlands	veree	foo	cahs	mayd	oop	long	ill
Upper Southwest	veree	few	carrs	mayd	up	long	ill
Central Southwest	veree	few	carrs	mayd	up	long	iooll
Lower Southwest	veree	few	carrs	mehd	up	long	ill
South Midlands	veree	foo	cahs	mayd	up	long	iooll
East Anglia	veree	foo	cahs	mayd	up	long	(h)ill
Home Counties	veree	few	cahs	mayd	up	long	iooll

URBAN GRAMMAR

A great deal of the descriptive and analytical work on British dialects over the years has in fact been concerned with vocabulary and accent (p. 299), rather than with grammar, and as a result many important features of English regional variation have remained undescribed. This page reports on some of the grammatical features which have been found in modern urban dialects, and which will also now be encountered in any area of countryside influenced by the economy of a nearby city.

AUXILIARIES IN READING

The English used by a group of adolescents in Reading, Berkshire (40 miles west of London) displays a number of nonstandard features. One of the main features is a distinctive present-tense use of *do*, which appears in as many as three nonstandard verb forms, alternating with standard forms.

- An *-s* ending occurs with all subjects except third person singular (p. 204):

That's what I does, anyway, I just ignores them.

- A form lacking a suffix occurs with third person singular subjects:

She cadges, she do.

- The form *dos* /du:z/ occurs with all subjects, though mainly as third person singular:

All the headmaster dos now is makes you stand in a corner.

The table below shows the frequency of use of each of these forms as full verb and

as auxiliary verb (p. 212), derived from the speech of all (24) speakers in the study. The figures suggest that there is a grammatical rule in this area of usage which Standard English does not share. *Dos* occurs only as a full verb (mainly with third person subjects). *Do* occurs chiefly as an auxiliary verb. *Does* is divided, though occurring chiefly as a full verb, especially with third person singular subjects (as in Standard English).

In other words, the forms of *do* are dependent on different factors in Reading English compared with Standard English. In the latter, they depend only on the subject of the verb (third person vs others), whereas in Reading they also depend on the syntactic function of the verb (whether full or auxiliary). In this respect, the regional dialect is more complex than the standard – clear evidence against the popular view that dialects are in some way 'reduced' or 'simplified' departures from Standard English. (After J. Cheshire, 1982.)

Subject	Full verb			Auxiliary verb		
	<i>does</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>dos</i>	<i>does</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>dos</i>
		%			%	
Third singular	50.00	12.50	37.50	33.33	66.67	0.00
Non-third singular	56.80	35.70	7.10	2.10	97.90	0.00

AFFIRMATION IN FARNWORTH

Farnworth is a municipal borough in the Greater Bolton area, just north of Manchester. An analysis of spontaneous speech interviews recorded in the 1970s brought to light an interesting system of negation, including a distinctive use of affirmative and negative particles, with two contrasts under each heading instead of the single *yes-no* contrast of Standard English.

'Yes'

- /aɪ/ *aye* – the normal word for 'yes'.
- /jaɪ/ *yigh* – the word for 'yes' when answering a negative question or contradicting a negative proposition (comparable to the distinction which exists between *doch* and *ja* in German or *si* and *oui* in French).

A: I can't find the scissors.

B: Yigh, they're here.

'No'

- /næ:, ne:/ *no* – the normal word for 'no'.
- /ne:/ *nay* – used when contradicting someone.

A: You know more than you're telling.

B: Nay, by gum! I'm not having that!

Other negative forms

/nɒn/ – a negative adverb or pronoun (p. 210):

I'm *noan* going. (= 'not')

He's gotten *noan*. (= 'none')

That didn't upset them *noan*.

I *never* eat no dinner. (= 'not', referring to a single occasion)

Treble and quadruple negatives are common:

I am *not never* going to do *nowt* (= 'nothing') *no* more for thee.

We couldn't see *nowt*.

Well I've *not neither*.

He couldn't get them out *no* road.

(= 'any way')

There were *no* chairs ready *nor nowt*.

A negative verb may also be used with such adverbs as *hardly*, in contrast to Standard English:

I've never *hardly* done it.

I couldn't *hardly* eat.

(After G. Shorrocks, 1985.)

PAST TENSES IN TYNESIDE

The area around the R. Tyne, in NE England, and dominated by Newcastle, has a wide range of dialect features, often summed up in the label 'Geordie' (a Scottish nickname for George).

This dialect area extends throughout Northumberland, and shares several features with southern Scots.

The table shows the past tense and past participle forms (p. 204) of a number of irregular verbs. Most of the features are found in other urban dialects, but there are a few forms which are distinctive to this region. Most of the past participles which actually do end in *-en* in Standard English do not occur, but there are four cases, which may be unique to this area, of a non-standard *-en* use. The verb *treat* is regular in Standard English, but irregular in Tyneside. There are reversals of function in *come*, *run*, *see*, and *shrink*:

I come to see him last week. They had came to see me.

In this region, also, *gan* is used as an alternative verb to *go*, and *div/divent* are used as forms of *do* when this is an auxiliary verb,

especially in tag questions (p. 218):

Ye divent knaa, div ye? (= 'You don't know, do you?')

The full verb *do* is the same as in Standard English, thus allowing such contrasts as the following:

I do all the work, divent I?

	Base	Standard	Tyneside
beat	beat	beat/beaten	beat/beat
bite	bite	bit/bitten	bit/bit
break	broke	broke/broken	broke/broke
come	came	came/come	come/come
do	did	did/done	done/done
eat	ate	ate/eaten	ate/ate
fall	fell	fell/fallen	et/etten
forget	forgot	forgot/forgotten	fell/fell
get	got	got/got	forgot/forgot
give	gave	gave/given	forgot/forgotten
go	went	went/gone	got/getten
put	put	put/put	give/give
ring	rang	rang/rung	went/went
run	ran	ran/run	put/putten
say	said	said/said	rang/rang
see	saw	saw/seen	run/ran
shrink	shrank	shrank/shrunk	said/sayed
sing	sang	sang/sung	seen/saw
sink	sank	sank/sunk	shrank/shrunk
speak	spoke	spoke/spoken	shrank/shrank
spin	spun	spun/spun	sang/sang
swing	swung	swung/swung	sunk/sunk
take	took	took/taken	spoke/spoke
treat	treated	treated/treated	span/spun
write	wrote	wrote/written	swang/swung
			took/took
			tret/tret
			wrote/wrote

(After C. McDonald, in J. Beal, 1988.)

ESTUARY ENGLISH

The 'estuary' in question is that of the R. Thames. The term was coined in the 1980s to identify the way features of London regional speech seemed to be rapidly spreading throughout the counties adjoining the river (especially Essex and Kent) and beyond. It is something of a misnomer, for the influence of London speech has for some time been evident well beyond the Thames estuary, notably in the Oxford – Cambridge – London triangle (p. 50) and in the area to the south and east of London as far as the coast. Nonetheless, the phrase 'estuary English' caught the public imagination, and received considerable publicity, including a front page headline in *The Sunday Times* (14 March 1993):

Yer wot? 'Estuary English' Sweeps Britain

While 'sweeping' may be something of an exaggeration, the spread of the variety has certainly been noticeable in recent years. London-influenced speech can now be heard around three other estuaries – the Humber in the north-east, the Dee in the north-west, and the Severn in the west – at least partly because of the relatively easy rail and motorway commuting networks. With Hull, Chester, and Bristol now only just over two hours from London, the morning and evening transport routes to and from the capital carry many people who speak with an accent which shows the influence of their place of work.

The factors governing the spread of this variety are only partly explained by social mobility and new patterns of settlement. For example, there is the influence of radio and television, and of English media personalities who use a modified form of Cockney, such as Ben Elton and Jonathan Ross. But certainly, after World War 2, thousands of London speakers did move to outside the city, and to the new towns which were being built around the capital. Their move will have caused many to modify their accents, and their numerical presence (as well as their economic standing) may even have influenced the original residents to accommodate (p. 298) in their direction.

Estuary English may therefore be the result of a confluence of two social trends: an up-market movement of originally Cockney speakers, and a down-market trend towards 'ordinary' (as opposed to 'posh') speech by the middle class. There is certainly plenty of anecdotal evidence that many people these days wish to avoid the 'establishment' connotations of Received Pronunciation (p. 363), and try to speak in a way which they perceive to be more down to earth. In the 1993 debate which accompanied the *Sunday Times* report, one leading businessman was explicit about this point. Referring to a 'public school accent' (RP) he commented: 'If you were unlucky enough to have such an accent, you would lower it. You would try to become more consumer friendly'.

A continuum

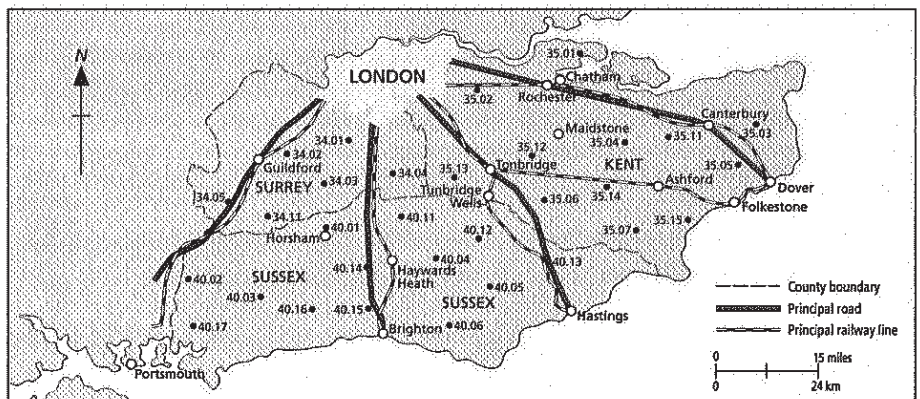
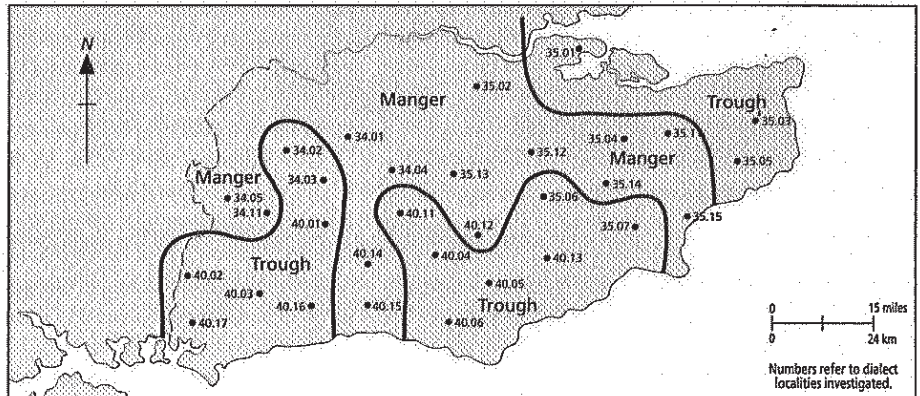
The phenomenon, as identified in the press, has been perceived as more to do with accent than with dialect, and has been described as a continuum of pronunciation possibilities, with Cockney at one end and Received Pronunciation at the other. But the variety is distinctive as a dialect, not just as an accent, as can be seen from the following selection of features which are becoming increasingly widespread.

DIALECT TRAVELS

The above map shows the distribution of words for a 'food-trough in a cow-house' as recorded to the south of London by *The Survey of English Dialects* (p. 318). It is likely that the older form is *trough*, and *manger* (a more standard term in agricultural writing) has spread into the area from the north. Is there anything to explain the pattern of change?

The righthand map shows the main routes of

communication connecting London to population centres along the coast. Each of the three southward movements of *manger* coincides with major road and rail routes – to Dover, Brighton, and Portsmouth. The suggestion is that the spread of a form is accelerated in areas with good communication links, and held back in more isolated areas (p. 54). This pattern may well be being repeated on a nationwide scale, in the case of estuary English. (After P. Trudgill, 1990, pp. 122–3.)



Pronunciation

- The glottal stop in certain positions, especially replacing /t/ at the end of a word or before a consonant (*Gatwick airport*). On the other hand, only those speakers closest to the Cockney end of the continuum would use the glottal stop before a vowel (as in *water*), which is still perceived to be a Cockney feature.
- The replacement of final /-l/ by a short [u] vowel (p. 241), so that *hill* is pronounced [hɪu]. Although this feature is common, other features traditionally associated with Cockney speech are much less so, such as the replacement of *th* /θ/ and /ð/ by /f/ and /v/ respectively.

Grammar

- The 'confrontational' question tag (p. 299), as in *I said I was going, didn't I*. Other Cockney tags (such as *innit*) are also sometimes found in jocular estuary speech (or writing, p. 410), which may indicate a move towards their eventual standardization.
- Certain negative forms, such as *never* referring to a single occasion (*I never did, No I never*). Less likely is the use of the double negative, which is still widely perceived as uneducated (p. 194).

- The omission of the *-ly* adverbial ending, as in *You're turning it too slow, They talked very quiet for a while*.
- Certain prepositional uses, such as *I got off of the bench, I looked out the window*.
- Generalization of the third person singular form (*I gets out of the car*), especially in narrative style; also the generalized past tense use of *was*, as in *We was walking down the road*.

Some of these developments are now increasingly to be heard in the public domain, such as on the more popular channels of the BBC, and some have even begun to penetrate the British establishment. Glottalization, for example, will be heard on both sides of the House of Commons, and has been observed in the younger members of the royal family. The publicizing of the trend, however, has provoked a strong purist reaction, and led to a further round of the debate about the safeguarding of standards. What seems to be happening, however, is the gradual replacement of one kind of standard by another – a process which was characterized by several newspaper commentators in 1993 as the linguistic corner-stone of a future classless British society.

