



TARTU STATE UNIVERSITY

**SOCIAL AND REGIONAL  
VARIETIES OF  
PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH**

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**TARTU STATE UNIVERSITY**

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**SOCIAL AND REGIONAL  
VARIETIES OF  
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## PREFACE

It is the purpose of this study aid to provide the advanced student of English with an introduction to the social and regional varieties of the English language today. The bulk of the booklet is devoted to a survey of regional varieties mainly because sociolinguistic studies are of relatively recent origin and our knowledge in this area of English studies is still limited and somewhat vague.

The text of this booklet is largely a transcript of lectures prepared by the author for broadcasting in a special service arranged for correspondence students of Tartu State University. These radio lectures themselves are a shortened version of a series of lectures the author has delivered to full-time students at the same university in recent years.

O.M.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

- AE = American English
- BE = British English
- E = English
- EMoE = Early Modern English
- GA = General American
- GB = General British
- lg(s) = language(s)
- ME = Middle English
- OE = Old English
- RP = Received Pronunciation
- StE = Standard English

## KINDS OF VARIATION WITHIN ENGLISH

When we speak about "a language" - in our case "the English language" - the term "language" refers to a dialectical unity of the universal and the individual. The English language is not a single homogeneous phenomenon, but a complex of many different and interpenetrating varieties of language in use in all kind of situations in many parts of the world.

Numerous features of English systematically co-vary with situation. The term "register" has recently come into use to describe varieties of this kind (also known as functional styles). In addition to stylistic variations, there are variations in the use of language that depend on the geographical place of origin of the speaker (or writer), his position on a social scale of some kind (e.g. upper/middle/lower class), and his age or sex.

The stylistic and geographical-regional varieties of English have received the most attention so far. Nevertheless, English stylistics is still a relatively undeveloped discipline. Moreover, some stylistic varieties of present-day English are of fairly recent development and have not yet been sufficiently investigated (e.g. the various kinds of radio and television English or the language of advertising, which are all slowly but surely making their mark on the pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary of the language.

The geographical-regional varieties of English may be either international variants (e.g. British English and American English) or intra-national dialects (e.g. Cockney or Lancashire within British English). All of these varieties have been systematically studied and recorded.

If geographical-regional variations represent, as it were, a horizontal differentiation of language, the variations on a social scale could be described figuratively as being on a vertical plane. In actual fact, the situation is more complicated as social dialects can become regional and vice versa. Thus, it is known that parts of Australia and the

U.S. South were originally populated largely by inmates of the London prisons. The latter, of course, detained mostly people from the lower strata of London society and consequently Cockney left a definite imprint on the language of the regions. Moreover, London Cockney itself may be best described as a peculiar socio-regional dialect of English.

#### SOCIAL VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

The social differentiation of English received a certain amount of attention before sociolinguistics was ever heard of. H.C. Wyld's pertinent observations concerning the development of modern colloquial English and Victor Grove's book 'The Language Bar' (1949) come to mind in this connection.

The variety of British English that is traditionally called Standard English (in reference to lexical and grammatical usages, its pronunciation being now known as Received Pronunciation = RP) is a direct descendant of the East Midland dialect with an admixture of Saxon elements that arose in the London area in the 14th century and was used mainly by the upper strata of the population (lower-class speech with its Saxon features developed into London Cockney). This kind of English originally had both regional and social connotations. During the 17th-19th centuries it gradually spread outward from the region of London, thus losing the character of a regional dialect (public schools and the older universities were attended by people from all over the country). At the same time Standard British English pronunciation or RP became a significant marker of social class in all parts of Britain, being opposed practically everywhere to the local accents of lower-class people. There was a strongly snobbish attitude among the upper classes towards dialect and uneducated accents (dropping aitches, etc.; cf. the situation depicted in B.Shaw's "Pygmalion"). People who aspired to jobs and promotion in gov-

ernment offices, the Army, the universities, the Church, etc. tried to get rid of their non-standard accents. Before World War II many jobs in Great Britain were closed to people who did not speak Standard English. Some of the more rigid class barriers have begun to break up since the war, owing to strong public pressure, and non-RP accents are not frowned upon so severely as formerly. Nevertheless, it is still true that pronunciation is of greater social significance in Britain today than anywhere else in Europe or America.

A fact not always realized is that the pronunciation known as RP is characteristic of only a very small minority of the native speakers of English in the world (estimates range from two to eight million speakers out of a total of over 280 million). A linguist will not regard RP as 'better' in any respect than any other regional or national variety. It is simply another variety requiring description and analysis, though its peculiar social and educational status may cause it to be studied more often and in greater depth than other varieties of English. The question of 'better' or 'good' speech generally, is a social, and not a linguistic question. Most people in Great Britain do, however, recognize Standard English and to a lesser extent RP as linguistic models on which to base the teaching of English. These models are also commonly used in the teaching of English overseas, at least in those countries which have had close connections with Great Britain.

The London Cockney dialect, which traces its origin to the Saxon dialects spoken in the London area ever since the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain, is probably the best-known example of a socio-regional dialect of English. As a result of growing urbanization in the post-war period, the spread of education, and the influence of the mass media, Standard English is exerting an increasingly powerful influence on the regional dialects of Great Britain. Recent surveys of British English dialects have revealed that the pressure of Standard English is so strong that many, if not most, young people in working-class districts are now definitely bilin-

gual in a sense, using an imitation of RP with their teachers and lapsing into their native local accent when speaking among themselves. The term 'diglossia' has been coined to denote a state of linguistic duality in which the standard literary form of a language and one of its regional dialects are used by the same individual in different social situations (cf. bilingualism which refers to the command of two different languages). In the case of both diglossia and bilingualism so-called "code-switching" takes place. The effects of these forms of linguistic behaviour are being extensively studied by sociolinguists and psychologists.

Relatively little is known about the development of new urban dialects and the phenomenon of diglossia in Great Britain (e.g. P. Trudgill's study of the social differentiation of English in Norwich, 1974). More work along these lines has been done in the United States where a number of linguists (Raven McDavid, Jr., W.A. Wolfram, R. Fasold, R. Shuy and others) have published sociolinguistic descriptions of working-class Negro speech (Black English) and the non-standard English of Puerto Rican immigrants. An outstanding sociolinguistic investigation is W. Labov's study (published in 1966) of the social stratification of English in New York City. The author deals chiefly with the differences in the pronunciation of workers and representatives of the middle and upper classes (one of the author's findings is that an r-less variety of pronunciation has less social prestige in New York; lower-class informants tend to switch over to an r-full variety in formal situations where a more 'correct' use of the language is called for).

Studies have also been made in the United States of the kind of English employed by various professional and other small groups within society, e.g. college students, salesmen, hippies, etc. Some preliminary results have been published of systematic linguistic variations in English which correspond with variations in the relative social standing of the participants in an act of communication as when one talks or writes to somebody who is higher, lower, or one's

equal on a specific social scale, e.g. in kinship, business, or military relations.

Speaking of social dialects (sometimes referred to as sociolects) in Britain today, one usually hears of upper-class and lower-class English. These two groups of linguistic usages were labelled U (= Upper class) and non-U respectively by Alan S.C. Ross, professor of linguistics at Birmingham University, in an article he published in a Finnish periodical in 1954. The article created something of a sensation and started much controversy and soul-searching in Britain. The question of class dialects and linguistic class-indicators was also taken up in the United States, France, Sweden and elsewhere. In addition to pronunciational class-indicators (non-U dropping of aitches, etc.), A.S.C. Ross gave long lists of words and phrases which he regarded as peculiar to the extremes of society, e.g. non-U Pardon? for U What? or Sorry? (said if one didn't hear a speaker properly); non-U Pleased to meet you for U How do you do?; non-U serviette for U table-napkin, non-U raincoat for U mac or mackintosh, etc. The validity of some of A.S.C. Ross's distinctions was debatable already in 1954. Since then a number of changes have occurred in usage, e.g. both U and non-U people now say radio (U people used to say wireless), the U-speaker today says He's at Oxford (or Birmingham, Sussex, etc.) for non-U He's at university (if a U-speaker does not know at what university a man is, he would make do with He's at a university). Among U people first names are used almost universally today, and not only between males. Alongside various linguistic indicators there are also others by which a U-person might be distinguished from a non-U one. Some such extralinguistic differentiators (eating habits, furnishing of rooms, etc.) are inevitably debatable, but nevertheless of considerable cultural interest.

To divide linguistic usages into two groups involves serious over-simplification. Actually there are, of course, more than two social groups in Great Britain and the other English-speaking countries. The problems of social stratifi-

cation and of group theory have only recently been tackled by the science of sociology. The serious study of social dialects must be preceded, or at any rate accompanied, by significant advances in sociology, and, above all, by the more precise definition of terms such as class, nation, nationality, society, language community, occupation, social setting, etc. On the whole, it should constantly be borne in mind that sociolinguistic research in Great Britain and the United States is based on the work of non-Marxist sociologists (e.g. B. Malinowski, B. Bernstein) whose ideological roots lie in neo-positivism or other forms of idealistic philosophy. Consequently, the correlations between social and linguistic phenomena are often distorted. Moreover, American sociolinguistic studies in particular are to a lesser or greater degree coloured by the controversial theory of linguistic relativity (the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis).

#### VARIATIONS IN ENGLISH DUE TO AGE OR SEX

Linguistic variations depending on the age or sex of the speaker or writer are likewise coming to be more intensively studied. English is a living and growing language and its pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar are all changing slowly but constantly. To the careful observer the speech habits of very old people differ in a number of respects from those of the rising generation. The pronunciational peculiarities of educated young people, when they are not the result of temporary fashion, may indicate the way in which the phonological system of the language is developing (e.g. the substitution of [əu] for [ou], [a] for [ʌ], etc. in what is known as advanced RP. We are particularly fortunate nowadays in that we can actually compare present-day pronunciational habits with those of an earlier generation on the basis of various kinds of recordings.

In recent years psychologists and linguists have been looking intensively for different explanations of the human ability to produce language. In this connection some inter-

esting research is being conducted, using the transformational-generative or some other approach, on such things as the manner in which a child acquires its mother tongue and on other related topics. Despite a large amount of empirical work our knowledge of language acquisition has not been greatly advanced. In the course of this work, however, much valuable material has been accumulated on the kind of language used by babies learning to speak and by older children. In Britain pertinent research has been conducted, for instance, by the Child Language Survey, originally in Leeds but now based at York University. From 1964 until 1967, the Survey was concerned with the language of children aged between 8 and 12 years. Later it became concerned with the 13-16 age group. The materials used for transcription and analysis (including computer analysis) are tape-recordings of children's conversations made in English schools and homes. Some written materials have also been collected and studied. The aim of the Survey is to analyze the topics English children talk about and the lexical and syntactical resources revealed. The first publications connected with the Survey appeared in 1969. Special mention should also be made of a thorough investigation of the language of English school-children published in 1960 by Iona Opie and Peter Opie. By way of passing, it might be pointed out that several ingenious techniques have been used to obtain uninhibited natural recordings of the language of children, e.g. special jackets fitted with concealed microphones and radio transmitters to be worn by babies, etc.

Baby-talk or nursery English is an extreme example of a variety of English based on age. Despite a certain amount of overlap it is obviously necessary to distinguish the language of babies from the language used by adults when talking to babies and little children. The characteristic features of the latter include the use of specific words like dickey-(bird), tootsie-(wootsie), upsa-a-daisy; a markedly labialized pronunciation; the use of the 3rd person singular (e.g. How how is he today, the little fellow?), etc.

Elements of nursery English continue to be used informally by adults speaking to other adults (e.g. diminutives like tummy, doggy; ta for thank you, etc.).

As might be expected, there is a difference between the extent of the influence of nursery English on the language of men and women, the latter using considerably more nurse words and diminutives in general. Turning to the differences between the kinds of English used by men and by women, there are said to be four main fields where women native speakers of English have their own words and expressions: (1) swearing, (2) euphemisms, (3) the nursery, and (4) when talking of the opposite sex. Men tend to avoid words that sound feminine or weak (e.g. hankie, cute, etc.), There are also certain other words and expressions that are more often used by men and vice versa, e.g. the words person, nice, and common (in the sense of vulgar) are perhaps used more often by women, while chap and fellow are possibly more characteristic of men. Sensitiveness to such details of usage is obviously an important asset in a novelist or playwright in his handling of conversation. It has even been suggested that more natural translations of works of fiction would be produced in English if two translators were to work together - a man translating a man's lines and a woman translating the lines spoken by a woman.

It is not only in the field of the vocabulary that differences exist in the kind of English used by men and by women. There are some differences likewise in the preference for certain sounds and intonation patterns. Thus, for instance, female speakers of RP tend more often to use the voiceless labio-velar fricative [ʍ] and to distinguish word-pairs such as which - witch, where - were, whether - weather, etc. Well-known phonetic correlates of effeminate speech (referred to impressionistically as "simpering") include a wider pitch-range than is normal for men, the more frequent use of tones such as the rise-fall, the use of breathiness and huskiness, switching to a higher (falsetto) register from time to time, as well as the modification of certain consonants (lispings).

. . . . .

Sociolinguistics as a discipline is eclectic and still very much in its adolescence. Thus far we have in the main but isolated single observations rather than systematic results. Methods and techniques are being constantly improved, however, and there are now prospects of the development of sociolinguistics on a sounder basis of dialectical materialism. Consequently, we can hope that sociolinguistic studies will provide increasingly useful information in coming years for the linguist and the practical language teacher alike.

### REGIONAL VARIATION WITHIN ENGLISH

The geographical-regional varieties of English are very numerous. They have come into being in the course of the long historical development of the language and as a result of its wide geographical distribution throughout the world since the early 17th century. There are more regional kinds of English than any one person can hope to master. It is quite clear, too, that the ordinary student of English need not learn to speak and write more than one (or possibly two) of the principal regional varieties of the language. In order to be able to communicate better with speakers of other varieties of English and to appreciate literature in the English language to the full a passive knowledge of the main features of the most important regional varieties is necessary. It is the purpose of the following sections of this booklet to supply the student with such knowledge.

In the United Kingdom there are literally hundreds of local varieties of the English language. Many of the differences in the kinds of English used in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland today can be traced back to the Anglo-Saxon dialects introduced into Britain way back in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., and to their subsequent differentiation in

the conditions of feudal isolation in the Middle Ages. Other peculiarities again are due to contacts with the Celtic population of the British Isles.

British colonial expansion in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries took the English language to practically all the corners of the earth. It is inevitable that there should be variations in the kind of English used outside the United Kingdom. The wider the spread of a language, the greater the likelihood of differences in the usage. The faster the spread of a language, the less stable its standards of speech. The aspects of language which are the most likely to show variation as the result of geographical separation are especially the vocabulary and, to a lesser extent, the pronunciation.

Differences in geographical features, in the flora and fauna and in the way of life all call for new words. Some of these words remain features of the local dialect and are unknown outside their country of origin, but the most important of them find their way into the general English vocabulary, and some of them become so well-established that their origin is forgotten.

The pronunciation of English in the dominions and other Commonwealth countries has been affected by social as well as geographical factors. The early settlers in America, Australia and elsewhere did not include a large proportion of the English upper classes, and this fact is reflected in the speech of their descendants today.

A general characteristic of the English language today is that it is being increasingly influenced by the English of the United States. Naturally, this influence is strongest on Canadian E., but it can be felt to a varying extent everywhere.

In general the English of the dominions and former colonies shows less respect for authority and precedent than does British English.

In many parts of the world where English is used, it has to compete with other lgs., and this competition has had its effect on the local variety of English, especially on the

vocabulary. The study of the English lg. as used in Canada and South Africa has to concern itself very much with the problems of bilingual speakers. In India and many parts of Africa there is an additional problem that English, while remaining a convenient lingua franca, is actually spoken by only a very small proportion of the inhabitants of countries of which it is the or one of the official languages.

The geographical-regional varieties of E. may be either internationally recognized variants (e.g. British English and American English) or intra-national dialects (e.g. Cockney or Yorkshire within BE).

The terms "dialect" and "variant" need some comment.

The term "dialect" is very loosely used in linguistic literature abroad. Thus, in the preface to his "English Dialects" (London 1963), G.L. Brooks says "a dialect is any subdivision of a language that can be associated with a particular group of speakers smaller than the group who share the common lg."

This is a very broad definition of the term as it covers regional as well as social and professional varieties of lg. such as slang, argot, jargon and cant.

