Standards and Norms in the English Language

Contributions to the Sociology of Language

95

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edited by

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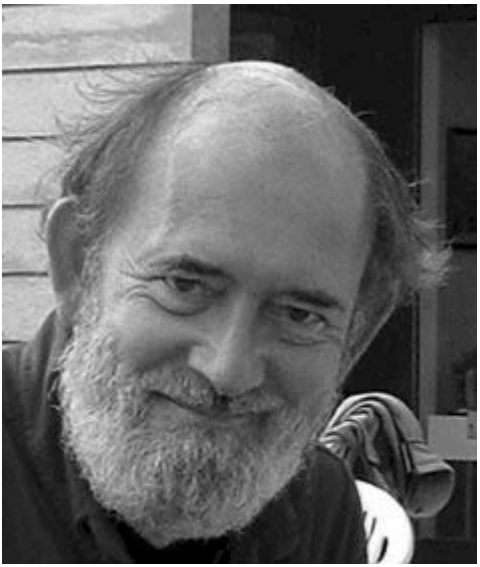

Dedication

This collection of papers is inspired by the work of Richard J. Watts, whose wide research interests are reflected in the topics covered in this collection. The contributors to this edited book have answered the call to work on the the theme of 'norms' and 'standards' in relation to the English language. Many other colleagues who worked together with Richard over the years or who appreciate his contribution to the filed of linguistics have added their names to the tabula gratulatoria. All of us would thus like to dedicate this work to Richard as a token of our appreciation of his academic work, which inspired many linguists in the more than three decades of his publishing activity, his collegiality, his friendship, support, encouragement, humour and the many folk song events that he shared with us. We wish him all the best for his retirement and have no doubt that there will be many more exciting research findings to be reported from his current research projects that we can look forward to in the upcoming years.

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1 March 2008

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Preface
Opening doors, crossing borders

Monica Heller

This book is inspired by the work of Richard Watts (Dick, to people whose linguistic repertoire protects them from the inappropriate connotations of the German: as Anke Beck once said to me, "I cannot possibly think of him as 'Dick', he is anything but!"). Characteristically, it is focused on the ideas, not the man, and yet Watts himself I am sure would acknowledge the importance of (yes, yes, socially-constrained) life trajectories in shaping the construction of knowledge. So I will use my privileged position as preface-writer to at least aim at the balance that is at the core of Watts' thinking between agency and structure, and which lies in the ability of people to creatively call linguistic resources into play in the interactional moment, in ways that are also both structured and structuring.

In many ways the defining features of Watts' work are contained in his interest in, and ability to, open doors (to new ideas, to new social actors, to new spaces) and to cross borders. He himself is of course the consummate border-crosser, having left his native UK for Switzerland, married a Swiss psychologist, Anne-Marie, brought up a Swiss son, Chris, and in the ultimate identity move in the Swiss context, appropriated Swiss German as his own (no one, but no one, who arrives in Switzerland as an adult is supposed to be able to do that). And we won't even begin to talk about what he does with Australian English. These border-crossing moves are, I am convinced, experiences which high-lighted for him the importance of language in the construction of social identity and of relations of power.

His initial interest in features of English, which could have resulted in a career devoted to formal synchronic analysis of language, resulted instead in a keen awareness that English is not just any old language, it is connected to the wielding of power in specific, and specifically important, ways – ways which also shift over time as political and social conditions connected to the use of English also change. The same position flowed out of his work on the teaching of English (EFL and formal analysis being the dominant mode of applied linguistics), and to his insistence that teaching English in particular, as well as other languages, is a deeply political act. This is of course a matter of public debate worldwide, and a particularly sharp one in Europe in general and in Switzerland in particular. Watts

found himself in the heat of the action, and decided that both the heat and the action merited serious scholarly attention. This has not led to an abandonment of analysis of the formal features of language; rather, he argues compellingly that these are part and parcel of the game.

As a result, he inspires a body of work which attends to how speakers and writers mobilize features of communicative systems in ways which – whatever else they do – are embedded in the construction of social positions, that is, of how individuals are connected to always-shifting social categories, themselves defined in relation to the production and distribution of the resources (both material and symbolic) which count in our everyday lives, in the moment and over time. The system features of language are, in his approach, part of the practice features, and the practice is tied to how local jockeyings for position are linked to the development and reproduction of social institutions over time. While this sociolinguistic epistemology is by now fairly widely shared, it is rare to find the kind of careful empirical work we see here, which works meticulously away at the methodological problem the theoretical position poses, that is, how to describe those linkages, how to discover how they actually work. This strong empiricism also makes Watts' work compelling across a wide range of epistemological positions in linguistics, sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, synchronic as well as diachronic. This may be a happy by-product of the continental European structuring of the discipline by language areas rather than subspecialty.

A less happy by-product, and one that poses a problem for all border crossers, is the academic structure's insistence that if you work on one language you shouldn't be working on any other languages, which of course makes work on multilingualism a little difficult. Of course, the academy mirrors the still-dominant ideology that multilingualism can only work, indeed can only be allowed to exist, if it is a set of multiple monolingualisms, in which the borders between languages are clear and fixed. Life in a place like Switzerland, not to mention Watts' own border-crossing, provides daily counterexamples, both as regards the kinds of variation we usually think of as involving different "languages" (English, French, German, Italian, Romantsch) and the kinds we put into a pile called "dialect" or something else (notably in this case, involving the so-called Swiss German dialects, the fading patois of la Romandie, and the varieties of Romantsch and the problems of its standardization). Watts has consistently drawn attention to the vital importance of putting these issues at the centre, not the periphery, of the study of language; that is, of seeing these not as problems to be cleaned up, but as part and parcel of the ways

linguistic features are bound up in the construction of social categories, and hence identities, and of relations of power which those categories help regulate.

At first glance it may seem that the attention (and tension?) in Watts' work to the fields of politeness and language standardization / multilingualism involves two somewhat separate domains. But in my view there is a strong connection between them, a connection which revolves around the concepts of norms and regulation. In both cases, Watts asks us to attend to questions about what kinds of values, and what kinds of interests, lie behind our ideas about what it means to use language in ways that are normatively valued, or at least acceptable. He asks us to think about why those specific forms and practices take the shape they do, given the historical conditions which position social actors in specific ways with regard to access to power. He urges us to understand that language practices are all about shaping (that is, defining and regulating) social relations, not in and of themselves, but as they become significant with respect to the social organization of power in specific historical conditions. They are about struggles between those who benefit from existing linguistic regimes, and who therefore seek to reproduce them, and those who lose out, and seek change, or at least some means of resistance.

In this respect, Watts' work is humanizing. Language is not about something outside of us, it is part of how we are in the world. It also constitutes a call for reflexivity, since the way we do linguistics needs to be consistent with this understanding of what language is. Watts has shown many of us what it means to do linguistics in the world.

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Standards and norms

Miriam A. Locher and Jürg Strässler

1. Norms and standards: The theme of the collection

This collection of papers is inspired by the work of Richard Watts, whose wide range of research interests is reflected in the topics covered here. An important theme in his work can be summarised as an academic concern for norms and standards in the English language. As these two terms may evoke different connotations and associations, we should first establish how the terms are to be understood in this collection.

We will start our discussion by looking at the entry for 'standard' in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. It contains many different subheadings; the one most closely connected to the theme of this collection reads as follows:

> B. 3.e. Applied to that variety of a spoken or written language of a country or other linguistic area which is generally considered the most correct and acceptable form, as *Standard English*, *American*, etc. (Oxford English Dictionary 1989, online)

This definition is closely linked to the following:

> A. 10. a. An authoritative or recognized exemplar of correctness, perfection, or some definite degree of any quality.
> b. A rule, principle, or means of judgement or estimation; a criterion, measure. (Oxford English Dictionary 1989, online)

These definitions are said to be figurative derivations of the definition given under the entry A. 9.a:

> A. 9. a. The authorized exemplar of a unit of measure or weight; e.g. a measuring rod of unit length; a vessel of unit capacity, or a mass of metal of unit weight, preserved in the custody of public officers as a permanent evidence of the legally prescribed magnitude of the unit.
> (Oxford English Dictionary 1989, online)

With respect to this definition, it is obvious that a standard measure must be authorized by some institution and that there is no room for any variation. Irrespective of what system of measurement a country declares as its

standard, a metre is always defined as the length of the path travelled by light in vacuum during a time interval of 1/299,792,458 of a second and the British imperial yard was defined in 1878 as the distance at a specified temperature between two lines engraved on gold studs sunk in a certain bronze bar. Milroy and Milroy (1985: 23) used the coinage as a similar example for standardisation in matters outside language, stating that "the coinage is strictly standardised so that there can be *no* variation in the values assigned to the counters in the system ... to ensure reliability and hence confidence."

In the figurative derivations given above, the authoritative component is already weakened and no longer a necessary prerequisite for a standard, and in definition B.3.e. there is no longer any mention of authority. Standard is defined as the variety "which is *generally* considered the most correct and acceptable form" (emphasis added). This definition, however, implies that beside the standard form its opposite must exist as well, which opens again the door to a discussion of variation.

The entry for 'norm' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is closely linked to the notion of 'standard':

> 1. a. That which is a model or a pattern; a type, a standard.
> b. A standard or pattern of social behaviour that is accepted in or expected of a group. Usu. in *pl.*
> c. A value used as a reference standard for purposes of comparison.
> (Oxford English Dictionary 1989, online)

While the definitions of 'norm' in the subentries 1.a. and 1.b. treat the term as synonymous to the concept of 'standard' described in meaning A.10. above, meaning 1.c. is arguably more restricted and matches the description for 'standard' given in 9.a. above. In this reading, the actual benchmark is highlighted: It refers to precise, reliable values declared by an authority for special purposes, mainly in technology and the natural sciences. Hierarchically, the concept of norm appears to be entailed in the concept 'standard'. Practically, however, many laypeople as well as linguists use the two terms interchangeably.

While the concepts of 'standard' or 'norm' have a high currency in linguistic research in general, the way they have been treated in the different fields of linguistics is rather diverse. Most generally, we can say that what a standard or a norm constitutes in a specific context has to be defined as a point of reference. As the topics discussed in this collection cover a wide field in which the notions are of relevance, we also see different conceptualisations at work. The contributing researchers take up the challenge in

different ways and discuss original data and new research questions connected by their focus on standards and norms.

This collection is organized into three parts, each of which covers an important research field for the study of norms and standards: (1) English over time and space, (2) English usage in non-native contexts, and (3) issues on politeness and impoliteness. While these areas of linguistic investigation are by no means comprehensive with respect to the study of norms and standards, the choice was determined by the fact that Richard Watts has contributed significantly to each of these three fields of enquiry.

2. English over time and space

The first part of this collection covers topics on the English language over time and space with the notions of norms and standards in mind. The nine chapters loosely form three thematic subgroups: (1) standard and non-standard features in English varieties and dialects, (2) research on English standardisation processes and (3) issues of standards and norms in oral production. Before we summarise the content of the chapters, we will briefly introduce these fields of study.

Nowadays, according to Trudgill (1998: 38), there is a clear consensus among sociolinguists that Standard English is a dialect, i.e. "one variety of English among many. It is a sub-variety of English." This, however, has not always been the case. In the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933), the term 'dialect' is defined as

> one of the subordinate forms or varieties of a language arising from local peculiarities of vocabulary, pronunciation and idiom ... A variety of speech differing from the standard or 'literary' language.

This definition implies that the standard language is a hyperform of all the respective dialects. Furthermore it concentrates solely on regional variations in vocabulary, idiom usage and pronunciation, thus ignoring grammar as well as social differences.

This is contrary to the modern understanding that a "standardised language is a language one of whose varieties has undergone standardisation ... consisting of the process of language determination, codification and stabilisation" (Trudgill 1998: 35). Furthermore, Standard English is independent of pronunciation, register and style, which may have been standardised independently. Standard English is the variety commonly used by

the media, especially in printing, and employed in the educational systems for both native speakers and learners of English.

As the standard is often associated with the language of educated people, social variations are more important than regional ones. Style is normally linked to formality, ranging from vulgar to very formal, and it depends mostly on lexical choice. It is obvious that speakers may choose their words independently of the other features of language in such a way that they are appropriate for the social situation. The same is true for register, the vocabulary of which is determined by the subject matter or the activity a speaker is engaged in. In spoken language, we can thus encounter instances of Standard English in a very careful style within a special register, but pronounced with a very strong regional or non-native accent; while it is also possible to encounter instances of non-standard, casual English but delivered in the prestigious RP accent (cf. Trudgill 1998). Thus, if Standard English is not connected to a specific form of pronunciation, register and style, it must be mainly connected to grammar, i.e. to syntax and morphology. In addition, "Standard English is not a set of prescriptive rules", as Trudgill (1998: 38) points out.

The understanding of norms and standards by grammarians is closely linked to the concepts of prescriptivism versus descriptivism. Whereas there was an enormous increase in prescriptive grammars in the second half of the 18th century (Locher, Chapter 9), there was strong opposition to prescriptivism already in the Victorian age and especially in the first half of the 20th century by Bloomfield (1933) and the American structuralists. Modern reference grammars such as *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002), *The Cambridge Grammar of English* (Carter and McCarthy 2006) and *The Collins COBUILD English Grammar* (Sinclair 1990) and even EFL grammars (for instance the *Oxford Practice Grammar* [Eastwood 2006] and *Advanced Grammar in Use* [Hewings 2005]) are in fact all descriptive. All these grammars are corpus based and thus reflect the present state of (mainly written[1]) English.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) do not mention the term 'Standard English' at all and take a very clear stance against prescriptivism when they state:

> Our aim is to *describe* and not *prescribe*: we outline the principles that govern the construction of words and sentences in the present-day language without recommending or commending particular choices. ... We report that sentences of some types are now widely found and used, but we will not advise to use them. We state that sentences of some types are seldom encountered ... but we will not tell you that you should avoid them or otherwise

> make recommendations about how you should speak or write. Rather, this book offers a description of the context common to all such decisions: the linguistic system itself. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 2)

Carter and McCarthy (2006: 5), on the other hand, claim that their book is a grammar of standard British English but state that "issues of acceptability are never far from the surface when there is reference to what is standard in grammar or in language use in general." They adopt a five-scale system of acceptability ranging from "acceptable in standard and spoken English (most forms are in this category)" to "unacceptable in all varieties of English (for example a structure such as *he did must speak*), such forms are excluded from this book." Most interesting is level 2 consisting of forms "acceptable in standard written and spoken English but not approved in more prescriptive grammar books." Their grammar is thus mainly based on acceptability and not on traditional, often Latin-based prescriptivism.

Much to the dismay of some traditional teachers of English as a foreign language, who would like to have a clear distinction between 'correct' and 'incorrect', modern EFL books have also abandoned prescriptivism to a large extent. Eastwood (2006: viii), whose grammar is based on the Cambridge International Corpus (www.cambridge.org/corpus) states that "[t]he emphasis throughout the book is on the meaning and use of the grammatical forms. The explanations of grammar are descriptions of how English works; they are a guide to help you understand, not rules to be memorized."

If standards in language are based on acceptability and not on any authoritative decree, how do such standards emerge? Unlike in other countries (e.g. France, Iceland and to some degree Germany), there has never been an authoritative institution that was licensed by the government to impose rules on English language use. As the first step of standardisation, as mentioned above, is language determination, i.e. the "decisions which have to be taken concerning the selection of particular languages or varieties of language for particular purposes in the society or nation in question" (Trudgill 1998: 35), the question is who takes these decisions in the absence of a legitimised authority? And after these decisions have been taken, how are they codified and made accessible to a wider public?

According to Milroy and Milroy (1985), "[t]he attitudes of linguists (professional scholars of language) have little or no effect on the general public, who continue to look at dictionaries, grammars and handbooks as authorities on 'correct' usage" (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 6). As the public

considers people who can write such books as highly educated and prestigious, they thus indirectly accept them as authorities.

With respect to the question of assigning prestige and authority to a variety, Quirk et al. (1972) state the following:

> Educated speech – by definition the language of education – naturally tends to be given the additional prestige of government agencies, the learned profession, the political parties, the press, the law court and the pulpit – any institution which must attempt to address itself to a public beyond the smallest dialectal community. ... By reason of the fact that educated English is thus accorded implicit social and political sanctions, it comes to be referred to as Standard English. (Quirk et al. 1972: 16)

It must be noted, however, that although the decisions taken were often arbitrary, stigmatizing certain forms and favouring others, they have become standard forms by virtue of being codified and accepted by the majority of educated people.

There have always been, and probably will always be calls for an English language academy like the Académie française (cf. Swift 1712), but with no success so far (cf. Milroy and Milroy 1985). Standardisation has always been instigated by individuals or institutions, whose work was then interpreted as authoritative at a later stage. The most successful of these were probably Caxton (1490) and Johnson (1755). Caxton complained about the varieties and the constant language change and expressed the need of a standard written form for printing purposes. The English variety he adopted for printing is seen as contributing to a standardisation process and has been influential ever since. Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*, which was prescriptive in its realisation, on the other hand, has influenced English orthography so strongly (cf. Milroy and Milroy 1985: 34–35) that even today there is an indisputable consensus in matters of spelling throughout the English speaking world with basically "two minor subsystems" reflecting US or GB conventions (cf. Quirk et al. 1972: 16–17).