VARIATION IN SCOTLAND

Of all the varieties of English which have developed within the British Isles, there are none more distinctive or more divergent from Standard English than some of those associated with Scotland. Indeed, the extent of the divergence in one of these varieties has led to a well-established use of the label, the 'Scots language', and to a spirited defence of all that such a label stands for. It is argued that Scots differs from the regional dialects of England in two crucial ways. It is unique because it was once the variety used, in the late Middle Ages, when Scotland was an independent nation; and it is unique because it has a clearly defined history of its own, with a strong literary tradition beginning in Middle English (p. 52), its own dialect variants (several of which have individual literary histories), its own 'golden age' and period of decline, a modern literary renaissance, and a contemporary sociolinguistic stature which other dialects of British English do not share. There are many more Scottish expressions in current use in Scotland than there are English dialect expressions in current use in any dialect of England. The term 'dialect island' is sometimes used to capture the character of the Scottish situation.

The people of Scotland are generally far more aware of the distinctive character of their speech and writing, take it far more seriously, and argue about standards of usage in it far more forcibly than is the case with speakers of regional dialects to the south. A representation of a regional dialect often appears in print only for jocular or folklore purposes; this is not so in Scotland, where there is in addition a strong and respected tradition of academic linguistic study, societies devoted to the furtherance of Scots as a language, and a growing corpus of written material in one or other of its varieties. For

example, Scots has received far more lexicographic description than other regional British varieties, with such major publications as John Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (1808, 1825, 4 vols) and the present-day *Scottish National Dictionary* (completed 1976, 10 vols). The Association for Scottish Literary Studies has an active Language Committee. And the Scots Language Society's journal, *Lallans* (p. 333), begun in 1973, presents material in prose which extends the range of the language to well beyond the literary uses to which it has largely been put in recent years (p. 330).

The identity of English in Scotland has become much more than a distinctive regional accent and the occasional habitual feature of grammar and vocabulary. It reflects an institutionalized social structure, at its most noticeable in the realms of law, local government, religion, and education, and raises problems of intelligibility that have no parallel elsewhere in Britain. However, despite these national underpinnings, and the extensive language loyalty, Scots as a language has not so far been able to make inroads into the use of Standard English as the language of power and public prestige, and it has no official existence. Outside certain specialized publications, its public use tends to be restricted to literature and folklore, to a few programmes on radio and television about local issues, and to jocular contexts, such as cartoons and comic strips. At the same time, there have been major publications, such as the translation of the New Testament into Scots. The situation, in short, is complex and unclear. However, even those scholars who debate whether to call Scots a language or a dialect end up by recognizing its special status – for they are faced with no such dilemma in considering the other regional varieties of English in Britain.

LEGAL LANGUAGE DIFFERENCES

Of the 300 entries on law (p. 374) in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia* (1994), 88 of them specify differences between the law in England and Wales and the law in Scotland, with various linguistic consequences.

- Several terms, such as *burglary*, *covenant*, *habeas corpus*, *subpoena*, and *suspended sentence*, do not exist in Scottish law.
- Some semantic fields (p. 157) are structured differently. There is no distinction, for example, between *libel* and *slander*, as the Scottish legal system recognizes only *defamation*. And where the term *minor* exists in England and Wales for a person below the age of 18 years, Scottish law distinguishes between *pupils* (to age 12 for girls and 14 for boys) and *minors* (older children up to 18).
- Several terms in English law have Scottish equivalents, such as:

Scotland	England and Wales
advocate	barrister
arbitrator	arbitrator
apprehension	arrest
extortion	blackmail
fire-raising	arson
defendant	defender
injunction	interdict
alimony	aliment
probate	confirmation
manslaughter	culpable homicide
tort	delict

THE BIBLE TRANSLATED

A major step in giving prestige to Scots came with the publication in 1983 of the *New Testament in Scots* by William Laughton Lorimer (1885–1967), which his entry in the *Oxford Companion to the English Language* refers to as 'the greatest achievement of modern Scots prose'. A few lines from the parable of the 'Prodigal Son' convey something of the flavour (though not the stylistic variety) of the translation. For comparison, the same extract is also shown in two other versions, brought together by the journal *English World-Wide* in 1983.

Scots

This, tae, he said tae them: 'There wis aince a man hed twa sons; and ae day

the yung son said til him, "Faither, gie me the faa-share o your haudin at I hae a richt til." Sae the faither haufed his haudin atweesh his twa sons.

No lang efterhin the yung son nifert the haill o his portion for siller, an fuir awa furth til a faur-aff kintra, whaur he sperfelt his siller livin the life o a weirdless waister. Efter he hed gane throu the haill o it, a fell faimin brak out i yon laund, an he faund himsel in unco sair mister. Sae he gaed an hired wi an indwaller i that kintra, an the man gied him the wark o tentin his swine outbye i the fields. Gledlie wad he panged his wame wi the huils at they maitit the swine wi, but naebodie gied him a haet...

Lallans (J. K. Annand, 1982)

And he spak: There dwalt a chiel that

had twa sons. And the young ane said til his faither, 'Gie me the bairns' pairt o gear that will be my due.' And he bunced aa that he aucht atween them.

And no lang efter the young son getherthegither aa his gear and set aff for a fremit land, and there he gaed on the randan. And when he had wared aa his siller, there was an unco famine in that airt, and he was on his beam-end. And he gaed and fee'd himsel til a fermer in that land, and he was sent intil the fields to fother the grice. And he wad hae likit fine to hae fult his kyte wi the brock that the grice are, but he gat nane.

Lowland Scots (J. T. Low, 1983)

Aince mair he said til them: 'There war a chiel had twa sons; and the young ane said til his faither, "Faither, gie me that pairt o the faimily walth

that sud faa tae me". Sae noo the faither pairted his guidis and gear atween them.

A puckle days later this young ane chynghed his pairt intil sillar and left his hame tae gang til a kintra hyne awa. There did he no splairge the hale hypothec in wastrie and cairry-ons. Whan he had gane throu aa, a muckle hership brak oot in that kintra, and he begud tae thole sair scant and want. He gaed and socht wark wi ane o the lairds o that airt; and this chiel telt him tae gang intil his parks tae gie the beasts their mair. He was that sair hungert that he wad fain hae filled his kyte wi the huils that the grumphies war eatan; and naebodie gied him anything...

SOME SCOTS LINGUISTIC FEATURES

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

Pronunciation

(See §17 for phonetics terminology.)

- There is the absence of lip-rounding in such words as *stone* and *go*, giving Scots *stane*, *gae*.

- The close back vowel /u:/ is fronted, so that SE *moon* and *use* are heard in several dialects with [y] (as in French *tu*), and written in such spellings as *muin* and *yuisse*.

- Final /l/ was replaced by an [u]-type vowel in late Middle English, giving many words which are represented without an /l/ in the spelling, as in *saut* ('salt'), *fou* ('full'), *baw* ('ball'). Some spelling systems represent the 'missing l' by an apostrophe, as in *fu'*.

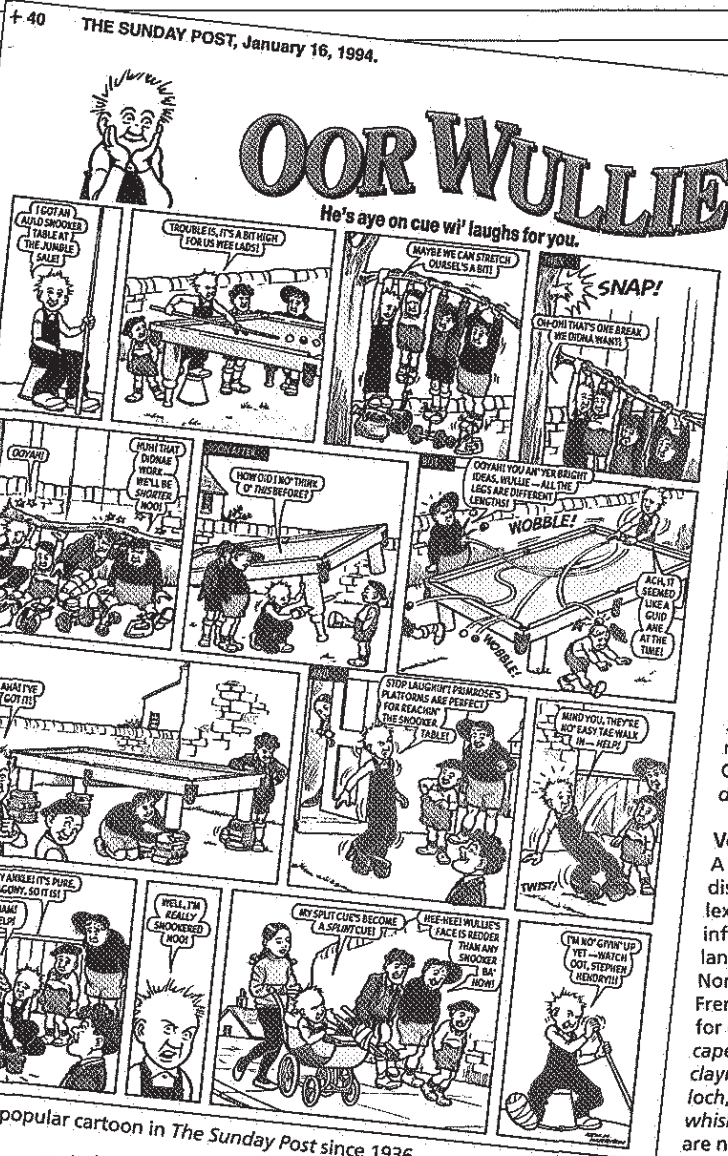
- There were several different effects of the Great Vowel Shift (p. 69) in Scottish English, such as the retention of a pure vowel /u:/ in such words as *hoose* ('house') and *doon* ('down').

- Certain vowels have no inherent length, but are long or short depending on the sound which follows them (the *Scottish vowel-length rule*). Close vowels /i/ and /u/ are most affected. For example, /i/ is long in *leave* and *sees*, but short in *leaf* and *cease*. That this is not just a function of longer duration in front of a voiced (lenis) consonant, as in RP (p. 242), is shown by such pairs as *agreed* (long) vs *greed* (short) or *feel* (long) vs *feeling* (short), where the conditioning factor is the grammatical boundary between stem and ending.
- A velar fricative is commonly heard, in such words as *loch* and *nicht* ('night'), and also in *technical*, *patriarch*, *Brechin*, and other *-ch*-items.
- The voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/ is widespread, allowing a contrast between *while* and *wile*, or *whales* and *Wales*. In the North-East, the /ɸ/ is replaced by /t/: *fa* ('who'), *fite* ('white'), etc.
- A glottal stop is widely heard in urban accents, in such words as *butter*, and is spreading throughout the country, especially in the speech of younger people.
- Pitch range and direction tends to be wider than in RP, and unstressed syllables are often pronounced with greater emphasis (e.g. *Wednesday* with three distinct syllables).

Grammar

(See Part III for grammatical terminology.)

- Irregular plural nouns include *een* ('eyes'), *shuin* ('shoes'), and *hors* ('horses'). Regularized nouns



Oor Wullie, popular cartoon in *The Sunday Post* since 1936.

include

leafs, *wifes*, *wolfs*, *lifes*, etc.

- Two pronoun variants are *thae* ('those') and *thir* ('these'). In Orkney and Shetland, and occasionally elsewhere, the *thou/thee/ye* distinction is maintained (p. 71). Other distinctive pronouns often heard include *mines* ('mine'), *they* ('these'), *they yins* ('they'), and *yous* ('you' plural).

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

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

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

- Auxiliary verbs *shall*, *may*, and *ought* are not normally used in speech, being replaced with such forms as *will* (for *shall*), *can* or *maybe* (for *may*), and *should* or *want* (for *ought*, as in *You want to get*

out a bit). Double modals (p. 315) may be heard: *might could*, *will can*, etc.

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

- Syntactic constructions include several uses of prepositions, such as the back of 3 o'clock ('soon after 3 o'clock'), and from (frae) for by in passives (We were all petrified frae him). Tag question variations (p. 299) include *Is Mary still outside, is she?* See may be used to mark a new topic, especially in Glasgow, as in *See it's daft doing that*.

Vocabulary

A great deal of the distinctiveness of the Scots lexicon derives from the influence of other languages, especially Gaelic, Norwegian (p. 25), and French (p. 46). Gaelic loans, for example, include *cairn*, *capercaillie*, *ceilidh*, *claymore*, *gillie*, *glen*, *ingle*, *loch*, *pibroch*, *sporrán*, and *whisky*, and several of these are now part of Standard English. The following are among the lexical items which remain restricted to Scots. It

is the tiniest of samples, considering that *The Scots Thesaurus* (1990), for example, lists over 20,000 items.

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

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

EARLY TRENDS

The anglicization of Scottish writing became noticeable after the joining of the crowns of England and Scotland in 1603 (p. 53), and was increasingly dominant throughout the 17th century. Within a decade, southern English became the printing model, apart from in certain legal or literary texts, and by the end of the 17th century there was little sign of a distinctively Scottish variety in manuscript writing. Southern English speech also became the norm, with the use of 'Scotticisms' attracting fierce criticism from the prescriptive attitudes of 'polite' society which dominated the middle decades of the 18th century (p. 78), and which condemned all instances of what was perceived to be 'unrefined' usage. The 1750s saw the first publication of alphabetical lists of Scottish expressions which educated people ought to avoid, and the arrival in Scotland of elocutionists who taught people how to change their accents towards the London norm.