In her book "The English Word" (Moscow-Leningrad 1966) Prof. Arnold introduces useful working definitions of the terms we are concerned with here. On page 292 she says: "Standard English is the official language of Great Britain which is taught at schools and universities, used by the press, the radio and television, and spoken by educated people; it may be defined as that form of English which is current and literary, substantially uniform and recognized as acceptable wheresoever English is spoken or understood. Its vocabulary is contrasted to dialect words. Local dialects are varieties of the English language peculiar to some districts and having no normalized literary form. Regional varieties possessing a literary form are called variants...".

In the United Kingdom we have two variants of English alongside Standard English. These are - Scottish E. and Irish E., either with its own normalized literary form and

a rich literary heritage. The other established variants of English are Australian E., South African E. and American E.).

On the territory of each variant there are numerous local regional dialects. In England alone, the number of such dialects is in the neighbourhood of 300. The local dialects of England are generally classified into five groups: Northern, Midland, Eastern, Western and Southern (see Map 2, p. 91). Scottish E., Irish E. and American E. likewise have their own dialects.

Regional dialects are popularly believed to be inferior or degenerate forms of the accepted standard language. Such a view is without foundation because (1) regional dialects are at least as old as and in many respects more expressive than the literary standard; (2) the literary standard has developed from what was originally a regional dialect or from a combination of several such dialects largely as the result of historical chance. It should be added that the study of regional dialects is an extremely valuable source of information about the background of various irregularities and inconsistencies in the grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary of the standard form of the language.

The regional dialects in England and elsewhere are undergoing rapid change under the pressure of Standard English taught at schools and also the pressure of the speech habits cultivated by radio, television and the cinema. The regional dialects are now mainly preserved in rural communities and for the most part in the speech of elderly people. The boundaries of the old local dialects have become less stable than they used to be. Moreover, the movement of population from the countryside to the towns and cities - the process of urbanization - has led to the rise of new urban dialects such as Brummagem, Scouse, Mancunian, Geordie (spoken in Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, respectively). Relatively little is known as yet about such urban socio-regional dialects in Britain (see above, p. ).

After the Second World War two systematic surveys of

the regional dialects of Great Britain were launched with headquarters at the universities of Edinburgh and Leeds. The results of the Leeds project, known as the Survey of English Dialects (supervised by the late Professor Harold Orton), have been partly published, and are of great interest to all serious students of the language.

Every native speaker of English in the United Kingdom will recognize at least the following regional varieties of the lg.: Cockney, the West Country dialect and the Northern dialects (Yorkshire, Lancashire). He will also easily identify speakers of the Scottish, Irish and American variants of English.

We shall now begin our review of the principal regional-geographical varieties of E. with an examination of some of the distinctive features of Cockney, the West Country and the Northern dialects.

#### COCKNEY ENGLISH AND PRINCIPAL REGIONAL DIALECTS IN ENGLAND

Cockney English is perhaps the only British regional dialect that is known at least by name to large number of people outside the English-speaking countries. This is due partly to the fact that Cockney is spoken in the capital of the United Kingdom and partly to the popularity in the 1960s of the musical show "My Fair Lady", based as it is on Bernard Shaw's play "Pygmalion".

Cockney has a peculiar status in that it is a socio-regional dialect spoken by about two million working-class Londoners - Cockneys - in a territorially restricted area, namely in the East End of London. Because Cockney is also a class dialect, i.e. a social dialect, there has long been a strongly snobbish attitude towards it.

Historically speaking, Cockney is a direct descendant of the lg. of the original Saxon inhabitants of the London area. Standard BE is the lg. of middle and upper-class Lon-

doners which developed from the East Anglian dialect mixed with Saxon elements spoken by large numbers of people who moved into London from the East Midlands in the 14th century. The East Midland speech of these newcomers acquired a social prestige which helped it to become the foundation of Standard BE. If it had not been for this development - (actually a historical accident) - foreign students of English today might very well have been learning a variety of Standard E. based on Cockney.

Its peculiar pronunciation is probably the most conspicuous feature of Cockney. The treatment of the diphthongs is particularly noteworthy. Thus, the RP diphthong [ei] is pronounced [ai] in Cockney, day, make, place sound like [dai, maik, plaiz]. The Cockney equivalent of RP [ai] is [ɔi]: I, fine nice are pronounced [ɔi, fɔin, nɔis]. RP [əu] becomes [au] or [æu], for instance e.g. no, road, go home be-  
[nau, raud, 'gau'haum].

The Cockney treatment of the E. diphthongs is often illustrated by means of the sentences Go straight away to the railway station and I'd like to go to Cambridge today which in Cockney pron. sound something like Gow strite awye to the rilweye stytion and Oid loik to gow to Kimebridge to die.

Another well-known feature of Cockney pronunciation is dropping the aitches. Put more scientifically, this means that the Cockney tends to omit the glottal fricative [h] where it occurs in St. E. At the same time the Cockney has a tendency to insert a glottal fricative in words beginning with a vowel, thus up the hill becomes hup the 'ill; ham and eggs is pronounced 'am n' heggs. Speech correctionists in Great Britain have long let their Cockney clients practise the following sentence in order to help them rid themselves of the habit of dropping their h's: Hatty, Henry and the honourable Horace held hands on Hampstead Heath for half an hour.

A characteristic feature of Cockney pronunciation is the frequent use of the glottal stop [ʔ]. This is a sound

produced by means of the contraction and sudden release of the glottis, a sound that one hears in RP, for instance, at the boundary of the first and the second syllable in words like geography and cooperate. The glottal stop is rare in RP (although it is very widespread in German where it is known as the Knacklaut.) The Cockney habitually uses it in such everyday words as milk, daughter, water, etc. which he pronounces ['mɪk, 'dɔːtə, 'wɔːtə].

The Cockney also tends to substitute a labiodental [f] or [v] for the forelingual [θ] or [ð] : thing becomes fin, father - fever, etc.

Cockney grammar can best be described as loose. Its special interest lies in the possibility that in some respects it sheds light on possible future developments in the English lg. as a whole.

A grammatical peculiarity of Cockney is the -s ending in all persons singular as well as plural of the present indefinite: I [ɔɪ] says, you says, she says, we says, etc.

A feature that Cockney shares with other varieties of semiliterate or substandard English is the use of double and plural negations, e.g. Blimey, ain't you got no papers?

Cockney has a rich vocabulary of its own and a number of Cockney words have become established in general BE. One might mention such words as quid, bloke, toff. Before the decimalisation of British currency in 1971, bob meaning a shilling and tanner meaning sixpence were important everyday words in Britain (both bob and tanner are ultimately of Cockney origin).

An extremely interesting linguistic phenomenon is that of Cockney rhyming slang. In short, the Cockney tends to replace words by others that rhyme with them, e.g. trouble and strife the latter word pronounced [strɔɪf] means wife [waɪf], apples and pears means stairs; home is called the Gates of Rome, house becomes Mickey mouse.

Such wordplay is often witty and imaginative and quite unintelligible to the uninitiated. Indeed rhyming slang started as a kind of secret lg. used in the London under-

world. To make matters even more complicated, contracted forms are frequently used - instead of calling stairs ap-ples and pears, one simply refers to apples: instead of saying run up the apples and pears - one says run up the apples.

Instead of calling one's wife trouble and strife, one speaks of her simply as trouble: My trouble put the cherry hog out in the Dolly Varden; deciphered this means my wife put the dog (rhymes with cherry hog) out in the garden (= Dolly Varden being a character in Ch. Dickens's "Barnaby Rudge").

When trying to understand Cockney rhyming slang one really has to think hard or, as the Cockney would put it, one must use one's loaf (= loaf of bread which rhymes with and means head).

The Cockney dialect has been thoroughly investigated both in the U.S.S.R. and abroad. In this connection one immediately thinks of the valuable work of M. Makovski and V. Khomyakov in the Soviet Union, W. Matthews in Britain, Ulf Jacobson and E. Sievertsen in Scandinavia.

In classical English fiction the best known Cockney characters besides Eliza Doolittle are probably the two Wellers, Sam Weller and his son Tony, in Charles Dickens's "The Pickwick Papers". Cockney characters inevitably occur in very many other works of fiction. The speech of the Cockney is represented by a conventionalized and easily recognizable form of spelling also widely used in jokes and transcripts of music hall songs.

Alongside Cockney, the best-known English dialects include those of the Southwest of the country (the counties of Devonshire, Somerset, Dorsetshire, Hampshire). The dialects of southwestern England are familiar to probably all foreign students from the works of Thomas Hardy. The scene of most of his novels is laid in an imaginary Wessex which is actually Dorsetshire. In W.M. Thackeray's "Vanity Fair" one of the central characters is Sir Pitt Crawley, a country gentleman, who speaks a southwestern dialect.

Among the principal phonetic features of the southwestern dialects are (1) first their treatment of certain initial consonants and second their peculiar so-called retroflex r.

In words of Germanic origin initial s and f are voiced in the southwestern dialects. Thus the numerals six and seven become zix and zeven, father becomes - vader. The word fox is pronounced vox (cf. the Standard English vixen 'a female fox' which is a word of southwestern origin).

Other examples of voiced initial consonants are summer for sommer, zider for cider 'a drink made from apples', the county name Zumerset for Somerset.

The retroflex [ɹ] is produced, as the term implies, with the tip of the tongue inverted or curled back, the result being a resonant hollow r-sound as in zider, Zumerset, farmer.

The last example farmer shows that the southwestern English dialects are r-full, i.e. they have an r-sound wherever there is a letter r in spelling. RP or Standard British pron. on the other hand can be described as r-less, meaning that it does not pronounce the r in a word-final position and when the r occurs before another consonant inside a word as in farmer.

In specialist circles it is quite common nowadays to contrast r-less and r-full varieties of English. The r-less varieties (RP, Cockney, Northern English, etc.) are definitely in the minority, since Scottish E., Irish E and most kinds of American E are r-full.

It might be added at this point that a retroflex r similar to that used in Southwest English occurs widely in Irish English and American E.

Coming back now to the western and southwestern dialects of England, one should at least mention the peculiar local dialect of the Bristol area on the border between Somerset and Gloucestershire. It is typical here for a final vowel (esp. [o]) to be followed by a parasitic consonant [ɹ]. The name Bristol itself goes back to OE brycg-stōw,

i.e. literally "bridge-place" - a reference to a bridge over the local river Avon. The regular development of the OE compound would have given us Bristow, instead we have Bristol.

In the city of that name a greengrocer sells potatols and tomatols, ideas become ideals, China - Chinal; in a discussion of tropical diseases a reference to Africa's several malaria areas sounds like Africal has several malarial areals.

The best-known northern dialects of England are those of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Both have been widely used by English writers for purposes of speech characterization. Thus the Yorkshire dialect occurs, e.g. in Emily Brontë's masterpiece "Wuthering Heights", the Lancashire dialect in Elizabeth Gaskell's novel "Mary Barton".

The most significant phonetic feature is the retention of a short [u] in words where RP has the mid-open central [ʌ]. For example cup, butter, son, love are pronounced [kʌp, 'bʌt, sʌn, lʌv] in the north of England. Thank you very much sounds like Thank you very [mutʃ] - Come now, hush up, love becomes ['kʌm 'nau, 'huʃ up, 'lʌv].

Another striking characteristic of northern English pron. is the use of a short [a] -sound in words like ask, class, grass.

The equivalent of the RP diphthong [ei] in paper, make, day is a relatively short [e]-sound without a glide. Thus, in the north of England an RP sentence like They came a few days ago sounds something like [ðe 'kem ə 'fju 'dez ago].

The intonation of northern English speech also has its own peculiarities which provide the southerner with an impression of businesslike efficiency and even aggressiveness.

The north of England was invaded and settled in the 9th century by Scandinavians from present-day Denmark and Norway. The placenames in this part of the country are evidence of the extent of the Scandinavian conquest.

It has been estimated that the Scandinavian element in the vocabulary of St. E. amounts to some 900 words. In the

regional dialects of northern England and southern Scotland this number is much greater. Hundreds of Scandinavian words unknown in Standard English are used in everyday dialect speech, e.g. toom 'empty', to laik (cf. Swedish leka) 'to play', to big (cf. Swedish bygga) 'to build', fell (cf. Swedish fjäll) 'hill', tarn 'small lake', beck 'brook', croft 'small farm', and many, many more.

We have now figuratively speaking reached the border with Scotland and the next chapter will begin with a survey of the peculiarities of the Scottish variant of English.

### SCOTTISH ENGLISH

Scottish English has its own normalized literary form and a rich literary heritage which permit it to be regarded as a generally acceptable variant of the English lg. alongside southern educated English or Standard BE, and such other widely recognized variants as American English and Australian English.

Before discussing the phonetical and lexical peculiarities of the English lg. in Scotland, let us take a brief look at the historical and linguistic background of the development of English in this part of the world.

You will probably know that Scotland with its area of 30,000 sq. miles is a bit less than twice as big as Estonia. Its population is just over five million. Scotland is old Celtic territory and the ancestors of the modern Scots were Celtic-speaking. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Scotland today speak English and the original Celtic language of Scotland (known as Scottish Gaelic) has more-or-less died out, it is practically extinct except for surviving pockets of speakers in some coastal fishing villages and on the Orkney and Shetland islands to the north and northeast of Scotland. There are today perhaps some 50-70 thousand speakers of Gaelic left. We are not here concerned with Scottish Gaelic except for the influence it has had on the vocabulary of Scottish English.

As we know from history, the English made repeated attempts to annex Scotland. Finally in 1603, England and Scotland were united into one kingdom under the first Stuart monarch, James I, who as the son of the ill-fated Mary, Queen of Scots, was also known as James VI of Scotland. Civil war at the time of the Bourgeois Revolution and the Commonwealth was finally followed by the Act of Union of 1707, and Scotland has been a part of Great Britain ever since.

In origin Scottish E. is a variety of Northern English which came to be widely spoken in the southern part of Scotland, the Scottish lowlands, already in the 12th century. Up to the 17th century this variety (known as Lowlands Scots or Scots E.) was perhaps equal in importance with southern English as a literary lg. The golden age of Scottish literature came in the 15th and 16th centuries, but thereafter Scots English declined as a literary medium. At the time of the Reformation, the Renaissance and Shakespeare, southern English began to exert a strong influence in Scotland. During the 18th cent. Scots E. managed to maintain itself as a literary lg. and indeed it was temporarily revived by Allan Ramsay, Robert Fergusson, the great Robert Burns and others. Since then, however, Scots E. has survived mainly in rural communities, in the countryside, in the form of local dialects. Today Standard English is taught in the schools and educated Scottish E. is practically identical with Standard BE in everything except pronunciation.

The peculiarities of pronunciation are marked even in the speech of educated persons and, indeed, it may be said that Scotsmen are proud of their accent and make no attempt to get rid of it.

Let us now examine some of the better-known features of Scottish English pronunciation.

Perhaps the most striking phonetic characteristic of the English lg. in Scotland is its rolled or trilled r [ʀ] sound. Scottish is an r-full variety of E., i.e. the r is pronounced in a word-final position and when it occurs before another consonant inside a word. Thus the words farmer

and writer are pronounced as [ˈfɛɪmɪʃ] and [ˈwaɪtɪʃ] .

It should be pointed out that the rolled or trilled r is produced by a rapid succession of taps of the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth-ridge or alveoli. In this respect the Scottish consonant resembles our own Estonian r, which is likewise articulated by a series of rapid movements or vibrations of the tip of the tongue. The main difference is that whereas in the case of the Estonian r the tongue makes an average of three vibrating movements, there are 5-7 vibrations or more in the case of the Scottish rolled r.

It is interesting to note that the quality of the present-day Scottish r is believed to be if not identical then at least very similar to that of the corresponding sound in Old English. Hence the Scottish rolled r may be regarded as an archaic phonetic feature in comparison with southern English standard or Received Pronunciation.

If the rolled r is common to all varieties of Scottish English, the pronunciations peculiarities which we shall mention next are not universal in Scotland but occur in most or some local varieties only.

Many Scottish speakers of English still use the palatal spirant [ç] and the backlingual spirant [x] (known as the ich-laut and the ach-laut respectively) which disappeared in southern English pronunciation in the 15th century. In the pronunciation of some Scottish people we hear [brɪçt] for bright, [nɪçt] for night and so on. In written renderings of Scottish dialect speech such words as bright and night are spelt with a ch instead of gh: bricht, nicht.