'Standard' with respect to oral production is closely related to Daniel Jones, who published the first pronunciation dictionary in 1917. Although he clearly stated that "[n]o attempt is made to decide how people *ought* to pronounce; all that the dictionary aims at doing is to give a faithful record of the manner in which certain specified classes of people *do* pronounce" (Jones 1924: vii, emphasis in original), we read in the editors' preface to the 16th edition that "it has become established as a classic work of reference, both for native speakers of English wanting an authoritative guide to

pronunciation and for users of English as a foreign or second language" (Roach, Hartman and Setter 2003: iv). With "certain specified classes of people" Jones meant "Southern English persons who have been educated at the great public boarding-schools" (Jones 1924: vii-viii), thus opting for a mainly social model, which he called PSP (Public School Pronunciation). In his function as a permanent specialist member of *The BBC Advisory Committee on spoken English* (cf. Schwyter, Chapter 9), Jones took a rather prescriptive position. Although this board only lasted from 1926–1939 and was never accepted as an authority, it "has made us think about notions such as 'standard', RP, 'correctness' more than ever before" (Schwyter, this volume: 188). The influence of the BBC Advisory Board on broadcasting and pronunciation may be parallelled with the influence of Caxton and Johnson on printing and spelling.

In the following, the nine chapters in part 1 on "English over time and space" are discussed in their three subgroups.

2.1. Variation in English varieties and dialects

The chapters contained in this section deal with phonological, morphological, syntactical or lexical questions of standard and non-standard features of the English language. While the first chapter by David Allerton discusses influences on Standard English as such, the contributions by Wales, Trudgill, Schreier and Pablé are concerned with the importance of (non-standard) dialect features. Such microlinguistic topics have been at the heart of much of Richard Watts' teaching over the past 30 years, both in a synchronic and in a diachronic approach. In addition, Watts was involved in a research project on Swiss English, which tackled the question of an emerging Swiss variety of English on the micro- and the macrolinguistic levels (cf. Watts and Murray 2001).

David Allerton starts the first block by studying "Swiss English, German English and American English: In grammatical alliance against traditional British English?" (Chapter 2). Allerton is interested in finding influences on standard British English that can be explained as being caused by either American English or by (Swiss-)German English influences. In particular, he studies grammatical patterns such as the use of the perfect, the replacement of auxiliary *have* with *be* before a past participle, unorthodox agreement in copular sentences, the lack of tense agreement in cleft sentences, "infinitivitis", and other features in order to discuss influences from other varieties of English on British English. Allerton argues that "in some

cases at least, grammatical Immigrant Americanisms, and in some cases even some German-Americanisms, are a plausible hypothesis" (24) for innovations in British English.

In the contribution entitled "Regional variation in English in the new millennium: Looking to the future" (Chapter 3), Katie Wales turns our attention from influences on standard English more globally to the local (micro-)level of variation, which is "summarily labelled 'non-standard', and traditionally stigmatised in comparison with standard grammar (and so often wrongly equated with 'substandard')" (61). Wales first gives a historical overview of linguists and language commentators who predominantly predicted the decline of regional variation in a general levelling and standardisation process and then continues to debate "the extent of dialect 'death' and the prognosis for degree of robustness in the future" (48). By examining the metaphors used to describe regional variation, the traditions in dialectology for representing dialect boundaries geographically and graphically and by investigating the urban variation in Yorkshire, Wales comes to the conclusion that regional diversity in speech is not in imminent danger of disappearing. She summarises that "[r]egional 'norms' do not necessarily mean homogenisation or fixity, any more than 'globalisation' does" and calls for more research on local patterns and tendencies in order to capture the continuous "process of 'hybridisation'" (62).

Peter Trudgill, in turn, develops the ideas of the micro and macro level with respect to the question of "The role of dialect contact in the formation of Englishes" (Chapter 4). He claims that, while language contact is often discussed more generally as having (had) an influence on the development of the English language, one should not neglect the importance of dialect contact. The reason for this, he argues, is that "dialect contact has more often than not led to dialect mixture and to what I have called new-dialect formation (Trudgill 1986, 2004)" (70). To exemplify this, Trudgill discusses three examples in more detail: Old English as a colonial mixed dialect, Middle English in Ireland, and the case of North America.

Daniel Schreier focuses on "non-standardisation" (Chapter 5) and discusses this topic in relation to St Helenian English (StHe). He stresses that "most off-spring varieties of British English have in fact not standardised at all" (85) and that speaking a non-standard variety in the English-speaking world is rather the norm than the exception. He then discusses the development of St Helenian English by tracing the importance of the English donor varieties, which all happened to be non-standard, and by offering suggestions for "disentangl[ing] the sociolinguistic complexity of a variety's initial stages and identify[ing] the principal donors that shape a

'new' non-standard variety" (86). Schreier covers data from the period between the 1660s and the late eighteenth century and summarises that the "StHE feature pool was quite diverse, containing donor varieties from England, continental Europe, Africa and Portuguese colonies in the Atlantic Ocean, as well as the Indian subcontinent and Asia" (99). Since the English input to St Helenian English was non-standard (identified as working-class southeastern British English), this emerging variety is found to have been "non-standard to start out with" (100). Like Trudgill, Schreier concludes that dialect contact "contributes heavily to the continuing spread of non-standard varieties throughout the English-speaking world" (100).

Adrian Pablé discusses the topic "From 'standard' to 'nonstandard' grammar. New England in the days of Salem Witchcraft and the Civil War" (Chapter 6). He is interested in establishing what grammatical features that are considered to be non-standard in present-day Standard American English, were acceptable features in the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. His sources are the *Salem Witchcraft Papers* and Civil War correspondence. The features under scrutiny are, among others, finite indicative *be*, nonstandard *was*, nonstandard verbal *–s*, unmarked present and past tense verbs, etc. His conclusion is that the "spoken grammar of New England English was fundamentally the same in the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries", but that "[w]hat did change in the course of the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century was the social evaluation – from positive or neutral to negative – underlying these grammatical forms and structures" (121).

2.2. Research on English standardisation processes

The second group of chapters in the section on "English over time and space" contains work with historical data of the English language on questions of standardisation and the success of standardisation processes (cf., e.g. Watts and Bex 1999; Watts 2000). In the chapter "The rise of prescriptive grammars on English in the 18th century" Miriam Locher investigates the dramatic increase in the number of publications on English grammar in the second half of the 18th century in England. These texts are discussed in connection with the process of language standardisation since they propagate a normative, prescriptive view of language. Several interrelated factors are suggested to account for this increase of publications on English, one of them being the importance of the notion of politeness for social climbers, who believed that they could better their situation by learning to

use 'correct' language. In addition, one text by the grammarian Fell is introduced in more detail to demonstrate that many of the issues linguists deal with today, such as prescriptivism versus descriptivism, were already discussed in the 18th century.

Anita Auer presents research on the use of *lest* from Early Modern English to the twentieth century in her chapter entitled "*Lest* the situation deteriorates – A study of *lest* as trigger of the inflectional subjunctive" (Chapter 10). She discusses the inflectional subjunctive and in particular the conjunction *lest* as a trigger of the subjunctive by means of diachronic and synchronic corpus-based research on the actual use of *lest*, as well as by investigating comments on *lest* by prescriptive and descriptive grammarians over time. The results show that

> [*lest* + subjunctive] was still used in Early Modern English, then disappeared for 250 years, and it has experienced an enormous revival between 1985–1994 (the end date of the study). The analysis of meta-linguistic comments by grammarians and language-guardians exhibited that only eighteenth-century grammarians were particularly concerned with emphasising that *lest* necessarily required the inflectional subjunctive. (Auer, this volume: 165)

Auer argues that the prescriptive grammarians were most concerned with correctness and forming a standard usage of *lest*, while the grammarians of the Early Modern English period before still tried to come to terms with the concept of mood, and the grammarians after the eighteenth century "were concerned with distancing themselves from claims made by eighteenth-century *prescriptivists*" (166, emphasis in original).

2.3. Issues of standards in oral production

While the chapters in the first and second section of the part on "English over time and space" focused not only on phonological features but also on morphological, syntactic and lexical issues, the two chapters introduced in this sub-section are centred exclusively on the study of standards in oral production.

Jürg Schwyter presents work on "The BBC advisory committee on spoken English or How (not) to construct a 'standard' pronunciation" (Chapter 9). Schwyter focuses on the period from 1926 to 1939 and discusses the development and success that the BBC advisory committee had in standardizing pronunciation. He concludes that the advisory committee moved

through three phases, from a "strict and dogmatic prescriptivism" (186) to a "listening BBC" (187), i.e. the BBC was open to feedback from the general public and an enlarged body of experts, and finally towards "linguistic professionalization" (187). Schwyter maintains that the result of the committee's endeavours was not the standardisation of a fixed pronunciation, but the "emergence of a kind of 'broadcast English' or 'broadcast style'" and the general "raised awareness of language issues among the population" (187).

Franz Andres Morrissey explores questions of phonological style in recordings of popular music in his contribution entitled "Liverpool to Louisiana in one lyrical line: Style choice in British rock, pop and folk singing" (Chapter 10). In particular, he pursues the notion of an American reference style in music, a 'standard' that was adopted by many British interpreters. He traces the development of and deviations from such a style over the last decades and argues that there are several factors which influence style choice in rock, pop and folk singing next to socio-linguistic considerations, such as "musical genre, song topics and cultural considerations" (196). In addition, the aspect of performance and its impact on pronunciation, in particular the crucial element of sonority, is highlighted as a potential explanation for inconsistencies in style choice.

3. English usage in non-native contexts

The second part of this collection contains six chapters and is concerned with the study of English used in non-native contexts. The contributions by Bex, Dürmüller, Stotz and Strässler discuss aspects of the question of English usage in the classroom. The authors raise issues such as which standards of English should be taught in school and how standard and non-standard forms of English can be used, exploited and learnt in the classroom. These issues are discussed against the backdrop of the ongoing debate on teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF), i.e. the continuing internationalisation of English in a global context (cf., e.g. Gnutzmann and Intemann 2005; Graddol 2006; Jenkins 2003; Watts 1990; Watts and Murray 2001).

In the first of these contributions, Tony Bex discusses "'Standard' English, discourse grammars and English language teaching" (Chapter 11). He presents a lucid discussion of the different points of view on what 'standards' should be used when teaching English to students in countries where English is not spoken and in countries where English is a native

language. In addition, he argues that corpora work, such as the CANCODE project, which, among other issues, allows linguists to study discourse patterns, are a great resource to study native speaker varieties of English, but that the results of these analyses should not directly flow into teaching of English as a foreign language. Bex thus takes up Phillipson's (1992) warning against transporting cultural beliefs and values together with language teaching and concludes that "the native-speaker English teacher has become an expensive irrelevance for those countries which teach English as a second language, and that such teaching should be restricted to countries which have English as a first language" (221).

Urs Dürmüller continues this theme with his contribution "Towards a new English as a Foreign Language curriculum for Continental Europe" (Chapter 13). Like Bex, Dürmüller discusses the problem of what 'standard' of English to choose in foreign language teaching. He claims that, due to the increase of the importance of English on an international level, the school curricula in countries where English is not a first language should be redesigned. By looking at one particular example of a teacher training college in Switzerland, Dürmüller identifies the issues and problems that arise in such a reformulation of the targets for teaching and he discusses the suggestions proposed, which can result in "a new orientation for EFL teacher training" (239). Dürmüller concludes that "English must be perceived as a truly international language, increasingly expressive of many and differing cultures, literatures and lifestyles, …" (251).

Daniel Stotz also focuses on a language situation in which English is a foreign language. In his contribution entitled "Immersion or integration? Discourses and practices in Swiss language classrooms" (Chapter 12), he traces the development of reforms in foreign language schooling in Switzerland. Stotz questions "the notion of standard, in particular with respect to the diglossic situation in Swiss schools, and points to the additional sociolinguistic complexities that the standard/dialect dichotomy introduces" (256). His argument is that

> while immersion-style provision of language classes may look like a persuasive solution to the school system's task of promoting students' multilingual competence, it comes with the inherent contradiction that it attempts to introduce, as a medium of instruction, standard forms of language in an environment characterised by various forms of non-standard use such as dialect, learner language and hybrid mixing of different varieties. (Stotz, this volume: 256)

Stotz exemplifies these issues with an analysis of classroom interaction and a discussion of a recorded information forum for adolescents and parents in a suburb in Zurich. In addition, special attention is given to the particular role assigned to English in Switzerland, which is not a national language, but which is perceived by many as an indispensable language for students to learn.

In his contribution "Can academic writing style be taught?" (Chapter 14), Jürg Strässler analyses and compares papers written by students of two Swiss universities at the beginning and the end of specialised writing skills courses. Using the QSUM technique (Farringdon 1996), which is one of the most widely recognised methods for attributing texts to specific authors in the framework of forensic linguistics, he shows that the standards for academic writing taught in the courses are so rigid that they leave hardly any room for individual features. Whereas the texts written at the beginning display a high degree of integrity and homogeneity, those written at the end of the courses lack these qualities. As this development runs counter to Farringdon's claim that each person's QSUM 'fingerprint' retains consistency across different genres, Strässler juxtaposes personal and academic texts written by two of the lecturers. As the same picture emerges from the respective analyses, we have to assume that academic writing is strongly influenced by a genre-specific standard, and that native and non-native academics experience similar difficulties (cf. Swales 2004; Devitt 1997). Strässler suggests that English has not only become the Lingua Franca in the globalised world of academia, but that a genre-specific writing style has developed to which native as well as non-native authors seem to adhere.

The remaining two chapters in the part on English usage in a non-native context focus no longer on questions of English in the classroom, but on two very different language situations. The first chapter by Adam Jaworski and Ingrid Piller deals with language employed in the tourism sector, while Elke Hentschel discusses the incorporation of English loanwords into the German grammar system. In their chapter "English in the Swiss tourism sector" (Chapter 15), Jaworski and Piller investigate language ideologies, and study "the linguistic knowledge about Switzerland that is produced and reproduced" in British newspaper travelogues (315). They found that Romansch, as the smallest national language, receives disproportionate attention, and that German, French and Italian are exoticised to a lesser degree and mainly used to refer to "local terms for local cuisine, landmarks or cultural events" (316). The travelogues do not report on any of the many immigrant languages that actual travellers are likely to be exposed to in the

tourism sector, such as Croatian, Portuguese, Serbian, or Spanish. The authors interpret this fact as a process of "standardisation" in the sense that "the travelogues do not in any way deviate from the official version of the Swiss linguistic landscape" (316). In addition, the authors argue that "English is naturalized as the language of tourism to Switzerland", as it is elsewhere (316). Piller and Jaworski conclude their contribution by stating that "tourism as a practice carries with it its own form of linguistic standardization" (316).

The final chapter in this part is by Elke Hentschel, who writes on "The rules of 'Denglish'" (Chapter 16). She studies the use of Anglicism in German Internet texts that are collected from the area of every day computer usage. She is interested in finding out how the users deal with the orthographical and morphological challenges of incorporating English loanwords into the German language system. Hentschel argues that "morphology and orthography, taken together, offer the best possible view on the development of new standards" (325). The term standard here refers to "naturally evolving rules" rather than to prescriptive norms (325). Overall, Hentschel demonstrates that, surprisingly, the verbs investigated showed a decrease in integration into the German orthographic and morphological system despite the fact that that the overall usage of these verbs increased in the time period studied (2003–2006). Hentschel concludes that "[s]tandardization … can neither be foreseen nor does it follow the rule that increasing frequency leads to higher integration" and that "additional, so far unknown factors play an important role in the development of new standards for foreign and loan words" (344).

4. Issues on politeness and impoliteness

Politeness research is another important field of linguistic enquiry for which standards and norms are a central concern. Richard Watts has been working on this topic since the late Eighties (cf. 1989, 1992, 1999, 2003; Locher and Watts 2005) and has contributed considerably to a re-evaluation of the seminal work by Brown and Levinson ([1978] 1987). In recent years, Watts has also turned his attention to the opposite of harmonious relational work and has started to look at impoliteness (cf. Watts in press; Locher and Watts 2008). Watts stresses that the study of politeness (and impoliteness) must entail the study of norms and standards against which judgements of politeness are being made by social actors of a par-

ticular discursive practice. He introduced the concept of 'politic behaviour' to the terminology of politeness research, which he defined as

> [s]ocio-culturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of a social group, whether open or closed, during the ongoing process of interaction. (Watts 1992: 50)

The concept of 'politic behaviour' highlights the idea of appropriateness, which is linked to *judgements* based on the norms of a particular interaction. Politeness, Watts argues, is a positively marked version of appropriate behaviour.[2] In this field of research standards and norms are thus seen as sets of expectations that serve as a framework for judgements on relational work.

Politeness and *impoliteness* are, in this view, evaluative notions that cannot be regarded without considering their context. This emphasis on in situ judgements on interaction by participants has added a new angle to politeness research. The focus of study is on first order, layperson's interpretations. The terms politeness and impoliteness are thus not used as technical terms for linguistic analysis, but are discussed in the light of the participants' understanding of what they might have constructed as polite or impolite behaviour in interaction. The stress is thus on the discursive nature of the evaluative terms, in the sense that the standards and norms against which such judgements are made are constantly being negotiated, confirmed or subtly changed over time. This negotiation of norms and standards adds a historical aspect to the study of politeness phenomena (cf., e.g. Watts 1999).