Popular comic or heroic poems from the earlier periods of Scots continued to be published during this

time, and this fuelled a small but continuing poetic output which did much to motivate the revival of the variety, in a more colloquial style, during the 18th century, in the poetry, ballads, and humorous tales of Allan Ramsay, Alexander Ross, and others. Their language was often called 'Doric', because of a supposed parallel between its use of Scotticisms and the features of pastoral Classical Greek poetry. Later, with the advent of Romanticism in literature, provincial linguistic identity came to be even more highly valued. A serious academic interest grew in the vernacular, though it was recognized (but now with regret rather than delight) that Scots was 'going out as a spoken tongue every year' (a much-quoted remark of the Edinburgh judge, Lord Cockburn, in 1838). A further 19th-century development was the rise, as in England, of urban dialects, resulting in a distinction between 'guid Scots', spoken in rural areas, and 'gutter Scots', spoken in the cities, with the speech of working-class Glasgow commonly cited as a prime example.

DOD AND DAVIE

Comic poems continue to be popular. Below is an extract from J. K. Annand's *Dod and Davie*. Published in 1986, it is a translation of Wilhelm Busch's well-known German tale of two naughty children, *Max und Moritz* (1865). A translation of the same extract into Standard English by Elly Miller follows, published, along with four creole versions (p. 349), in the journal *English World-Wide* (1984).

Fowrth Ploy

It was statute and decreed
Whatna learnin Man was
need
No alane the A B C
Helps him heicher things
compie;
No alane can scrievin, readin,
Gie the gumption that he's
needin;
No alane wi sign and nummer
Should a man his mind
encummer
But tak pleasure in acquirin'
Gift o Wisdom to inspire'm.
Wi sic thinkin aye to hand
Dominie Duncan took his
stand.

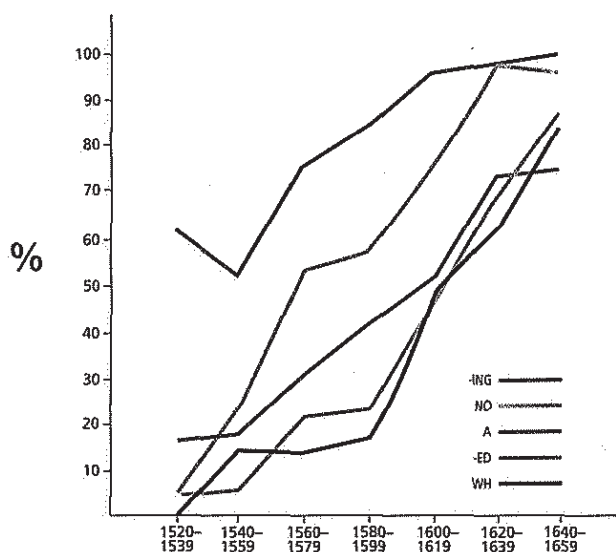
As has frequently been stated
People must be educated.
Not alane the A, B, C,
Heightens man's humanity;
Not just simply reading,
writing,
Makes a person more
inviting;
Nor does Arithmetic learning
Make a pupil more
discerning.
Reason, Wisdom, Moral
Thought
Must be equally well taught;
And to teach with erudition
Was Professor Lample's
mission.



ANGLICIZATION OBSERVED

The changes which took place in five linguistic variables were examined as part of a study of anglicization in Scotland between 1520 and 1659. A total of 140 texts were examined, representing national public records, official correspondence, personal correspondence, religious treatises, and private records. The rapidity of the process can clearly be seen.

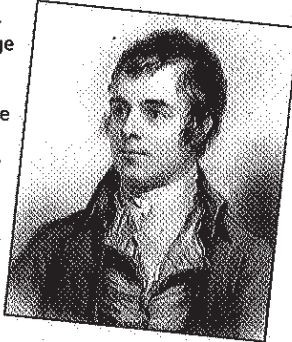
- The marker of the relative clause changed in its spelling from *quh-* (p. 52) to *wh-* in such words as *which* and *who*. In 1520, Scottish writers always used *quh-* spellings; the figures for *wh-* stay low for some 80 years, then dramatically increase, reaching over 80 per cent by 1659.
- The past tense ending changed from *-it* to *-ed*: *intendit* became *intended*. Here too there is a slow start to the change, 5 per cent in 1520, then a sharp increase after 1580, reaching 87 per cent in 1659.
- The indefinite article *ane* changed to *a* or *an*: *ane missive*, *ane oath* became *a missive*, *an oath*. This change is more in evidence at the outset (16 per cent), but by 1659 it still had further to go, having reached only 74 per cent.
- The negative particles *na* and *nocht* changed to *no* and *not*. These items change very rapidly during the 40 years after 1520, and the rise continues steadily after 1600, so that by 1659 *not* has reached 100 per cent use, with *no* (shown on the graph) just a little behind, at 94 per cent.
- The present participle ending changed from *-and* to *-ing*: *labourand* became *labouring*. This is the most highly anglicized feature of the study. The *-ing* form was already being used in over 60 per cent of cases in 1520, and though its use varies somewhat, the process of replacement is virtually complete by 1600.



It should be noted that these trends are summaries of very complex patterns of usage. It is not a question of, for example, 60 per cent of texts in 1520 using only *-ing* and 40 per cent using only *-and*: usage up to 1600 is highly variable, with authors often using both forms, sometimes even within a single sentence. But after the uniting of the crowns, this kind of variability dies away within two generations. Moreover, the changes took place more rapidly in certain genres: in religious writing, the process is virtually complete by 1600, whereas it is slowest in national public records, which remain conservative even in 1659. (After A. J. Devitt, 1989.)

ROBERT BURNS (1759–96)

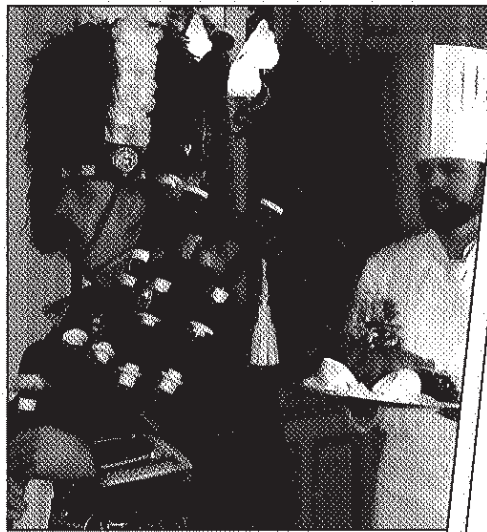
The traditional distinctiveness of the English language in Scotland is for many people identified with the writing of Robert Burns, the country's national poet. Born in the Ayrshire village of Alloway, the son of a poor farmer, he read widely as a child, and later was greatly influenced by the popular tales and songs of the time, especially as recalled by his wife's cousin, Betty Davidson.



On his father's death in 1784 he was left in charge of the farm. The birth of an illegitimate child to one of the farm servants, and news of impending twins to a local girl, Jean Armour, whom he wished to marry, brought local church condemnation and the opposition of Jean's father. As the farm went to ruin, his poverty, passion, and despair produced from 1784 a remarkable outpouring of poetry. Looking for money to emigrate to Jamaica, he published in 1786 the now-famous Kilmarnock edition of his poems, which brought such acclaim that he was persuaded to stay in Scotland.

He visited Edinburgh, where he was feted, then travelled widely in Scotland. Early 1788 is known for a short but passionate period of correspondence with 'Clarinda' (Agnes Macle hose). A growing reputation led to his acceptance by Jean Armour's family. He married her in April 1788, and in all they had nine children together. He leased a farm near Dumfries, but succeeded in gaining a more secure appointment as an excise officer in 1789. When the farm began to fail, he left for Dumfries town, where he continued to write. In 1793 the family found a house in Mill Vennel (now Burns Street), and there, three years later, he died.

THE IMMORTAL MEMORY



The Burns Supper is an annual celebration of the art and achievements of the poet. It takes place on the anniversary of the poet's birth, 25 January, or as near to it as is practicable. The first recorded supper took place in Ayrshire in 1801, attended by some of Burns's close friends. Today, the Burns Federation, based in Kilmarnock, has over 300 affiliated clubs.

The basic structure of a Supper is hallowed by tradition. A member of the clergy recites 'The Selkirk Grace'. Dinner is accompanied by the piping in of the haggis, and a reading of Burns's 'Address to the

Bill o' Fare

*'Some hae meat and canna eat
And some wad eat that want it:
But we hae meat and we can eat,
And see the Lord be thankit.'*

Cock-a-Leekie

★

*Haggis,
warm, reekin, rich wi'
Champis Tatties, Bashed Neeps*

Address to the Haggis
Mr A. McPherson

Steak Pie

Tipsy Laird

A Tassie o' Coffee

A page from a typical menu for a Burns Supper, containing the text of the Selkirk Grace.

Haggis' – the 'Great Chieftain o' the Puddin'-race'. After the dinner, the principal speaker delivers an address to 'The Immortal Memory'. 'The Toast to the Lasses' is proposed by a gentleman speaker, and a lady speaker replies. Various songs and recitations of Burns's work follow, and the evening ends with the company singing 'Auld Lang Syne'. (After N. Marshall, 1992.)

Nae man can tether time or tide;
The hour approaches Tam maun ride;
That hour o' nights black arch the
key-stane,
That dreary hour he mounts the
beast in;
And sic a night he taks the road in
As ne'er poor sinner was abroad in.

The wind blew as 'twad blawn its last;
The rattling show'rs rose on the blast;
The speedy gleams the darkness
swallow'd;
Loud, deep, and lang, the thunder
bellow'd:
That night a child might understand
The Deil had business on his hand.

The distinctive rhythms of *Tam o' Shanter* (1790), which many critics regard as Burns's masterpiece. Set in Alloway churchyard, it tells of Tam's nightmare meeting with spirits of the other world. It is always a popular item at a Burns Supper.

*nae no maun must stane stone
sic such taks takes
'twad blawn would have blown
lang long Deil Devil*

O my Luv'e's like a red, red rose
That's newly sprung in June;
O my Luv'e's like the melody
That's sweetly play'd in tune.
As fair art thou, my bonie lass,
So deep in luv'e am I;
And I will luv'e thee still, my dear,
Till a' the seas gang dry.

Till a' the seas gang dry, my Dear,
And the rocks melt wi' the sun;
O I will love thee still, my dear,
While the sands o' life shall run.
And fare thee weel, my only Luv'e!
And fare thee weel a while!
And I will come again, my Luv'e,
Tho' it were ten thousand mile!

Burns is thought to have developed the words of this famous song in 1794 from a street ditty expressing a soldier's farewell to his sweetheart. The haunting melody accompanying the words is *Graham's Strathspey*.

bonie pretty gang go weel well

Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And never brought to mind?
Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And auld lang syne!
For auld lang syne, my dear,
For auld lang syne,
We'll tak a cup o' kindness yet,
For auld lang syne.

And surely ye'll be your pint stowp!
And surely I'll be mine!
And we'll tak a cup o' kindness yet,
For auld lang syne.

We twa hae run about the braes,
And pou'd the gowans fine:
But we've wander'd mony a weary fitt,
Sin' auld lang syne.

We twa hae paidl'd in the burn
Frae morning sun till dine:
But seas between us braid hae roar'd
Sin' auld lang syne.

And there's a hand, my trusty fiere!
And gie's a hand o' thine!
And we'll tak a right gude-willie
waught
For auld lang syne.

Burns composed his version of 'Auld Lang Syne' in 1788, adding the third and fourth verses. The first verse and chorus is now an anthem sung at the close of gatherings all over the English-speaking world, and is probably the best-known contribution of Scots to World English. (The melody was composed by William Shield, and forms part of the overture to his opera *Rosina* (1783).)