The Scottish ach-laut is probably familiar to all of us from the Scottish word loch - meaning a lake - as in Loch Lomond or Loch Ness, (the latter being the lake in northern Scotland which is supposed to be the home of a legendary sea-monster).

A fairly widespread local feature of Scottish pronunciation is the use of a long [e:] sound instead of the southern English diphthong [ei]. Thus in Scottish pronunciation the sentence They came two days ago would sound something

like this [ðe: 'ke:m 'tʌ: 'de:s ə'gɔ:] . The sentence - It is a great shame but I am afraid I have no time at all today becomes [ɪt ɪz ə 'ɡreɪt 'ʃe:m bət aɪ əm ə'freɪd aɪ hæv no: 'taɪm ət 'ɔ:l tə'de:] .

In Scottish dialects the OE long  $\bar{a}$  usually remained unchanged in the ME period and was later diphthongized to [eɪ]. That is why in some local varieties of Scottish English we have stane and bane instead of Standard English stone and bone. The regular development in southern English was OE  $st\bar{a}n > ME st\bar{o}n > EMOE stone$ . This peculiarity of the Scottish variant of English has resulted in the addition of a word to the general vocabulary of English. This is the word raid (meaning a sudden attack or surprise visit). The word is a Scottish dialect counterpart of the St. E. road. Both road and raid can be traced back to OE  $r\bar{a}d$  signifying 'a ride, a riding expedition, a journey, a road'.

In some Scottish rural dialects the ME long [u:] did not change into EMOE [au]. Hence words such as mouse and house are still occasionally pronounced locally as [mu:s] and [hu:s] .

Scottish dialect speech is characterized by numerous so-called clipped forms of words, that is some sounds, especially those in a final position in a word are dropped. Thus one can meet an' for and, wha' for what, gie for give, etc. These spellings as well as nicht for night and so on should be familiar from the poems of Robert Burns that we have all read.

The lateral consonant l is also frequently dropped in a final position in Scottish dialect speech, e.g. all, full, pull become [ɔ:, fu:, pu:] .

Before we leave the subject of Scottish pronunciation I want once again to emphasize its marked archaic quality in comparison with southern English. Such features as the rolled r-sound and the ach-laut as well as the ich-laut are a direct link over the centuries with the pronunciation of Anglo-Saxon times.

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The Scottish vocabulary can be described as varied and colourful. The chequered history of Scotland is reflected in the numerous words of Celtic, Old English, Scandinavian and French origin which are specific to the vocabulary of Scottish English.

In view of the fact that the Scots are mainly Celtic in origin, it is no wonder that Scottish English contains numbers of Celtic words not generally used south of the Border, that is south of the boundary separating Scotland from England.

Robert Burns's poem "Auld Lang Syne" should be familiar to all of us. (The title by the way is in Scots dialect and it means literally Old Long Ago or more freely rendered - the good old times.) Well, this poem contains several other local Scottish words or Scottieisms, among them (in the third stanza) gowan [ˈɡaʊn] or [ˈɡuːən], a Celtic word meaning a daisy or wild flower.

The first two lines of the third stanza run as follows:

We twa hae run about the braes,  
And pu'd the gowans fine.

turned into Standard BE this would be

The two of us have run about the hillsides,  
And pulled (i.e. gathered) the pretty  
daisies.

Some other examples of Celtic words in common use in Scotland are strath and glen (both denoting different kinds of valley), ingle meaning a fire or a fireplace, and lynn which means a waterfall or a pool. Words denoting specifically Scottish things and phenomena such as plaid and clan should also be mentioned in this connection.

Old English words surviving in Scottish usage include, e.g. mickle in the sense of great or much (cf. OE micel, mycel). In Scotland a man of mickle strength is simply a strong man, a man of great strength.

The Scottish dialect word bairn 'child' goes back to OE bearn. The pronoun ilk 'the same' is a direct descendant of OE ylc.

The contacts between the Old Scandinavians and the Scots were close in the early Middle Ages. Many of the Scandinavian words used in the northern English dialects are also well-known in Scotland, e.g. to laik meaning 'to play'; to big 'to build', fell a Scottish word for a 'hill', croft 'small farm', etc.

In the course of her centuries—long struggle against the English kings and feudal lords, Scotland often allied herself with France. The political and cultural ties with the French left their mark on the vocabulary in such words as ashet 'dish' (from French assiette), bonnie 'attractive, handsome, fine'; braw (a modification of French brave) 'good, fine, well-dressed'. The Scottish word genty (cognate with gentle and genteel) means 'fine, delicate'.

On the whole, it might be pointed out that Scottish English has a fondness for diminutives ending in -ie or -y. Thus, besides bonnie and genty, we find laddie, lassie, petticoatie, mousie and many others.

The popularity of writers such as Robert Burns and Walter Scott is largely responsible for the spread of Scottish words in general English. The words that the English language owes to Robert Burns include gloaming meaning twilight, erie 'causing a feeling of mystery or fear' (as in an erie shriek), flunkey 'a lackey'. Sir Walter Scott was an enthusiastic collector of dialect words and expressions. In his younger days he spent his summer vacations in the Scottish Highlands gathering old legends and ballads and writing down dialect vocabulary. Drawing on this fund of material in his novels and poems, Walter Scott enriched the English lg. with many picturesque terms, including glamour, gruesome, sleuth, bogie and slogan (originally a Celtic war cry).

A number of Scottish words and expressions are familiar to all speakers of English from certain holidays and the customs and traditions associated with them.

Probably the most important holiday in Scotland is Hogmanay, a holiday which covers New Year's Eve and New Year's

Day. An exclusively Scottish dish served during Hogmanay is haggis. This is a pudding prepared from the entrails of sheep mixed with oatmeal, suet, etc. served in the sheep's stomach in which they were boiled. Haggis is as popular in Scotland as plum pudding is in England. Another well-known national dish is cockaleekie, a soup made of chicken boiled with leek.

Connected with Hogmanay is the ceremony of first footing. It is an ancient superstition in Scotland (going back perhaps to pre-historic Celtic times) that the first person to cross one's threshold in the New Year ought to be dark-haired and a man. In order to bring the household good luck in the New Year this firstfooter (as he is called) should have with him a lump of coal (symbolizing warmth and shelter), a silver coin (standing for prosperity) and an apple (as a symbol of good health). The traditional greeting pronounced by the first-footer is Lang may your lum reek which is the Scottish English for Long may your chimney smoke.

The anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns falls on the 25th of January. Scots all over the world observe the occasion - known as Burns Night - with parties where the great poet's verses are recited and where everybody present joins in singing Scottish folk songs. Such occasions end traditionally with a singing of Auld Lang Syne.

Because of difficult economic conditions at home, many Scottish people emigrated in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. It is said that there are over 20 million Scots outside Scotland today, mainly in Canada, the United States and New Zealand. The Scottish communities in these countries have set up so-called Caledonian societies and associations (Caledonia, is the old Roman name for North Britain and is still used especially in poetry).

Scotland has given the world many outstanding writers. In addition to Burns and Scott the names of Robert Louis Stevenson, Arthur Conan Doyle, James Barrie (the creator of Peter Pan), Compton Mackenzie, and the outstanding Marxist poet Hugh MacDiarmid immediately spring to mind.

Writers such as these, representative of millions of hardworking, serious-minded and economical Scotsmen in Scotland and abroad, have made a significant contribution to the development of the English lg., helping it to become the fine medium of literary expression and international communication that it is today.

## IRISH ENGLISH

In this chapter we shall learn something about Ireland, the Irish people and the kind of English spoken by them.

Ireland, the smaller of the two main British Isles, has an area of about 33,000 sq. miles (or 84,000 sq. km. This is almost twice the area of Estonia. As you know, the island is politically divided into the independent Republic of Ireland with a population of 3,000,000 and Northern Ireland or Ulster, the population of which is about 1,500,000. Northern Ireland is a constituent part of the United Kingdom.

The Irish were originally a Celtic people. The island was known already to the ancient Greeks by its native Celtic name of Eire [ˈeːrə], meaning "the western land". The Romans knew Ireland as Hibernia, a name which is now chiefly poetic. Another poetic name for the country is Erin, a modification of the Celtic Eire.

Ireland has a warm and humid climate with copious rainfall. As a result its pastures and hills are a bright green most of the year and the country is sometimes called the Green Isle of Erin or the Emerald Isle.

The history of Ireland has been turbulent and full of violence. The Irish Celts resisted the incursions of the Scandinavians which began near the end of the 8th century and continued for more than 200 years. The Irish later resisted the Normans and the English. The Anglo-Normans conquered Ireland in the 12th century and took most of the land for themselves. For centuries to come the Irish tried to drive out the English landlords and settlers. There were

repeated risings, all of which were sternly repressed. An especially ugly chapter in the history of Anglo-Irish relations occurred in the middle of the 17th century when the English under Cromwell brutally suppressed an Irish rising. It was in the 17th century, too, that Ulster, the northern part of Ireland, was colonized by protestant English settlers. Their descendants are the anti-Catholic and intensely pro-British Protestant Unionists of today.

In the 17th and 18th centuries Ireland became merely a colony of England and was mercilessly exploited. The struggle of the Irish for independence continued throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. A national disaster with unexpected social implications was the failure of the potato crop in 1846 and 1847. Hundreds of thousands of people died from starvation while vast numbers emigrated to America and other countries. In a few years the population of Ireland fell from eight million to under four million.

In the latter half of the 19th century the nationalist movement for Home Rule gained momentum. This movement called for the government of the Irish by the Irish themselves. At the time of the First World War came the Easter rising of 1916. Once again the rising was put down with brutality and the resentment of the Irish grew ever stronger. Finally in 1921 the British were compelled to recognize most of Ireland as the Irish Free State, a self-governing dominion within the British Commonwealth. Northern Ireland or Ulster, however, remained a part of the United Kingdom. In 1937 the Irish Free State became an independent republic and in 1949 this republic left the British Commonwealth. Unrest has continued in Northern Ireland where the Catholic minority is struggling for equal rights with the privileged Protestant majority consisting of pro-British Unionists. The ultimate aim of the struggle is the union of Ulster and the Irish republic into one Irish State.

Centuries of colonial oppression and the forcible imposition of the English lg. meant that the Celtic mother tongue of the Irish (known as Erse) and Irish literature

were neglected. A widespread literary and cultural revival took place in the second half of the 19th century. This is known as the Neo-Celtic movement or the Celtic Revival. The better-known leaders of the movement were the poets and dramatists William Butler Yeats and John Millington Synge. One of the aims of the movement was the propagation of the Erse language, but both Yeats and Synge wrote most of their works in English. For some fifty years now Erse has been an official language in the Irish republic alongside English. Curiously enough, however, Erse is not so popular as might be expected. Of the roughly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million Irish only some 600,000 or 13 % are said to be able to speak Erse, while the number of those who prefer Erse to English is even smaller. Apparently the practical value of English as an international lg. is so obvious that most Irishmen now want to speak it and have it taught to their children at school.

As far back as the Middle English period there was already a distinctive Anglo-Irish dialect and the English lg. in Ireland today has a number of easily recognizable characteristic features. Several of these features have come from the dialects of southwestern and northern England.

As is the case with educated Scottish English, Irish English today is practically identical with Standard BE in everything except pronunciation. On the colloquial level, however, there are numerous local features of vocabulary and grammar, some of which are familiar to most native speakers of English from novels and plays the action of which is set in Ireland or which have a character or characters of Irish origin. Irish pronunciation is satirized in English plays from the 17th century onwards, and has come to be known as the brogue. If you look up the word in the dictionary, you will find that its original meaning is that of 'a coarse heavy shoe formerly worn by Irish peasants'. To an English ear the Irishman who spoke English "spoke thick", that is he sounded as if he had something in his mouth, he spoke as if with an Irish shoe on his tongue. This impression of speaking "thick" is due to a variety of causes.

To begin with - the Irish pronounce the consonant r in all positions (thus Irish English is of the r-full kind). Most Irish people use a peculiar variety of r known as the retroflex r. This sound is articulated by retroflexion of the tongue, i.e. with the tip of the tongue curled back and upwards toward the hard palate, thus producing a characteristic hollow resonance. The Irish pronunciation of the word farmer is [ˈfɑːmɹ̥]. The retroflex [ɹ̥] also occurs in various dialects in the West and Southwest of England and is characteristic of General American pronunciation.

It should likewise be pointed out that in Anglo-Irish a vowel often develops between the r and a following m as [ɑːm] for arm, [ˈfɑːɹ̥m] for firm, [ˈstɔːɹ̥m] for storm. A similar glide may be heard between l and m as in [ˈfɪlɹ̥m] and [ˈhelɹ̥m] for film and helm.

The impression of speaking "thick" is also reinforced by the frequent substitution in Anglo-Irish of the voiceless dental fricative [θ] for the plosive stop [t] before an r-sound in words like country, butter, true, strong, which sound something like counthry, buthther, thru, sthrong.

In word such as dog, not, log, shot which have a short open [ɔ] sound in Standard British English, the Irish use a vowel that is intermediate between [a] and [ɔ]-[ɒ]: thus [dɔg, nɔt, lɔg, ʃɔt]. The same vowel is also characteristic of American pronunciation.

The so-called "dark l" which occurs in Standard BE after vowels is not generally used in Irish pronunciation. "Clear l" which occurs in Standard BE before vowels is used by many Irish speakers in all positions, e.g. little is pronounced [lɪtɪ], apple - [æplɪ], middle - [mɪdlɪ] and not as [lɪtɪ̰, æplɪ̰, mɪdlɪ̰].

Many of the characteristics of the Irish pron. of English are due to the influence of Irish Celtic pronunciation on bilingual speakers. This influence is especially strong on the consonants. The pron. of vowels often shows a compromise between English and Celtic pronunciation, with the complication that English vowels, unlike the consonants, have

undergone many changes during the last few centuries, and Irish speakers sometimes preserve pronunciations that are no longer current in BE.

Thus, for instance, the vowel in the combination of letters - oth - in a word-central position came to be pronounced [-ʌð-] in Standard BE instead of earlier [-ɔð-]. This fronting of the vowel occurred in St. BE in the 17th and 18th centuries, but it did not take place in Ireland. As a result the words mother and brother are commonly pronounced as ['mɔðə] and ['brɔðə] in Ireland. Attention might be drawn to the St. BE pronunciation of the word bother as in Don't bother me, I'm busy. This pronunciation with the [ɔ] sound is apparently an Irish usage established in Standard BE.

Some other older pronunciations still current in Ireland include the use of the [ei] diphthong in such words as tea, sea, easy which are pronounced [tei, sei, 'eizi] respectively.

The Irish likewise often use the [ai] diphthong in words where Standard BE has the [ɔi] sound, e.g. oil, spoil, hoist and join are pronounced [ail, spail, haist, dʒain]. This is a 17th-century pronunciation which was introduced into Ireland by Cromwell's soldiers and settlers and which did not change when the St. BE [ai] subsequently became [ɔi] again in words of this type.

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The vocabulary of the Anglo-Irish dialects is full of words of local Celtic origin. A number of so-called Irishisms have been adopted by the general English vocabulary. They include such words as smithereens 'small fragments' (as in to smash sth. to or into smithereens), colleen 'a young girl', blarney 'the kind of talk that flatters and deceives people, skillful flattery or blandishment'.

Then there is the adverb galore meaning 'in plenty' as in a meal with beef and beer galore.

It is generally believed that the word whisky came from Ireland to England in the 16th century. The original Celtic word usquebaugh, by the way, means literally 'water of life'.

Another Irish word familiar to most native speakers of English is shamrock, the name for a kind of tiny clover, which is the national emblem of Ireland (also of Northern Ireland).

The shamrock is associated with St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland who lived in the 4th and 5th centuries. St. Patrick's day falls on March 17 and it is on that day that many people of Irish extraction who live in America and elsewhere gather for parades and make a point of wearing a real or artificial shamrock leaf to show that they remember the home of their ancestors.

The Irish have a very rich folklore in which all kinds of fairies, dwarfs, goblins, elves and other supernatural creatures play an important part. Some names of these fantastic beings have come into general English. Perhaps the best known case is that of banshee, the name of a female spirit whose cry is said to mean that there will be a death in the house where the cry is heard. During the Second World War the word banshee was used to denote an air-raid siren with its loud shrill warning signal.

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Apart from differences in pronunciation and the Celtic element in its vocabulary, there are certain features of Anglo-Irish grammar, especially syntax, that can be traced to Celtic influence. One of the best known of these is the use of after with a verbal noun as an equivalent of perfect tense forms of the verb in St. BE.