As a consequence of freeing the term *politeness* from its technical Brown and Levinsonian meaning, i.e. taking it again as first order notion, a slight shift in interest has occurred with respect to the study of interpersonal communication. While much of the classic politeness research concentrated on mitigation strategies, in recent years researchers have increasingly turned to the study of other aspects of interpersonal behaviour, such as impoliteness (see, e.g. Bousfield and Locher 2008; Bousfield 2007; Gorji 2007). It remains to be stressed that any investigations of the relational aspect of language focusing on first order notions will have to discuss the norms and standards evoked by the participants in an interaction.

In the third part of the collection the issues of politeness and impoliteness already touched upon in Chapter 9 on the prescriptive grammars (Locher) are taken up in two papers. The issues of norms and standards are at the heart of the contributions by Juliane House and the team of scholars

Mercedes Viejobueno, Carol G. Preston and Dennis R. Preston. In her contribution entitled "The role of politeness in discourse in English as a lingua franca" (Chapter 17), Juliane House studies whether the use of English as a lingua franca in interactions between members of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds can be called 'impolite', judged with native speaker norms in mind. She draws on data from three case studies that discuss interactions by non-native speakers who use English as their lingua franca. The results of the analyses show that the ELF speakers create their own habitus, or politic behaviour, which is particular to the interaction in question, and which does not seem to be perceived as inappropriate or impolite by the interactants in question.

In their chapter "How to be impolite: Rating offensive strategies" (Chapter 18), Mercedes Viejobueno, Carol Preston and Dennis Preston investigate impoliteness and rudeness rather than politeness. They thus turn to a field of research in which surprisingly little empirical studies have been done, given the enormous interest in politeness. The authors point out that impoliteness is so common that "a descriptive framework is necessary, but those that have been proposed are incomplete" (368). They then set out to offer a cross-cultural study in which they first established lay-people's evaluations of a set of interactions (such as *annoying, rude, impolite, mocking, mean,* etc.) and then, in a second study, they investigate how these terms are ranked by participants with respect to degree of offence. The results show that "the perception of direct and sarcastic offenses strongly depends on the face that is being attacked, the social distance between the interlocutors, or the interaction between these two factors" (382).

5. Concluding remarks

The theme of this collection is a discussion of the notions of 'norms' and 'standard', which are studied from a variety of angles, but always in relation to the English language. As mentioned above, these terms are to be understood in a very wide sense, allowing discussions of topics such as the norms we orient to in social interaction, the benchmark employed in teaching, or the development of English dialects and varieties over time and space and their relation to the standard language. The notions of standards and norms are equally important concepts for historical linguists, sociolinguists with a variationist background, applied linguists, pragmaticians and discourse analysts. We trust that this collection offers a unique view on

how the concepts of norm and standard are of importance in the different fields of linguistics touched on here.

Notes

1. However, it should be stressed that the majority of the corpora which these *Grammars* are based on predominantly represent written English. Since the written mode adheres more generally to the notion of standard English, much of the variation observed in the vernacular is lost (both with respect to lexical as well as grammatical features). Modern pedagogical grammars such as Hewings (2005) are innovative in that they also include sections on oral usage.
2. For thorough introductions to politeness research, cf. Watts et al. (1992/2005), Eelen (2001), Watts (2003) and Locher (2004).

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Part I
English over time and space

Chapter 2
Swiss English, German English and American English: In grammatical alliance against traditional British English?

D. J. Allerton

1. Introduction[1]

Like Dick Watts, I was a professor of English linguistics at a Swiss university for more than twenty years. Being at heart a grammarian and having come straight from England and maintained my links through international commuting, I was, in my early years in the Helvetic Republic, struck by the grammatical differences (not to mention the phonological and lexical ones) between British English[2] and the English spoken in Germanophone Switzerland. Some time later Peter Trudgill, Dick and I had to confront these issues more urgently when we jointly directed the Swiss National Research Council project on English in Switzerland. One of the key concerns of the project was whether there is such an entity as Swiss English, or whether there are just specially Swiss varieties of German English, French English and Italian English. The answer seems to be that Swiss English is a dubious entity, and that the English used in (Swiss-)German-speaking Switzerland is more closely related to the English used in Germany than to the English used in other parts of Switzerland (cf. Dröschel et al. 2005).[3]

One of my experiences as a grammatical observer throughout my career in Switzerland was that, although starting out from the assumption that any non-British grammatical feature I heard was Swiss-German or German, I often discovered that the feature in question was actually found in American English. Looking at things more analytically, we should say that there are some grammatical features (as well as some lexical features) that are shared by (Swiss-)German English and American English but not found in traditional British English.[4] Such a situation could in principle arise in a number of different ways:

(A) British English has undergone a new development that has not taken place in American English whereas German English has retained the

traditional (in this case American) form. We can call this development an original British English innovation, or in brief a BRITICISM. This term should be distinguished from the more general term "Britishism", which covers all specifically British features, whether innovatory or conservative. When the older form is preserved in American English, this can be termed an "American conservatism".

(B) American English has undergone a spontaneous new development that has not taken place in British English, and that this new development has then been taken over from American English by German English. Such a development can be referred to as an original American English innovation, or in short an AMERICISM. Again, this term needs to be kept apart from the broader term "Americanism", which covers both innovatory and conservative American features. Equally, when the older form is preserved in British English, this can be termed a "British conservatism".[5]

(C) American English has undergone a new development under the influence of one or more of the immigrant languages (other than English), and this development has not taken place in British English. Since non-native speakers of English have always been present in substantial numbers, this is not so surprising a development. It could be described as an IMMIGRANT AMERICANISM. If it is clear that the immigrant language concerned is specifically German (especially through the large number of German-speaking immigrants into the United States in the 19th and early 20th centuries[6]), this development (C1) can be termed a German-influenced American English innovation, or in brief a GERMAN-AMERICANISM. But the precise origin of any linguistic innovation can rarely be pinpointed with accuracy.

All three of these major scenarios have probably occurred, but the last one, (C) Immigrant Americanisms (with [C1] German-Americanisms as a subvariety) may seem somehow to be the least probable. The aim of this article is to suggest that, in some cases at least, grammatical Immigrant Americanisms, and in some cases even some German-Americanisms, are a plausible hypothesis.

From the viewpoint of speakers of British English, all Immigrant Americanisms, are simply a variety of Americanisms. They are moreover Americanisms not only in the sense that they are points that distinguish American English from British English, but also in the sense that they are recent introductions into British English from American English. It is sometimes not pointed out that the general international trend towards

Americanization affects English-speaking Britain at least as much as it affects non-English-speaking countries.

Although the principal focus of this article is on German-like features in American English that are grammatical in nature, it is perhaps best to begin with some examples of the corresponding lexical phenomenon, because these seem to demonstrate the case more clearly. A well-known example is the word *hopefully* used as a sentence adverb with the meaning 'it is to be hoped that ...'. This is first recorded in British English in 1932 according to the O.E.D., which declares it to be of U.S. origin, suggesting the German word *hoffentlich* as a source.

A further lexical example is provided by the word *dumb*, which in British English until the 1960s only had the meaning 'unable to speak'. Since that time it has however taken on a second meaning, 'stupid', which was already present in American English. This development is nicely demonstrated by comparing the LOB corpus (1960s British English) and the Brown Corpus (1960s American English) with the comparable Freiburg corpora for the 1990s, F-LOB (for British English) and Frown (for American English). The following figures (kindly supplied by Christian Mair of Freiburg) make the point:

LOB	3 occurrences (all meaning 'unable to speak')
Brown	9 occurrences (both meanings)
F-LOB	9 occurrences (both meanings)
Frown	18 occurrences (both meanings)

Although the origin of the second meaning ('stupid') in American English is not certain, it seems more than just an accident that the German word *dumm* means 'stupid'.

Further examples of potential lexical German-Americanisms are:

(a) the verb *reach* in the sense of 'pass something by hand' on the model of German *reichen*. The *American Heritage Dictionary* describes this use as informal;
(b) the verbs *bring* and *take* differentiated not, as in British English, according to whether the movement is towards (*bring*) or away from (*take*) the speaker or addressee, but rather, as in German, according to whether the destination (*bring*) or the origin (*take*) of the movement is emphasised;
(c) *bathtub* (cf. German *Badewanne*), rather than simply *bath,* for the household "receptacle" in which the bath is taken.

Other possible examples might include: the phrasal verb *fill out (a form)* for traditional British English *fill in* or *fill up* (cf. German *ausfüllen*); and the verb *hire* in the sense of 'take on as an employee' (cf. German *anheuern*) rather than the traditional British sense of 'borrow (a thing) for a fee'. Some cases can be said to involve underdifferentiation (Weinreich 1968), e.g. the British English distinction between *at home* with a purely static meaning (*be at home, stay at home, live at home*) as against *home* with a movemental meaning (*go home, get home, arrive home*) or a post-movemental one (*be home* 'have arrived home'). It is clear that some of these changes are purely semantic shifts, while others are additionally affected by the phonological similarity of the English and German lexemes and can therefore be categorised as "false friends" (Allerton and Wieser 2005). But these lexical examples are not the central issue here; rather, the concern is with possible immigrant Americanisms (including German-Americanisms) in the field of grammar.

2. Loss of the perfect

Grammatical features are slightly more intangible than lexical ones. Lexical items can be recognised from their phonological form, even when this has been slightly distorted during the borrowing process (as in the *fill out/ausfüllen* example cited above). Grammatical patterns, on the other hand, are more abstract in nature, consisting, as they do, of function words, affixes, concord, word order, etc. This means that it is more difficult to unequivocally identify the source of a new grammatical pattern, since potential models in the form of similar (but not identical) patterns may be found in various languages. It is particularly problematic when a rather idiosyncratic grammatical distinction in a particular language is lost, and there is doubt about which of its neighbouring languages (if any) is responsible for the change, since none of these neighbours has that particular distinction. A classic case of this is the decline of the perfect in modern American English[7] as noted, for instance, in Trudgill and Hannah (2002: 69), cf. also Elsness (1997), and Algeo (2006: 267–268).

In traditional British usage the perfect (with the form HAVE + past participle) contrasts with both the simple present and the simple past. Although the precise interpretation of these forms depends on the actual situation (or "Aktionsart") referred to by the lexical verb and its elaboration in terms of objects, etc., the semantic basis of the contrast is the period of time the tense-aspect form refers to, roughly as follows;

– the verb form called PAST (with the regular form: V + *-ed*$_1$) refers to a period beginning and ending in the past (no matter how recent)
– the verb form called PERFECT (with the regular form: HAVE + V + *-ed*$_2$) refers to a period beginning in the past and ending at the present
– the verb form called PRESENT (with the regular form: V + 0/*-(e)s*) refers to a period beginning in the past and continuing through the present into the future.

This account, however, gives the impression that the three forms are on a linear scale, which is not quite the full picture. There is one essential difference between the perfect and the other two: whereas the period referred to by the past (begins and) ends at an arbitrary point in past time, and that referred to by the present (having begun in the past) ends at an arbitrary point in the future, the perfect refers to a period with a very clear end-point, the present moment. For this reason it is better to refer to it as the present perfect, contrasting it with the past perfect (with the regular form: HAD + V + *-ed*$_2$) which refers to an event with an equally clear end-point at a specified or implied time in the past.

The basic meaning of the present perfect, then, is 'past event connected to the present'. However, the way the meaning of the perfect (or for that matter of the progressive) is interpreted is intimately connected to the kind of event referred to by the verb structure it is applied to. The most relevant factor in the case of the perfect is the distinction between momentary (or punctual) events and those that have duration, i.e. states and processes. Also relevant is the question of whether the event is a single event or one that involves repetition.

Consider the following examples:

(1) Gordon has waited patiently for promotion.

(2) Gordon has often waited for the children.

(3) Gordon has occasionally blundered.

(4) Gordon has blundered.

Non-punctual processes, as illustrated by (1), have duration, as do repetitions of events, whether non-punctual or punctual, as exemplified by (2) and (3) respectively. When such verb structures representing such eventualities are used with the perfect, the natural interpretation is that the even-

tuality in question (including the series of repetitions, where there is one) has continued right up to the present moment. Non-repeated punctual events like those of (4), however, are limited in time to a particular moment, so that when they are used with the perfect they require a different interpretation of the connection to the present time.

In fact quite generally the connection between the past event (referred to by the perfect) and the present time can be either of two kinds: the past event (or the period when it took place, e.g. *this morning*) may have continuation right up to the present; or it may have some logical connection to the present, which makes it relevant at the present time. In the case of non-repeated punctual eventualities only the latter interpretation (i.e. relevance for the present, rather than continuation up to the present) is possible.

The general meaning of the present perfect, 'past event connected to the present', has important implications for the use of adverbials of time: it means that adverbials that have a purely past time meaning (e.g. *yesterday, last week, at the meeting last night*) are excluded from use with the present perfect. Another way of formulating this restriction is to say that the present perfect requires not only a link with present time, but also that the past time implicitly referred to is left unspecified.

Time adverbials that do have the possibility of occurring with the present perfect must therefore have no explicit reference to a particular past time. They must also be linked to the present by covering a period of time that is linked to the present in one of the following ways:

(a) The event took place at a point in time that is so close to the present that it is still felt to be current (e.g. *lately*, *just* 'a few moments ago'). This is thus one type of 'relevance for the present'.
(b) The period is a very general expanse of past time that begins with the coming into existence of the entities under discussion and extends right up to the present, but the actual events are individual ones that were completed in the past, although they have relevance for the present (e.g. *already, (not) yet*). This is therefore another case of 'relevance for the present' (rather than 'continuation up to the present').
(c) The period is again a very general expanse of past time that begins with the coming into existence of the entities under discussion and extends right up to the present, but this time the eventuality itself (either because it is a process or because it involves repetition) extends through time right up to the present, and possibly even into the future (e.g. *so far, up till now*). It is therefore a case of 'continuation up to the present'.

(d) The period ends at the present, having begun at some particular time in the past that is specified either by naming its starting point (e.g. *since last Tuesday*) or by giving its duration (e.g. *for the last six days*). Again this is clearly a case of 'continuation right up to the present'.

The change that is taking place in the speech of some younger speakers of British English, probably on the model of American English or perhaps on the model of non-native English in general, is that the perfect uses of (a) and (b) are being replaced by the simple past while the uses of (c) and (d) are being replaced by the present. It is worth looking at some of the adverbials individually, starting with type (a).

Consider, firstly, the time adverb *just*, which referred traditionally to the very recent past (cf. category (a) above), in sentences such as:

(5) I've just arrived.

meaning roughly that I arrived recently and that I am still here as a new arrival; or:

(6) She's just had a hip operation.

meaning roughly that she had a hip operation recently and is still possibly feeling the effects of it. Rather surprisingly, perhaps, this temporal *just* was probably the first of the typical perfect-aspect adverbials to become used in British English in a simple past context.[8] By the first decade of the 2000s it has now become common for younger speakers, especially in informal use. It is often found, for instance, in advertisements, cf.

(7) The best just got better.
[advertisement for Orion Optics in *Sky at Night* magazine, June 2006]

Why should the perfect have been dropped so readily in this particular context? Perhaps because the usage was rather subtle and complex, as the following examples of the older usage illustrate:

(8) (i) I've just seen Mary.
(ii) I saw Mary a few minutes ago.
(iii) I saw Mary just a few minutes ago.
(iv) I just saw Mary a few minutes ago.

The point that the examples of (8) demonstrate is that, although *just* with its 'recency/current relevance' meaning is naturally used with the perfect, this use becomes impossible as soon as an explicit past time adverbial ap-

pears in the same clause. Even the time adverbial *just now* normally requires a past verb form. It is perhaps only natural that such subtleties of usage should prove difficult for native speakers of other languages, including immigrants into English-speaking countries, such as the United States.

The adverb *lately* was placed above in category (a) alongside *just*, because it typically refers to an event that took place at a point in time that is so close to the present that it is still felt to be current, but the two adverbs differ in their reference to punctuality or duration. Whereas *just* typically refers to a single punctual event that is linked to the present through current relevance, *lately* typically refers to a repeated or habitual event, which thus has duration, with the period of repetitions in principle extending right up to the present. For this reason the most common replacement for the perfect is the present rather than the past tense. Looking at examples of *lately* found in corpora including sources provided by internet search engines like Google, we find that 90% of examples involve some form of the perfect. It very commonly occurs in questions, a classic case being of the type "(Have you) read any good books lately?", although statements of the form "I haven't been feeling too well lately" are also common. A further typical example is found in the Country and Western song:

(9) Have I told you lately that I love you? ... Well, darling, I'm telling you now.

This example also nicely points up the contrast with typical adverbs of present time (whether present simple or present progressive) like *now*. However, as already noted, *lately* is being used more and more with the present, as illustrated by the following examples (all taken from U.K. sites):

(10) Lately I just cannot be in a monogamous relationship. But there are people ...

(11) Why do I feel nauseous lately?

(12) I'm not using the Ferrari's much lately.

(13) What's up with the Pope lately?

It is also occasionally found used with the simple past.

Turning to type (b) adverbials, which cover a wide period extending right up to the present but highlight completion in the past, we find *already* to be the principal member of the group. In traditional British English this

is a classic adverb for use with the perfect, and indeed Google "results from the U.K." did give (on 4th October, 2006) the following result:

"already done": about 1,020,000 hits
"already did": about 73,900 hits.