*auld lang syne days of long ago
stowp tankard twa two
hae have braes meadows
pou'd pulled gowans daisies
mony many fitt foot
sin' since paidl'd paddled
burn stream frae from
dine dinner-time braid broad
fiere friend gie's give us
gude-willie goodwill
waught draught*

SCOTS DIALECT AREAS

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

Insular Scots

Orkney and Shetland

Northern

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

Central

East Central

- W Angus, Perth, Stirling, Fife, Kinross, Clackmannan (North-East Central)
- West Lothian, Edinburgh, Midlothian, East Lothian, Berwick, Peebles (South-East Central)

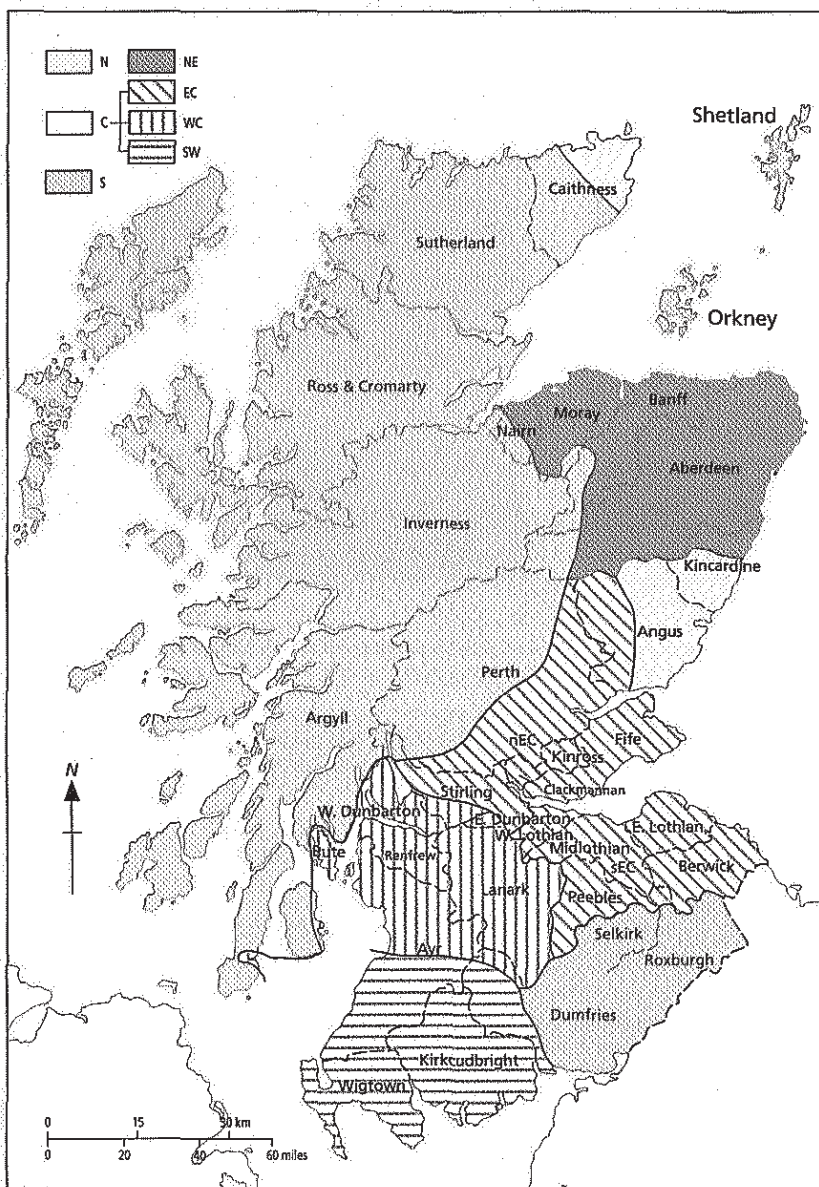
West Central

- W and E Dunbarton, Argyll, Bute, Renfrew, Glasgow, Lanark, N Ayr
- South-West
- S Ayr, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, Galloway, W Dumfries

Southern

- Roxburgh, Selkirk, E/Mid Dumfries

Ulster Scots (p. 337)



SHETLAND SPEECH

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

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

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

Much of the visual identity of this style is due to the choice of spelling (e.g. *da* for *the*). Many Shetlanders, of course, speak a much less distinctive dialect, as seen in this extract from a 64-year-old man's account of the fire festival, Up-Helly-Aa. The language is essentially Standard English, with just the occasional dialect form. (/ marks intonation units, p. 248.)

well / - hit's a procession / a procession of maybe nine hundred guizers / and if you do not ken what a guizer is / that is somebody that dresses up / to pretend to be something else / ... in the old days / part of the reason for the festival / was to celebrate the end of the dark days of winter / and the return of the sun / well whatever else has changed / the weather has not changed very muckle / - hit's still the dark days of winter / ... and there's nobody now / more than in the old days / blither to see / the return of the sun / even though it's still not very high in the sky / than the Shetlander is (After B. Orestrom, 1985.)

blither happier hit it ken know muckle much

WRITING DAVIELY

One of 75 lexical items expressing tiredness or exhaustion collected by *The Scots Thesaurus* (1990). The meanings vary somewhat in force, from 'languid' and 'weary' to 'totally exhausted' and 'worn out'. Only adjective or adverb uses are shown here, with regional restrictions italicized (for locations, see map above). The retention of the -it ending in informal spoken Scots is notable.

hyphen: shows continuity, e.g. *Bnf-Fif* means that the word is also found in the intervening counties

local: usage found sporadically in the stated area

now: usage confined to the stated area, though formerly more widespread

<i>Abd</i>	Aberdeen	<i>Loth</i>	Lothian
<i>Ags</i>	Angus	<i>Ork</i>	Orkney
<i>Bnf</i>	Banff	<i>Pbls</i>	Peebles
<i>Bwk</i>	Berwick	<i>Rox</i>	Roxburgh
<i>C</i>	Central	<i>S</i>	Southern
<i>Cai</i>	Caithness	<i>Sh</i>	Shetland
<i>Dmf</i>	Dumfries	<i>Stlg</i>	Stirling
<i>Fif</i>	Fife	<i>Wgt</i>	Wigtown

bauch, *daviely*, *defait* (*now Bnf Abd*), *dirt deen* (*Bnf Abd*), *disjaskit* (*local*), *doilt*, *diled* (*now Abd*), *dowf* (*now local Bnf-Fif*), *dowless* (*now Stlg*), *ergh*, *exowst*, *fauchled* (*now C, S*), *fendless* (*Sh Cai NE, SW*), *forfauchlet*, *forfochtin*, *forjeskit* (*local Sh-Pbls*),

fornyawd, *forwardert* (*literary*), *fusionless*, *haggit* (*now Stlg midLoth*), *ha(i)rlt* (*now midLoth Bwk*), *jabbit* (*NE*), *jaffled* (*SW*), *jaskit* (*now Sh Ags*), *jaupit* (*now Bnf-Ags midLoth*), *lither* (*now Dmf*), *lowsed*, *mated* (*Abd*), *maukit* (*S*), *muith* (*now Cai*), *oorit*, *pingled*, *pouskered* (*Ags WC*), *puggled*, *socht* (*now NE Ags*), *taigled* (*now local SEC-Rox*), *taskit* (*now local Ork-Wgt*), *tewed* (*now Wgt*), *thowless*, *tike-tired*, *traikit* (*now WC Wgt*), *trauchled* (*NE Ags*), *typit* (*Bnf Abd*), *useless* (*Sh-N*), *vincust* (*Ags*), *wabbit* (*general, not Sh Ork*), *wauch*, *wauf*

THE PRESENT-DAY

We find today a complex dialect picture, which is beginning to be understood through such surveys as *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (from 1975). There is evidently a continuum linking Standard English and Scots in informal speech, and to some extent in writing. At one extreme, people from Scotland may speak a dialect which is to all intents and purposes Standard English, with only a slight Scottish accent indicating where they are from. At the other extreme, a highly distinctive variety may be used, with an extremely localized English vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar, often coloured by borrowings from Gaelic. In between, Scots features may appear in varying proportions, coloured by regional variations within Scotland, and often with substantial dialect mixing. Certain regions are much more distinctively Scottish, and some have developed their own literatures, notably the north-east, Shetland, and Glasgow. The term 'Doric' continues to be used for rural dialects, especially those in the north-east.

Lallans

In addition, the present century has seen the conscious creation of a 'mainstream' variety of Scots – a standard literary variety, which its proponents maintain can be the basis for a revival of Scots as a whole. This 'Scottish Renaissance', as it is sometimes called, looked to previous literary and dialect usages from the Scottish Lowlands for its distinctiveness. The eclectic variety which emerged, at first seen only in poetry and referred to as 'synthetic Scots', now generally goes under the name of *Lallans* (= 'Lowlands'). Guidelines for written consistency were formulated, emphasizing differences with Standard English (notably, the *Scots Style Sheet* of the Makars' Club in 1947).

Lallans is noted for its distinctive vocabulary (much of which, because of its historical sources, presents a barrier to the uninitiated, thereby emphasizing its linguistic status). In its grammar and spelling, it shows the marked influence of Standard English, more so than other Scots dialects, and this in itself is a source of controversy among its proponents: for example, in spelling, should 'out' be spelled as *out* or *oot*, or 'was' as *was* or *wes*?

The emergence of Lallans, as with any exercise in language planning, has been controversial, meeting hostility (and attracting such nicknames as 'plastic Scots') from those who find the natural character of regional dialect forms more appealing. It remains to be seen whether this variety can go beyond the literary domain into other stylistic levels, and eventually achieve the kind of prestige which is associated with a standard language (p. 110).

PROMOTING LALLANS

An early example from the *Lallans* journal (1977). In this example, the grammar corresponds to Standard English, including the use of *may* (which is not used in Scots, p. 329). (From A. J. Aitken, 1984.)

Scots Literature Competition 1978

The Scots Language Society offers prizes for scrievin in the Scots tongue. There are three classes: Age 18 and owre wi prizes o £20, £10 and £5; age 12–17 wi prizes o £10, £5 and £2.50; and under 12, prizes o £5, £3 and £2.

Entries maun be original and ne'er afore prentit. They may be (a) Poems up to 60 lines; (b) tales up to 3,000 words; (c) plays that tak nae mair nor 25 meenits to perform. Ilk entry maun be signed wi a byname, and the byname should be prentit on the outside o a sealed envelope, that has inside the entrant's real name and address, and, for them under 18, the date o birth.

scrievin writing *owre* over *wi* with *o* of
maun must *prentit* printed
tak nae mair take no more
meenits minutes *ilk* each

OUR AIN LEID?

The opening sentences of a journal article on Scots, a contribution to a symposium on *Our ain leid?* ('Our own language?') published in the journal *English World-Wide* in 1981. This author uses an orthography which is further removed from Standard English than is usually to be found, but retains some traditional spellings in the interests of intelligibility.

In the upgrowth o a leid ti haill maturity o lettirs, the staiblishin o an exponent prose is often deimit a detemrant stage. A leid may hae a weil-founnit tradeition o hameilt sang, leirit indyte, an ein narratif prose; but

wantan a registir condng for academic screivins, hit maun bide be a 'hauf-leid' (*Halbsprache*: the word o the German leidscholar Heinz Kloss) at the best... (J. D. McClure, 1981.)

(In the development of a language to full maturity of literature, the establishment of an expository prose is often judged a crucial stage. A language may have a well-founded tradition of domestic song, learned poetry, and even narrative prose; but lacking a register suitable for academic writers, it must remain a 'half-language' (*Halbsprache*: the word of the German language-scholar Heinz Kloss) at best...)

SYNTHETIC SCOTS

Scots must be re-created (really created, for, for literary purposes, it has practically never been) and de-Anglicized.

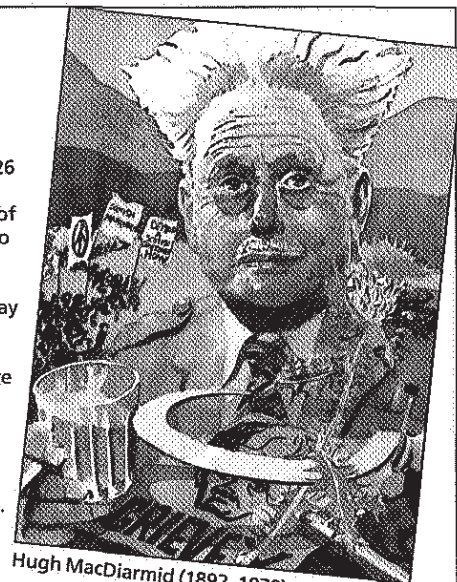
This comment by Hugh MacDiarmid in 1926 acts as a footnote to his creation of a revived or 'synthetic' Scots, using a range of old and contemporary language sources to produce a vocabulary which became increasingly esoteric as it developed. MacDiarmid (real name Christopher Murray Grieve) was a poet and critic, and a founder-member of the Scottish National Party in 1928. He became the central figure of the 20th-century Scottish Renaissance which flourished between 1920 and 1940, and which provided a major stimulus for later literature in Lallans.

I amna fou' sae muckle as tired – deid dune.
It's gey and hard wark coupin' gless for gless

Wi' Cruivie and Gilsanquhar and the like,
And I'm no' juist as bauld as aince I wes.

The elbuck fankles in the coorse o' time,
The sheckle's no' sae souple, and the thrapple
Grows deaf and dour: nae langer up and down

Gleg as a squirrel spells the Adam's apple.
(From 'A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle', 1926.)



Hugh MacDiarmid (1892–1978)

fou' drunk *sae muckle* so much *deid* dead
gey very *bauld* bold *aince* once
elbuck elbow *fankles* gets clumsy
sheckle wrist *thrapple* throat *gleg* eager

WELSH ENGLISH

The Welsh, more than any other nation, have a right to feel aggrieved when they reflect on the history of English, for it was their ancestor language which was displaced when the Anglo-Saxon invaders first arrived (S2). Modern Welsh is the direct descendant of the Celtic language which was spoken at the time throughout most of Britain. This language survived for a while in Cumbria, south-west Scotland, Devon, and Cornwall, as well as in Wales, but after the Middle Ages it remained only in the latter two areas, and from the 19th century it is found in Wales alone.

English spread rapidly throughout Wales as a result of the early Norman conquest of the principality, resulting in a very different situation from that presented in other parts of Britain (p. 328). The Statutes which brought England and Wales together (1535, 1542) were far earlier than the Acts of Union passed for Scotland (1707) and Ireland (1800), and a complex set

of religious, educational, and economic factors promoted the dominance of English in Wales. Among these was the dissolution of the monasteries, which led to the loss of many centres of Welsh learning. Latin came to be replaced by English as the language of education, and the Tudor grammar schools set up in several Welsh towns taught through the medium of English. In the 19th century, the Industrial Revolution fostered the emigration of Welsh speakers to jobs in England, and later the immigration of English speakers to jobs in the mining and smelting industries of South Wales. The population movements continued to grow in the present century, fuelled by wars and economic recessions. And behind everything, in recent years, there has been the relentless linguistic pressure towards anglicization, stemming from the dominance of English in technology, the media and the economy – as in every other part of the world.