Thus, e.g. I'm after doing it means I've done it, just as I'm after having my dinner is the equivalent of I've just had my dinner'.

On the whole the Irish tend to make excessive use of the continuous tense or progressive forms of the verb. In conversational Irish English, for instance, the sentence 'I am

thinking it's at home he is surely simply means 'I think he is at home'.

Another common Anglo-Irish construction is the use of be and do be to express the continuous present, e.g.: He do be cutting corn every day and I be going to school early.

It might also be pointed out in conclusion that the 17th-18th century contractions 'tis for it is and 'twas for it was may still be heard in colloquial Irish today.

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George Bernard Shaw, who was himself born in Dublin, and whose mother was Irish, once said that "It takes an Irishman to write the English language properly".

It is indeed striking how many prominent British writers have either been Irish or have had Irish connections. An incomplete list of such cases includes Jonathan Swift, Oliver Goldsmith, Richard Steele, Richard Brinsley Sheridan. In more recent times we have Oscar Wilde, James Joyce, Sean O'Casey, Brendan Behan, Samuel Beckett, Iris Murdoch and many more who are not so well known. It is no wonder that the Irish, a relatively small nation, are proud of their contribution to British literature and to world culture in general.

The gifted, freedom-loving and industrious Irish have had a history full of oppression and suffering. In Northern Ireland there is yet no peace. May the present unrest there be brought to a speedy end and may the Irish people be soon happily united in one Irish State.

## THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

We shall now move on to an examination of the principal varieties of English outside the British Isles. This time, after a few introductory remarks, I shall tell you something about English in the Antipodes, that is about the E. lg. in Australia and New Zealand.

British colonial expansion in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries took the E. lg. all over the world. In various parts of the British colonial empire the lg. developed peculiarities of vocabulary, pronunciation and to a lesser extent of grammar. These differences were the result of separation in time and space.

It is a well-known fact of language development that geographical isolation leads to linguistic differentiation. The wider the spread of a lg., the greater the likelihood of variations in its usage. This was the case especially in former days. The spread of literacy, familiarity with written English, and the advent of the mass media - the radio and television in particular, have been stabilizing factors which have slowed down the rate of linguistic differentiation.

The distinctive features of English in North America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and elsewhere are due to a variety of causes. The latter include the new way of life and the new fauna and flora. Other features of the environment, such as topography and climate, likewise introduced new elements into the vocabulary. Contacts with other lgs., have also left their mark on English outside the British Isles.

In many parts of the world where E. is used today it had to compete with the lgs. of other colonizing nations, notably French, Spanish or Dutch, and this competition has had its effect on the local variety of E., especially on the vocabulary. Contacts with various native lgs. such as the Red Indian lgs. in America, the Negro lgs. of South Africa, the lgs. of the Australian aborigenes and the Maoris of New Zealand have likewise replenished the English vocabulary.

It should also be pointed out that the pronunciation of E. in America and the Commonwealth countries has been affected by social as well as geographical factors. The early settlers did not in their majority belong to the English upper classes and this circumstance is reflected in the speech habits of their descendants.

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With its territory of 7.63 million sq. km Australia is the sixth largest country in the world.

The exact date of the discovery of Australia by Europeans is unknown. The Dutch surveyed the coasts of Australia in the 17th century. In 1770 the British navigator Captain James Cook explored the east coast and landed to collect botanical specimens at Botany Bay near present-day Sydney. James Cook also claimed Australia for the British Crown.

In 1788 the British established a penal or convict settlement near Botany Bay and for a long time the Australian colonies were a place where the British Government deported criminals or persons who were politically undesirable. These early convicts came mainly from the oppressed lower strata of English society and they included a large proportion of London Cockneys. This fact accounts for the points of resemblance between present-day Australian pronunciation and that of Cockney English.

The first free settlers arrived in Australia in 1829. After gold was discovered in 1851, there was a gold rush, and the population began to grow rapidly. By 1890 there were just over three million Australians and this figure more than doubled to 6.5 millions in 1930. Since the Second World War the population has grown mainly on account of the mass immigration of so-called New Australians from many parts of Europe. The population of Australia today is about 15 million, including some 50,000 aborigenes or Black Fellows.

The English lg. in Australia differs both in vocabulary and in pronunciation from that spoken in England. However, the

differences should not be exaggerated and Australian E. is quite comprehensible to anybody who has learned standard British English.

Roughly speaking Australian English may be said to have a triple foundation of (1) Standard English, (2) Cockney, and (3) other BE regional dialects.

This triple foundation has been supplemented as far as vocabulary is concerned by various local influences such as the Black Fellow lgs. and dialects, and more recently by the growing impact of American English.

Let us first examine the vocabulary of Australian English and then take a look at its pronunciation.

The English lg. has been used in Australia for just under 190 years - a relatively short time when considering the development of a lg. During this period it is estimated that Australia has added some 10,000 new words and expressions to the vocabulary of the English lg. as a whole.

Most of these words and expressions deal with specifically Australian features or are English words that have gradually acquired new meanings in Australia.

Probably the most interesting terms that Australia has contributed to English are derived from the aboriginal lgs. Some of them have become internationally known, such as kangaroo, boomerang or dingo (the latter being, of course, the reddish brown wild dog of Australia).

Other words borrowed from the Black Fellows include, e.g. budgerigar, a small Australian parrot widely kept as a pet, and koala, a sluggish animal with large hairy ears, grey fluffy fur that spends most of the time on trees, it looks much like a teddy-bear-cub although it is not really a bear at all. Then there is wallaby, a smaller species of kangaroo; and billabong denoting a part of a river that dries up in hot weather. An exhaustive list of such terms is quite outside the scope of this survey.

On the whole, Australia has drawn considerably upon aboriginal dialects for names of plants and animals and also for names of topographical features and place-names. There

is, for instance, the well-known suburb of Woolloomoolo [wul-lum'lu:] in Sydney, and Brisbane has suburbs such as Indooroopilly, Coorparoo and Yeerongbilly. The name of the capital of Australia - Canberra - is also an aboriginal name,

When faced with the need to give names to new natural phenomena the early settlers of Australia often overcame the difficulty by naming them after the plant or animal to which they bore the greatest resemblance. Thus the koala was also formerly called the native bear, although it is not a bear at all. Neither for that matter is the native cat a cat. The Australian oak belongs to another species of tree altogether, the only resemblance being in the grain of the timber.

Words describing natural objects such as creek or gully differ in meaning from the usual English meaning in much the same way. A creek to an Englishman is an inlet from the sea, in other words a small bay. In Australia (as in North America) the word creek means any stream or small river. The word gully is applied in Australia to any depression in the land even if only a few feet deep, whereas in England it is used mainly of deep channels or ravines formed by rain water, usually on a hillside.

As agriculture developed in Australia, the great differences between methods of farming in Australia and England gave rise to differences in the meanings of words. Thus the word paddock which in England refers to a small field or enclosure, especially a pasture for horses, denotes any field or piece of land enclosed by a fence in Australia.

The peculiarly Australian sense of the word station is likewise interesting in this connection. It refers to a farmer's homestead, the outbuildings and all the land that he owns and is thus a synonym of the words farm and ranch.

Other words with changed Australian meanings include timber in the sense of 'forest' and bush with the meaning of 'back country, an unsettled or sparsely populated area'.

The widespread use of dialect or slang words which previously had only a limited circulation in England is an-

other feature of Australian English. Examples of this development include the following:

The adjectival or adverbial use of crook = meaning 'ill' as in "I'm feeling a bit crook today, so I'll stay in bed'.

Chook or chookie denoting a hen, chicken, fowl occurs in northern English dialects and is quite common in colloquial Australian.

Swag is defined as the bundle of personal belongings carried by a traveller in the bush, by a tramp or a miner. The word is apparently derived from the English slang term for a thief's plunder of booty.

The Australian word swagman (swaggie) for a tramp (i.e. a homeless person who goes from place to place and does no regular work) is well known in all E.-speaking countries as it is found in the first line of the popular Australian song "Waltzing Matilda" (see below, p.87).

Some originally BE dialect or slang words which came into widespread use in Australian English have been reintroduced into British English from Australia and their ultimate dialectal or slang origin has been forgotten.

In this connection we might mention the words cobber meaning 'companion or mate', larrikin 'a (usually young) street rowdy; the Australian equivalent of 'hooligan', and tucker = meaning 'food, a meal'. This word was originally used by schoolboys in England. The compound tuckerbag is likewise familiar from the song "Waltzing Matilda'.

The widely used colloquial term cuppa for 'a cup of tea' as in "How about a cuppa?" - probably owes its present popularity in BE to its widespread occurrence in Australian English.

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There are also a number of characteristically Australian expressions and idioms. Most such cases are confined to familiar or highly colloquial use. Thus an Australian will say that you want your head read when he is suggesting that you are crazy (the reference here is to a psychiatrist read-

ing, i.e. examining or studying somebody's head or brain).

The Australian's answer to the question "Are you feeling better?" might be "Too right, mate; she'll be jake", which deciphered means "... Absolutely, old man; everything will be fine."

A common Australian comment on something marvellous or incredible is "You wouldn't read about it".

The isolated grammatical features specific to Australian English are likewise restricted to informal speech.

They include, for instance, the use of the adverbial but or of the feminine pronoun for an inanimate noun or things in general.

Thus "The job's still not done; I'll finish her this arvo, but." means "The job's still not done; I'll finish it this afternoon, however."

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When Australian pronunciation is described, the most frequent summing-up is to say that it is like Cockney. This is, however, an oversimplification as there are both points of resemblance and points of difference between these two varieties of English.

The point of resemblance that is most often quoted is the development of the diphthong [ei] in words like day towards [ai]. Thus a phrase like the problems facing Australia today would sound something like the problems [ˈfaisɪn ɔstrəliː təˈdaɪ].

The sentence often used to illustrate the pronunciation of Cockney Go straight away to the railway station would sound pretty much the same in the pronunciation of a native Australian, i.e. something like - Gow strite awye to the rɪlewye stytion.

There are, however also a number of differences between the pronunciation of Cockney and Australian English. To begin with, the intonation differs considerably, Cockney has a quicker (staccato) rhythm, and the glottal stop so frequent in Cockney, is not an Australian characteristic.

The Australian treatment of long [i:] and long [u:] as in sea and you should also be mentioned. These sounds become diphthongs with a centralized first element: [i:] becomes [əi] and [u:] becomes [əu]. Thus sea is pronounced like [seɪ] and you like [jəu]. The Australian pronunciation of the abbreviation ABC, i.e. the abbreviated name of the Australian Broadcasting Company, is something like [ˈaɪ baɪ ˈseɪ].

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To conclude this chapter, a few words should be added about New Zealand English. New Zealand, as we know, is a group of two large and about 5,000 small islands some 2,000 km to the east of Australia. It has an area of 250,000 sq. km (about five times that of Estonia) and a population of approximately three millions. The early history of New Zealand is in some respects similar to that of Australia. For many years it was a base for whalers and traders until it finally became a British colony in 1840. There was much fierce fighting against the Maoris, or aborigines, who revolted against British rule on several occasions until 1871, when their resistance was finally broken. The early British immigrants came mainly from Scotland and other rural districts.

Some resemblances between Australia and NZ English are chiefly due to parallel trends in development.

In the vocabulary there are some Maori words although these are not so numerous as Black Fellow words in Australian English. Well-known Maori terms are whare 'a small house or hut', and kiwi 'a flightless bird the size of a hen'.

The word kiwi has also come to be used as a colloquial synonym for a New Zealander just as Aussie stands for an Australian.

There are, of course, quite a number of other names for elements of the fauna and flora that have been borrowed from the Maoris.

Many localisms of English origin are shared with Aus-

tralian English, e.g. bush for back country and tucker for food.

The majority of New Zealanders aim at speaking like Englishmen and apparently they succeed in doing so. There are some specific features, however, which although not universal deserve to be mentioned.

Especially in North Island, there are some distinctly Scottish features. Thus, words like door, more, four are pronounced with the [ɔə] diphthong - [dɔə, mɔə, fɔə].

Another similarity with Scottish English is that there is no strong diphthongization of [ei] or [əu] ; e.g. I know they came today sounds like [ai 'nɔ: ðe: 'ke:m tə'de:].

The consonant r is more or less trilled as in Scotland (again especially in North Island).

There is also an interesting tendency to lengthen a final [-i] sound in words such as city, very, lively, pity which are pronounced like ['siti:, 'veri:, 'laivli:].

In recent decades New Zealand English has come under the powerful influence of Australia and both Australian and New Zealand English are being influenced to a considerable extent by the United States. This influence has made itself felt mainly in the vocabulary, but also to a lesser extent in pronunciation.

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Australian English is undoubtedly the dominant form of English in the Antipodes and by reason of Australia's increased wealth, population and influence in world affairs, it has come to be recognized as an independent variant or national standard of the English language.

The position of Australian English has certainly been greatly enhanced by such native authors as Katherine Prichard, Henry Lawson, Frank Hardy, Dymphna Cusack, Allan Marshall and Patrick White, whose works are well known also to the Soviet reader both in translation and in the original.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
AND ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA

It is the purpose of this Chapter to give the reader a brief survey of the principal peculiarities of the English lg. in South Africa and to review the position of English elsewhere in Africa today.

The lg. situation in the Republic of South Africa is fairly complex. Of the total population of approximately 23 millions the overwhelming majority, some 16 millions (or 75 % of the total) are blacks, i.e. Negroes who speak one or another of the various Bantu lgs. (Zulu, Kafir, Hottentot, etc.). The ruling white minority (about 4 millions or 17 % of the total) consists of the descendants of the original Dutch and later British settlers in this part of the world. There also are some two million persons of mixed descent known as coloureds.

The lg. of the early Dutch colonist of the 17th century developed into the lg. now known as Afrikaans or the Taal. The white South Africans who speak Afrikaans as a mother tongue have come to be known as Afrikaners or Boers (the latter word, by the way, means farmer just as its cognate German word Bauer).

The English lg. was introduced to South Africa early in the 19th century after Britain had taken control of the Dutch Colony of the Cape of Good Hope together with its capital Cape Town. This colony on the southernmost tip of the African continent was of great strategic importance for the British as it lay on the sea route to India. Many Boers resented the presence of the British and in the 1830s to escape British domination they migrated north where they founded the republics of the Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State. When gold and diamonds were discovered there, the British extended their control to these Boer territories as well. Throughout the rest of the 19th century there was much friction between the Boers and the British. A major struggle for

supremacy took place in 1899 to 1902 during the South African or Boer War. This war ended in a British victory and the annexation of the Boer republics. In 1910, the British Parliament united all these territories with Cape Colony and set up the Union of South Africa. Both English and Afrikaans were recognized as official languages in this new British dominion. The Boers staged something of a political comeback in 1949 when their Nationalist Party came to power in the Union of South Africa. In 1961, soon after the Republic of South Africa had been set up, it left the British Commonwealth. As is well known, the white rulers of South Africa, led successively by the Afrikaner prime ministers Malan, Verwoerd, and now Vorster, have turned the country into a racist police state under the oppressive system of racial segregation known as apartheid. Under this inhuman regime the black and coloured population (more than 80 % of the total) lack political and social rights and are subjected to brutal economic exploitation in the interests of the white minority.

After the Republic of South Africa left the British Commonwealth, English remained one of the two official languages alongside Afrikaans. The latter, however, has been steadily growing in importance in recent years. Of the total white population of just over four million, E. is spoken as a first lg. by about two million people. Thus the position of English in South Africa today can be described as that of a minority within a minority. In the country districts speakers of Afrikaans greatly outnumber those who speak English, but English is still the lg. of commerce and industry and is widely used in the towns. More than half of the white population are bilingual and there has been a good deal of Afrikaans influence on South African English in vocabulary and pronunciation. South African English has also borrowed elements from other European and non-European lgs. with which it came into contact. These are Portuguese, German, to a lesser extent French, and the various Bantu lgs. of the Negro natives of the area.

In spite of the numerical preponderance of Afrikaans-speakers, immigrants from Great Britain have often been in positions of influence as teachers and employers and this has to a certain extent discouraged the development of a distinctively South African variety of English. This explains why the English used in official documents, the press, science and even in literary fiction (e.g. in the novels of say Doris Lessing, Peter Abrahams, etc.) is practically identical with Standard British English. It is on the colloquial level and in pronunciation, however, that differences make themselves felt.