But, although this may seem a very good result in favour of perfect use, corresponding to roughly 93.3%, it would at one time have been over 99%; and the figure for spoken language may well now be less than 90%. Typical examples of *already*[10] with the simple past are:

(14) I don't need bribing by the police to "shop" a drunk driver, I already did so. I saw a man who was clearly drunk preparing to drive away in a car that …

(15) The problem is not that I cannot update the filter myself: I already did that. The problem is rather that when our students download references from ...

The temporal adverb *yet* is the negative and interrogative equivalent of *already* and is coming to be used in a similar way with the simple past.

Our third category (c) involves adverbials that refer to an activity or state that extends right up to the present, typical examples being *so far, up till now*. In present-day British English such adverbials, which traditionally strongly favoured the use of the perfect, are occurring more and more with the present, as the following examples show:

(16) So far the mood is carnival-like ...
[part of news report on demonstration at power station, *BBC Radio 4* 11 a.m. news summary, 31st August, 2006]

(17) So far things are going well.
[words spoken by programme presenter on *Grand Designs*, shown on *More 4* television (U.K.) 22nd August, 2006]

In traditional British English the verb forms *has been* and *have been going* respectively (rather than *is* and *are going*) would have been used in these sentences.[11]

For our last category (d) the period referred to ends at the present, having begun at some specified time in the past. This particular past time, whether given directly (with an adverbial introduced by *since*) or through a specification of the length of the period up to the present (with an adverbial

introduced by *for*), seems to cause the perfect to be replaced with the simple past, as the following British examples[12] testify:

(18) He was here since his school days.
[said by Jean Swainbank, character in *Dalziel and Pascoe: Fallen Angel*, BBC 1 television, 10th September, 2006]

(19) We have to understand one thing: that since September the 11th the world did change.
[Gordon Brown, M.P., the *Today* programme, BBC Radio 4, 25th September, 2006]

Occasionally the perfect is replaced with the present, cf.:

(20) Since 10 October 1994, all driving licences contain the holder's consent to be an organ donor, and ...
[official U.K. information leaflet "How to fill in your renewal driving licence form", edition 07/05, p. 5]

All four types of time adverbial that traditionally show solidarity with the perfect thus show signs of allowing either the past or the present in its place. There is also evidence that when the perfect is situationally rather than linguistically conditioned, it suffers the same fate: for instance, the traditionally used exclamation of euphoric success on completing a difficult task *I've done it!* is apparently being replaced by children with *I did it!*, possibly under the influence of American electronic media. This general decline of the British English perfect and its partition between simple past and simple present is something I first pointed to in a lecture at the University of Stuttgart in 1980. Now, more than 25 years later, it seems to have gathered momentum.

As noted at the beginning of this section, it is difficult to identify the source of the loss of the perfect versus past tense distinction in American English and later British English. Of the numerically significant American immigrant languages only Spanish has a comparable distinction. But German is at least a prime candidate for influencing the loss of the distinction, since it has distinct perfect and past verb forms which differ stylistically more than semantically.

3. Replacement of auxiliary *have* with *be* before a past participle

This phenomenon is related to the one just discussed, since it involves what is, superficially at least, a perfect verb form. As we have already

noted, this is regularly formed in English with the auxiliary *have*, whilst in older English, as well as in other languages, such as French, German and Italian (though not, say, Spanish or Swedish) a minority of (mostly intransitive) verbs formed their perfect with the auxiliary *be*. This feature has also appeared in certain cases in American English, and latterly also in British English. It may be an Americism (in the sense defined above), but it is more likely to be an American conservatism or an immigrant Americanism. As regards British English the pattern seems to be slipping in almost unnoticed. How can this be?

Consider the following example with the meaning 'The liquid assets have disappeared':

(21) The money's gone.

The reduced auxiliary *'s* is of course ambiguous between the auxiliary verbs *have* (i.e. *has*) and *be* (i.e. *is*). But since *go* is an intransitive verb, it would seem logical to assume that the reduced auxiliary is in fact *has*, and that *has gone* is the perfect form of *go*. This is the traditional British usage. The negative form of (21) (with a reversed polarity tag attached) would therefore be:

(22) The money hasn't gone (, has it?).

However there is a growing tendency in British English (which probably originates from American English) to use (23) in place of (22)

(23) The money isn't gone (, is it?).

The preference for *be* over *have* also becomes evident when the subject is plural, because even the reduced forms of *be* and *have* are distinguished (though in their unstressed forms only as /ə/ *are* and /əv/ or /v/ *have* respectively, with the distinction resting on the presence of a lenis labiodental fricative).

It is important to note that for speakers who use the *be* + past participle construction in this way, it is not a generalised grammatical pattern for all intransitive verbs with this kind of meaning, since they would not say (24) but rather (25):

(24) *The money isn't disappeared (, is it?).

(25) The money hasn't disappeared (, has it?).

The verbs that seem to be adopting the pattern exemplified by *be gone* (in place of *have gone*) are essentially intransitive change-of-state verbs, although most of them also have a transitive use with a different meaning. They then come to be treated like "ergative pattern" verbs, which allow two different valency patterns. Let us consider for a moment the three basic verb types, transitive-only (e.g. *modify*), ergative i.e. dual use as transitive with 'affected' object and intransitive with 'affected' subject (e.g. *improve*), and intransitive-only (e.g. *deteriorate*).

In the case of purely transitive change-of-state verbs, we can observe the following pattern, exhibited by the verb *modify*:

(26) (a) They have modified the service.
(b) The service has been modified.
(c) The service is modified.
(d) *The service has modified.

The (a) sentence is an active use of the verb with the perfect form of the verb; it refers to an action that "they" have done. The (b) sentence is the equivalent passive sentence, which also refers to an action, but it is about something that has happened to the service; it is a so-called "short passive", which lacks a by-phrase referring to the agent. The (c) sentence is descriptive, using the past participle as an adjective that describes a state that has resulted from an action. The (d) sentence is ungrammatical, because it would involve an intransitive use of *modify*.

Now consider the possibilities for a verb like *improve*, which can be used both transitively (with the changer as the subject, and the changed entity as the object) and intransitively (with the changed entity as the subject):

(27) (a) They have improved the service.
(b) The service has been improved.
(c) The service is improved.
(d) The service has improved.

This time the fourth sentence is grammatical; but there is a slight difference in meaning between (27c) and (27d), in that the former, in which *improved* is an adjectival past participle, refers to a new, different state, while the latter refers to the change of state that has taken place.

Things look different for our third class of verbs, those that are purely intransitive:

(28) (a) *They have deteriorated the service.
(b) *The service has been deteriorated.
(c) *The service is deteriorated.
(d) The service has deteriorated.

This time only the change of state construction with *have* is possible.

The change in British English we are now considering involves using an intransitive verb such as *go* (which was previously used just like *deteriorate*) in a new way, so that it behaves in the perfect like an ergative verb such as *improve*. Another frequently used example involves the past participle of the verb *finish* with the verb *be* (in place of the traditional auxiliary *have*) when the meaning relates to the completion of a task, so that *He's finished* is interpreted as involving auxiliary *be* rather than *have*. As a result, the first of the following alternatives is regularly replaced by the second:

(29) (a) Has he finished?
(b) Is he finished?

In traditional British English the two questions of (29) would have had different meanings, (a) 'Has he completed the task?'; (b) 'Is he ruined?'. An interesting rather similar example is (30):

(30) QUESTION...How do I get the right picture format?
ANSWER: ....Highlight 'Save New Setting', press 'Select', and you're done!
[*Sky Magazine*, February 2006, 101.]

where the traditional form would be *...and you've done* in dialect, but *...and you've finished* in standard English. Indeed the form *be done* in British English suggests a different meaning entirely ('be swindled').[13]

It is interesting to note that if we translate into German our earlier example (21) (*The money's gone*) alongside (29a), we get (31) and (32) respectively:

(31) Das Geld ist weg.

(32) Ist er fertig?

In both cases the corresponding sentence involves an adjectival construction with *be*. It is tempting to think that the use of the verb *be* in corresponding constructions in English may have been influenced by the patterns used in the English of nineteenth century German-speaking immigrants into the American Mid-West and/or twentieth century German-speaking Jewish immigrants.

The phenomenon has however gone much further than this, perhaps because it has linked up with the conservative use of *be gone* etc. found in earlier English (for instance, that of the King James Bible of 1611). Indeed the use of *be gone* has even been preserved in traditional British English with the meaning 'be away from a place' in contexts such as *How long has he been gone?* In any case, by now a whole group of further verbs seem to have been reassigned in this way, including *agree, change, finish, do* (in the sense of 'finish'), *grow up, move* (in the sense 'move house'), *qualify*, *retire, stop*. The effect of this is that *be agreed* is used equivalently to *have agreed*, etc.

Consider the following examples:

(33) 'Nicole' is all grown up
[Headline in motoring section of *The Independent* (London) 21st February, 2006]

(34) Light the torch and move it slowly and evenly over the surface until all the sugar is melted, golden and bubbling.
[Reply to query about crème brûlée, *Good Housekeeping* (London), March 2006, p. 76]

(35) The atmosphere at the conference is changed.
[example adapted from statement by expert on Russian politics on the *Today* programme, BBC Radio 4, 24th February, 2006]

(36) Now, are you guys moved out, or ...?
[Kirstie Allsop, in "Relocation, relocation" on *Channel 4* television, 8th March, 2006]

(37) ...particularly when you've got batsmen who are settled.
[Ian Botham, Sky Sports television cricket commentary, 19th March, 2006]

(38) The blood on the back of his head is all dried up.
[words spoken by a pathologist in the Scottish detective series episode *Taggart: a death foretold*]

(39) The drinks break is now ended.
[Henry Blofeld, cricket commentator, BBC *Test Match Special*, 28th July, 2006]

In all of these cases, traditional British English (as found in the present writer's usage) would have preferred auxiliary *have* to *be*, and for traditional speakers the use of *be* suggests a link to a passive form with *have been*. For instance, in the last example in the list, the interpretation is that the drinks break has been ended by someone. This is presumably not the case for speakers (whether American or British) who have the new ergative use for such verbs. They can use auxiliary *have* and auxiliary *be* with all these verbs with the subtle difference in meaning described above for the ergative verb *improve*. An example of this awareness is found in the following extract:

(40) First it is the case that absolute emissions are and have increased in recent time [sic!].
[Paula Dobriansky, Head of the U.S. delegation to the Climate Change Conference at Monterey (in Mexico), speaking on the *Today* programme, BBC Radio 4, 5th October, 2006]

With *are increased* the speaker is presumably suggesting a new state, whereas with *have increased* she must be referring to a change of state. But only the form *have increased* would be available to traditional British speakers.

Finally on this developing replacement of *have* with *be*, it is perhaps worth asking if there is a link to the previous phenomenon discussed, i.e. the loss of the perfect. Once the perfect has disappeared from use, the stative perfect of result found in uses like *The money has gone* lacks a suitable form of expression, the simple past (*The money went*) not having the right association with a result. The perfective meaning thus has nowhere to go, and has to seek a different form of expression.

4. Unorthodox agreement in copular sentences

A third phenomenon that seems to be entering current British English from American English and is possibly partly German in origin is a matter of grammatical agreement in copular sentences. At first sight it seems clear that in a "nominative-accusative" language like English (as opposed to an "ergative-absolutive" language like Basque) the finite (or "tensed") verb

regularly agrees with the subject, in both transitive and intransitive clauses (even when the verb is of the ergative-absolutive type). In traditional British English this generalization also holds for nominal copular clauses, i.e. those with a verb like *be, become, remain, seem*. It is one subset of these, i.e. equative clauses with different grammatical number in subject and predicative, that gives rise to the problem.

If we consider an example[14] like:

(41) Their principal crop during the later part of the year is/are potatoes.

we find that the traditional analysis would identify the initial (preverbal) noun phrase *their principal crop during the later part of the year* as subject, and that this singular noun phrase would demand the singular verb form *is*. There is, however, a growing tendency in British English, following what seems to be a generalised pattern in modern American English, to prefer a plural verb form, in this case *are*.

What is the source of this preference for plural concord in cases where the following predicative noun phrase is plural, but the preverb subject noun phrase is singular? There seem to be at least two different factors involved: the first is the distance between the subject noun phrase and the agreeing verb, with the nearest noun phrase triggering so-called "contact agreement"; the second seems to be a possible reinterpretation of which noun phrase constitutes the subject.

Consider these examples:

(42) The advantage are the extra tools.
[HydrogenAudio website, observed 3rd February, 2006]

(43) The other party that's going to be a key player in the talks are the Ulster Unionists.
[Shaun Ley, *The World at One*, B.B.C. Radio 4, 1st February, 2006]

(44) RANDALL BOE: It does do a lot. It sets uniform rules for commercial e-mailers. It provides a lot of additional penalties to use against the outlaw spammers. I mean, the problem is not commercial e-mailing – generally. The problem is not the L.L.Beans of the world to pick on them. The problem are the outlaws.
[www.pbs.org website 3rd February, 2006: online news hour]

In these equative sentences with the verb *be* one of the noun phrases refers to some sort of entity that can be readily identified, whereas the other noun

phrase names an epithet in the form of a definite description that is claimed as appropriate for the identified entity. In some languages the identified entity demands subjecthood, so that, for instance, in the following German translation of the first of the above sentences, the noun phrase *die zusätzlichen Werkzeuge* must be the subject:

(45) Der Vorteil sind die zusätzlichen Werkzeuge.

Of course the German subject is not bound to clause-initial position in the same way that it is in English. In traditional British English the pre-verb noun phrase is taken as the subject and therefore controls agreement. On the other hand, speakers of Modern English have long felt unsure about agreement, and have tended towards the kind of "contact agreement" to which Fowler (1931: 75) draws attention (e.g. *The Ordination services of the English Church states …*). When the preverb noun phrase has a long postmodifier (such as the relative clause in the second example) that separates the head noun from its potentially agreeing verb, the attraction of the postverb noun phrase can thus be stronger. As regards the influence of non-native speakers, a word-order predicative-*be*-subject is more common in German than in French or Spanish, for example. The tendency of German immigrant speakers of English to prefer a more strongly referential entity as subject may then have been a crucial factor in establishing the current trend.

5. Other grammatical patterns

One grammatical pattern that may possibly reflect the influence of German is the lack of tense agreement in cleft sentences. In British English *it*-cleft sentences are typically of a form such as:

(46) It is in Blackpool that the conference is taking place.

(47) It was Margaret who/that led the party at that time.

The only point about such sentences that concerns us here is that the verb *be* in the *it*-clause agrees in tense with that of the *that/wh-* clause. If, for instance, the first sentence had had *was taking place*, it would have required *was* in the *it*-clause. This at least is the normal pattern in traditional spoken British English, as both Quirk et al. (1986: 1386) and Huddleston

and Pullum (2002: 1419–1420) acknowledge. Both authorities also point to the possibility of a present tense in the *it*-clause preceding a past tense in the *that/wh-* clause, though perhaps failing to point out that such usage can sound stilted or even unnatural,[15] at least in British English. The tendency to use a uniform present tense in the *it*-clause of all cleft sentences is, however, not limited to German. It is equally normal in French, for example. But German speakers may nevertheless have significantly contributed to its use in the United States.

A further pattern that may reflect German usage but equally well a number of other languages is what has been called "infinitivitis" (Allerton 1988). English is unusual in having two partly contrasting non-finite verb forms, the infinitive and the gerund; and non-native users of the language find this distinction difficult, usually preferring to generalise use of the infinitive, even when tradition requires the gerund. In standard British English, verbs such as *like* and *love* have a systematic difference in meaning between a less common infinitive construction which suggests doing something habitually because one likes it, and a more common gerund construction which means that one likes it however rarely one does it. A random Google search (carried out on 7th February, 2007) came up with the following statistics:

Table 1. liked to work versus *liked working*

	UK	the web
liked to work	693 (= 4.68%)	78,000 (= 30.12%)
liked working	14,100 (= 95.32%)	181,000 (= 69.88%)
TOTAL	14,793 (= 100%)	259,000 (= 100%)

This seems to demonstrate that international internet writers overuse the infinitive compared with British English norms. In a similar way non-native speakers come to use such sequences as *the possibility to achieve success* rather than *the possibility of achieving success*. A random Google search (carried out on 10th October, 2006) produced the following results:

Table 2. possibility to achieve versus *possibility of achieving*

	UK	the web
the possibility to achieve	382 (= 1.76%)	44,100 (= 17.78%)
the possibility of achieving	21,300 (= 98.24%)	204,000 (= 82.22%)
TOTAL	21,682 (= 100%)	248,100 (= 100%)

The infinitive construction is clearly more popular amongst American and/or non-native speakers, but there is no way of knowing the precise contribution to this that has been made by German-speakers.[16]

A grammatical usage that is more likely to have been influenced by German speakers is the adverbial use of *some* and *any* in such American English sentences as:

(48) (a) It really hurt some. [British English: *It really hurt (quite a bit)*.]
(b) Did it hurt any? [British English: *Did it hurt at all?*]

It seems reasonable to suggest a substratum effect of German *etwas*, which is used as both a determiner corresponding to *some/any* and as an adverb in the sense of 'a bit, rather'.

A further minor grammatical pattern that could well represent a calque on a German construction involves the omission of the verb *go* after a modal verb when a direction adverbial follows, as in cases like (49a) and (50a), which can be linked to the German pattern of (49b) and (50b) respectively:

(49) (a) I must out.
(b) Ich muss heraus.

(50) (a) He wants in.
(b) Er will herein.