THREE SIGNIFICANT DATES

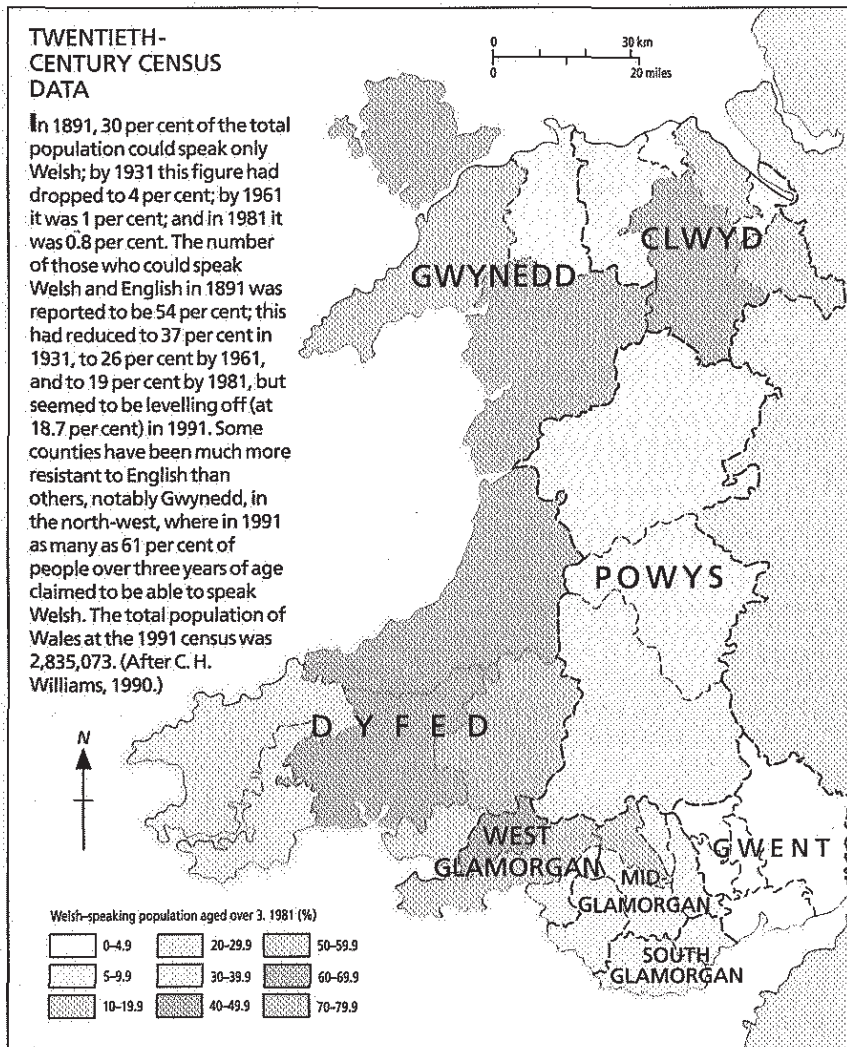
1284 Following the defeat of Llewelyn by Edward 1, Wales is formally annexed to England, and the Statute of Rhuddlan establishes English law.

1535 The Statute of Wales (commonly known as the Act of Union) imposes English as the official language, requiring 'that all Justices, Sheriffs, Coroners, and all other Officers and Ministers of the Law, shall proclaim and keep the Sessions Courts, Hundred Leets (i.e. local courts), Sheriffs Courts, and all other Courts in the English Tongue...' (20th provision)

1563 An Act of Parliament requires that a copy of the English Bible and the Book of Common Prayer shall be placed alongside the Welsh versions in every church, so that people might 'the sooner attain to the knowledge of the English tongue'.

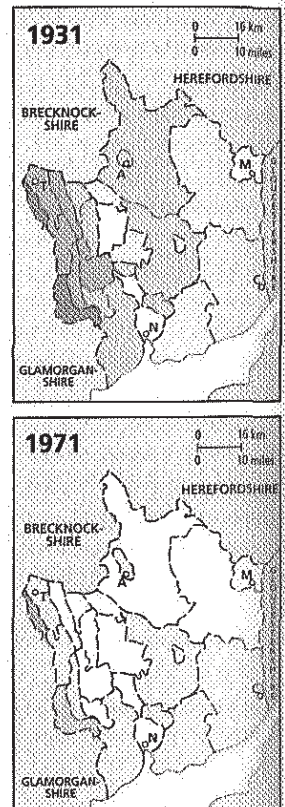
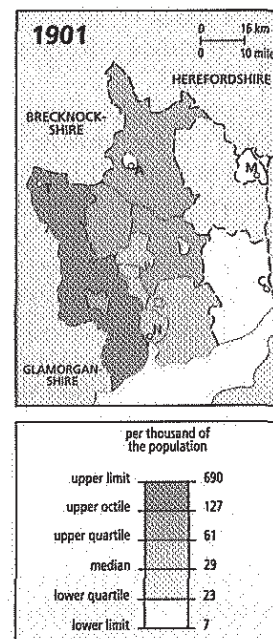
TWENTIETH-CENTURY CENSUS DATA

In 1891, 30 per cent of the total population could speak only Welsh; by 1931 this figure had dropped to 4 per cent; by 1961 it was 1 per cent; and in 1981 it was 0.8 per cent. The number of those who could speak Welsh and English in 1891 was reported to be 54 per cent; this had reduced to 37 per cent in 1931, to 26 per cent by 1961, and to 19 per cent by 1981, but seemed to be levelling off (at 18.7 per cent) in 1991. Some counties have been much more resistant to English than others, notably Gwynedd, in the north-west, where in 1991 as many as 61 per cent of people over three years of age claimed to be able to speak Welsh. The total population of Wales at the 1991 census was 2,835,073. (After C. H. Williams, 1990.)



A BUFFER ZONE

The change in the fortunes of Welsh and English during the present century can be clearly seen in these maps of the linguistic situation in Gwent – a border county in the south-east of the principality. Always the lowest Welsh-speaking area, the percentage of bilingual speakers in the county as a whole has fallen from 5 per cent in 1921 to 2.4 per cent in 1991. (After W. T. R. Pryce, 1990.)



Key:
 N Newport
 C Chepstow
 M Monmouth
 A Abergavenny
 T Tredegar

THE REACTION

The statistics show the rapid decline in the number of Welsh speakers in Wales during the present century, and the corresponding growth in the English-speaking population; talk about the 'death' of the language, consequently, has been widespread. Yet there are unmistakable signs of cultural and linguistic vitality and regeneration which make the future less predictable. The 1991 census showed a significant flattening of the downward Welsh-speaking curve. Unprecedented legal moves (especially the Welsh Language Act of 1967) and media publicity (notably the establishment of a separate TV channel in 1982) have fostered a fresh consciousness and conscience in many monolingual-English Welsh people. More systematic efforts are being made to counter the 'threat' of English (p. 114) by a range of political activities which extend from government debate to terrorism. It is too early to say whether the activities of extremists since

the 1960s will diminish the dominance of English or increase it; but English will inevitably be affected to some degree by the process of forging a new and socially realistic bilingualism.

Supporters of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Society) protesting in London against the government's proposed legislation for the Welsh language, 1993.



SOME FEATURES OF WELSH ENGLISH

The distinctiveness of Welsh English varies greatly within Wales, being most noticeable in areas where Welsh is strong (the north-west). There is no universally used standard variety, despite the fact that some features are thought by outsiders to be 'typically Welsh', and used in a stereotyped way in literature and humour. A good example is the tag *look you*, a direct translation from a Welsh tag, which is rarely if ever used by real Welsh English speakers (though you would never guess from listening to Fluellen in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, one of the many famous literary Welsh).

Pronunciation

(For phonetics terminology, see §17.)

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

Grammar and vocabulary

(For grammatical terminology, see Part III.)

- The tag question *isn't it* is used by some speakers after all pronouns (p. 299): *You're leaving, isn't it?* Another tag is *yes*, especially in colloquial form asking for agreement, *yeah?*
- To express emphasis, the predicate (apart from the first verb) can appear before the subject: *Running on Friday, he is; Fed up I am.*
- There are several Welsh loan-words, such as *eisteddfod* (a type of arts festival), *Duw* ('God', as in exclamations), *del* ('dear', as a term of endearment), and *nain* and *taid* ('grandma', 'grandpa').

ANGLO-WELSH LITERATURE

Although the term 'Anglo-Welsh' is of recent origin, writing in English by Welsh people can be found from the 15th century, reflecting the emergent bilingualism. The motivation for the label is plain enough – to avoid the ambiguity which would come from using the phrase 'Welsh literature', with its reference to literature written in Welsh – but its application is uncertain and controversial. Must all 'Anglo-Welsh' writers be born in Wales? may they be born elsewhere but with Welsh parents? need they have Welsh parents, and simply have chosen to live in Wales, or chosen to write on Welsh themes? must they be Welsh-speaking? The range of possibilities can be shown by, at one extreme, the Puritan author Morgan Llwyd (1619–59), born in Merionethshire, who lived most of his life in Wales, wrote mainly in Welsh, and was an eloquent preacher in both Welsh and English; and, at the other, the devotional poet George Herbert (1593–1633), of

Norman–Welsh ancestry and uncertain birth-place, who probably knew no Welsh, and lived most of his life in England.

The issue has been prominent since the 1920s. Most critics now allow the term a broad application, and include within it anyone who relates to Welsh literary, linguistic, or cultural traditions, but who uses English in order to do so. The question asked by Saunders Lewis (1893–1985) in an influential 1939 pamphlet, 'Is there an Anglo-Welsh literature?' would now be answered by a choir of literary voices: early writers such as W. H. Davies (1871–1940), John Cowper Powys (1872–1963), and Caradoc Evans (1883–1945, whom some call the father of Anglo-Welsh literature), have been supplemented by Emyl Williams (1905–87), Vernon Watkins (1906–67), Dylan Thomas (1914–53), Ronald Stuart Thomas (1913–), Dannie Abse (1923–), Raymond Garlick (1926–), Meic Stephens (1938–), and the hundreds of authors who since the 1940s have contributed to such lively periodicals as *The Anglo-Welsh Review*, *Poetry Wales*, and *The New Welsh Review*.

A SPACE FOR VOICES

My name is Lowri Dafydd;
Famous for nursing I was.
I rode pillion on a winged horse
Through the high passes of cloud
To come to a queen's palace.
Airy fingers undid the knot
In time's stubborn bandage
About my green eyes.
Who knows how long I stayed?
My pay was the sweet talk
In sun-dusted rooms
Of folk, busy as flowers,
Praising my hands' skill.
When I returned, stars were out
Over my roof, the door fallen
About its hinges, and on the hearth
A cold wind blowing for ever.
(Lowri Dafydd, R. S. Thomas, 1958)



I was born in a large Welsh town at the beginning of the Great War – an ugly, lovely town, or so it was and is to me; crawling, sprawling by a long and splendid curving shore where truant boys and Sandfield boys and old men from nowhere, beachcombed, idled, and paddled, watched the dock-bound ships or the ships steaming away into wonder and India, magic and China, countries bright with oranges and loud with lions, threw stones into the sea for the barking outcast dogs; made castles and forts and harbours and race tracks in the sand; and on Saturday summer afternoons listened to the brass band, watched the Punch and Judy, or hung about on the fringes of the crowds to hear the fierce religious speakers who shouted at the sea, as though it were wicked and wrong to roll in and out like that, white-horsed and full of fishes...
(*Reminiscences of Childhood*, Dylan Thomas, 1943)



IRISH ENGLISH

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

The history of English involvement in Gaelic-speaking Ireland dates from the 12th century, when the country was invaded by Anglo-Norman knights, and English rule was imposed by Henry II. The new settlers, however, were to adopt Irish ways of living, and, despite attempts to halt this trend, the area under English control (known as the 'Pale') was still relatively small by the end of the 16th century. Renewed efforts were then made by the Tudor monarchs to spread English power throughout the country. Plantation schemes encouraged English settlers in the south, and support was given to promote the spirit of the Reformation. The Irish chiefs were defeated in a series of wars during the reign of Elizabeth I, and this was followed by a renewed influx of Protestant settlers, mainly from the Scottish Lowlands (p. 332). James I made available large tracts of land in the north of Ireland, and over 100,000 came to develop plantations there. Further steps to quell Irish rebellion took place in the 17th century, notably Oliver Cromwell's campaign of 1649–50. Then in 1803 the Act of Union made Ireland part of the United Kingdom – a situation which remained until the 1920s, when there was partition between north (Northern Ireland, or Ulster) and south.

The chief linguistic consequence of these events was a steady growth in the use of English, and a corresponding decline in the use of Gaelic, except among the poorer sections of the community. English became the dominant language in the mid-19th century, and the language of prestige. Gaelic was avoided in the home, and became a reason for punishment if children were heard to use it in schools. Today, English is universal, with Gaelic found only in certain rural parts of the west (the *Gaeltacht*) – notwithstanding its status as an official language in the Irish Republic alongside English. Since the 19th century, there have been several attempts to encourage the spread of Gaelic, and it is now an important element of the school curriculum, but these efforts have not affected the dominance of English. Even in the north,

where the political conflict was originally associated with the two languages, nowadays both sides use English.