We shall now examine some of the principal features of South African English in vocabulary and pronunciation.

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The lexical peculiarities of South African English can be summed up under the headings of loanwords from Afrikaans, loanwords from local African lgs. and English words that have acquired a different meaning in South Africa.

Words and expressions specific to South African E. are known as Afrikanderisms. Many Afrikanderisms are recognized and understood outside South Africa, but most of them are localisms associated with life and conditions in this part of the world. They include words used by the early settlers, such as lager meaning 'camp', trek 'a journey by waggon' and the verb to trek 'to make a long journey, esp. by ox-waggon', to inspan 'to harness animals (esp. oxen) to a vehicle' (the opposite being to outspan, i.e. to unharness). Then there is the word morgen a land measure of about 0.8 hectares. In South Africa dorp has all but displaced the E. word village; stoep is used in South Afr. English for 'verandah'.

Other words of Afrikaans origin denote geographical and topographical features, such as veldt meaning 'open country', kopje meaning a 'small hill', rand 'highlands on either side of a river valley' (the word rand, by the way, is also the name of the South African monetary unit subdivided into one hundred cents).

Various names of animals have also been taken over from the Afrikaners. They include wildebeest ['wildibi:st], the name of one of the many species of antelope in South Africa. Then there is springbok (from spring 'to jump' and bok 'male goat'). This is the name of a swift and graceful southern African gazelle noted for its habit of springing lightly and suddenly into the air. This creature, the springbok, frequently serves as an emblem of the Republic of South Africa. The national football team of South Africa is also known, quite appropriately, as the Springboks. This team, the Springboks, has been in the news repeatedly in recent years because many countries have refused to let their own football teams play against it as a sign of their disapproval of the policies pursued by the South African racist regime.

The most recent Afrikaans contribution to English and many other lgs. is the unpleasant word apartheid - literally 'separateness' - the term used to denote racial segregation, the keeping apart of the races and the policy of political and economic discrimination against non-European groups in the Republic of South Africa.

Some Afrikaans words in English are not of Dutch origin but have come from some other European lg. One such term is kraal meaning an enclosure for domestic animals and also a native settlement, a native Negro village. The word is of Portuguese origin and has a Spanish counterpart corral in American English, where it means a pen or enclosure for confining or capturing cattle or livestock in general.

Many words in South African E. have come from some local Negro lg. Thus karoo meaning 'an elevated plateau' is a Hottentot word. Another Bushman-Hottentot word is gnu [nu:] denoting any of several large African antelopes with a head like that of an ox, a short mane, long tail, and horns that curve downward and outward.

The word assegai (believed to be ultimately of Arabic origin) comes from Zulu and means a spear. Impi denotes a group of Kafir warriors. Words such as these became known to British and American readers from descriptions of the bravery

with which the Zulus defended their native territory against the British in the 1870s at the time of the so-called Zulu wars.

The Zulu word in-mamba has also become more widely known in the form of mamba as the name of several very poisonous Southern African snakes related to the cobras.

As in Australian English a number of English words have come to be used with quite new meanings in South Africa.

Thus in South Africa, a mason is not one who dresses stone or builds with it, but simply a bricklayer. A camp is part of a farm which is wired or fenced in. A boy, if he happens to be a native, may be, and sometimes is, a grey-headed grandfather (boy is the usual word for a male servant in many varieties of English used in the former colonies).

A good-for is a South African name for what is elsewhere known as an IOU, a signed paper acknowledging that one owes the sum of money stated.

In South Africa a canteen is not a place in a factory or office where food and drink, etc. are sold and meals bought and eaten, but a cheap drinking place. A cinema, on the other hand is known as a bioscope.

It is interesting to note that American E. and South African E. have several similarities in their vocabulary as AE has likewise acquired numerous elements directly from the language of the Dutch colonists who came to North America in the early 17th century, that is at approximately the same time as the Dutch settled on the southernmost extremity of Africa.

South African usages which are familiar to any American include cookies meaning small cakes and the word stoep which I have already mentioned and which denotes a kind of verandah (spelt stoop in AE). The word baas meaning 'master' is, of course, the same as the American (and now general English) word boss.

The use of with without an object as in Can I come with? can also be found dialectally in the United States.

Other peculiarities of South African word usage and sen-

tence structure are usually illustrated by examples such as:

The threw me over the hedge with a rock, i.e.

He threw a stone over the hedge and hit me.

Another characteristic South African usage is the following:

Shall we sit on the stoep so long? meaning -

Shall we sit on the verandah for the time being?

- so long 'for the time being'.

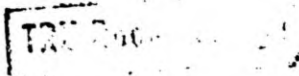
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In pronunciation the English of South Africa, like that of Australia, though for different reasons, has some strongly marked Cockney characteristics. But it has been influenced to a considerable extent also by the pronunciation of Afrikaans and to a lesser extent by the speech of many Scottish schoolmasters.

To Afrikaans South African E. apparently owes not only the peculiar modification of certain vowels (e.g. [pen] for pin, [keb] for cab, etc.), but also its higher pitch and the tendency to omit one or more consonants at the end of a word, e.g. tex' for text, expec' for expect. These peculiarities are also characteristic of Cockney English as is the South African tendency to pronounce gate as gite [gait] , train as trine [train] , day as die [dai] .

South African E. shares with American English the general disposition to pronounce the r whenever it appears in the spelling and to give full value to unstressed syllables, e.g. extraordinary [ikstrə'ɔ:dinari] and secretary ['sekɹətəri] instead of the usual British E. [ik'strɔ:dnri], and ['sekɹetɹi] .

Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of South African E. pronunciation is its flat and low intonation. Together with the tendency to change certain vowels (as in cab and pin) this monotonous intonation contributes to the general impression that somehow South African E. sounds flat, stale and weary - all these adjectives are used singly or in combination to describe South African pronunciation.



It is not only in the present republic of South Africa that E. is used on the African continent. Throughout the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century England participated in the so-called colonial scramble for Africa, i.e. the division and redivision of African territory in keen rivalry with France, Belgium, Germany, Portugal and Spain. Cape Colony taken over from the Boers in 1806 was only the first of a long list of territories seized by the British. Sierra Leone and Gambia were the next to be taken over by Britain in 1807. They were followed by large tracts of land in southern Africa and by the Gold Coast (now the republic of Ghana). In the last quarter of the 19th century, Britain consolidated its influence in Egypt and the Sudan. In 1885 the British took over Bechuanaland (now Botswana). In 1895 it was the turn of Southern Rhodesia. This was followed by the Boer War and the final annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. As a result of the First World War, Britain took over several of Germany's former African colonies (these included Tanganika, part of Togoland, Kamerun, and SW Africa). In all these territories English became the lg. of administration and education. In Liberia, too, English has been the official lg. ever since this republic was established in 1847.

After the Second World War, as a result of the local national liberation movements most of the British colonies and protectorates achieved independence. The English lg., however, has continued to be used as the official lg. in practically all the countries formerly under British rule. This curious, somewhat paradoxical situation where E., the lg. of the former colonial power, is still widely used and taught in the new countries of Africa calls for some explanation.

The population of such newly independent countries as Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, Kenya, etc. usually consists of a variety of ethnic groups each speaking its own lg. or dialect. In Nigeria for instance, over 200 different lgs. and dialects are spoken. As a result of the feelings of rivalry

and distrust encouraged by the British with their policy or divide and rule, it has not always been possible to set up any single local native lg. as the official lg. of that country because this would offend or alarm the speakers of the other lgs. This is why E., the lg. of the erstwhile colonial masters of the country, continues to be widely used for administrative, commercial and educational purposes. It is hard to say how long E. will continue to be used in this capacity in these countries. Probably its use is a temporary feature. Thus, in 1967, Swahili became an official lg. (alongside E.) in Tanzania. Swahili and Hausa have also begun to be taught to an increasing extent in Kenya, the Sudan and elsewhere in Central Africa. It is highly probable that Nigeria and the other former British colonies will all ultimately change over to teaching and administering and publishing books in one or more of their own local languages. This change-over will require much patience and education to overcome the heritage of suspicion and rivalry left by British colonialism. In the meantime it is quite clear that for a long time to come, English will be important in these countries, playing a role somewhat like that of Latin in medieval Europe. In the countries referred to English is not only used as a lg. of administration and commerce, but it is also the main medium of communication used by educated speakers from different parts of the country amongst themselves and with the outside world.

In each of the new African countries written English and the English taught at secondary and higher schools does not differ noticeably from Standard British English. The kinds of spoken English, however, are markedly different from the varieties of English spoken in countries where E. is the mother tongue. These differences occur in pronunciation as well as in vocabulary and to a lesser extent in sentence structure.

In Ghanaian E., for example they have 7-8 vowels instead of the 12 vowels in British Received Pronunciation.

This means that words such as bat, heart, hut all sound pretty much like hot and only the context helps to distinguish between them.

In Nigerian E. the word fellow means any person (including a female) and it is not unusual to hear sentences like John is going to get married to that fellow. Globe in Nigerian E. denotes an electric bulb (e.g. We had no light because she broke the globe).

In Nigerian E. likewise wonderful is a common cry of amazement at a surprising event. For instance if somebody announces to an acquaintance: "My brother died yesterday evening" the to us rather unexpected response in Nigeria could be "Wonderful!".

An interesting subject in its own right is that of the extent to which English is being enlarged and enriched in the new developing nations of Africa.

The English style of native writers of prose fiction like Achebe, Tutuola or Ekwensi in Nigeria and Sutherland in Ghana is rich and original. It contains local idiomatic expressions derived from Negro dialects, it has its own syntactic features and is characterized by a remarkable freshness of technique. Writers like these, many of them already famous, use a new and lively kind of lg. which will probably have some stimulating effect in the long run on the English lg. elsewhere, on English as a whole, enriching it in a number of ways.

The subvarieties of English born of the attempt on the part of native populations in former colonial territories to adapt Standard English to their own speech habits are known today as mutation Englishes or new Englishes.

## ENGLISH-BASED PIDGINS AND CREOLES

No survey of the varieties of English can afford to overlook the forms of Pidgin English spoken in various parts of the world either formerly or nowadays.

Originally "Pidgin English" was the name given to a simplified language which came into use in the South China trade ports (Canton, Shanghai, Hong Kong, etc.) in the 17th-18th centuries. The name "pidgin" is said to be derived from the Chinese distortion of the English word business. This form of language, consisting largely of distorted English words and with a highly simplified grammar was used as a means of communication between English-speaking sailors, traders and missionaries and the natives of China. The use of Chinese Pidgin English was forbidden by the government of People's China and it may now be heard only occasionally in such places as Hong Kong and Singapore.

In present-day linguistic literature the meaning of the term pidgin has been extended to denote any mixed or hybrid language that has evolved as a result of limited trade or cultural contacts between Europeans and a native population. Numerous pidgins came into being in the course of European colonial expansion from the 17th century onwards. They were based on the languages of the major maritime powers of those days, viz. English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch, and one refers accordingly to English-based, French-based, Spanish-based, etc. pidgins.

Pidgins are often described as mixed or hybrid languages. In reality they are not a mixture of the grammar of one language and the vocabulary of another. Pidgins are no more mixed than most other languages. What is specific to pidgins is that they are drastically simplified in grammar and in the size of their vocabulary. The almost complete stripping of all inflections is the feature that gives a pidgin its "baby-talk" effect. A pidgin represents an attempt to make a European language easier for a non-European

to use and understand. This aim was achieved partly by the distortion and simplification of grammar and the introduction of loan-words from the local language or languages. Such an extreme simplification reflected an unfortunate attitude that (1) non-Europeans are simple, childlike and incapable of learning European languages, and (2) the local language is vastly inferior and, consequently, not worth the trouble of learning anyway. The result was rudimentary language which had to be learnt by both European and non-European speakers who both thought, mistakenly, that each of them was conversing in the other's language. In this way a pidgin is in fact a travesty, a parody of a language which European sailors and traders imposed on non-Europeans in much the same way as adults impose "baby-talk" on babies.

In connection with the term pidgin one should also mention the terms lingua franca and creolized (or creole) language. A lingua franca is a common language for communication used in some area of the world populated by people speaking divergent languages. In the Middle Ages, at the time of the Crusades, a trade language came into use in the Mediterranean ports. It consisted of Italian mixed with French, Spanish, Greek and Arabic. This trade language was called Lingua Franca, literally "Frankish language" and it can be described as a pidginized Romance language. The term lingua franca was subsequently generalized to other languages used in similar circumstances. East Africa is populated by hundreds of tribes, each speaking its own language or dialect, but most Africans of this area learn at least some Swahili as a second language and this lingua franca is used and understood in nearly every marketplace. In West Africa it is Hausa that is the regional lingua franca. Malay was the commercial language of the East Indies from early times and this lingua franca has now become the official language of Indonesia and Malaysia. In a slightly different sense one can speak of French as having formerly been "the lingua franca of diplomacy", just as Latin was the lingua franca of the church and scholarship in Western Europe for a thousand years.

It should be borne in mind that a pidgin is always a lingua franca, but a lingua franca need not be a pidgin. The distinguishing characteristic of pidgins is that no one learns them as a native speaker. When a pidgin is learned by children as their first language that pidgin is said to have become creolized and the resulting language is called a creole. Put in another way, a creole arises when a speech community comes to rely entirely on a pidgin, using it exclusively and passing it on from generation to generation. This happened on slave plantations in certain areas such as America where Africans of many different tribes were forced to use a pidgin among themselves and between themselves and their overseers and masters. After escape or manumission (i.e. release from slavery) such a pidgin became the first language of the given community. Haitian creole, based on French, developed in this way, as did the Dutch-based Papiamentu of Curaçao and the English-based Jamaican Creole. Other well-known creoles are Louisiana Creole, a dialect of Haitian Creole, spoken by large numbers of blacks and whites in Louisiana (U.S.A.), the Spanish-Tagalog of the Philippines and Krio (or Kroo-English), the language spoken by some 40,000 people in Sierra Leone in West Africa.

An interesting English-based creole is Gullah, a blend of English and several West African languages (mainly from the territory of present-day Liberia), spoken by the descendants of African slaves on the islands off the coast of Georgia and South Carolina (U.S.A.).

The best-known English-based pidgin that exists today is called Melanesian Pidgin or Neo-Melanesian to avoid the pejorative word pidgin. Neo-Melanesian is spoken by about half a million persons in Papua, New Guinea and some of the nearby South Sea islands.

Other English-based pidgins are Beach-la-mar, Fanagalo, Taki-Taki and Chinook. Beach-la-mar (also known as Sandalwood English) is used on various islands in the West Pacific. Fanagalo or Kitchen Kaffir is spoken in parts of the Republic of South Africa while Taki-Taki or Nigre Tongo is

used in Guyana in South America. Chinook, a Red Indian, English and French pidgin is now extinct, but was formerly current among traders and trappers in the Northwest of the U.S.A. (the present states of Washington and Oregon) and the Southwest of Canada (in British Columbia).

The social status of pidgins is low and hence the term has acquired a marked negative connotation. This is because of the historical association of pidgins with European colonial empires. The vast majority of speakers of pidgin were and have remained educationally and economically underprivileged. In recent times linguists have begun to take a considerable interest in pidgins, recognizing that the latter reflect human creative linguistic ability and that much of the linguistic diversity, the multiplicity of languages in the world today may be accounted for by the development of pidgins and their subsequent criolization. It has even been suggested that Proto- or Common Germanic was originally a pidgin used by the primitive Germanic tribes that lived along the Baltic Sea and traded with the more advanced, sea-going Asian cultures. The two peoples communicated by means of a pidgin, which either greatly influenced Proto-Germanic, or actually became Proto-Germanic. If this is true, English, German, Dutch and the Scandinavian languages all had humble beginnings as a pidgin. The impact of French on English in the post-Conquest period probably also led to the development of some of the characteristics of a pidgin.

Neo-Melanesian is the English-based pidgin that has been the most fully and systematically described in print. As it is in many respects typical of English-based pidgins in general, we shall confine ourselves below to material from this pidgin.

The Neo-Melanesian vocabulary contains about 1,500 items (by way of comparison it might be pointed out that a typical creole has some 5,000 words and expressions). Beneath their disguise the vast majority (over 80 percent) of the words in the Neo-Melanesian vocabulary are of English origin. Thus brada means 'brother', susu 'sister', meri 'woman' (from the

widespread first name Mary). Traces of the German rule in this part of the world between 1880-1914 may be seen in such words as blaistik 'pencil' (< German Bleistift), lansam 'slow' (< German langsam), link 'left' (< German links). In most cases such words are now being replaced by English words which seem to be adopted on an ever increasing scale, mainly via Australia. (Between 1920-1975 New Guinea was under the political control of Australia.) Recent adoptions from English include faunten pen, tekewe 'subtract' (< take away), sekbuk 'cheque-book'.