It is true that similar patterns are to be observed in Scottish and Irish English, but these, too, may involve a substratum effect. For this phenomenon the case is not proven, and it may well be that it involves a conservatism reinforced by a German-Americanism.

No doubt there are still further German-Americanisms. Some of these have not yet reached British English. In some cases this is because their use is not universal in American English. For instance, the use of non-volitional *would* in *if*-clauses (*If I would be late tomorrow, ...* etc.) or the use of *take me with*, etc. without a following noun phrase indicating the companion, are German-Americanisms that are not yet prominent enough in American English to cross the Atlantic.

6. Conclusion

After this brief survey we can unfortunately only come to a very tentative conclusion. Swiss English and German English seem to be subvarieties of a developing Global English used by millions of non-native speakers. Because of the mounting domination of American political and cultural influence in the world today this new Global English is closer to American English than to British English. Indeed it is perhaps becoming ever closer, as American English (and secondarily also British English) is affected by the number of non-native speakers. Speakers of German, particularly immigrants into the United States in the 19th and early 20th centuries have certainly had a part to play in the development, as evidenced by Brogan's (1999: 488) figure of 7 million German-Americans for 1919. Without a detailed examination of the historical records, however, the precise extent of this influence is difficult to assess.

Notes

1. I am indebted to Christian Mair (University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau) for his insightful comments and helpful suggestions on an earlier version of this article. I am also grateful to Miriam Locher and Jürg Strässler for some further improvements.
2. Although I am a speaker of English English, I believe that most of the linguistic features referred to in this article as "British English" apply equally in Scottish English and Welsh English. An exception is the phenomenon exemplified by examples (49) and (50) below.
3. If Swiss English did exist, it would presumably be a variety of Euro-English (Görlach 2001, Jenkins et al. 2001) and ultimately a subvariety of World English (Cheshire 1991; Allerton et al. 2002; Trudgill and Hannah 2002; Jenkins 2003; Mollin 2006).
4. Actually some have since started appearing in recent British English.
5. The notions "British conservatism", "Britishism" and "Briticism", of course, represent oversimplifications, in that they do not distinguish English English from Scottish English and Welsh English. But for most of the phenomena discussed here the issue is the contrast between American English and all forms of British English.
6. German-speaking immigrants include of course speakers of German dialects and can be taken to include Yiddish speakers.
7. This phenomenon is now being found in advanced British English.

8. This usage can be found in British English literary texts as early as 1951, as witnessed by this example from Anthony Powell's *A Buyer's Market* (as it appears in *A Dance to the Music of Time: Spring*, London: Arrow Books, page 505): 'I think I may be seeing something of Prince Theodoric', he said. 'I believe you just met him.'
9. The fact that such uses involve ambiguity for the word *just* (1. 'a few moments ago'; 2. 'simply') seems not to inhibit this new use of the past tense form.
10. A further German-Americanism not discussed here is the general over-use of *already*, particularly in an emphatic rather than a temporal sense, as in the words of the American father impatient for his child to develop linguistically: "So DO something already." in Rick Kirkman and Jerry Scott's (2000: 21) *Baby Blues*. I am indebted to Nadja Nesselhauf (University of Heidelberg) for this example.
11. It is possible that *so far* is being used in such cases by news reporters and others in a new sense, roughly 'all I have been able to witness up to the present is that ...'. But the effect in any case is to loosen the bond between perfect aspect and adverbials that refer to a period ending at the moment of speaking.
12. It is virtually impossible to provide unequivocal examples of the change from perfect to past for adverbials of the type *for the last week/two weeks/month/* etc., because the resulting sequence is always a possible sentence; but for the traditional British speaker it signals the wrong meaning, suggesting a process that has ended before the present, when the process referred to actually continued up to the present.
13. This use of *be done* is attested in American English as early as 1939, as demonstrated by this quotation from I. Anderson's review of *The Big Sleep*: "Before the story is done, Marlowe just misses being an eyewitness to two murders ..."
14. Taken from Allerton (1992), who gives many more examples of such problematic sentences.
15. Cf. the following cited by Quirk et al. (1986: 1386 [note a]) as an example: "It is Miss Williams that enjoyed reading novels as a pastime." It is difficult to imagine any British speaker actually saying this.
16. German-speakers and perhaps other native speakers may also be influenced by a non-native tendency to use the noun *possibility* as a synonym for *opportunity*.

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Chapter 3
Regional variation in English in the new millennium: Looking to the future

Katie Wales

1. Introduction: Prophesying the future of English

It is no surprise that, as the twentieth-century neared its close, and a new millennium beckoned, futurology in many disciplines became very prominent. English language studies were no exception, particularly in relation to conjectures about the continuing hegemony of English as the major global language: see particularly Crystal (1997) and Graddol (1997). However, prophecies about the future of English are by no means confined to the last ten years or so. Although documentation from earlier centuries is tantalisingly scarce, there is Samuel Daniel's speculative question in his poem *Musophilus* right at the end of the sixteenth century, when the idea of English as a world language would have been undreamed of:

> And who in time knows whither we may vent
> The treasure of our tongue, to what strange shores
> The gain of our best glory shall be sent,
> T'enrich unknowing nations with our stores? (1965: 86)

Speculations about whether international varieties of English, notably American English, would markedly 'diverge' from English English or 'converge' with it, have been aired most famously by Noah Webster (1789) over 200 years ago, in his *Dissertations.* He (unlike Crystal) favours a 'divergence' theory: there will result "a language in North America as different from the future language of England, as the modern Dutch, Danish and Swedish are from the German, or from one another". His optimism was certainly partly willed by an agenda of North America's political separation from England. As Jonathan Boucher (d.1804) explicitly put it: "in no very distant period, [Americans'] language will become as independent of England as they themselves are" (cited Quirk 1972: 2). Most recently Burchfield believes the process of "multiplying" into a thousand varieties will take "hundreds of years", but nevertheless "it will happen", despite the

pull of mass media, global communications and travel (cited McCrum, Cran and Macneil 1992: 393–394; see also Burchfield 1994: 15). Henry Sweet's time-scale for this process was much shorter: a mere hundred years: in 1977 "England, America and Australia will be speaking mutually unintelligible languages, owing to their independent changes of pronunciation" (cited Crystal 1997: 134). Clearly Burchfield was right to be more cautious in his own prediction.

I shall return to the issue of convergence and divergence in my conclusion; my concern here is with predictions about the English language on the micro- rather than macro-level, internal to England, rather than external to it. It has to be said in general that any sense of optimism is sadly lacking: the overall tone of any prediction about English dialects is decidedly apocalyptical, whether at the end of a century or the beginning, as their decline and even disappearance is anticipated. It is in regional variation that language change is dramatically revealed to layperson and scholar alike, and the kind of language change that is viewed the most apprehensively, so significant is location, locale for one's identity. The concerns I shall be debating here include the extent of dialect 'death' and the prognosis for degree of robustness in the future.

It should be noted at the outset that I shall be using 'dialect' as a convenient synonym for 'variety'. I recognise that there are no clear-cut dialect boundaries, and that clines or continua of variation exist, diachronically and synchronically. I would not therefore go so far as Upton (2006) in avoiding the notion of 'dialect area' altogether. If it is a 'fiction' (Upton 2006: 311) it is a highly salient concept nonetheless in perceptual terms for speakers of English. It is also a highly convenient term to describe pithily urban as well as rural variation, whether in Liverpool, Newcastle or Somerset and Cumbria. As Trudgill (1998: 38) writes, "we use names for dialects that we happen to want to talk about for a particular purpose as if they were discrete varieties".

Over two hundred years ago we find a London-based reviewer of Francis Grose's *Provincial Glossary* (1787) (cited Bailey 1996: 267) suggesting that "frequent communications with the provinces will soon make little variety, except in the wilds of Exmoor, the barren heaths of Northumberland, and the sequestered mountains of Lancashire": anticipating modern ideas of dialect 'levelling' to which I shall return. Just before this, 'Tim Bobbin', or John Collier of Urmston in the border area of Lancashire and Cheshire, casts an interesting light from the provinces on what appears to be the encroachment of 'standardisation'. In the 'Observations' which

mark the preface to the 1775 edition of his extremely popular 'dialogue' *Tummus and Meary* (first published 1746) he comments:

> But as Trade in a general way has now flourish'd for near a Century, the inhabitants not only Travel, but encourage all Sorts of useful Learning so that among Hills and Places formerly unfrequented by Strangers, the People begin within the few years of the Author's Observations to speak much better English. If it can properly be called so … (Collier 1775: 10)

In the nineteenth century, antiquarians continuing in the long tradition of recording dialect words from John Ray (1674) and Francis Grose onwards, were clearly alarmed at the implications for the long-term future of rural speech of not only the encroachment of Standard English, but also better education, increased mobility, improved communications and, by then, industrialisation. We can note the title of Holloway's *A General Dictionary of Provincialisms, Written with a View to Rescue from Oblivion the Fast Fading Relics of By-Gone Days* (1839). The founding of the English Dialect Society in 1873, and the comprehensive works of Alexander Ellis (1888) and Joseph Wright (1905) for example, bear witness again to the zeal to record ways and words of rural speech before the 'adulteration' by urban speech and inevitable recession and oblivion. (See, for example, Wright's preface to his *Grammar* 1905). The Reverend Heslop laments in his own preface to his *Northumberland Words* (1892: xx–xxi) that "the tendency to assimilate the form of the dialect with the current English of the schools is increasing"; and Nicholson's *Folk Speech of East Yorkshire* (1889) opines that "steam, electricity and education are surely killing dialects" (cited Mugglestone 2006: 293). The rapid growth of industrial cities North of the Trent was seen as a threat to 'pure' or 'genuine' rural speech by 'adulteration' from the new urban varieties. So Addy (1888: viii) laments the incursion of immigrant cutlery trade workers into Sheffield, to the detriment of local speech.

Move forward half a century and Harold Orton at the University of Leeds is initiating after the Second World War the only full-scale and systematic *Survey* of rural dialects across the whole of England, precisely out of his concern that unless he did so, valuable information for the history of English would be lost for ever. By the 1960s, certainly, Received Pronunciation was deeply embedded in England's social consciousness; and television could be added to the list of improved communications. Yet Richard Hoggart writing in 1957 laments the potential loss of local and close-group entertainments in the face of the onslaught of mass media.

Move forward another half century – and to the end of the millennium, and as one might expect, predictions suggest either a general 'levelling' towards greater uniformity (in the direction of London English); or 'recession' and even complete disappearance. The British press is particularly prone to the gloomy and sensational: "Scouse accent sinking into the estuary", proclaimed the *Daily Telegraph* 1st June 1999, "in danger of extinction from the relentless northward march" of Estuary English. The *Independent* (April 2nd 2004) reports that "some have forecast that Geordie could disappear within 30 years". Ironically, these particular accents, of Liverpool and Newcastle respectively, played no part in the surveys and dialect studies of the past, being essentially the 'new' products of the urbanisation and industrialisation which philologists had tended to ignore. But even these significant varieties are perceived as threatened, and especially by the southern force of 'Estuary English', to which I return below.

In general terms, even allowing for his particular focus on Northern English, Griffiths (1999), an editor of the journal *Northern Review,* represents the very commonly held view that the distinctive traditional dialect vocabulary has 'shrunk' or 'eroded' quite considerably in the last fifty years under the influence of urbanisation: consider the end of century/ millennium surveys by J. Widdowson (1999) in the Sheffield area, Simmelbauer (2000) in Northumberland and Rhodes (2000) in West Yorkshire. Griffiths also notes how dialect grammar (especially written) is very close to that of the Standard; Widdowson (1993: 8) again predicts "less and less variation … in grammar and syntax". Griffiths and others follow those other commentators in the last hundred years who have pointed to the influence of schooling, pressure to 'get on' socially, the dissolution of traditional class structures, as well as mobility and migration.

2. Metaphors, models and caveats

It is well known in futurological studies generally that predictions depend not only on the data, but also on the nature of the model which frames the evidence. What is very obvious from this summary of predictions about English dialects since the late eighteenth century is the sense of the inevitability of loss. And yet, regional variation in English has not totally disappeared, but on the contrary is still very much in evidence today (see also section 4 below). Moreover, in the early years of this millennium, as in the 1980s, and the 1950s, it is always the older generations who sound the 'broadest' to the younger (see Elmes 2005, passim). Of course, however,

inevitably, there have been linguistic changes over the centuries. A common metaphor is of death and degree of moribundity or 'decline', as if dialects are living creatures: not unsurprising in one sense, since they are spoken by human beings, and so the metaphor functions metonymically. And, just as, globally, languages may 'die out' if the speakers die out, like threatened species of plant and animal life, so dialects also are seen ecologically in a similar way.[1] This ecological image finds a symbiosis most aptly in dialect lexis. Just as many species of flora and fauna have disappeared or are under threat, so local words are no longer used or needed. Even the common *spuggy* ('sparrow' in the North-east) is dwindling in numbers.

Other common images relate dialects more directly to the landscape: dialectologists are prone to talk of the 'recession' of features, particularly in pronunciation and grammar, which, in this millennium certainly evokes images of receding icebergs in the face of global warming. Most particularly, they are also prone to talk of the 'erosion' of vocabulary, like the erosion of soil or rock; or they speak of 'attrition' (literally, 'rub away'). Again, by a kind of metonymy, human beings live their lives in a regional landscape, and their speech is identified with this: so Northerners' accents are commonly perceived as 'gritty' and 'rough' like the granite scenery and harsh weather. Particular occupations also have close relations with the local geography, like coal-mining, herring-fishing or cockle-picking. When such industries disappear for cultural or environmental reasons, their particular dialect forms (especially lexis) are prone also to disappear, and this is both patently observed and also negatively commented on. The danger is that vernaculars are too closely identified with such unique activities and their lexicons and that, in another metaphor, those bemoaning loss wish to "preserve [them] in an invariant state of suspended animation" (Widdowson and Seidlhofer 2003: 308).[2]

Even the now common image of dialect 'levelling', used by social dialectologists, and to which I shall return, which involves the eradication of marked variations (L. Milroy 2003: 155) can evoke in the subconscious ideas of the levelling of the landscape in our post-industrial era: the eradication of slag-heaps, or the bulldozing of artisan dwellings in industrial cities to make way for a new set of uniform housing estates and shopping malls. So the perceived 'homogenisation' of society is matched by the perceived increased homogenisation in speech, particularly in grammar and vocabulary, and particularly under the 'standardising' influence of Standard English.

In the rest of this chapter I shall be continuing to interrogate some of these common metaphors and other terms used in dialectology which presuppose certain well-established models of language behaviour and change. The aim is not necessarily to change the models, but to suggest that metaphors can blind us to neglecting other vital areas of attention or to overlooking other significant tendencies. The focal point for initiating discussion will be the only detailed set of predictions, and a corresponding map, produced by a social dialectologist at the end of the twentieth century, namely Peter Trudgill's in his *Dialects of England* (1999). Trudgill's own bold attempt will thus act as a catalyst, so to speak, for renewed speculations about the future of English dialects in the twenty-first century.

3. Trudgill's future dialect areas

It has to be said at the outset, however, that Trudgill's maps of past ('traditional'), present ('modern') and 'future dialect areas' that punctuate his text are in effect labelling *accent* areas rather than *dialect.* His main concern throughout is segmental phonology. In one sense this certainly underlies the perception that regionality is primarily marked by accent. However, we must not forget other significant markers of regional variation in accent and speech such as prosody: remarkably understudied in dialectology, but of great import to speakers and observers as a means of distinction of one variety from another, and commonly labelled by such folk-labels as 'twang', 'whine', 'sing-song' or 'tuneful'. The significant issue of spoken grammar I shall return to below (Section 4), which has tended to be underestimated in contemporary language studies. The other point to make about Trudgill's predictions is that there is no explicit time-scale projected: perhaps wisely.

There are actually thirteen dialect areas specifically labelled in Trudgill's map, but what is very striking visually is the predominance of the label 'London': comprising most of the East, the South-east and the South of England, and part of the Central Midlands. It is not too far graphically from his map of modern dialect areas, except that the label 'Home Counties' has been replaced by 'London', and the South Midlands and Suffolk have disappeared. Visually, then, the map reflects what sociolinguists argue and what lay-people believe, namely that London English (now popularly known as 'Estuary English') is the main source of linguistic 'diffusion' or 'spreading', because of the capital's social and cultural dominance; and because of the massive growth of suburbs and dormitory-

towns along commuting routes with corresponding emigration of London English speakers from the inner city districts. The result is the further levelling of distinctive accents under the influence of London pronunciations in the south and east. Viewed ecologically, and especially in the media, London English is rather like a rampant weed or deadly parasite which is destined to take over or choke to death many of England's remaining accents. Again, the visual isolation on any map of Cornwall and Devon to the south-west, reflecting their geographical distance from the metropolis, likewise that of North Lancashire and the Lake District in the North-west, and Norfolk in the East, suggests that these areas, remote from London, will somehow escape potential 'contamination'. And these are areas, of course, as the metropolitan reviewer of Francis Grose revealed (section 1), whose provincial inhabitants have for centuries been remarked upon for their decidedly marked habits of speech. What is interesting, however, is that in this centre versus periphery model or 'gravity model' as it is commonly termed, Trudgill's Northern limit of 'London' appears to correspond still to the Northern limit (from the south) of the traditional STRUT-FOOT distinction, implying that for the foreseeable future at any rate this important perceptual boundary will remain, to keep 'Northerners' and 'Southerners' apart (see further Wales 2006a, chapters 1, 3 and 5).