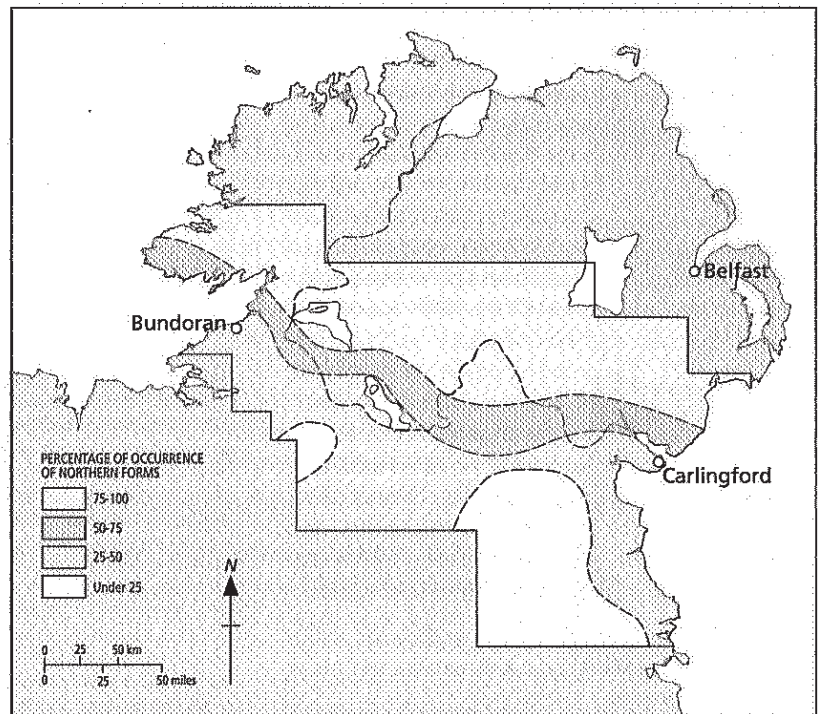
There is as yet little sign of a regionally distinctive educated standard in Ireland; but there are many cases of words, idioms, and grammatical patterns in informal non-standard speech which are characteristic of the dialects of the area, and which are reflected in a strong regional literature. From a linguistic point of view, Irish English in all its variation is widely referred to as *Hiberno-English*, though the term *Anglo-Irish* has a useful role identifying those varieties in which the phonology, grammar, or vocabulary displays a particularly strong Celtic influence.



DIALECT DIVISIONS

As with other English-speaking varieties, Hiberno-English is by no means homogeneous. A major boundary can be drawn, first of all, between the dialects spoken in the southern two-thirds of the island and those spoken further north, in the former province of Ulster (a larger area than the six counties which comprise modern Northern Ireland). Ulster, the more varied linguistic situation, can be divided into two main areas. The dialect spoken in the north-east of the region is known as Ulster Scots or Scotch-Irish, because it displays many features which can be traced back to the speech of the 17th-century immigrants from the Scottish Lowlands. The dialect used elsewhere, known as Mid-Ulster or Ulster Anglo-Irish, displays far less Scots influence, having been largely settled by immigrants from England (chiefly from the west and north-west Midlands).

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



TRANSITIONAL ZONE

The boundary between northern and southern dialect areas in Ireland is usually shown winding its way in a generally south-easterly direction from Bundoran on the west coast to Carlingford Lough on the east. However, this is not a sharply defined boundary line. The map shows a narrow area of mixed northern and southern features co-existing in south Fermanagh, north and central Monaghan, and south Armagh. In the north, for example,

the vowel in such words as *horse* are rounded [ɔ:]; in the south, it is unrounded [ɑ:]; but in this central area it is subject to variation. On the whole, older people who live towards the south of this boundary area use the rounded vowel, whereas younger people use the unrounded one. Similar patterns of variation can be established for several other differentiating criteria, and a conflation of these produces the pattern on the map, which shows the way forms gradually decrease as one moves south. (From M. V. Barry, 1984.)

PRONUNCIATION

Several phonetic features distinguish Hiberno-English from Received Pronunciation (RP, p. 363), some involving subtle contrasts in vowel length, lip rounding, and tongue position. Below is a selection of features heard in the more distinctive accents. (For phonetics terminology, see §17.)

- Words such as *tea* and *key* tend to be pronounced with /e:/ instead of RP /i:/, as reflected in such literary spellings as *tay*, *Paycock*.
- RP /ɔ:/ is often pronounced /ɑ:/, especially in the south: as suggested by the literary spelling *jine* for *join*.
- There are several differences from RP in open vowels: in particular, words like *path* and *calm* often have a long front /a:/, with a long back /ɑ:/ used in *saw* and *talk*.
- /r/ after vowels (p. 245) is kept in such words as *car* and *purse*.
- /t/ and /d/ are usually dental (alveolar in RP), and the RP *th* fricatives /θ, ð/ appear as plosives (*thanks* /t aŋks/, *this* /d-ɪs/); some pairs of words (e.g. *thin* and *tin*) may therefore sound the same.
- /l/ is always clear (p. 245) in such words as *full* and *field*.
- Some consonant clusters have been influenced by the Gaelic sound system: for example, /s/ may become /ʃ/ before /t, n, l/, as in *stop* /ʃtop/.

IRISH STRESS

A noticeable feature of many Hiberno-English accents is the way the chief stress (p. 248) in a polysyllabic word is often different from its location in RP. Stress patterns seem to be more flexible than in RP, especially in the south, and there is considerable variation, but a few general tendencies have been noted.

- Verbal suffixes attract the stress in words with three or more syllables (*educate*, *advertise*, *prosecute*), along with their inflections (*educating*, *complicated*).
- In polysyllabic nouns, a syllable followed by a consonant cluster tends to attract the stress: *algebra*, *architecture*, *character*. This feature is often stigmatized as nonstandard, though such forms as *orchestra* and *discipline* may be heard in educated speech.

The general pattern is one of stress postponement, the primary stress appearing later in the word compared with

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

Postponed stress is also a noticeable feature of Scots, Caribbean, and Indian English. But the effect has been taken much further in Irish than in Scots English, and something more fundamental seems to be afoot in the case of India and the Caribbean (p. 344). It has also been around in Ireland for a long time, as can be seen from the metrical patterns of pre-20th-century rhyming verse ('So therefore I awaited with my spirits elevated'). The origins of the effect are unclear, but it is thought that part of the answer may lie with the Irish schoolmasters who became early agents of anglicization, and who were often unsure how polysyllabic words should be pronounced. (After D. Ó Sé, 1986.)

IRISH ENGLISH ABROAD

In view of the extensive migrations of the Irish over several centuries, it is not surprising to find evidence of Hiberno-English around the English-speaking world. Signs of its arrival in England can be seen especially in the dialect of Liverpool, and its influence has been found in a number of modern North American dialects and in parts of the Caribbean. It also played an important role in the emergence of the new varieties of English in Australia and New Zealand (p. 352). Patterns of linguistic change are complex, as people are influenced in the way they speak by all kinds of considerations; in particular, it is difficult to be sure of the role that pronunciation features play when a minority dialect emerges in a new linguistic setting. Nonetheless, linguists have pointed to words, constructions, and patterns of discourse in these varieties which can plausibly be argued to derive from Hiberno-English.

- *Youse* ('you' plural), is widespread in Ireland, and is also found in Liverpool, Glasgow, Australia, and many parts of North America.
- Positive *anymore* (as in *He fights a lot anymore*) is in some US Midland dialects. It is found in Ireland, but not in Britain.
- Sentence-final *but* (used adverbially, to mean 'though', as in *I don't want it but*), is common in Ulster, parts of Scotland and Tyneside, and in informal Australian English.
- The construction shown in *Come here till I see you* ('so that I can see you') is used in Liverpool, and often in non-standard Australian English.
- The use of *whenever* to refer to a single occasion (*Whenever I was born, I was given a special present*) is found in Ulster, and is known in New Zealand and parts of Australia.
- The emphatic affirmation *It is so* (as in *A: It's raining. B: It isn't. A: It is so!*) is common in Ireland and in informal Australian English. It may have influenced US English *It is so/tao*.
- The Hiberno-English use of *mustn't* where Standard English says *can't* (*He mustn't have seen me, because he drove straight past*) is unknown in most of England (Liverpool is the chief exception), but is common in Australia and the USA.

The British colonies were established by people who represented many dialect backgrounds, and Hiberno-English made its contribution alongside Scots and London English, in particular. The point was noticed by several early travellers. As F. Gerstaecker writes, in his *Narrative of a Journey Round the World* (1853), 'the broad Irish brogue and the London Cockney dialect seemed to strike me everywhere'. (After P. Trudgill, 1986.)

GRAMMAR

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

Verb phrase

- Several features affect verbal aspect, such as a wider use of the progressive form (*Who is this car belonging to?*, *Who is it you're wanting?*) and the use of the present tense instead of the perfect (*She's dead these ten years*, i.e. 'has been dead'). One of the most distinctive features of Hiberno-English is the use of *after* to express such meanings as recency and completed event: *They're after leaving* (= 'They've just left'), *They were after leaving* (= 'They had just left').
- Copula and auxiliary *be* are used in distinctive ways, chiefly expressing contrasts of habitual action and continuity: *be* is found with forms of *do* (*It does be colder at nights*) and also, especially in the north, with an *-s* ending (*I be walking*, *She bees walking*). Some dialects allow all three patterns: *She's tired*, *She be tired*, *She do be tired*.
- Auxiliary usages often vary: *will* for *shall*, *used be* for *used to be*, *amn't* for *aren't*. Forms of *be* may replace *have* with verbs of motion in a past-time context (*He is gone up for He has gone up*), an interesting parallel with such languages as French.
- There are some distinctive imperative

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

Other areas

- Definite article: *That's the grand morning, I had a few jars over the Christmas, The wife* (= 'my wife') *will be expecting me*.
- Prepositions: *till* is often used for *to/until*, as in *It's a quarter till two*; for *ti* can be heard for *in order to*, as in *I went for ti milk the cow*. *On* and *of* are often affected (*You've lost my pen on me, Aren't you a slob of a cat, What age of a man was he?*), and there are some interesting sequences (*If he didn't take the legs from in under me*, i.e. 'He knocked me down'). *From* can be heard in the sense of 'since' in Ulster: *He's been here from he left the Navy*.
- Certain constructions show a Gaelic influence on word order. Cleft sentences (p. 231) of the following kind are typical: *It's meself was the brave singer, Is it out of your mind you are?* There is an interesting double example in *It's thinking I am that it's unyoke him we'd better do* ('I think that we had better unyoke him').
- Some plural pronouns or demonstratives are followed by *is*: *Youse is very funny, Them cars is great, Our'ns is fit for anything*.
- *And* is used as a subordinate clause marker, as in *It only struck me and* (= 'when', 'while') *you going out of the door*. Sometimes the exact Standard English equivalent is unclear: *How could you see me there and* (= 'when', 'if', 'seeing that?') *I to be in bed at the time?*

VOCABULARY

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

form, expressing smallness or familiarity, as in *childreen*, *girleen*.

- Gaelic influence can be seen in such words as *backy* lame; *bosthoon* clown; *cleave* basket; *glow* noise; *keerogue* cockroach; *kyoch* diseased; *prockus* mixture; *sleeveen* sly one; *spalpeen* rascal.
- Several Scots words are found in Ulster, such as *clarty* dirty; *greet* weep; *wee* small.

IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION

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

in the last drop in the bottle.

Discourse patterns

- The variety is renowned for some of its conversational features.
- Questions in general are rarely answered with a straight yes or no, but recapitulate the auxiliary.
A: *Will you ask John for me?*
B: *I will / I will not.*
 - Rhetorical questions are usual: *Now isn't he a fine looking fellow?*, *What did we want only to get our own?*
 - A common practice is to reply to a question by using another question: A: *Can you tell me where's the post office?*
B: *Would it be stamps you're looking for?*

THE BROADER SCENE

The question of what counts as 'Anglo-Irish' literature is controversial (as in the case of Anglo-Welsh in Wales, p. 335). If it is 'work written in English by Irish writers', as some critics have argued, the definition includes a vast spread of authorship, including Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), W. B. Yeats (1865–1939), and Seamus Heaney (1939–), and a great deal of this writing is in Standard English. However, an important body of Anglo-Irish literature uses Hiberno-English, with varying levels of realism, as part of its medium of expression. The plays of J. M. Synge (1871–1909) and Sean O'Casey (1884–1964), and the novels and short stories of James Joyce (1882–1941), generated particular interest in the literary possibilities of the variety, and this stimulus has been taken up, often with convincing urban realism, in the writing of contemporary authors such as Roddy Doyle.

There is a second way in which Anglo-Irish writers have made a distinctive contribution to the possibilities

of English expression: their apparent fascination with language – a force which motivates authors, scholars, and lay people alike. The lay interest in linguistic history and scholarship is difficult to match in the English-speaking world, as is the long-established academic tradition of medieval studies. The fascination can also be seen in the way ordinary people in their everyday conversation, as well as recognized authors in their writing, are prepared to 'play' with the language, manipulating it and embellishing it with figurative expressions and flights of linguistic fancy – a process which reaches its apotheosis in *Finnegans Wake* (p. 134). The exploits of heroic figures are found lyrically recapitulated and reflected in the lives of modern characters, and there is an awareness of folk-history and myth, a strong sense of locality and of the ancient identity of small communities, and a fluency in story-telling – the 'gift of the gab' – which permeates a great deal of Irish literary expression, and adds distinctive colour to its language. Its echoes continue to resound in all English-speaking countries which have Irish settlement as a part of their history.