There is a tendency in Neo-Melanesian for English phrases and word combinations to be treated as one word: banara 'bow and arrow', baimbai 'by and by, soon', tasol 'that's all', oltaim 'forever, always' (all time).

Transitive verbs usually have the suffix -im or -m (derived from the unstressed forms of English him or them): goapim 'to climb' (literally to go up im), boinim 'burn im'.

With their limited vocabularies, pidgins are not very good at expressing fine distinctions of meaning. Many lexical items bear a heavy semantic burden and context is relied upon to remove ambiguity. Much circumlocution (the use of rather lengthy descriptive phrases) is necessary, thus in Neo-Melanesian a policeman is gubmint catchum-fella, hair is grass belong head, whiskers are grass belong face, and when a man is thirsty him belly oltaim burn. A piano is described as big fellow bokus (i.e. box) you fight him he cry.

All pidgins seem to bear the social marks of their origin in that their vocabulary is associated with the menial and coarse activities of life, frequently reflecting the bullying role of the original teachers. For example, the Neo-Melanesian sentence Klos i-drai hariap, which means "The clothes are drying rapidly" suggests the way in which the meaning of the adverb hariap has been deduced from the English imperatives involving Hurry up! Another example of this domineering colonialist attitude is the verb sarap 'to be silent' (< shut up).

The superficial impression of Neo-Melanesian and other pidgins is that they are practically without any grammar. It is true that case, tense, mood and voice are generally absent from pidgins, but the same categories do not occur in many non-pidgin languages either. Although the grammar of a pidgin is admittedly rudimentary, it is nevertheless rule-governed as is any human language. We can afford to mention only a few features of Neo-Melanesian pidgin grammar, which, on the whole, strikes one as a simplification of English.

The relations of words in a sentence are expressed by means of prepositions. The preposition belong appropriately renders the idea of possession or belonging, e.g. brada bilong mi 'my brother', fela-bilong-Mrs. Queen was how the Duke of Edinburgh, (consort of Elizabeth II) was referred to orally and in the local newspapers during a visit he made to New Guinea some years ago (literally 'fellow who belongs to the Queen'). Causal, temporal, spatial, etc. relations are conveyed by means of the preposition along (or long) which thus does duty for the English prepositions by, with, on, to, at, for, in, from: e.g. Em spak along this fela 'He spoke with this man'. - Sapos ('if' < suppose) you fela you walk about me killin you long musket 'If you move I will shoot you'. - Plenty boy along ship 'There are many people on the ship'.

The pronoun system of pidgin is simpler than the English one in having no subject-object distinction (mi corresponds to both 'I' and 'me'), but it is more complex in having a contrast between inclusive and exclusive pronouns. For example yumi includes the person(s) addressed, as distinct from mipela (pela or fela 'fellow') which excludes the listener(s), though both of course would be translated by we in English.

In the absence of special verb forms to express the categories of tense, voice and mood various lexical means are used instead. Thus the adverb baimbai 'by and by' serves to convey the future, e.g. baimbai yumi go 'we shall go', the addition of the verb finish indicates a past action: me look-in finish 'I looked at him', 1-gut (=I got) mi wok 'I'd better work, I must work!

To provide a specimen of connected Neo-Melanesian text I have chosen the following extract from an advertisement for TAA (Trans-Australia Airlines) that appeared in 1969 in the newspaper "Nu Gini Tok Tok".

Olgeta het man flai along TAA. Long wanem em i namba wan balus tru. Sapos yu laik flai long balus bilong TAA, yu iken kisim tiket long ofis bilong TAA long olgeta hap bilong dispela Teritori.

Translation:

All top people fly by TAA. This is because theirs are certainly the best (number one) aircraft. Suppose you want to fly on a plane of the TAA, you can get (kisim 'get, catch') a ticket at a TAA office in every region (hap) of this territory (i.e. New Guinea).

The number of speakers of English-based pidgins and creoles in the world today, i.e. of so-called marginal speakers of English, has been variously estimated at between 10-20 millions. It is not likely that any of the existing English-based pidgins has a future. With the gradual spread of education and literacy, speakers of pidgin will ultimately either assimilate some standard kind of English usage or switch over entirely to a local native language. A possible exception may be Neo-Melanesian which has today its own writing system, its own literature, newspapers and radio programs. In an area with well over five hundred mutually unintelligible languages Neo-Melanesian may be said to play a certain role in unifying similar cultures and to have become a creole language. In order to become generally accepted as a medium of communication and instruction, however, Neo-Melanesian will have to shed its reputation of an originally debased and inferior form of English. Gradually the recognition is spreading that this pidgin is not merely a grossly imperfect form of English but a language with its own gram-

matical, lexical and orthographic conventions. The situation in New Guinea is rendered more complicated by the fact that any steps to stabilize and regulate Neo-Melanesian can be interpreted as a manifestation of gross neo-colonialism, aimed at keeping an underdeveloped region of the world in an inferior and dependent capacity. It is obvious that the propagation of Neo-Melanesian and English in New Guinea is part of the heritage of European colonial oppression. It is not clear what the ultimate linguistic solution will be in this geographical area, but for the time being both Neo-Melanesian and English will continue to play a definite role in the economic, political and cultural life of the local population.

To conclude this account of various minor marginal varieties of English two curiosities should be mentioned. These are Tristan da Cunha English and Pitcairnese.

Tristan da Cunha is the name given to three small volcanic islands in the South Atlantic. One of these islands has been inhabited since the early 19th century chiefly by descendants of British sailors and soldiers stationed here during Napoleon's captivity on St. Helena. In 1961 the population was 270 and the language is a blend of Cockney, West Country and South African English.

In the South Pacific half way between Australia and South America there is the solitary island known as Pitcairn Island. In 1790 nine of the mutineers of HMS "Bounty" together with six Tahitian men and a dozen Tahitian women arrived here. Today their descendants number some 80 persons and they speak a curious kind of English the vocabulary of which includes numerous Tahitian words.

Tristan da Cunha English and Pitcairnese are of interest to the linguist and the sociologist in particular as rare examples of what happens to English when it develops in isolation within a small community. Some of the features observed in both of them are an indication of how English tends to develop when it is not restricted by outside influences and may point the way to what the standard forms of English will become in the more distant future.

HISTORICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND TO AMERICAN  
ENGLISH AND THE AMERICAN ENGLISH VOCABULARY

Of all the people in the world who speak English as their mother tongue, over two thirds (some 200 million) now live in North America. As regards the number of its speakers and the influence it is exerting on other kinds of English, American English is clearly the most important variety of the English language today.

The differences between the English language as used in the United States and in Canada are such as to be practically indistinguishable to the average native speaker of English in other parts of the world. Of course, there are a few lexical items, mostly localisms, which are easily recognized as Canadianisms (e.g. muskeg 'a bog or marsh in the North', cabbage-town 'a depressed area of a large city', frazil 'ice crystals formed in turbulent water and gathered along the shore'). Because of the longer and closer political as well as cultural ties with the Mother Country the Canadian speaker of English also tends to use some words and phrases which are distinctly British English (e.g. tin, pram, braces instead of the AE can, baby-carriage, suspenders). By and large, however, there does not seem to be much truth left in the jocular definition of a Canadian as one who is always mistaken for an American in England and an Englishman in the United States. With the advent of the mass media the linguistic influence of the powerful neighbour to the south has led to a rapid approximation of the kind of language used by Canadians to General American usage. In this study, therefore, the term American English is used for both the U.S. and Canadian varieties of the language unless otherwise stated.

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At the end of the 16th century the British made several unsuccessful attempts to settle a colony in North America in the extensive territory called Virginia, in honour of Queen

Elizabeth I. Finally, in 1607, the first permanent British settlement in North America was established at Jamestown, Virginia. In 1620, another settlement was made by a small party of Puritan fugitives from Stuart absolutism who settled in Massachusetts. From these two centres, and from later settlements, arose the 13 colonies which were destined to become the United States of America. The development of the northeastern colonies in what came to be known as New England was rapid while the southern colonies grew more slowly. Two foreign settlements within the English sphere were soon absorbed. These were the Swedish settlement on the Delaware (taken over in 1644) and the Dutch colony of New Netherland with its capital New Amsterdam (which were seized by the British in 1664, and renamed New York). The Dutch colonists were ultimately assimilated, but their language contributed a number of words to AE: e.g. boss, cookie, spook, stoop (meaning a verandah), Santa Claus, etc.

For more than a century the principal rivals of the British in the annexation of North American territory were the French. A French expedition had sailed up the St. Lawrence river already in 1534. Quebec was founded in 1608, i.e. only a year after the British had founded their Jamestown colony in Virginia. Other French settlements were made at the beginning and the middle of the 17th century in what is present-day southeast Canada. In 1682, French explorers sailed down the Mississippi and took possession of the region at the mouth of the river, calling it Louisiana in honour of their king Louis XIV. It became the aim of the French to unite the settlements in Canada and Louisiana by setting up posts all along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, in order to confine the English between the Alleghany mountains and the Atlantic Ocean. The political history of North America till 1763 is mainly the story of the pressure of the English colonies against the barrier set up by the French. The struggle for the possession of North America culminated in the French and Indian War, which lasted from 1756 to 1763, and which ended in the fall of Quebec to the British and the defeat of

the French. To England, France yielded Canada and all the territory east of the Mississippi River, except Louisiana. The latter with its capital New Orleans passed into the hands of Spain, who had assisted France in the war. Thus ended the French dream of a colonial empire in the New World. However, large numbers of descendants of the original French settlers of North America continue to live in Canada and, to a lesser extent, on the territory of the United States (mainly in New Orleans). In Canada the French-Canadians make up about one-third of the population and resolutely resist assimilation by their English-speaking neighbours. The Francophone population of North America has also left its mark on the vocabulary of AE. French loan-wards include, e.g. prairie, rapids, depot, cache. Parts of North America are also full of French place-names such as Detroit, St. Louis, Des Moines, Montreal, etc.

At the time of the first Federal Census held in 1790, the population of the young U.S. was under four million. From 1790 to 1930, i.e. in 140 years, this figure increased more than 30 times to 123 million. Such a rate of increase in population is unknown in the case of any European country. Natural or genetic growth, which in Europe has been the only important source of population increase, has been but one of several factors in the U.S. and Canada. Much more important in North America throughout the 19th and the early 20th century were the extraordinary additions to the population through immigration, and to a lesser extent through the annexation of territory.

The overwhelming majority of the early colonists in the so-called Colonial Period of American history (1607 - 1790) were of English-speaking stock. New England and most of the areas of the central Atlantic Coast were populated largely by people from the eastern and southern parts of England. The first settlers came largely from East Anglia, the London area, the West Country and the northern counties. They were later joined by large numbers of Irish and Scots. Already in 1776 about one-sixth of the inhabitants of the U.S. were

Irish or of Irish descent. These facts were of decisive importance for the development of the English lg. in America.

The first half of the 18th century saw the arrival in Pennsylvania of numerous Germans escaping from religious persecution in their native land. The descendants of these settlers speak their transplanted High German dialects even to the present day and they are now known - inaccurately - as the Pennsylvania Dutch.

During the period from the first Federal Census to the end of the Civil War, i.e. between 1790 and 1865, the territory of the U.S. more than trebled in size and the population increased nine times. The growth of territory was the result both of business transactions (the Louisiana Purchase of 1803), the Florida Purchase of 1819) and of the military annexation of Mexican territory (thus Texas was annexed in 1845, and California in 1846).

The population advanced across the prairie region of the Midwest and the Great Plains and reached the Pacific coast. A number of old Spanish settlements in the Southwest were added to the U.S. as the result of the treaty of 1848, ending the war with Mexico. As a result large numbers of native speakers of Spanish became American citizens and many Spanish words entered the AE vocabulary, e.g. bronco, rodeo, ranch, pueblo, cafeteria, tornado, etc. The names of many states such as California, Montana, Nevada, Colorado, etc. are also of Spanish origin as are the names of Los Angeles, San Francisco, Las Vegas and many other cities in the southeastern part of the U.S.

It was in the middle of the 19th century likewise that over a million Irishmen emigrated to the U.S. after the disastrous Potato Famine in 1845-47. The failure of the 1848 revolution in its turn brought more than 1½ million Germans to the New World. The German contribution to the AE vocabulary is varied. Alongside words connected with food and eating - hamburger, frankfurter, wienie, delicatessen store, etc. There are such items as bum, loafer, dumb (the latter being an adjective meaning stupid).

It is from the vocabulary of the early French, Dutch, Spanish and German-speaking settlers of North America that the American variety of English borrowed extensively. The tens of millions of later settlers and immigrants from Europe and other parts of the world in the 19th and 20th centuries have contributed surprisingly little to American English.

The two most interesting and important ethnic minorities in the U.S. are the American Indians and the Negroes or Black Americans as they are now usually called.

Both of these non-white minority groups have long been subjected to racial discrimination and ruthless economic exploitation. Their struggle to secure justice and equal rights with white Americans is among the most dramatic and significant of current developments in the U.S. This is not the proper place to retell the grim story of how both minorities have been ill-treated and discriminated against for centuries.<sup>2</sup> I shall limit myself to a few linguistic facts only.

Although the Red Indians have never been very numerous on the territory of North America (there are approximately a million Indians in the U.S. and Canada today, i.e. about as many as there were when Columbus discovered America in 1492), the various Indian dialects and lgs. have made an extensive contribution to the AE vocabulary. The names of many native animals and plants are of Indian origin, e.g. opossum, chipmunk, raccoon, skunk, moose, hickory, squash, etc. The names of various objects and phenomena connected with the Indian way of life have also passed into general AE use, e.g. moccasin, wigwam, tepee, hominny, toboggan, powwow, caucus. The number of Indian placenames adopted and adapted by the white settlers is very large. Thus about a third of all the state names in the U.S. are modifications of Indian toponyms, e.g. Massachusetts, Iowa, Oklahoma, Mississippi,

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<sup>2</sup> For a fuller account of these matters see the present author's "American Life and Institutions" (Tartu 1976), pp. 14-22.

Missouri, Tennessee, Alaska, etc. A glance at the map of the U.S. and Canada will convince you that the Indian names of cities, rivers, mountains and other features of the topography are very numerous indeed.

A subject in its own right is that of American English idioms connected with Red Indian life. The novels of James Fenimore Cooper are largely responsible for the introduction into English (and indirectly into other lgs. as well) of such expressions as to go on the warpath, to put on the warpaint, to go after sb's scalp, to smoke the pipe of peace, to bury the tomahawk (or hatchet) (meaning to make peace - from a native Indian custom).

The first black slaves were brought to Jamestown, Virginia, from West Africa as early as 1619. The rapidly expanding tobacco and cotton plantations needed cheap labour and Africans were forcibly taken to America in great numbers until the end of the African slave trade in the mid-1850's. Today the black population of the United States is over 25 million, i.e. about 11 % of the total population.

Contrary to widespread popular belief in the United States and elsewhere, there is no inborn, inherent linguistic difference between Negro and white speakers on the same levels of illiteracy and semi-literacy. There is no truth in any claim that a physical feature - the shape of man's face or the colour of his skin - has any direct correlation with the way in which a lg. is spoken. The lexical, phonetical and grammatical features of so-called Negro or Black English in America were created by and persist for social, educational and economic reasons. The discrimination against Black Americans has created ghetto living and segregated schools. Where there is social isolation, dialect differences grow more marked.

It is generally believed that many of the peculiar features of Black English are traceable to influences of the African lgs. spoken by the slaves. During the 17th and 18th centuries Africans who spoke different lgs. were deliberately grouped together by the slave traders to discourage com-

munication between the slaves and thus prevent possible revolts. This theory suggests that in order to communicate with one another the slaves were forced to use the one common lg. they all had access to, namely English, and they used a simplified form of it, a pidgin, with various features from West African lgs.

Over the centuries Standard American English has been enriched by a certain number of words and phrases of African origin that have come from Black English. These include gumbo (a polysemantic word denoting, among other things, various fine-grained soils, a kind of soup, etc.), goober (another word for peanut); the word jazz is probably of Negro origin, and recent research seems to indicate that the well-known Americanism O.K. and the word hippie are likewise African in origin.