Trudgill's projection about the 'spread' of London English is presumably premised on the basic assumption that London will continue to be the country's centre of gravity for political, economic, cultural and hence linguistic activity. Alexander Ellis in 1889 had certainly predicted that "London and its environs, the south-east, will continue to be a source of linguistic innovations" (cited Ihalainen 1994: 262). Historians, however, are well aware that the national status quo is not eternal (see Musgrove 1990; Taylor 1993); and we have only to think of the political and cultural significance of Winchester before the Norman Conquest, and of York in the North. The history of the country over the past 1500 years has revealed periods of 'centralisation' and 'decentralisation'. The recent moves to political 'devolution' in Wales and Scotland certainly stirred the North of England into some consideration of it, a region which over the same long period of time has always been strongly anti-metropolitan in many ways. Moreover, a study of linguistic change reveals that processes of diffusion have not all been out from London but also into it, from the periphery. Since the medieval period London English has absorbed or assimilated features from East Anglia, the central Midlands and even Northern English.

In the immediate post-Second World War period, however, linguists might not have predicted that popular London English, or 'Estuary English' (Rosewarne 1994), rather than educated London English or Received Pronunciation, the traditional 'enemy' of dialectal variation, would be considered a source of innovation and change. By 1982 Wells was able to state most sweepingly that London's "working-class accent is today the most influential source of phonological innovation in England and perhaps in the whole English-speaking world" (1982: 301). However, Ellis again, in 1889, predicted that certain Cockney features would work their way up in social status and become 'polite' pronunciations in another one hundred years; although *tike* for 'take' and *bowt* for 'bought' have not yet done so (cited Ihalainen 1994: 262). At the turn of the twentieth century, again, a member of the English Association, S. K. Ratcliffe, talked of the English language 'going to pieces' especially under the influence of the 'debased' dialect of the Cockney, "which is spreading from our schools and training-colleges all over the country" (cited Doyle 1989: 36).

However, we cannot always assume that Estuary English is necessarily the source, or only source, of contemporary sound changes that appear to mark diverse urban pronunciations from Bristol to Derby, Middlesbrough to Glasgow. The 'diffusion' model may be too weak in its explanatory power on its own, especially in relation to the actual mechanisms of the alleged spreading of certain features of pronunciation especially amongst the younger generations. Commonly cited, for example, by sociolinguists as being due to the influence of Southern or Estuary English are T-glottalling, H-dropping, and TH-fronting (as in *bovver* 'bother' and *fing* 'thing'): see, e.g. Kerswill (2003), and Kerswill and Williams (2002), who state quite categorically that in general "consonantal features spread from the South to the North" (2002: 96). But there is strong evidence for such features as TH-fronting (and also T-glottalling) in nineteenth-century dialects well away from the London area (see Milroy, Milroy and Hartley 1994; Upton 2006: 306–307; Wales 2006a: 176–177). I myself would prefer therefore an alternative model, and if a naturalistic analogy must be made, that of 'latency' or 'dormancy', akin to Chambers' (2004) idea of 'vernacular universals': such variants prone to appearing independently at different times in different localities, but probably often suppressed because of their social stigma. At the present time it certainly looks as if they are being stimulated or 'revived' in urban communities under the influence of their popularity in street-wise London English and / or the *yoof* [sic] media, so the whole process can be seen as a reflex of an internal development and 'borrowing'. So as J. Milroy (2003: 217) concludes, who quite

coincidentally seems to have arrived at a similar kind of model, there is absolutely no guarantee that one specific community such as London is the original source for such changes. There is also a striking parallel to be drawn with the case-history of L-vocalisation, as in *miuk* for 'milk', also seen as a relatively recent change, and centred upon popular London English. But as Ihalainen (1994: 265) points out, "it appears to have occurred in several dialects and at different times in the history of English": he cites early examples from the 'North-Country' section of John Ray's dictionary (1674).

To return to Trudgill's further conjectures, five of his areas are labelled according to major cities: Newcastle, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol, a reflection of the inheritance of dramatic nineteenth-century and twentieth-century industrial developments and mass immigration particularly in the North and the Midlands. "We can predict", he says (Trudgill 1999: 83), "the survival of the Northeast area focussed on Newcastle, Merseyside focussed on Liverpool … and the Northwest Midlands focussed on Manchester as distinctive areas"; and that, generally, future dialect areas are likely to be "city-based" (Trudgill 1999: 84). Certainly Trudgill seems to be underlining a very significant development in the second half of the twentieth century, namely that conurbations such as Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle have become the locus for what are termed 'mainstream dialects', 'supra-regional norms' or 'regiolects': 'levelling' occurring within a region, between the city and hinterland, but not necessarily, in the latter part of the twentieth century, under the direct influence of the exo-normative Received Pronunciation (or even of 'Estuary English'), certainly amongst the working classes. Påhlsson (1972) predicted this trend over thirty years ago:

> In my view it may be argued that the position and influence of RP today is likely to be less prominent and operative than it used to be … It seems not unlikely that local regional standards will exert a relatively greater influence in the future, as melting-pots … . (Påhlsson 1972: 27)

So the region labelled 'Newcastle' extends northwards to the Scottish border, and southwards to the River Tees, and so would include the conurbation of Middlesbrough. Indeed, 'Geordie' today, as the dialect of Newcastle, Tyneside and (more loosely) the Northeast is known, exerts considerable covert prestige. The research of Llamas (1998, 2000) has shown how the younger inhabitants of Middlesbrough identify themselves, not with the historical Yorkshire, but with the Northeast, and this is re-

flected in their accent, with the emergence of a High-Rise Tone, as well as glottalisation (but see also section 4 below).

Interestingly, while it is tempting to assume that a big city will inevitably act as the source of diffusion into the smaller rural neighbourhoods, this is not always the case. Innovations amongst the urban working class youngsters with close ties and little occupational mobility can be drawn from the relatively 'conservative' vernacular of the hinterland, whether in phonology or lexis, and so there is a 'pulling inwards', so to speak, as well as a 'pushing outwards', towards the local community norms. A rounded vowel in *poke, stone* in Newcastle speech may have come from the coastal area, and the intensifier *geet* (Beal 1993: 208). *Charver* ('townie') and *gadgie* ('old man') have come into Newcastle from the border region and local Romany dialects. A reduction in regionally marked forms therefore does not necessarily happen. To echo Påhlsson's phrase (1972), the regiolect is a rich 'melting-pot' for the continued diversification of features; and for innovations even on the lexical level. (See also Upton 2006: 324; J. Widdowson 2005: 13, former proponents of the 'erosion' model.)

Given the existence of significant urban varieties in England today, we might be surprised, however, that Trudgill has not identified further areas in this way. There is no Hull or Humberside (the latter marked on his 'modern' dialect map); no 'East Midland' urban varieties such as Nottingham or Derby; and no Yorkshire urban varieties such as Leeds, Bradford or Sheffield: they are subsumed under the label 'S.Yorks' or South Yorkshire (as distinct from 'N.Yorks' or North Yorkshire). Presumably, their hinterlands are not perceived even in the future to be as large as that of Liverpool or Manchester, for example, but this is surprising, especially for Humberside. However, let us now project a different future for urban variation in Yorkshire, in section 4.

4. Dialect, identity and difference

A possible foreshadowing of Trudgill's own conjecture is to be found a hundred years ago. The editor of the Barnsley-based *Pogmoor Olmenack* 'Tom Treddlehoyle' in 1906 arbitrates over a dispute between 'Dame Sheffield' and 'Mother Leeds' as to which is the leading Yorkshire city. Tom predicts that their rapid urban spread will result in the settling of differences in a merged great metropolis to rival Manchester, Liverpool or even London (cited Russell 2004: 127). However, on the face of it, Liverpool and Manchester are themselves poised to be conjoined, at either end (once)

of the great Ship Canal built in the 1890s to facilitate Manchester's cotton exports. Yet their industrial history is one of rivalry, and rivalry exists to this day, if manifested more specifically in football teams and teen-age fashions. We should not be surprised, therefore, that there is continued pressure for the Liverpudlians and Mancunians to maintain their distinctiveness in their speech habits, despite the physical blurring of their suburban boundaries, and despite, historically, the Lancashire base to both of their dialects. The accents of both cities, for instance, share the [g]-articulation in nasal groups of words like *long*. Indeed, recent research reported in the national press early in 2006 suggested that the accents of Liverpudlians or 'Scousers' were getting stronger precisely because they are determined to sound distinctive. This may also account for the maintenance of the characteristic aspirated plosives. So much for the Scouse accent 'sinking into the Estuary' (section 1); and the general view expressed by Kerswill (2003: 239) that "few researchers have been able to demonstrate the opposite [to levelling, namely] divergence or diversification in local varieties". It seems extremely likely that urban varieties all over the country will therefore maintain rather than lose their distinctiveness, and so Sheffield speech remain distinctive from that of other Yorkshire cities.

A similar cultural rivalry to that of Liverpool and Manchester certainly exists between Newcastle on the Tyne and Sunderland on the Wear, even though both cities, once in Northumberland and Durham respectively, are now part of the Tyne and Wear civil administration. (See Townsend and Taylor 1975 for a survey of local antipathies and loyalties in the 1970s.) So while the inhabitants of both cities may well be contributing to a regional norm of 'Newcastle' speech in the future, as predicted by Trudgill, nonetheless they are acutely aware of linguistic differences between them: to the extent that the local nickname for Sunderlanders is *Mackems,* reflecting the distinctive Wearside pronunciation of verbs like *make* and *take* (and not Newcastle *ma-ek, ta-ek*) (see also below and further Beal 2000). Interestingly, one of the reasons why the Government's Referendum on a Northeast Regional Assembly failed a couple of years ago, with only 22% in favour of this kind of 'devolution', was precisely that people in Durham (also on the river Wear) resented the idea of Newcastle's political dominance. As a headline in the *Independent* so tellingly summarised it, "Support from Geordie icons only served to whip up tribal conflicts" (6th November 2004). Even Llamas's young Middlesbrough informants, noted in section 3 above, showed a hostility to the city of Newcastle, preferring a more general identity with 'Northeast'. It is not too fanciful, therefore, to imagine a future sub-variety of 'Northeast' English centred upon Middles-

brough itself, and clearly distinctive also from any North Yorkshire speech. Already, for instance, Beal (personal communication) notes the NURSE-SQUARE merger which distinguishes Teesside speech from the rest of the Northeast as well as North Yorkshire; as indeed Hull from the rest of Yorkshire, and Liverpool from the rest of Lancashire. Similarly, for the unstressed vowel at the end of HAPPY words, the tense or lax realisations act as markers of difference between regions.

It is worth reminding ourselves therefore of the commonplace that dialect and accent not only signal a bonding with others who speak 'the same', share the same group identity, but also serve to mark one group from another, along with other social symbols:

> The individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished. (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181)

As J. Milroy (1993: 219) succinctly states: "To put it crudely, some groups in society may not particularly want to be understood by other groups" (see also Wales 2006b). Cameron (1995: 9) argues that the potential for normalcy "is latent in every communicative act, and the impulse behind it pervades our habits of thought and behaviour", but the impulse for differentiation is probably stronger. Regional features are both salient markers of difference and markers of a 'secret code'. The 'tribal' instinct both to congregate and to delimit territory, so deeply rooted in England since Anglo-Saxon times, still survives in some manifestation or another, including speech. And while we might expect the publications of the English Dialect Society in the nineteenth century to reveal and comment upon the distinction of speech habits in communities from neighbouring dale to dale, and also expect social commentators like Hoggart (2003) to indicate variation from district to district in cities like Leeds in the 1920s, and between Sheffield and Leeds, we might not expect such nuances, or even perception of such nuances, at the turn of the millennium, in this age of increased mobility and looser social network ties. But they are indeed there. As Stanley Ellis concluded in 1992, one of the key field-workers on Harold Orton's *Survey of English Dialects* published 30 years before, "*Something* still very local keeps going, *something* to differentiate one place from another" (1961–72: 9; his italics).

This has been most strikingly revealed in the nationwide BBC dialect survey (2004–5) published by Simon Elmes (2005). Time and again the survey found that villagers and townspeople all over the country were still

acutely aware of differences in speech 'just down the road', in accent, grammar and vocabulary: whether between rural Norfolk and Suffolk, Birkenhead and Liverpool, and even North and South Liverpool. Moreover, despite the diffusion of 'Estuary English' and the blanketing, so to speak, of much of the South of England under 'London English' generally, Elmes's interviewees were able to distinguish accents 'north' and 'south' of the Thames, and between inner and outer suburbs of London.[3] Often the differences were prosodic: subtle distinctions in intonation, voice quality, stress or rate of delivery – features still strikingly under-researched by dialectologists. The BBC survey actually corroborates research such as Williams and Kerswill (1999) on accent differences between adolescents in Milton Keynes and Reading; and Britain (2003) on three distinct speech communities in the eastern, central and western Fens in the south Midlands.

The perception of linguistic difference between communities is interestingly paralleled by the folklinguistic habit of *blazon populaire,* which seems to flourish today as much as it did in earlier centuries: namely, the labelling of rival towns and villages, particularly at sporting events such as football matches. Just as *Mackem* picks out a salient feature of pronunciation, so does *Dee-dah*, the pejorative label for a Sheffield inhabitant (the traditional user of the second person pronoun *thou*). Wigan football fans are labelled 'pie-eaters', those from Hartlepool 'Monkey-hangers' (recalling an historical event from the Napoleonic Wars!); and all Teessiders are *smoggies* (because of local air pollution). Ifracombe folk in North Devon still look down on the villagers of Combe Martin five miles to the west as *Shammicks,* or slum-dwellers, who once smelted silver in the late eighteenth century. The deep-rooted hostility between town and countryside is reflected in the label *children-munchers* given by Carlislers to the Cumbrians generally; and *carrot-crunchers* to the *fennies* of East Anglia by 'townies'. The traditional cultural link between local region and local food is reflected in labels such as *Cornish pasties, Lancashire hotpots, tiddy-oggies* (Plymouth; naval slang for 'pasty', Elmes 2005: 46), and most probably the well-known *Scouse(r)*, once a kind of stew (*lobscouse;* note also *lobbygobblers* for Leigh in Lancashire). A recent formation in Liverpool is *plastic Scouser*, for those unfortunate to live in the posher suburbs of the Cheshire hinterland (Chris Montgomery, personal communication). While many of such nicknames are clearly pejorative in origin when used by 'outsiders', some are appropriated by 'insiders' as proud emblems of their identity. They are as much an illustration of what Russell (2004: 278)

terms our ancient 'territorial mentality' as the more widespread regional nicknames such as *Lanky, (Yorkshire) tyke, Geordie* and *Cockney.*

It is arguable that such overt features as nicknames, jokes and stereotypes are as salient markers of local or community identity as dialect features themselves; moreover, that both *blazon populaire* and linguistic variation have a very clear function in contemporary society in the process of what Townsend and Taylor thirty years ago termed 'image formation'. This has as its basis a set of common attributes perceived as distinctive to the region, and, most significantly, "is a historical process of a dynamic and continuing character" (1975: 387). At one extreme it might be said that regional Tourist Boards actively promote image formation, and even the commodification of regional culture, in the promotion of symbolic communities comprising seasonal festivals and rituals, local cuisine (stotty cake, singing hinnies, Cornish pasties), as well as tea-towels and mugs emblazoned with dialect sayings.

At another extreme, the advent of the internet has brought a new kind of textual community (Duncan and Duncan 1988) to replace or supplement the older or obsolescent community centred upon the 'shared readings', in their terms, of dialect literature and folk-song which have traditionally played a significant role in the cultural formation of the English regions. So Teessiders, at home or abroad, can log on to www.smoggy.org.uk; and *Common Ground* tries to involve people in taking responsibility for their own locality and its distinctiveness (www.commonground.org.uk). The 'virtual communities' of the internet chatrooms and focus groups both supplement the initiatives of the traditional metadiscursive communities like dialect societies and also function more proactively and effectively than local radio or television. As Crystal (2006: 404) states, the internet offers "an unprecedented degree of … public presence to small-scale regional and social groups, and thus a vast potential for representing local identities". One general conclusion, therefore, might be that regional variation not only helps in the construction of regional identity and image, but, conversely, the latter, in whatever form, will be important for the maintenance of regional variation in the future.

Significant also in this new millennium for image formation and the construction of regional identity is likely to be the performance of dialect at the individual rather than the group level; and I use the word 'performance' deliberately. While code- or style-switching has been much studied in the context of bilingualism (and see Crystal 2000), more research needs to be done on bi-dialectalism, and in particular the conscious stylised use of dialect and accent across the classes for a variety of functions as part of

a public 'repertoire', or the projection of an image or persona. (See also Coupland 1988: 139; Rampton 1999). Elmes (2005: 17) was certainly made aware of a "whole portfolio of styles and variants" used by young people nationwide. We need to see dialect therefore, and indeed the speech community itself, in a more flexible and multi-dimensional way, relating degrees of 'broadness' not simply to status or education as in the past, but to a strategy of identity construction which arises in shifting day-to-day interactions or experiences. On a microcosmic level, this could well involve a degree of variability in the use of dialect features from utterance to utterance. As Chambers (2002: 351) succinctly states, membership of a speech community is determined "by consensus about community norms but not by conformity in their use".