J. M. Synge



Roddy Doyle

VOICES

CHRISTY [*indignantly*] Starting from you, is it? I will not, then, and when the airs is warming, in four months or five, it's then yourself and me should be pacing Neifin in the dews of night, the times sweet smells do be rising, and you'd see a little, shiny new moon, maybe sinking on the hills.
PEGEEN [*looking at him playfully*] And it's that kind of a poacher's love you'd make, Christy Mahon, on the sides of Neifin, when the night is down?
CHRISTY. It's little you'll think if my love's a poacher's, or an earl's itself, when you'll feel my two hands stretched around you, and I squeezing kisses on your puckered lips, till I'd feel a kind of pity for the Lord God is all ages sitting lonesome in His golden chair.
PEGEEN. That'll be right fun, Christy

Mahon, and any girl would walk her heart out before she'd meet a young man was your like for eloquence, or talk at all.
CHRISTY [*encouraged*] Let you wait to hear me talking till we're astray in Erris, when Good Friday's by, drinking a sup from a well, and making mighty kisses with our wetted mouths, or gaming in a gap of sunshine, with yourself stretched back unto your necklace, in the flowers of the earth.
PEGEEN [*in a low voice, moved by his tone*] I'd be nice so, is it?
CHRISTY [*with rapture*] If the mitred bishops seen you that time, they'd be the like of the holy prophets I'm thinking, do be straining the bars of paradise to lay eyes on the Lady Helen of Troy, and she abroad pacing back and forward with a nosegay in her golden shawl.
 (J. M. Synge, *The Playboy of the Western World*, 1907, Act 3.)

Jimmy Sr put down the flask and screwed the top back on it. Then he took the sandwich out of his mouth.
 – I'm on me break, he told Bimbo.
 Bimbo looked the way he did when he didn't know what was going on.
 – I'm entitled to ten minutes rest for every two hours that I work, said Jimmy Sr.
 Bimbo still looked lost.
 – I looked it up, said Jimmy Sr.
 He saw that Bimbo's face was catching up with his brain. Bimbo stood back from the hatch. Jimmy Sr took a slug of the tea.
 – I needed tha', he said.
 – Stop messin', will yeh, said Bimbo.
 – I'm not messin', said Jimmy Sr. – I'm entitled to me break.
 – Sure Jaysis, said Bimbo, – we did nothin' all night except for a few minutes ago.
 – Not the point, said Jimmy Sr.
 – Not the point at all. I was here. I was available to work.
 – Hurry up, will yis! That came from outside.
 – I've five minutes left, Jimmy Sr told Bimbo. – Then I'll sweat for yeh.
 (Roddy Doyle, *The Van*, 1991, pp. 279–80.)

Jaysis Jesus yis/yeh you

A RELIGIOUS FOOTNOTE

No account of contemporary Irish English would be complete without acknowledging the conflict in Northern Ireland, and asking: is there a difference between the way Catholics and Protestants talk in the province? It might be expected that the Catholic population of Northern Ireland would speak English in ways which showed a greater influence of Gaelic (spoken almost exclusively by people whose religion is Catholic), and the Protestant population would show more Scottish features. Doubtless, there are cases where such a contrast exists, but it is unlikely that the community is clearly divided in this way. Language varies in ways that uniforms do not. The amount of contact between the two communities, in such domains as sports and the workplace, makes it likely that there will be many shared linguistic features.

There are however a few unambiguous pointers, arising out of different social or educational practices. For example, children are taught to say *haitch* in Catholic schools, and *aitch* in Protestant ones. And what is *Derry* to Catholics is likely to be *Londonderry* to Protestants. Linguists who have looked for systematic differences in accent, grammar, and vocabulary have found some interesting trends, but few convincing differences.

There is certainly no simple correlation between Gaelicism and Catholicism, or between Scotticism and Protestantism. At the same time, one cannot help wondering about the implications of stories such as the one told by British linguist Loreto Todd. She remarks that the two religious traditions make use of different musical instruments, and that the connotations (p. 170) of the terms therefore differ: *fiddle* suggests Catholic, *flute* Protestant.

The association of *flute* with the Protestant Community is borne out by the song *The Owl's Orange Flute* and the following anecdote related to me by a school inspector. The inspector (Protestant) was visiting a small Catholic school in the Sperrins. He asked the boys if they knew the name for a man who played the piano. All hands shot up and one little boy gave the answer: 'Pianist, sir.' 'Good,' said the inspector, 'and what's the name for a man who plays the violin?' Again, all the children knew. 'Well, now,' said the inspector, 'I'll ask you a hard one. What's the name for a man who plays the flute?' Silence. Not a hand was raised. 'Come on,' urged the inspector, 'surely some boy has heard what a man who plays the flute is called.' One little hand went up. 'Good boy,' encouraged the inspector. 'What is it?' 'Please sir,' said the child, 'at home he would be called an orange bastard.' (From L. Todd, 1984b.)

CANADIAN ENGLISH

Because of its origins (p. 95), Canadian English has a great deal in common with the rest of the English spoken in North America, and those who live outside Canada often find it difficult to hear the difference. Many British people identify a Canadian accent as American; many Americans identify it as British. Canadians themselves insist on not being identified with either group, and certainly the variety does display a number of unique features. In addition, the presence of French as a co-official language, chiefly spoken in Quebec, produces a sociolinguistic situation not found in other English-speaking countries.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of Canadian English stems from the tension which inevitably exists in such a situation. Both British and American models have supplied the variety with features from the outset, and continue to do so (though with US English tending now to dominate, especially among younger people). The consequence is a sociolinguistic situation of some complexity, with some linguistic features used throughout Canada (or nearly so) and others varying in relation to such factors as age, sex, education, occupation, geographical location, and political viewpoint. Four types of distinctiveness need to be recognized.

- Some features originate within Canada, and are thus independent of US or UK models. A number of them (such as the technical terms of ice hockey) have become part of World Standard English (p. 92).
- Some features originate outside Canada (chiefly US English, UK English, and French), and are used consistently by everyone in a particular region. A national example is the contrast between (federal) *prime minister* and (provincial) *premier*; a regional one, the names of political or cultural institutions in Quebec (e.g. *bloc québécois*, *caisse populaire*, p. 303).
- Some features can be identified with US English, and are used only by sections of the population.
- Some features can be identified with UK English, and are used only by sections of the population.

It is these last two categories which present real difficulties for anyone wishing to generalize about Canadian English. Or, putting this another way, it is precisely this problem which captures the uniqueness of the Canadian linguistic situation. (See also the photographic collage at the opening to Part V, p. 282).



SPELLING VARIATION

Spellings such as the above, with a US form (*tire*) juxtaposed with a UK form (*centre*) are striking (at least, to a linguist) when they occur, and show that Canadian English cannot be identified with either American or British English. It is important not to overestimate this issue: we may read pages of a Canadian newspaper (p. 303) and not see a comparable instance. However, if we search for instances of words where a spelling choice is possible, we will soon find an unusual aggregation of forms.

Moreover, surveys of individual spelling practices have brought to light considerable geographical, occupational, and social variation: for example, in a 1991 report, over 80 per cent of high-school students in Ontario were said to be spelling words like *colour* with *-our*, while over 60 per cent of their counterparts in Alberta were using *-or*. The

US model seems to be becoming more widespread in popular publications, and the press on the whole uses US spelling (but see p. 303). British spelling, however, is the norm in learned journals and school textbooks. And juxtapositions of the two models are common in private correspondence: the author has one letter from a Canadian in which *cheque* and *program* (radio, not computer) co-occur, and another from a different correspondent in which *initialed* appears alongside *plough* (p. 307).

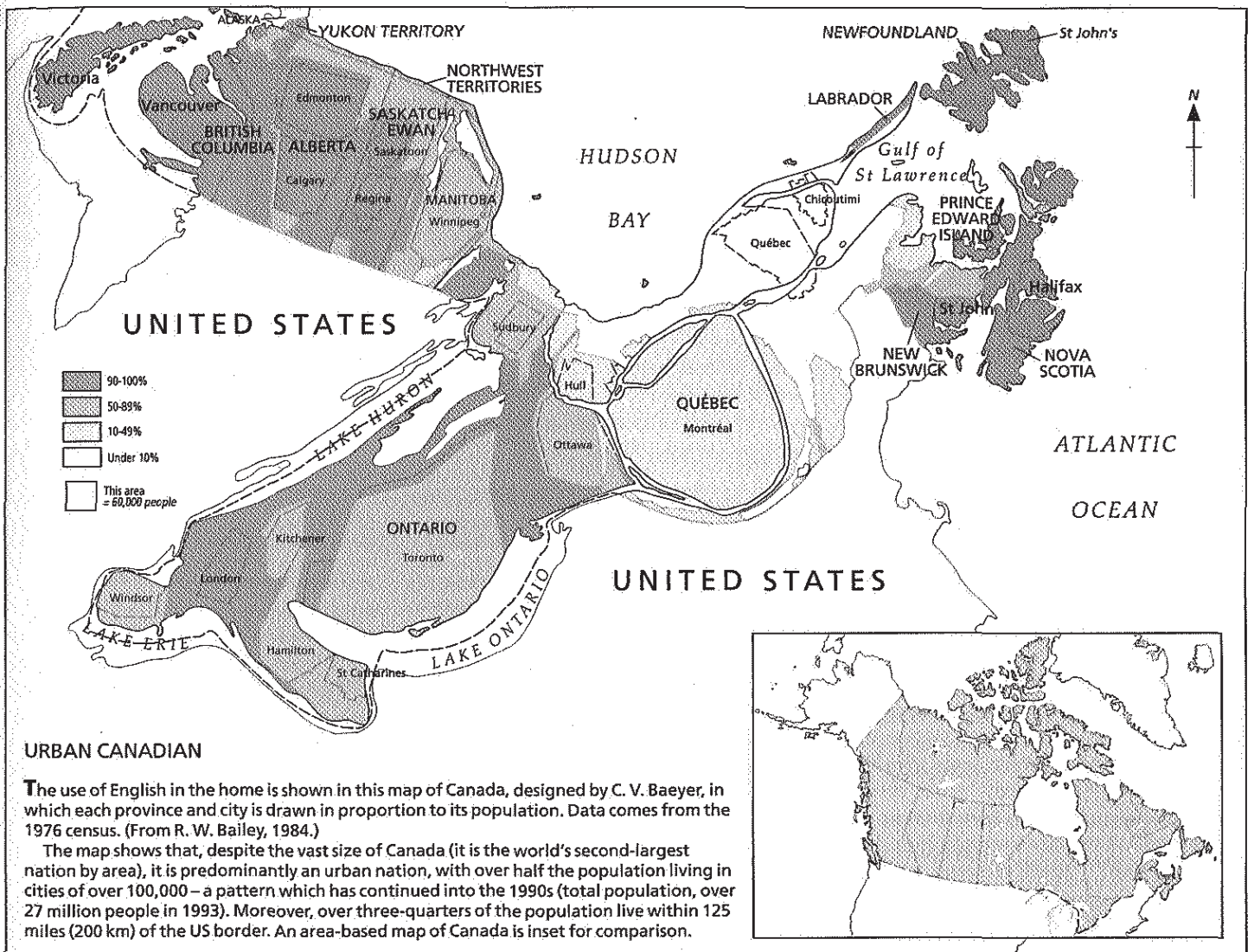
Vocabulary

Similarly, both US and UK models provide sources for vocabulary. British *tap* (US *faucet*), *railway* (US *railroad*), and *braces* (US *suspenders*) coexist alongside US *gas* (UK *petrol*), *sidewalk* (UK *pavement*) and *wrench* (UK *spanner*), though usage varies from place to place. Vehicle terms (p. 310) are typically American: *truck*, *fender*, *trunk*, etc.



Conflicts over spelling may take place between languages. Thus it is a matter of sociolinguistic identity within Quebec whether one spells the name of the province with or without an accent

(*Québec*). The problem facing the airline which is called *Canadian* in English and *Canadien* in French was ingeniously solved through the use of the company logo.



PRONUNCIATION VARIATION

It is difficult to generalize about pronunciation patterns, because an already complex system is in a state of change. Canadian accents display features of both US and UK English (p. 307), but preferences are conditioned greatly by such factors as age and social class. The nearness of US English, and the prestige associated with it, impresses some sections of the population, while a concern to preserve a distinct Canadian identity motivates others to maintain as much pronunciation distance from the USA as possible.

Several features are shared with US English, in the speech of most Canadians:

- The pronunciation of /r/ after

vowels (p. 245), in such words as *far* and *north*.

- The flapped /d/-like articulation of /t/ in such words as *Ottawa*.
- The use of a strong syllable in such suffixes as *-ary* and *-ory* (*secretary*, *laboratory*)
- The use of /-əl/ in such words as *fertile*, *missile*, and *hostile*.
- In addition, several individual words adopt US pronunciations, such as *schedule* with /sk-/ and *tomato* with /eɪ/.

On the other hand, British influence is evident in a number of individual cases:

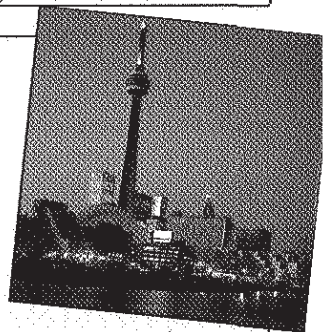
- /anti/ for *anti-* instead of US /antai/.
- /zed/ for letter z instead of US /zi:/.
- The first syllable of *lieutenant* pronounced /lef-/ , not /lu:/.