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In any discussion of the differences between BE and AE today it should be borne in mind that both have a common origin in the English lg. of Shakespeare's time, i.e. the early 17th century. It is customary to think of English before about 1700 as being one lg. with no specifically American characteristics beyond the early loanwords from Red Indian lgs., French and Dutch. This was because the British settlements were so young and so small. It is after about 1700 that the history and development of English in America began to diverge noticeably from that of English in Great Britain because of the geographical isolation of the early settlers and their growing feelings of social and political independence.

As time went on the meanings of some words began to change and certain English words continued to be used in everyday AE whereas they gradually became obsolete, archaic or dialectal in Britain. The AE use of homely is a good instance of both of these processes. Homely in Britain today means something pleasant, but in AE 'not very good looking, plain'. This older sense is preserved, however, in some of the British dialects.

Other examples of changed meaning are mad, which means angry in AE; corn 'Indian corn or maize'; rock which in AE can mean also a small piece of stone.

Words common in AE today which were formerly in widespread use also in Britain, include to snigger or snicker 'to giggle' and fall as the name of the season. Shakespeare used the latter, but since his time practically all speakers of BE have come to use only the word autumn.

The phenomena of differentiation separating British from American English and the extent of the influence exercised by the latter on the former, have been the subject of very much discussion and study both in the countries immediately concerned as well as abroad (including the Soviet Union). Differences in vocabulary are, of course, among the most obvious elements of contrast. It is virtually impossible in a short chapter like this one to do more than mention a few general facts and provide a small selection of vocabulary items by way of illustration. It should be borne in mind that despite certain differences, 99 % - if not more - of the vocabulary is common to both AE and BE. On an intellectual-scientific level there are indeed practically no lexical differences between the two principal varieties of the lg.

The differences in vocabulary are most noticeable in the field of so-called realia. For example, the flora and the fauna, that is to say the plants and the animals of England and the U.S. are not the same, nor is the landscape or the topography.

From the very moment that the first speakers of English set foot on American soil they had to supply names for those new species of plants and animals, the new features of the landscape that they encountered. At times they made up new words such as mocking-bird, rattlesnake and egg plant. Occasionally they used familiar terms when referring to different things. Thus, e.g. in the U.S. the robin is a rather large bird, a type of thrush, and not the tiny red-breasted bird that it is in England.

American social and political institutions are different from those of Britain as is the system of education. Specifically American terms in these areas include, e.g. the Administration (a collective term for the president and his cabinet officers or secretaries); a secondary school in the U.S. is known as a high school and its head is called a principal.

The terminology of motoring also has its specific features. The American usually calls his motor car an automobile. BE petrol is AE gas or gasoline, what is a lorry in Britain is called a truck in America, the boot of a car is its trunk, etc., etc.

The following are a few more examples of Anglo-American doublets in the case of words that belong to any native speaker's general vocabulary (American variants are given first): closet - cupboard, cookie - biscuit, elevator - lift, flashlight - pocket torch, janitor - caretaker, mail post, phonograph - gramophone, railroad - railway, second floor - first floor, sidewalk - pavement.

Such a list could be extended to include several hundred words, but the length of the list does not indicate a degree of non-understanding between British and American English today. Few of these items cause anything but a brief pause in comprehension as most of them are actually familiar to native speakers of English everywhere.

In colloquial and especially in substandard usage, i.e. in slang, there are relatively more differences, but owing to the increasing influence of radio broadcasting, television, films and travel, AE and BE are drawing closer even at this level.

On the whole, Anglo-American differences in vocabulary may be described as trivial today. The bulk of linguistic differences between the two varieties lies in pronunciation - but that is the subject of the next chapter.

**PRINCIPAL PHONETIC PECULIARITIES OF  
AMERICAN ENGLISH**

The pronunciations of American and British English are essentially similar. The fundamental sound patterns of BE and AE are much more like each other than they are like the sound patterns of any other language. The number of consonants is the same. The stress and rhythm patterns are based on similar prosodic combinations of weak and strong syllables, and so is the basic set of contrasting intonation tunes. Nevertheless, it is an undoubted fact that the pronunciation of English is different on the two sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, the differences in pronunciation are the most conspicuous ones between the two major varieties of the English language.

Before we consider the most important of these differences it should be pointed out that there is by no means a straight simple line of distinction that runs down the middle of the Atlantic, so to say, separating America from Britain. Actually matters are more complicated as there is a wide range of regional variation within the pronunciation of either variety of English. From the dialect point of view it has been traditional to divide the territory of the United States into the following major areas: (1) Northeast (all of New England and the New York area along the Hudson River); (2) Southern (the old slave states extending on the east of the Mississippi from Virginia and Kentucky southwards, and on the west of it into Louisiana and parts of Texas, Arkansas and Missouri; and (3) General American, including the Middle Atlantic area of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, as well as all of the Middle and Far West. The results of a thorough survey of the regional dialects spoken in the U.S. have been published intermittently since 1939. This American survey (The Linguistic Atlas of the United States by H. Kurath, R. McDavid and others) is not yet complete, but it has already made it necessary to re-

wise traditional views of American dialects. The old three-fold division mentioned above has been found to be an oversimplification. It is now common to recognize the following three main dialect areas: Northern, Midland (including the Midwest) and Southern. Each of these main groups has its subdivisions (e.g. the dialects of New York City, the eastern part of New England are subdivisions of the Northeastern area). The final classification of American dialects has not yet been carried out and for the sake of simplicity we shall concentrate in the present survey on the principal features of what is traditionally known as General American pronunciation (GA).

The overall impressions of AE pronunciation may be summed up as follows:

(1) AE intonation does not rise or fall so much as that of BE, i.e. there is somewhat less modulation of the voice and, consequently, AE sounds more monotonous.

(2) American voices generally have a higher pitch than British ones. In BE high pitch is usually a sign of emphasis, but this is not necessarily so in AE. As a result, to British ears AE often seems unduly emphatic. Another cause contributing to the same effect is that American voices tend to be louder than those of British speakers, especially in casual conversation.

(3) American pronunciation is usually more nasalized. To the British American speech sounds nasal and is often pejoratively referred to as having a 'nasal twang'. A certain degree of nasality occurs also in BE, e.g. in vowels which are immediately followed by a nasal consonant (e.g. time, man, sing, bring, etc.), but in AE nasalization is definitely stronger and it occurs in longer stretches of speech.

(4) The tempo of American speech is rather slower than that of British speech. Consequently, English people tend to speak of the American drawl and Americans often refer to the clipped speech of the English. This difference comes out distinctly in the AE and BE treatment of words like extraordinary and temporarily. In such words American secondary

stress avoids the piling up of several consecutive lightly-stressed syllables that occurs in BE. The same tendency also leads to the preservation of the a in secretary and the o in explanatory, which many British speakers drop altogether.

(5) In general, American pronunciation tends to follow spelling more closely than does British pronunciation, and there are fewer silent consonants. Thus, the loss of d in kindness, of t in often and at the end of trait, is common in British but rare in American pronunciation. So-called spelling pronunciations are also more common in the U.S. than in Britain (see below, p. 75 ).

The following are the most conspicuous differences in the vowel and consonant systems of GA and GB (=RP).

### 1. Vowels

(1) GA [æ:] instead of RP [ɑ:] in some words containing the letter a followed by ss, st, th, sk, nt: class, last, bath, flask, plant. Actually there are only about 150 such words (approximately 70 in everyday use) where today the variation between [æ:] and [ɑ:] can be found.

(2) GA [a] or [ɒ] instead of RP [ɔ] , e.g. in log, dog, often, stop, lock, psychology, etc.

(3) yod-dropping (i.e. omission of the semi-consonant [j] in stressed syllables, e.g. in due, produce, stupid, numerous, etc. (pronounced [du:, prɒdʌ:s, 'stu:pid] etc.).

### 2. Consonants

(1) GA uses the retroflex [ɹ] characteristic also of Irish English and the British West Country dialects. GA is r-full, i.e. the r is sounded in all words where this letter occurs, e.g. farmer, earth, bird, hurt, tear, curve. etc. Moreover, the r-sound occurs more-or-less simultaneously with the vowel before it. The vowels in such cases are said to be "r-colored".

(2) In GA the forelingual plosive [t] is voiced in an intervocalic position. Thus, to the British ear there is

practically no difference in the following pairs of words and others like them as spoken in AE: atom - Adam, waiting - wading, bleating - bleeding, writer - rider, latter - ladder.

(3) The lateral consonant [l] is usually pronounced as 'dark l' in those positions where it is 'clear' in GB: little ['lɪtəl], believe [bɪ'li:v].

There are also some other sets of words and individual words that are generally pronounced in a different way in AE and BE. Thus, AE prefers a short [ɪ] in the lightly-stressed second syllable of words like hostile, missile, future, whereas BE has the diphthong [aɪ]. In AE the words clerk and hearth are pronounced with the [ə:] sound, either and neither usually with a long [i:]. The following are some other characteristic AE pronunciation: schedule ['skedʒu:l], epoch ['epək]; tomato [tə'meɪtəʊ], lieutenant [lu:'tenənt], yase [veɪs], nephew ['nefju]. It will be noticed that most of these examples are "spelling pronunciations" (i.e. pronunciations based on the actual spelling of a word). Spelling pronunciations are also frequent in AE place-names and proper names: Edinburgh ['edɪnbɑ:rəʊ] (instead of BE ['ednb(ə)rə]), Berkeley ['bɜ:kli] (BE ['bɑ:kli]), Ralph [rælf] (BE [reɪf]), Anthony ['ænsəni] (BE ['æntəni]). Some originally AE spelling pronunciations have recently spread to as are beginning to spread in BE: nephew ['nefju], ski [ski], Ralph [rælf], etc.

Attention should also be drawn to the more numerous assimilated pronunciations that occur in colloquial and especially in highly colloquial or vulgar AE. Many of these pronunciations have been reflected in spelling and American fiction abounds in forms such as didya = did you, ain'tcha = ain't you = aren't you; gimme = give me, gonna = going to, toleja = told you, etc.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that none of the phonetic peculiarities of GA constitutes a really serious barrier to comprehension on the part of a speaker of General British English.

## SOME GRAMMATICAL PECULIARITIES OF AMERICAN ENGLISH

Over three hundred years of separate development have led to little difference in grammatical structure between AE and BE and even the existing differences are relatively trivial. The two major differences are the following:

(1) the use in AE of the auxiliary do in interrogative and negative forms of have: AE Does Mary have blue eyes? (BE Has Mary (got) blue eyes?) - AE Mary does not have blue eyes (BE Mary has not got blue eyes). It must be pointed out, however, that the American question form Do you have... is becoming increasingly common among the younger generation in Britain.

(2) AE tends to prefer the synthetic subjunctive after verbs like suggest, insist, propose, etc.: AE I suggest that you go there (BE I suggest that you should go there).

Among the minor differences in grammatical or lexicogrammatical usage one should mention the following cases:

(1) the past participle form gotten is used in AE when to get means to acquire or to obtain, e.g. We have gotten a new car since you were here last (cf. I've got a pen in my pocket or I've got to write a letter where both American and British people use the form got).

(2) Certain differences occur in prepositional usage, e.g. in AE the preposition on occurs in cases like on the field (BE in the field), on the corner (BE at the corner), on the street (BE in the street). Speaking of time the American may say either five of six or five to six and five after six or five past six. There also is an AE tendency to use more prepositions than in BE: AE to marry with sb., to fall off (of) a ladder, to visit with sb., to meet (up) with sb., etc.

AE also has some minor grammatical peculiarities on the low colloquial and vulgar levels, but as a rule such deviations from the standard have their origins or at least analogical forms in BE.

## AMERICAN ENGLISH SPELLING AND PUNCTUATION

A number of spellings characteristic of AE came into use soon after the political break with Britain in 1776. Patriotic and chauvinistic feelings ran high at the time and separatist tendencies made themselves felt in linguistic matters as well. Statesmen and scholars such as Benjamin Franklin and Noah Webster wanted to show that the English language in the United States was a distinctly American thing, developing along its own lines. Differences in pronunciation, word usage and spelling were deliberately encouraged. In his earlier years N. Webster favoured and used many reformed spellings. Most of these new spellings, however, failed to take root and Webster's well-known "An American Dictionary of the English Language" (1828) contained relatively few modified spellings. This dictionary gave currency to a number of features of American spellings as we know them today. These include the -or-ending in words like honor and color, the transposition of e and r in words of the theater and center class. Webster also rid American spelling of doubled consonants in words such as traveler, wagon and introduced several other characteristically AE spellings, e.g. plow, ax, etc. Towards the end of the 19th century the Linguistic Association of America introduced a number of shortened spellings such as catalog (without the final ue it has in BE) and program (with a single m and no g at the end).

The list which follows includes examples of most of the types of spelling differences that distinguish AE from BE today (the American spelling is given in first place): catalog - catalogue, center - centre, cigaret - cigarette, color - colour, draft - draught, gray - grey, mold - mould, plow - plough, pa.jamas - py.jamas, practice (verb, noun) - practise (verb), practice (noun), pretense - pretence, program - programme, sulfur - sulphur, tire (on wheel) - tyre, traveler - traveller.

Diacritic marks and the ligature ae have practically

disappeared in both British and American English, but the process began earlier in the latter. In the 1930's it was still the usual practice to write café, régime, rôle in BE although not in AE. British variants such as anaemia, encyclopaedia are gradually giving way to AE anemia, encycloped-ia.

In journalism and advertising there are a number of other differences between AE and BE spelling. A well-known case is the change of -ight to -ite as in nite, tonite (for night, tonight). The spellings tho, thru (for though, through) have also come into widespread use in America.

In the field of punctuation one could mention the elimination of hyphens in today and goodby (cf. earlier BE good-bye), and of the periods at the end of Mr, Mrs, Dr, etc. and after the elements of abbreviations, especially in acronyms like USA and NATO. In a letter the Americans use a colon after the salutation instead of the comma habitual in BE usage: Dear Professor Smith: ....., Dear Mr Brown: ..., etc.

## THE AMERICAN INFLUENCE ON BRITISH ENGLISH

As we have seen, the American and British varieties of English differ from each other above all in a number of phonetic features. There are also certain words and expressions specific to either major variety of English and a limited number of characteristic orthographic and grammatical peculiarities. The sum total of these differences, however, is not sufficiently large to permit us to refer to American English and British English as distinct languages. The British and the Americans speak what is essentially the same language and the number of remaining lexical differences between them is gradually dwindling. Indeed it may be said that the differentiation of both varieties of the language, which first became noticeable about 1700, reached its culmination in the third quarter of the last century. Ever since the closing decades of the 19th century the lexical differences have been levelling out, chiefly as the result of the widespread borrowing of Americanisms by BE. After World War II this process has been especially rapid as it has been facilitated by radio broadcasting, television, the press and mass tourism.

The earliest Americanisms to find their way into British usage were introduced through the intermediary of travellers who visited the United States at the beginning and in the middle of the 19th century. Of particular importance in this connection were some authors who upon their return to Britain made use of Americanisms in their writing. A case in point is Charles Dickens who helped to popularize such Americanisms as reliable, talented and lengthy in his "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit". All three words are now firmly established in British English usage although lengthy was still labelled an Americanism in the 1934 edition of the "Concise Oxford Dictionary". Since the middle of the 19th century many authors have contributed to the spread of Americanisms in BE usage. Sometimes this has happened unwittingly. Thus, it is well known that John Galsworthy was highly con-

servative in matters of language and implacably opposed to the use of Americanisms except in the case of deliberate character individualization (e.g. Francis Wilmot in the "Modern Comedy"). Nevertheless, even Galsworthy could not avoid occasional lapses. Among the Americanisms that were apparently unconsciously (and repeatedly) used by Galsworthy, we find such locutions as to make good 'to fulfil' (as in to make good a promise or boast); that's the limit (BE that's the last straw); to fall for 'to be tricked into, to fall in love with'. The last two expressions occur repeatedly in "The Silver Spoon" as does the American colloquialism stunt used in the meaning of 'something done to attract attention, a striking performance'.