In such a context it is also likely that regional grammar will flourish, summarily labelled 'non-standard', and traditionally stigmatised in comparison with standard grammar (and so often wrongly equated with 'sub-standard'). It has always been the case that in informal spoken registers specific features local to an area will be heard; and, in any case, there is much more distinctive syntactic and morphological variation in English speech generally than is commonly recognised by grammarians or has been tabulated by dialectologists: e.g. in modality, adverbials and pronouns. There are also very distinctive discourse markers, speech tags, terms of address, greetings and leave-taking signals, etc.: features which hardly ever find their way into print, because of their phatic and community functions. I would also go further and predict (along with Crystal 2006) that in the general prevailing climate of informalisation in speech and in the new oracy of electronic communication, the hegemony of 'standardness' (and prescriptivism with it) is likely to be dismantled to an extent not seen since its inception in the Renaissance. As Crystal states (2006: 404), the internet is not controlled by the traditional custodians of 'standardness', such as grammarians, lexicographers or publishers. Standard English could be but a phase in the ongoing history of English.[4]

5. Conclusion: Convergence or divergence?

Despite reiterated fears during the twentieth century, that the new secondary forms of oracy such as radio, film and television would 'kill off' regional diversity in speech, this has not yet happened, neither on a local nor on a global level. Even on this scale, notions of both ecology and imperialism or hegemony are complex (see further Brutt-Griffler 2002), and the

microcosm of internal regional variation reflects this. Regional 'norms' do not necessarily mean homogenisation or fixity, any more than 'globalisation' does; but more research needs to be done on how local patterns and tendencies map on to global. Local cultures are constantly changing, and the result is a continuous process of 'hybridisation', as cultural geographers argue (see Johnston 1991: 50). It is also time then for sociolinguists and dialectologists to engage seriously with the work of such disciplines as cultural geography, and also linguistic and social anthropology. So Cohen (1985: 36) has argued that the creativity of speakers should not be underestimated, and that the monolithic conformity of English is not inevitable, and is simply a 'myth'. In his own image, the homogeneity of speech is merely a 'veneer' (1985: 44). I conclude with a vivid variant on this image from the decorative arts: to assume that regional speech is becoming more uniform, says Hoggart (2003: 10–11), would be "like plonking obliterating paint over a multi-coloured if faded fresco".

Notes

1. As Crystal points out in his review of Dalby (2002), 'loss' is probably a better word than 'death' because usually people don't die but switch to other languages (*THES* 14.06.02). But note the title of his own book (2000).
2. Widdowson and Seidlhofer's (2003) discussion arises in the context of Trudgill's suggestion (2002) that dialectologists should take some responsibility for the 'preservation' of dialects. In widening their argument to language intervention generally, they unfairly see Trudgill's remarks as expressing the same interest as writers like Sprat and Orwell in a "virtuous vernacular simplicity" (2003: 299–300).
3. This tabulated regional variety struck a new chord with journalists. In August 2005 the *Sunday Times* proclaimed: "Odd a thar't it? British dialects get stronger" (cited Dent 2006: 135). So much for the devouring monster of Estuary English.
4. In the post-nuclear holocaust of the twenty-fourth century that is the setting for Russell Hoban's dystopia *Riddley Walker* (1980), Standard English is no more; in its place a demotic speech and semi-phonetic spelling.

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Chapter 4
The role of dialect contact in the formation of Englishes

Peter Trudgill

1. Introduction

Most histories of English note the role of language contact in the history of the language. Some of the following languages generally get at least a mention as having been in contact with English in the British Isles: Welsh, or its ancestor, on the first arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain; Old Norse, as a result of Viking colonisation; Norman French, after 1066; and Scottish Gaelic and Irish Gaelic.

As for colonial varieties of English, they have experienced forms of language contact with indigenous languages, which seems to manifest itself mostly in terms of the acquisition of loanwords from these languages. South African English, for example, has forms such as *karroo* 'desert plateau' and *dagga* 'wild hemp' from Khoi, and *bundu* 'rough country' and *impala* 'type of antelope' from Bantu languages (Branford 1994). Canadian English has borrowed *saskatoon* and *muskeg* from Cree (Brinton and Fee 2001); North American English generally has borrowed lexical items such as *skunk* and *caucus* from Native American languages (Romaine 2001), and New Zealand English has borrowed *mana* 'prestige, charisma, authority' from Maori.

Colonial Englishes have also experienced forms of language contact with other European languages in the colonial situation (Romaine 2001). Much of this also involves lexical borrowing. For example, Canadian English has borrowed *coulee* from French (Brinton and Fee 2001); North American English has borrowed lexical items such as *cookie* 'biscuit' from Dutch and *key* 'islet' from Spanish; while South African English has borrowed *veld* 'flat, open country' from Dutch/Afrikaans. We can also suppose that North American grammatical constructions such as *Are you coming with?* and *I like to skate* (as opposed to *I like skating)* are the result of German and/or Yiddish influence (see Trudgill 1986; Mufwene 2001: 162).

In this paper I want to focus my attention on another type of contact, dialect contact, in order to suggest that in a number of respects this is of equal importance in the history of the language. This is because dialect contact has more often than not led to dialect mixture and to what I have called new-dialect formation (Trudgill 1986, 2004).

Ever since its inception, the English language has experienced a more or less continuous process of geographical expansion, sometimes slower, sometime faster, as a result of colonisation and settlement in new areas by its speakers. In nearly all cases, this expansion has been accompanied in the newly settled area by a mixing of English speakers from different regions of the homeland, wherever that was. In very many recent cases we have documentary historical evidence showing that this is so.

For example, Branford (1994: 487) supports a dialect contact origin for South African English, citing the fact that the initial English-speaking immigrants to South Africa came from London, Ireland, Lancashire, Yorkshire and Scotland. Turner (1994: 278), too, writes that early Australia "was a situation of 'dialects in contact'".

However, as has been pointed out by a number of writers, it does not necessarily follow that dialect contact would have led to dialect mixture. It is perfectly possible that in the new location a single dialect prevailed and no mixture resulted form the contact. Some writers have rejected the importance of dialect mixture in the development of colonial dialects altogether and plumped for a monogenetic origin for particular colonial varieties. Hammarström (1980), for example, claims that Australian English is simply transplanted Cockney. The same Cockney-origin point is argued for by Wall (1938) for New Zealand English. Bauer (1994: 391) also argues that "it is clear that New Zealand English derives from a variety of English spoken in the south-east of England". He goes on to argue further that New Zealand English arrived as a ready-formed entity transplanted in its entirety from Australia: "the hypothesis that New Zealand English is derived from Australian English is the one which explains most about the linguistic situation in New Zealand" (Bauer 1994: 428). These two points are of course entirely consistent if one accepts that Australian English, too, as Hammarström (1980) believes, arrived from the south-east of England. And Lass (1990) argues that South African English is essentially southeast of England in origin.

The same point has been made concerning colonial varieties of other languages. For example, Rivard (1914) suggested that Quebec French is entirely due to the dialects of Normandy. Lipski (1994: 36) similarly outlines a theory which developed amongst hispanicists that Latin American

Spanish was in origin basically a form of transported Andalusian Spanish from the Iberian Peninsula. This *andalucista* theory was proposed early on by Wagner (1920), amongst others.

If we cannot assume the dialect contact inevitably leads to dialect mixture, we then have to argue for the importance of the dialect contact/dialect mixture/new-dialect formation scenario, with particular respect to the development of different varieties of English, on the basis of the linguistic evidence. I have argued, in connection with the development of New Zealand English, that one cannot use socio-historical demographic information to support linguistic hypotheses in the face of linguistic evidence to the contrary. I agree with McWhorter (2000: 165) when he says, of historical work on creole language origins, that: "Many creolists tend to see the sociohistorical evidence as decisive, and as a welcome improvement upon linguistic evidence considered merely tangential, capable only of 'suggestion'. In fact, one can argue that things are precisely the other way around."

There are two types of linguistic evidence, I would suggest, that we can employ. The first, which is easier to apply in the case of more recent stages of the language, is to compare the linguistic characteristics of a new colonial variety with those of the homeland and see if it is necessary to cite sources for different individual features in different dialects in the homeland. If features cannot all be given an origin in a single homeland dialect, then mixture is the obvious explanation, although one does have to be careful to allow for subsequent innovations (Trudgill 2004).

This is the approach adopted by Lanham (1967: 104), who writes of South African English that it is derived from "at least 20 regional (geographical) dialects", and says that "out of a welter of English dialects there grew up in a remarkably short space of time a form of English which was not identical with any one of them but presented a unique set of dialectal features deriving probably from several British dialects". For New Zealand, Bauer (2000) supplies very strong lexical evidence in favour of the mixed origins of its English. His paper shows that typical New Zealand English vocabulary items can be traced back to many different dialect locations in England and Scotland. This is the view also adopted in Trudgill (2004) where I argue that early New Zealand English is for the most part a mixture of features from different parts of the British Isles. And Schreier (2003) discusses the origins in many different British and American dialects of the features of Tristan da Cunha English.

Much of the literature on colonial varieties of languages other than English also takes this approach. An early proponent was Frings (1957), who described the eastward colonial expansion of German into formerly Slavic-

speaking areas as resulting in a new variety which was the result of a mixture of Dutch, Low German, Central German and Upper German dialect forms. This was later to provide the basis for Standard German, which shows a mixture of forms such as the southern pronominal distinction between accusative and dative forms e.g. *mich* 'me (acc.)' and *mir* '(to) me (dat.)', which is absent from northern German, and the central diminutive –*chen* rather than northern –*kin* or southern –*lein*.

Moag (1977) shows that Fiji Hindi is the result, amongst other things, of a mixing of north Indian varieties. Combrink (1978: 72) suggests that Afrikaans is in part the result of "Germanic dialects in close contact", with these dialects – 73% of the immigrants – coming from the dialect areas of North Holland, South Holland, and Utrecht. And dialect contact was also clearly important in the development of Canadian French (Morin 1994). Mougeon and Beniak (1994: 26) say that:

> the particular conditions associated with emigration to New France [Canada] and with life in the new colony on the St Lawrence led to a unique mixture [*brassage*] of central French, varieties of regional French and perhaps even of certain *patois* … From this mixture there developed a new form of the French language … a unified, coherent, distinctive Quebec variety. (my translation)

They also speak of a "fusion dialectale" (Mougeon and Beniak 1994: 26). Poirier (1994: 256) reports that "philological studies have proved the existence, in the middle of the 17th century, of a *koiné* along the St Lawrence which was strongly influenced by the dialects of different French provinces" (my translation).

Darot and Pauleau (1993: 295) point to the presence in the colonial French of New Caledonia in the South Pacific of forms from southern as well as Parisian French; and Hollyman (1979: 623) also cites the occurrence of features from the north of France as well as from the region of Toulouse.

Lipski (1994: 45) also says of colonial Spanish that "it would seem that a linguistic alchemy acted on the kaleidoscopic jumble of Peninsula languages and dialects to yield Latin American Spanish". Mattoso Camara (1972: 20) says of Brazilian Portuguese that "immigrants from both the north and south of Portugal, seemingly in approximately equal numbers, carried their respective dialects to Brazil". Quoting da Silva Neto (1950: 10), he also suggests that "the coming together of such diverse dialects in a single overseas center must have set up conditions leading to a sort of linguistic compromise, a new kind of dialect".

There is, however, a second approach to the study of the role dialect mixture in the new-dialect formation of colonial varieties. This approach enables us to achieve a greater time depth in our analyses. It consists in acknowledging that mixed dialects have certain linguistic characteristics which distinguished them to a certain extent from other varieties, and to look for such characteristics. Usually, however, as we shall see, an element of comparison with homeland varieties is still involved. In the rest of this paper I concentrate on this second type of evidence.

2. Old English as a colonial mixed dialect

In Trudgill (1986), I make the rather obvious point that the development of a new focussed dialect, in the sense of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), out of a diffuse dialect mixture involves a reduction of variability – a reduction in the number of extant variants for any given feature. I also point out, however, that "an important fact about dialects that have recently coalesced out of dialect mixtures is that even after focusing has taken place, many of them continue to retain, at least for some generations, a relatively high level of variability" (Trudgill 1986: 108).

This observation can be utilised in the following case. The earliest example of English colonial dialect mixture involves the actual development of English itself. We have evidence of various non-linguistic sorts that southern and eastern England and southeast Scotland were initially settled by Germanic speakers coming from all along the north sea littoral from Jutland to the mouth of the Rhine – Jutes, Angles, Saxons, Frisians – and it is reasonable to assume that they spoke different dialects. We also know that Germanic speakers arrived from further inland, for example from place name evidence. Swaffham in Norfolk, for instance, was originally *Swaefasham*, which meant 'home of the Swabians'. But did contact between these different Germanic dialects lead to dialect mixture? Can we say that Old English was in origin a mixed dialect, just as we are claming for, say, modern South African English?

Nielsen (1998: 78–79) answers this question in the affirmative, and supplies the linguistic evidence. He argues that Old English was the result of a mixture of West Germanic dialects from continental Europe. He points out, for example, that it is because of dialect mixture that Old English had initially a greater degree of variability than the other Germanic languages where no colonial dialect mixture had been involved. He cites the following examples.

(1) Old English had a remarkable number of different, alternating forms corresponding to Modern English 'first'. This variability, moreover, would appear to be linked to origins in different dialects from the mainland European mainland: *ærest* (cf. Old High German *eristo*); *forma* (cf. Old Frisian *forma*); *formesta* (cf. Gothic *frumists*); and *fyrst* (cf. Old Norse *fyrstr).*

(2) Similarly, OE had two different paradigms for the present tense of the verb *to be*, one apparently resembling Old Norse and Gothic, and the other Old Saxon and Old High German:

	Goth	O.Norse	O.English I	O.English II	O.Saxon	OHG
1sg.	*im*	*em*	*eom*	*beom*	*bium*	*bim*
2sg.	*is*	*est*	*eart*	*bist*	*bist*	*bist*

(3) Old English also exhibited variation, in all regions, in the form of the interrogative pronoun meaning 'which of two'. The form *hwæðer* relates to Gothic *hvaÞar* and W. Norse *hvaðarr,* while the alternative form *hweder* corresponds to O. Saxon *hweðar* and OHG *hwedar.*

We cannot know, of course, whether this type of variation was constrained in any way. Most often (Trudgill 2004), where more than one variant from a dialect mixture situation survives in the new dialect, *reallocation* takes place (see below).

The suggestion is that even if we did not know from other non-linguistic evidence that southern and eastern Britain were initially settled from many different locations on the continent, there would have been at least some linguistic evidence would have pointed us in the direction of that supposition.

3. Middle English in Ireland

In Trudgill (1986) I introduced the term *interdialect.* There, and in Trudgill (2004), I define interdialect forms as forms which are not actually present in any of the dialects contributing to a dialect mixture but which arise out of interaction between them. Such forms are of three types:

a) They may be forms which are simpler or more regular than any of the forms present in the original dialect mixture.
b) Interdialect forms may also be forms which are the result of hyperadaptation. The best known form of this is 'hypercorrection', in which speakers attempt to use forms from higher status accents, but

employ an incorrect analysis and extend changes to items where they are inappropriate. That this can have permanent consequences for colonial varieties is shown by the fact that in many forms of Jamaican English (Cassidy and Le Page 1980), as well as in Tristanian (see above), all stressed-vowel-initial words can actually begin with /h/.

c) Interdialect forms may also be intermediate forms. In Trudgill (1986) I suggested that these are most usually forms which are phonetically intermediate between two contributing forms in the mixture. Mougeon and Beniak (1994: 26) write, for Canadian French, of "innovations such as intermediate compromise forms" (my translation). They cite (1994: 40) an example originally provided by Rivard (1914: 59): three different French forms of *gens* 'people', Standard /ʒã/, Picard /ʒẽ/ and Saintongeais /hã/, have combined to produce Québécois /hẽ/.

Samuels (1972: 108) uses both of the types of evidence for showing prior dialect mixture, as outlined above, in connection with late mediaeval colonial English in Ireland. First, he says that the available 14th and 15th century texts show that the English settlers "must have been predominantly from the West Midlands and South-West England", but the language of the texts

> tallies with the dialect of no single restricted area of England; it consists mainly of an amalgam of selected features from the different dialects of a number of areas: Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Devon, Shropshire, and to a lesser extent Cheshire, Lancashire, and possibly Wales. (Samuels 1972: 108)

Most of the forms are found in large parts of the West Midlands and Southwest, but they do not all have the same geographical provenance. For example, *streynth* 'strength' and *throʒ* 'through' are from the West Midlands, while *hyre* 'hear' and *ham* 'them' arte Southwestern in origin.

Secondly, he focusses on a particular feature which is of special interest because it clearly constitutes a feature of the type I have referred to as an *intermediate form*. Samuels shows that in England, the Middle English form for 'each' was *uch* in the West Midlands, and *ech* in the Southwest. However, in the Anglo-Irish texts the norm is *euch*. It is true that there is a small area in England, intermediate between the West Midlands and the Southwest, just to the south of the towns of Worcester and Hereford, where this form also occurs. But the fact that it is the norm in Anglo-Irish texts is

of course not because Ireland was settled from southern Herefordshire. Rather, *euch* was as a form which developed in Ireland, or survived from England, or both, because it was intermediate between the two major competing forms in the mixture that developed in Ireland, *uch* and *ech*. In Trudgill (2004) I indicate that this kind of compromise development will occur only when the surviving intermediate form is linguistically intermediate between two (or more) majority variants of roughly equivalent demographic strength.