- /bæθ/ for *bath* (a *baby*), not US *bathe* /beɪð/.
- Such words as *tune* are pronounced with initial /tʃu:/ or /tju:/, not US /tu:/.
- Similarly, such words as *news* are pronounced /nju:z/, rather than US /nu:z/. This is in fact one of the usage issues in the country, with the attention of broadcasters being drawn to the point.

Everywhere, variation is normal: thus in one survey, 68 per cent of adults said *leisure* with /i:/ rather than /e/ (a US preference), whereas 84 per cent said *lever* with /i:/ rather than /e/ (a UK preference). And – notwithstanding the above – younger people, especially those living in the west of the country, often say *lieutenant* in the American way.

TRAWNA

Just one of the various spellings (*Toronna* and *Tronno* are others) which writers have used to capture the fast colloquial pronunciation of the capital city of Ontario, as spoken by many of its inhabitants. These spellings are trying to represent the deletion of /t/ after /n/ (as in *twenty*, *antidote*, etc.) – a feature Canadian shares with US English (though in fact a similar elision can also be heard in several other varieties). In careful speech, the /t/ is retained, as can be heard routinely in the destination announcements at any Canadian airline terminal.



UNIQUE FEATURES

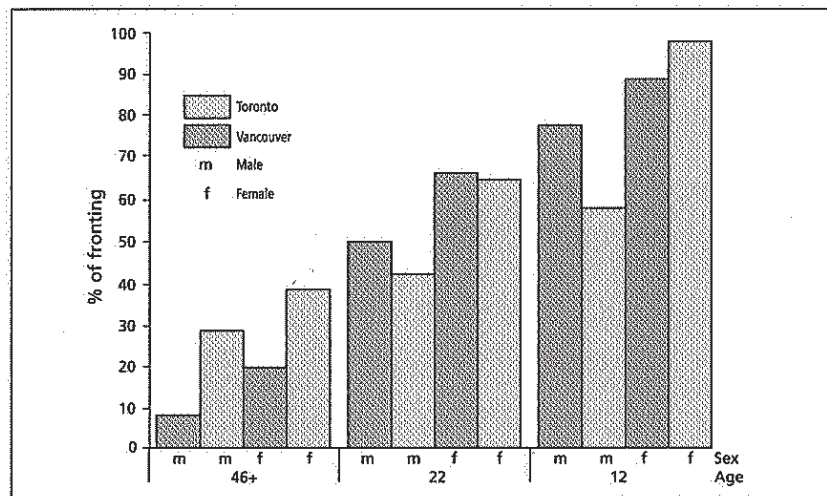
Canadian English is not solely identified by its unusual distribution of US and UK linguistic characteristics. There are several features which seem to be unique to the variety, and which are often deliberately identified with Canadian speakers in such contexts as joke-telling, satire, and literary characterization.

- In pronunciation, there are two main identifying features – notably the sound of the diphthong /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ before voiceless consonants in such words as *house* and *fight*. The effect has been referred to as 'Canadian raising': the first element of the diphthong is articulated higher and in a more central position than would be heard in RP or nearby US accents, in the area of [ə] (p. 240), so that *out* sounds more like RP *oot* and *isle* more like *oil*. The other chief distinction is the way Canadians pronounce such pairs of words as *cot* and *caught* or *collar* and *caller* with the same short vowel. Such a merger can be heard in some parts of the USA, but not just those bordering on Canada.

- An important characteristic of the vocabulary is the use of many words and phrases originating in Canada itself. These are often borrowings from Native American languages, some of which have entered the variety directly, some through the medium of French. A few have become a part of World Standard English. Examples include *caribou*, *chesterfield* ('sofa'), *kayak*, *kerosene*, *mukluk* ('Inuit boot'), *parka*, *reeve* ('mayor'), and *skookum* ('strong'). Terms reflecting Canadian culture include *riding* (a political constituency), *first nations* (the indigenous peoples), *bannock* (a type of pancake), the *prime minister/premier* distinction (p. 340), and many items to do with fur trading, lumbering, mining, and local fauna and flora. There are around 10,000 distinctive words and senses listed in the *Dictionary of Canadianisms*, though many of these are restricted to certain localities.

- A striking discourse feature is the use of *eh?* as a tag (p. 218), often replacing a tag question, but often with a less specific intent during a narrative sentence: *He finally gets to the garage, eh, and the car's gone*. The form is usually spoken with a rising intonation, and is used by the speaker with various functions, such as checking that the speaker is sympathetically attending, or anticipating a point of special interest in the narrative. A similar form may be heard in several other parts of the world, such as in Scotland, Australia, and Jamaica, though not with such frequency, and usually lacking the narrative function.

EMERGING DIALECTS?



The apparent homogeneity of Canadian speech means that dialectologists have to hunt hard to find any regionally distinctive variant forms. It is likely that the relative lack of variation across most of inland Canada is due to the country's fairly recent history of settlement, and the early dominance of a single group (Ontarians) in the formation of an educated middle class. If so, then as population increases, and other influences intervene (such as the growing 'presence' of the USA, or the growth in immigrants from non-English-speaking language backgrounds), we would expect to find regional variation becoming more noticeable, with changes appearing especially in the cities and in the speech of younger people. Is there any evidence that this kind of change is taking place?

In a study published in 1986, the phonetic quality of the diphthong /aʊ/ (the chief feature of 'Canadian raising') was examined in the speech of middle-class people in Toronto and Vancouver, using samples of people who were 12, 22, and over 46 years of age. The figure shows the chief results.

In younger people, the distinctive centralized element of this vowel was often replaced by one whose quality was either further forward in the mouth (*fronting*), or more open (*non-raising*), or both. These words therefore sounded more like versions of the diphthong common in US English (though not in RP, where the characteristic quality is further back), and thus suggests the growing influence of that variety. Also noteworthy is the fact that the same changes were taking place in Canadian cities over 1,500 miles apart.

Three details of the change, suggested by the data, are important.

- Fronting correlates with age in both cities, and at about the same rate, but with Vancouver adults moving slightly more rapidly than their Toronto counterparts.
- Fronting correlates with sex in both cities, with women the leading innovators. The males in each age group have lower scores than their female counterparts.

- Non-raising (not shown in the figure) is not as noticeable, though it is taking place in both cities. It is more in evidence in Vancouver, especially among 12-year-old girls.

Regional differences

A close examination of the data brings to light two interesting contrasts.

- It is a general expectation of sociolinguistic enquiry that change is more likely to affect younger people. If Vancouver adults are further ahead in fronting than those in Toronto, we would therefore expect Vancouver children to be further ahead than Toronto children – but they are not. It appears that Vancouver adults are being more innovative than their children. How can this be so?
- Although males score less than females, at a given age, they score more than the females in the next higher age group. This applies regularly in the present study, but there is one exception: in Vancouver the 22-year-old women have higher scores than the 12-year-old boys. What has caused Vancouver women to outscore younger males in this way?

A new change

The answer to both these questions is to be found in the emergence of a new sound quality affecting the /aʊ/ diphthong in Vancouver, and found among the younger population. A lip-rounded first vowel element [o] is often being used before voiceless consonants, in words with relatively little stress (such as *about* and *out*). This development seems to be recent and to be 'competing' with fronting and non-raising.

In other words, young people who would otherwise be fronting their diphthongs are not doing so, because they prefer to round them instead. It is not that Vancouver adults (and especially 22-year-old women) are more innovative than the youngsters; it is simply that the youngsters are 'doing their own thing'. Because this change is a recent one, its effects are not so noticeable among older people. And it is not taking place at all in Toronto.

(After J. K. Chambers & M. F. Hardwick, 1986.)

CANADIAN DIALECTS

There is a traditional view that there are no dialects in Canadian English – that it is not possible for Canadians to tell where other Canadians are from just by listening to them – and the term ‘General Canadian’ has been used to capture this concept. While certainly there is a greater degree of dialect homogeneity in the country compared with, say, the UK, this view is far from the truth. It would be surprising if it were otherwise, given the great size of Canada and the geographical distances separating its communities. The impression of a universally used dialect is due chiefly to the existence of an educated Canadian variety of Standard English, heard across the country through radio and television. At a local level (moving from east to west), several dialect areas have been recognized, and although few signs of regional grammatical variation have yet been identified, there is an appreciable amount of lexical divergence.

- The Atlantic Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, the first part of Canada to be settled (p. 95), have long been recognized as a distinct linguistic region. The area also includes the island of Newfoundland, which has its own dialect identity, often referred to as ‘Newfie’, and (in common with relatively isolated communities all over the world) a source of national dialect humour. Local words for sea-going and fishing activities are notable, as are weather words such as *tempest* (an ordinary storm) and *trap smasher* (a severe storm). There are many local products, including *grunt* (a type of steamed pudding), *snits* (‘dried apple slices’), *larrigan* (a type of footwear), and *water horse* (‘salted cod’).

- Quebec, dominated by the issue of bilingualism, shows the effects of language contact, with several words which reflect French political and cultural institutions being part of the awareness of the Anglophone population. Loanwords of a more general kind include *caleche* (a type of horsedrawn vehicle), *double window* (a storm window), *whisky blanc* (an alcoholic drink), and *professor* (in the sense of ‘school teacher’). In an area where language attitudes are strong, of course, the extent to which Anglophone people are prepared to use words which are perceived to be French in origin varies greatly.

- The Ottawa Valley, a region west of Ottawa along the Ottawa River in Ontario, is known for its history of settlement involving immigrants from Scotland and Ireland. Constructions such as *They’re after leaving* will be heard (p. 338), as well as such items as *mind* (‘remember’), and they have contributed to a

rural image of the area. Canadian raising (p. 341) is heard in words with both voiced and voiceless consonants: for example, *house* as noun and as verb both have /əɪ/ (in other parts of the country, only the noun would be affected).

- Southern Ontario, the area originally known as Upper Canada (p. 95), along the northern shore of the lower Great Lakes, is now the most populated part of the country. Its role in Canada’s early history produced a number of political and cultural terms which later came into more widespread Canadian use, such as *reeve*, *riding*, *continuation school* (‘secondary school’), and *concession* (an area of surveyed land), and it has also developed a great deal of distinctive urban speech. Among its local words are *eavestrough* (‘roof gutter’) and *dew worm* (‘earthworm’).

- The Prairies, in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, comprise a huge area with a largely homogeneous dialect fostered chiefly by the communication lines brought by the transport system, especially the railway. The grain, cattle, and oil industries each have their distinctive local vocabulary, such as *Dry Belt* (an arid southern area), *stampede* (‘rodeo’), and *oil borer* (‘oil driller’). More general terms include *nuisance grounds* (‘rubbish dump’), *bluff* (a clump of trees), and *chuck* (‘food’). Local native languages have supplied some items, such as *kinnikinnik* (a type of smoking mixture) and *saskatoon* (a kind of shrub).

- The Arctic North, covering the Yukon, Northwest Territories, N Quebec, and Labrador, is known for Inuit-derived forms such as *kabloona* (‘white man’), *basket sled* (a type of sledge), *fan hitch* (of dog teams), *angakok* (‘shaman’), *tupik* (a type of tent), and *chimo* (a drinking toast). Many words from the area have entered Standard English, such as *igloo* and *white out*. The fur trade has also been important: a *factory*, for example, is a fur-trading post, and a *factor* its senior officer.

- The West, in British Columbia, and centred on Vancouver, is separated from the rest of the country by the Rocky Mountains, and this has motivated a high level of north–south movement along the Pacific Coast. As a result, parts of the area – and especially Vancouver itself – are strongly influenced by US English norms. The influence of regional native languages is also present, resulting in such local lexical usages as *keekwillee-house* (a type of earth lodge), *salt-chuck* (‘ocean’), and *kokanee* (‘land-locked salmon’). There is a distinctive vocabulary to do with local industries, notably mining and forestry (*logging*, *riggering*, *yarding*, *caulk*, *boom chains*, *jackladder*), with many of the terms now part of Standard English.

THE ROCK

The dialect of Newfoundland, locally known as ‘the Rock’, displays many differences from the rest of English-speaking Canada. It was not settled by United Empire Loyalists after the American Revolution, unlike other parts of E Canada (p. 95); and it received large numbers of immigrants from south-east Ireland and south-west England, especially in the first half of the 19th century.

The island’s political history and its geographical isolation from the rest of Canada helped to preserve many dialect features from the British Isles. Phonological examples (see §17) include the use of a clear /l/ in such words as *pull*; an extra (epenthetic) vowel, as in *film* /fɪl^əm/; and a plosive replacing the dental fricative, in such words as *this* and *thin* (p. 337). Such distinctive features, in exaggerated form, have formed a stereotype of ‘Newfie’ speech which is a source of humour on the mainland.

There are also several signs of Hiberno-English grammar (p. 338), such as *yiz* or *youse* as the plural of ‘you’, inflected *be* (I *bees* here), and perfective *after* (I’m *after* losing it). Among many local words are *scoff* (‘large meal’), *praties* (‘potatoes’), *bake-apples* (a type of berry), *screech* (a type of rum), *out-port* (a fishing settlement), *bayman* (an inhabitant of an outport), and *Newfs* (‘Newfoundlanders’), a label sometimes used derogatorily by mainlanders.

In recent decades, there has been a major shift in the status of the island. Newfoundland’s important strategic role in World War 2 was followed by a change in its political status (from British dominion to Canadian province) in 1949. Today, as ties with Britain become more distant, and contact with mainland Canada and the USA becomes routine through the media, it is likely that these changes will have far-reaching effects on the character of Newfoundland speech.