Throughout the 19th and the early 20th century it was quite natural for British scholars to criticize the use of Americanisms. The usual British accusation was that the Americans had abandoned English altogether and had set up a barbarous jargon in its place. No attempt was made to differentiate between superfluous American slang and more respectable as well as obviously useful Americanisms. In retrospect it seems hardly believable that British writers and scholars could have condemned such indispensable words of American origin as reliable, to progress, to engineer, homespun, blizzard, scientist, etc. On the eve of World War II it was still quite common for British reviewers of American books to criticize their linguistic features. British newspaper editors were usually ashamed to be caught in the act of having allowed an American neologism to slip into the pages of their publications. The attitude to Americanisms in the lexical and other fields has now changed considerably. It is widely recognized that the American influence on BE is inevitable and frequently even quite beneficial. Nevertheless there still is some opposition to the use of Americanisms. Thus, as recently as in 1972 an organization was formed in England called "The Society for the Prevention of Inadvertent Transatlanticisms" (abbreviated significantly to SPIT). In this connection one might also mention a book that came out in 1975

under the eloquent title of "Strictly Speaking - Will American be the Death of English?".

The press has been a significant factor in propagating Americanisms in Britain. Especially important in this respect have been the large-circulation popular dailies. In order to save space in headlines and captions British newspapers have followed the example of the American press in using shorter words such as cut for reduction, bid for offer or attempt, blast for explosion, quit for give up or abandon, probe for investigation, rap for censure or reprimand, etc.

It is not only the wish to save space that has led British journalists to adopt American usages. As often as not the reasons for such borrowing have been the novelty and actual or apparent aptness of American words and phrases. Already before World War II the American word editorial occurred occasionally alongside the British terms leader or leading article. Today the term editorial is practically universal in British usage. Other words of American origin in the field of journalism include to cover, to feature, caption, etc.

American films, detective stories and comics have been the source of many American colloquial words and expressions that have found their way into BE. A considerable section of British youth is receptive to various influences from beyond the Atlantic. British teenagers pick up a wide range of American slang and vulgarisms at the cinema and on the radio and television. It is regarded as fashionable for young people to use American words and expressions. American pop songs have also contributed to the spread of Americanisms in Britain.

Although the bulk of American slang is ephemeral in character and merely a trashy linguistic by-product of the American way of life, every now and then a slang word or expression is created that actually fills a gap in the vocabulary and proves to be an asset to the language as a whole. Such items of slangy origin, which are now part and

parcel of the English language on both sides of the Atlantic and elsewhere, include rally, teenager, gimmick, know-how, quiz, brain-drain, highbrow, to take the floor, to blaze a trail, and scores of other words and expressions.

The impact of Americanisms has been especially great on the colloquial level in Britain. A fairly recent example is the phrase used by Americans as a reply when somebody thanks them: (You are) welcome (to it) (cf. BE Not at all or Don't mention it).

. . . . .

In concluding this brief survey of varieties of English attention should be drawn to the fact that with greatly improved communications and increasing contacts the various forms of English spoken in the world are now influencing one another as never before. Many of the grammatical and lexical differences which characterize regional dialects are dying out as Standard English becomes more pervasive through the influence of newspapers, radio, television and other media. Nevertheless, people still retain a distinctive kind of pronunciation, i.e. they speak Standard English, but with a local accent. Alongside the gradual disappearance of the old regional dialects some new social dialects are beginning to emerge, especially in large industrial centres.

In recent years Australia has joined the United States as the predominant source of linguistic influence on British English. The relations between the two principal varieties of English (BE and AE) are of particular importance for the future of the language. A unified and mutually intelligible British-American literary standard is already in existence. The relations between this British-American standard form of English and the new kinds of English emerging in the former British colonies in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean area will give rise to a variety of exciting linguistic problems and developments in the decades that lie ahead.

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SUPPLEMENT 1

Specimens of Regional Varieties of English

1. From "Pygmalion" by Bernard Shaw (Specimen of Cockney)

The Flower Girl. Nah then, Freddy: look wh' y 'gowin, deah.

Freddy. Sorry (he rushes off).

The Mother. How do you know that my son's name is Freddy, pray?

The Flower Girl. Ow, eez ye-oaa son, is 'e? Wal, fewd dan y' de-ooty bawmz a mather should, eed now bettern to spawl a pore gel's flahrzn than ran awy athaht pyin. Will ye-oo py me f'them? (Here, with apologies, this desperate attempt to represent her dialect without a phonetic alphabet must be abandoned as unintelligible outside London).

2. The dialect of Wiltshire (SW England)

Just as my train pulled out of Waterloo the other day, (...) a man blundered in (to my carriage) rather out of breath. He (...) sat down, (...) put one hand on each widespread knee, beamed at me, and said, "Jist in time, but I damned near missed her, zno." (.....)

"That's the best way to catch trains," I said, "waiting about a railway station is a poor job."

"Ay, 'tis you," he replied, "An' this un's a good train, zno. Me cousin, 'ee 'm an engine driver on the line, 'ee telled I to ketch this un. 'Thee ketch the dree o'clock, Tom, 'ee says, 'an she'll git 'ee down to Zalisbury, in a hour an' a 'alf.' Be you gwaine to Zalisbury, zur?"

"Yes," I said, "and I rather think that we come from the same county."

"Wilsher, guvner, an' you cain't bate it. This yer Lun-

non now, a poorish sort o' place. Volk do seem as 'ow they be drove all the time. 'Urryin' an' bustlin' about. 'Twould-in' do fer I.

"Ay, we shall git to Zalisbury at 'alf atter vower, an' then I shall ketch the vive back to - ." Here he named his village.

### 3. Some specimens of Scottish English

- (1) Oh, wad some power the giftie gi'e us  
To see oursel's as others see us!  
It wad frae monie a blunder free us  
And foolish notion. (R. Burns - To a Louse)
- 

#### (2) Auld Lang Syne (R. Burns)

1. Should auld acquaintance be forgot,  
And never brought to min'?  
Should auld acquaintance be forgot,  
And days o' auld lang syne.

Chorus: For auld lang syne, my dear,  
For auld lang syne;  
We'll tak' a cup o' kindness yet,  
For auld lang syne.

2. We twa ha'e run about the braes,  
And pu'd the gowans fine,  
But we've wander'd mony a weary foot,  
Sin' auld lang syne.
3. We twa paidl't in the burn,  
Frae morning sun till dine;  
But seas between us braid hae roar'd  
Sin' auld lang syne.
4. And there's a hand, my trusty frien',  
And gie's a hand o' thine;  
And we'll tak' a right gude willy-waught  
For auld lang syne.

5. And surely ye'll be your pint stoup,  
As surely I'll be mine;  
And we'll tak' a cup o' kindness yet,  
For auld lang syne.

- - - - -

(3) From "Death of a Hero" by Richard Aldington

"An' wh'y'think?" said the Scot in his sharp-clipped speech: "When ah got hame, they wan'ed me to gae and tak' tey wi' th' Meenister and than gie a speech at a Bazaar for Warr Worrkers."

- - - - -

4. From "Shirley" by Charlotte Brontë (Reference to Irish English)

"More bread!" cried Mr. Malone, in a tone which though prolonged but to utter two syllables, proclaims him at once a native of the land of shamrocks and potatoes. (.....)

Inquiring the signification of such words as vele, fir-rum, hellum, storum (so Mr. Malone invariably pronounced veil, firm, helm, storm) (....) This, of course would not do, Malone, being neither good-natured nor phlegmatic, was presently in a towering passion. He vociferated, gesticulated. Donne and Sweeting laughed. He reviled them as Saxons and snobs at the very top pitch of his high Celtic voice, they taunted him with being the native of a conquered land. He menaced rebellion in the name of his "counthry", vented bitter hatred against English rule; they spoke of rags, beggary, and pestilence. The little parlour was in an uproar...

5. Waltzing Matilda (A popular Australian song)

Once a jolly swagman camped by a billabong,  
Under the shade of a coolibah tree.  
And he sang as he watched and waited by the billabong,  
"You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me."

Waltzing Matilda, Waltzing Matilda,  
You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me.

And he sang as he watched and waited by the billabong,  
"You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me" -

Down came a jumbuck to drink at that billabong,  
Up jumped the swagman and seized it with glee.

And he sang as he shoved that jumbuck in his tucker-  
bag,

"You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me" -

Down came the stockman, riding on his thoroughbred,  
Up rode the troopers, one, two, three,

"Where's that jolly jumbuck you've got in your tucker-  
bag?"

"You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me".

Up jumped the swagman and sprang into the billabong,  
"You'll never catch me alive," said he.

And his ghost may be heard as you pass by that billa-  
bong,

"You'll come a-waltzing, Matilda, with me".

6. Specimen of New Zealand slang (from "A Gun in My Hand"  
by G. Slatyer)

At smoko they will sit outside on pieces of timber, shal-  
tered from the easterly by the wall, watching the cars pass  
in Waltham Road and drinking their tea. And around about  
there will be wisps of talk to be heard, the jargonizing of the  
working man at rest, as anywhere in the country. - I was  
shikkered to beat the band. He's a randy old coot always  
hanging around the cat's bar. I been carryin ya all mornin.  
He was full on nines and I was full on jacks. He got on to be  
about smoking in the shed. No sense bustin ya guts out. Blow  
that for a joke. Time for a coupla draws before the bell goes.  
An it ran like a hairy goat an I did me chips. He's not a bad  
sorta rooster, plenty worsen him floatin around.

## 7. Specimens of American English

### 1) From "The Catcher in the Rye" by J.D. Salinger

The driver was sort of a wise guy. "I can't turn around here, Mac. This here's a one-way. I'll have to go all the way to Ninedieth Street now."

I didn't want to start an argument. "Okay," I said. Then I thought of something, all of a sudden. "Hey, listen," I said. "You know those ducks in that lagoon right near Central Park South? That little lake? By any ohanoe do you happen to know where they go, the ducks, when it gets frozen over?" I realized it was only one chance in a million.

He turned around and looked at me like I was a madman. "What're ya tryna do, bud?" he said. "Kid me?"

### 2) From "Why Mr. Dog is Tame" by Joel Chandler Harris

"Well, suh, I speck she knows..."

"And she says she never caught you tellin' a fib."

"Is she say dat?" Uncle Remus inquired with a broad grin. "Ef she did, I'm lots sharper dan I looks ter be, kase many and many's de time when I been skeer'd white, thinkin' she done cotch me. Tooby sho', tooby sho'!"

### 3) From J. Steinbeck's "The Grapes of Wrath"

"I knowed you wan't Oklahomy folks. You talk queer kinda. That ain't no blame, you understan'."

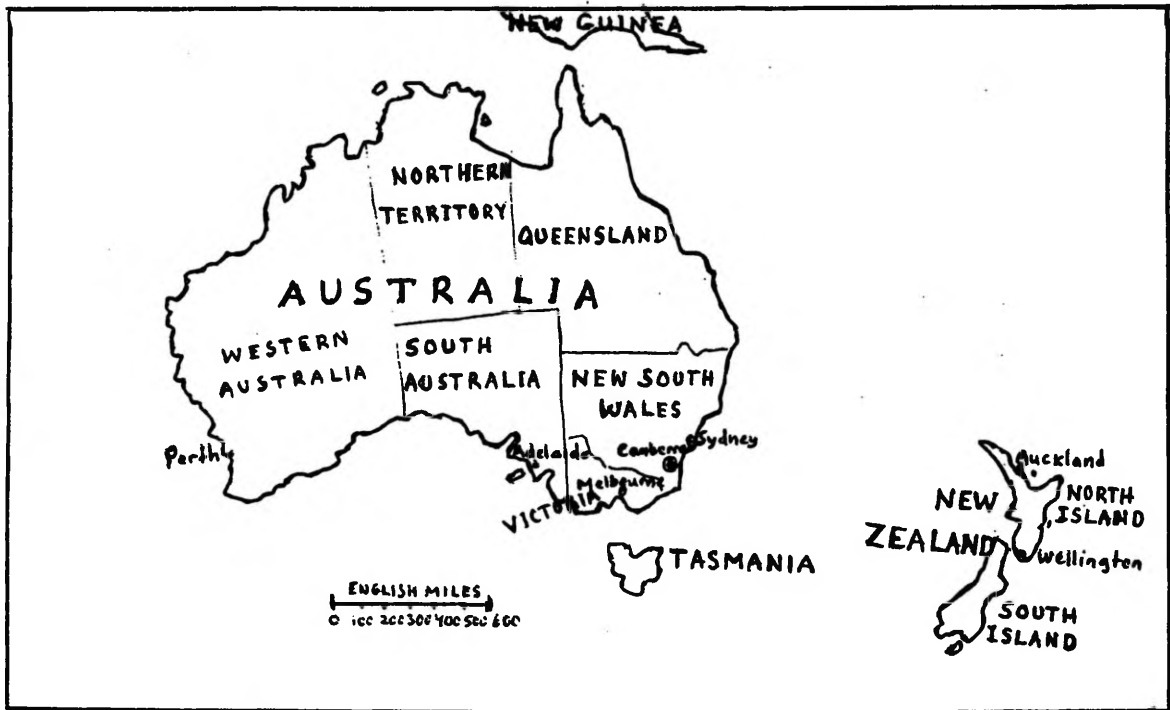
"Ever-body says words different," said Ivy. "Arkansan folks says 'em different, and Oklahomy folks says 'em different. And we seen a lady from Massachusetts, an' she said 'em differentest of all. Couldn' hardly make out what she was sayin'."



Map 1. The British Isles



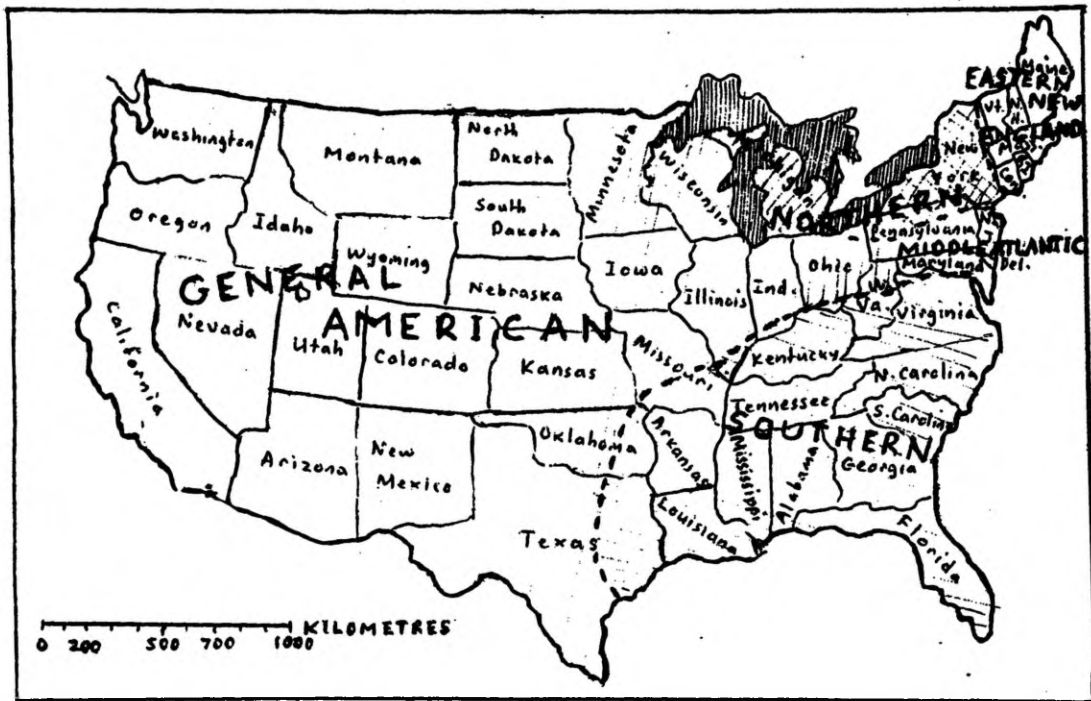
Map 2. English Regional Dialect Areas  
in the Modern Period



Map 3. Australia and New Zealand



Map 4. Anglophone Countries in Africa  
 (Hatching indicates countries where English is the or one of the official languages)



Map 5. Regional Dialect Areas of the United States

Олег М у т т. СОЦИАЛЬНЫЕ И РЕГИОНАЛЬНЫЕ ВАРИАНТЫ  
СОВРЕМЕННОГО АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА. На английском языке.  
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tud 23.03.1977. Kirjutuspaber 30x42 1/4. Trükipoog-  
naid 6,0. Tingtrükipoognaid 5,58. Arvestuspoognaid  
4,91. Trükia arv 400. TRU trükikoda, EMSV, Tartu, Päl-  
soni, 14. Tell. nr. 370. Hind 17 kop.