Once again, then, it is clear that Ireland was settled by English-speakers from a number of different dialect areas, *and* that the outcome was a new, mixed dialect, consisting of a collection of forms from different dialect areas, plus interdialect forms arising out of interaction between speakers of different dialects.

4. North America

In Trudgill (1986) I further argued that in the process of new-dialect formation out of dialect mixture situations, it is generally the case that eventually all variants in the mixture except one will be levelled out. Occasionally, however, more than one competing variant left over from the original mixture may survive. Where this happens, *reallocation* will occur. Indeed, we can say that survival is normally actually dependent on reallocation. Variants originally from different regional dialects may, for example, be reallocated functions as social class variants or stylistic variants in the new dialect (see Trudgill 1986). Penny (2000: 54) shows how the original Iberian Spanish regional differentiation between dialects, such as Old Castilian, which had lost /h/ from Latin word-initial /f/ as in /umo/ 'smoke' and other dialects, such as Extremaduran, which had retained it, as in /humo/, led through colonial dialect contact to a situation where today "throughout Spanish-speaking America" /h/ is found in lower-class and Ø in upper-class sociolects.

I suggest that one such case is convincing evidence for the mixed nature of Canadian English as a new colonial dialect. In what is now the USA, there were a number of early anglophone settlements at different points along the east coast. None of these was settled from a single location in England, and in each case there would have been contact between different English regional dialects. A proponent of dialect mixture scenarios would therefore assume that, very early on, contact between different British dialects would have occurred in the American settlements which would have

led to the appearance of new, mixed dialects not precisely like any dialect spoken in the homeland. Each would have been, as Kurath has said, "a unique blend of British types of speech" (1949: 1). The fact of modern regional variation along the east coast of the USA would thus be explained, not only in terms of different linguistic changes having taken place in different areas during the last 400 years, but also, more crucially, by the fact that the initial mixtures – and therefore the outcomes of these mixtures – were different in the different places from the very beginning (see Algeo 2001). In the words of McDavid (1985: 19) we can assume "dialect mixture from the beginning in each colony … with different results".

Canadian English would seem then to be even more the result of mixture. The external, sociohistorical development of Canadian English would appear to make it a mixed dialect par excellence. Proponents of the dialect mixture hypothesis can argue for the development of Canadian English along the following lines.

It descends for the most part from the mixing of these different, already mixed USA dialects, as a consequence of a number of different waves of immigration northwards, at different times, from different parts of the American colonies. If we then add the fact of heavy 19th century immigration to Canada from England, Scotland and Ireland, the situation seems to be crying out for a dialect mixture explanation.

This, at least, is what the immigration history and the demographics – and the proponents of dialect mixture explanations – would suggest. But is it really so? Can we support it with linguistic evidence?

Canadian Raising. There is considerable evidence that Canadian Raising, according to which distinctive and markedly different allophones of the PRICE and MOUTH vowels occur before voiceless consonants (Chambers 1991), is the result of, and therefore evidence for, dialect mixture. I argued in Trudgill (1986) that so-called Canadian Raising may have arisen out of a process of structural reallocation. General Canadian English, as is well known, is characterised by very distinct allophones of /ai/ as in PRICE and /au/ as in MOUTH. Before voiced consonants and word-finally these diphthongs have open onsets, and before voiceless consonants central onsets: 'out loud' [əut laud]. The suggestion in Trudgill (1986) was that this was due to the process of new-dialect formation which led to the development of Canadian English as a new mixed variety. Scottish and Irish-type diphthongs, with central onsets in all environments, and south of England-type diphthongs, with open onsets in all environments, were both present in the original dialect mixture which preceded the eventual focussed variety. Both variants survived, but were reallocated a new function as positional

allophonic variants. This reallocation was according to the very logical principle that the narrower diphthongs were confined to the pre-voiceless consonant environment where all English vowels have shorter allophones (Laver 1994: 446).

This dialect mixture and structural reallocation thesis is greatly strengthened by the following rather remarkable fact. 'Canadian Raising' is by no means purely Canadian. It is also found in a number of other colonial varieties. Indeed, it occurs "in *nearly every* form of non-creolised, mixed, colonial English outside Australasia and South Africa" (Trudgill 1986: 160), although the actual phonetics is not necessarily the same as in Canada.

For example, Tristan da Cunha English has clear Canadian raising for the PRICE vowel. Schreier and Trudgill (2006) write that Tristan da Cunha English "has a PRICE vowel which is a 'fast' diphthong [ɐɪ] before voiceless consonants, but a 'slow' diphthong [ɒˑɛ] elsewhere, the latter demonstrating both *Diphthong Shift* (Wells 1982: 256) and *Glide Weakening*."

The mixed English of East Falkland has Canadian raising for both of the diphthongs. Trudgill (2004), following Sudbury (2000, 2001), shows that Falkland Islands English has a MOUTH vowel which is generally [œʉ ~ ɜʉ] before voiceless consonants, as in *south*, but [æˑᵘ ~ aˑᵘ] elsewhere as in *now*. Similarly, PRICE is [ɐɪ ~ ɜɪ] before voiceless consonants, as in *right,* but [ɑˑɪ] elsewhere, as in *time*.

Canadian Raising is also found in the English of White Bahamians (Trudgill 1986), of White Bermudans (Trudgill 1986), and of St Helena (Trudgill 1986). It also occurs in certain areas of the American South. Kurath and McDavid (1961) write that:

> [i]n two rather sharply delimited areas of the South, (1) Virginia and adjoining parts of Maryland and North Carolina, and (2) the coastal belt of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, these "fast" diphthongs, with centralised beginning occur only before voiceless consonants, as in *twice, night*, and differ sharply from the slow diphthongs [aˑᵉ, aˑᵊ, ɑˑɪ] current in these areas before voiced consonants and finally, as in *five, nine, good-bye*. In Virginia the difference between these positional variants is especially great, as in *twice* [ɐɨ] vs. *nine* [aˑᵉ, aˑᵊ]. (Kurath and McDavid 1961: 109)

The fact that Canadian Raising is not found anywhere in Britain – with one exception – further strengthens the hypothesis that it arose out of colonial dialect mixture.

The one British exception, moreover, actually strengthens the hypothesis, because it involves a relatively recent geographical spread of English

speakers and can also be shown – and shown in convincing chronological detail – to be a dialect-contact feature in origin. We are able at this point to "use the present to explain the past". The dialect of the originally uninhabited central English Fens is characterised by what Britain (1997, 2002) calls Fenland Raising of PRICE. The PRICE vowel has central onsets [əɪ] before voiceless consonants, but has [ɑɪ] or [ɑː] elsewhere.

Britain explains this as follows. Ellis (1889) and the Survey of English Dialects (see Britain 1997) show that to the east of the Fens speakers have conservative, raised onsets of /ai/ of PRICE in all phonological positions, while speakers to the west have much more advanced open ones, including monophthongs.

The developmental process which resulted in the emergence of reallocated allophony in the Fens can be reconstructed as follows. During the 19th century this marshy area was drained and reclaimed, allowing large numbers of migrants from both east and west to move in and take advantage of the improved agricultural prospects.

The initial post-reclamation speech community would have included both speakers of dialects containing western [ai]-type forms and eastern [əi]-type forms. Importantly, Britain points to the fact that neither the western nor the eastern area appears to have dominated in providing migrants.

Following the settlement, children, perhaps over two or three generations, sought to impose regularity on this linguistic mêlée, and began to focus on a new koinéised variety. In the case of /ai/, speakers simplified the mixture of variants by reallocating them according to principles of phonological naturalness – [əi] before voiced consonants and [ɑi] before other environments.

This is not just guess-work on Britain's part, however. In his variationist study, Britain gives quantitative evidence across generations and across geographical space which illustrates statistically the gradual sorting out of variants into positional allophones. That is, he has been able to follow, in apparent time, the development of Raising as it actually happened.

Further evidence for a contact origin for allophony in the Fens is the *absence* of allophonic variation of /au/ – Canadian Raising of /au/ does not occur in the Fens at all. For /ai/, the emergence of allophony was dependent on the existence in the unfocused dialect of allophones with onsets of differing degrees of openness which could be reallocated to different phonological contexts. In the case of /au/, however, the onsets used by speakers on both sides of the Fens were very similar, a half-open front [ɛ] (Britain and Trudgill 1999). Since there were no different onset realisations in the dialect mix, reallocation simply did not occur.

My suggestion then is that the three above examples indicate that it may be possible to reveal, on linguistic grounds, the role that dialect mixture has played in the formation of a new dialect, even at a time depth of some centuries.

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Chapter 5
Non-standardisation

Daniel Schreier

1. Introduction

Given the amount of attention Standard English has received in the literature over the last few years (with general focus on the historical dimension of standardisation, the origins of Standard English, mono- or pluricentric standards of English around the world, reference varieties for English language teaching (ELT), etc.; see Graddol, Leith and Swann 1996; Leith 1983; Cheshire and Stein 1997; Bex and Watts 1999; Lippi-Green 1997; Watts 1999, 2000; Wright 2000; Bonfiglio 2003; Crowley 2003), it is worth stressing every once in a while that most off-spring varieties of British English have in fact not standardised at all. Standardisation is the exception rather than the norm, and the amount of variability within the English-speaking world is so immense that it is by no means exaggerated to claim that the majority of native speakers of English speak a non-standard variety. This becomes particularly clear when considering the so-called "Inner circle varieties" from Kachru's highly influential (1985) model, i.e. those English varieties that developed in a context of restricted bi- and/or multilingualism and where a native-speaker tradition was maintained throughout the evolutionary phase. Though there is no doubt about the existence of British and American standard varieties, it is highly debatable whether (and to what extent) Australian or New Zealand English are in the process of standardisation or not (cf. Schneider 2003). Few would go as far as to suggest that standardisation has operated in the Outer and Expanding circles, and as far as I know, nobody has argued in favour of the existence of Standard Bahamian, Standard Hong Kong or Standard Swiss English (though it has been discussed how these varieties function and develop, whether and to what extent they display substratum processes, and whether there is any *linguistic* justification for these terms; cf. Rosenberger 2006).

Consequently, anybody interested in the spread of English as a world language must be interested in the evolution, function and diversity of 'non-standard English' as well, for descriptive and theoretical reasons.

Given the fact that all the post-colonial varieties of English have developed with more or less influential impact of British donor varieties (many of which were non-standard to start out with; see below), a fruitful (yet by some sadly neglected and, most famously by Honey (1997), even contested and ridiculed) question is how non-standard varieties have developed all over the English-speaking world, and how the transplantation of British English to settings outside the British Isles has given rise to the emergence of 'new' varieties, in the form of pidgins, creoles, koinés, etc. How do non-standard varieties come into existence, and how do they vary and change and evolve? And why, in analogy to decreolisation processes (Mühlhäusler 1997), should the speakers of non-standard varieties not strive towards standardisation, since their variety is not socially valued?

These questions have been addressed before, of course, and sociolinguists have advanced various explanations for the continuing use of non-standard varieties (see, among others, Trudgill 1972 on the concept of covert prestige, or Milroy and Milroy 1987 on the impact of social network structures). This paper has two aims: (1) to discuss non-standardisation as a global phenomenon, approaching it as a contact-induced process, namely by asking how contact between several language and/or dialect varieties gives rise to a 'new' non-standard variety; and (2) to address the question how historical linguists can reconstruct and retrace the origins and development of such a variety. Given the fact that a contact scenario's feature pool (Mufwene 2001) is characterised by extreme diversity and social, regional and individual differentiation, the question pursued here is how we can disentangle the sociolinguistic complexity of a variety's initial stages and identify the principal donors that shape a 'new' non-standard variety, thus contributing to ongoing non-standardisation in the English-speaking world. The analysis is strictly historically-oriented; by means of illustration and due to limitations of space, I will focus on the English variety that has developed on the island of St Helena in the South Atlantic Ocean (see Schreier 2008).

2. English as a non-standardising language

English is one of the best-studied languages in the world, and this for a number of reasons. The spread of English from a language that was locally confined to one spoken all over the globe, i.e. its development from an isolated variety spoken by perhaps 5–7 million speakers before 1600, mostly monolinguals, to 'the language on which the sun never sets', spoken

on all continents with an estimated number of more than one billion speakers, occurred over the last four centuries only and is thus a comparatively recent development (Crystal 2003). English has undergone a period of evolution and diversification in a not-too-distant time frame, for which we have written and, particularly over the last century, ample spoken evidence, and this allows us to describe successive stages of the variety and to trace its lineage and development. The contact scenarios English became embedded into saw the emergence of a whole range of so-called 'new' varieties, from koinés (which originate in contact between mutually intelligible and structurally similar varieties, i.e. through dialect contact) to pidgins and creoles, i.e. the eventual output of language contact, involving English, other European and indigenous languages (see below). This allows historical and genetic linguists to gain insights into how a language diversifies as a result of regional expansion, and these insights can in turn be projected historically (in Sankoff's [2006: 121] words: "slicing through the present to the past"). Consequently, the recent development of English may serve a larger purpose, namely to trace general processes of linguistic diversification and language birth, perhaps even the development of 'new' language families. The question as to whether English is in the process of breaking up into a subset of 'new', linguistically distinct and mutually non-intelligible varieties is a hotly debated issue (Quirk 1990; Kachru 1991; see the discussion in Graddol, Leith and Swann 1996).

Of particular importance for the present paper is the fact that (post-)colonial varieties practically always originate in contexts that involve contact between several linguistic systems and subsystems. It cannot be emphasised enough that relatively 'pure' contact scenarios are rare (the case of the Falkland Islands perhaps coming closest). Practically all colonial varieties, independent of population size and location, are formed in environments that witness the simultaneous or sequential input of a number of varieties. Typical contact scenarios can be roughly classified as follows:

1. Contact between English as a colonising language and local indigenous languages (for example along the Slave and Gold Coasts in West Africa), thus typically in linguistically heterogeneous, multilingual environments
2. Contact between various coloniser's languages (for instance between English and French, which coexisted when England and France simultaneously claimed Vanuatu)
3. Contact between several varieties of one colonising language (such as on the Falkland Islands, which did not have an indigenous popula-

tion and were mostly settled by colonists from Southwest England and the Scottish Lowlands)

If sociolinguistic contact sees the formation of (mostly non-standard) varieties, then the question is how the socio-historical evolution of 'new' varieties can be reconstructed, and what methodology is most reliable for this purpose. Generally speaking, there are two approaches: a more synchronically-oriented one, i.e. by collecting data of a variety as it is now and then to retrace its steps and reconstruct earlier stages and putative sources, or to opt for a more diachronic approach, namely by locating earlier evidence and interpreting attestations from various sources. Whereas the former technique has produced much of what we know about English as a world language (see for instance the articles collected in the monumental *A Handbook of Varieties of English*, Schneider et al. 2004), a more diachronic approach is indispensable for a reconstruction of earlier developmental stages. Crucially, though, it is much more unreliable and sketchy. The pitfalls for the analysis of written documents have been described in detail by Montgomery et al. (1993) or Schneider (2001), so it is sufficient to list just some of the most important ones. Written evidence poses the following problems for analysis: (1) it is often unclear whether the sources are reliable and trustworthy (who wrote the documents we base our hypotheses on, for what purpose were they produced, and how accurate are they?); (2) did the features reported really make an appearance or are they just attributed?; (3) there is often no information as to where the feature in question occurred – in the speech of small groups, across the community or in single speakers' idiolects only?; and (4) are the sources diachronically representative?

In the following, I would like to discuss issues related to the location and evaluation of historical data and show how (given necessary caution and a step-by-step evaluative process) written sources can help historical linguists in their endeavours to outline the origins and evolution of a so-called 'new' non-standard variety, i.e. one that is English-derived and that developed in a context of British colonial involvement, in an environment that was continuously inhabited by native speakers of (mostly non-standard) British English, yet witnessed admixture of speakers from other places of origin and with other different linguistic backgrounds. The basic question is not only how the variety under scrutiny came to be the way it is and why it underwent this particular trajectory (and not another one), but, from a methodological perspective, how researchers, making use of social, socio-historical, sociodemographic and sociolinguistic evidence, can iden-

tify and assess the various contact types and thus research non-standardisation processes. These questions are discussed with reference to St Helenian English (StHE), a variety of South Atlantic English and in fact the oldest variety of Southern Hemisphere English. I begin with a brief discussion of the island's social history before going on to present, discuss and assess some earlier evidence of the variety.

3. St Helena: A brief social history

The volcanic island of St Helena lies in the mid-central South Atlantic Ocean, 1,930 km west of Angola and just south of the equator. Its nearest neighbour (geographically speaking) is Ascension Island, more than 1,000 kilometres to the northwest. St Helena covers 122 square kilometres, and its topography mostly consists of steep, relatively barren and rocky territory, unsuitable for cultivation. The island's capital and only town is Jamestown, although there are other smaller settlements such as Halftree Hollow, Blue Hill, Sandy Bay and Longwood (the latter being the residence of Napoleon Bonaparte, who was exiled on the island from 1815 to his death in 1821). St Helena's population of approximately 4,000 (2006) is almost without exception of mixed European, African and Asian origin, and English is the only language spoken on the island.

Originally uninhabited, St Helena was discovered in 1502 by the Portuguese, who, just like the other European seafaring nations who followed in their wake, used the island as a refreshment station and sick bay on their journeys to and from the East. Until claimed by the British East India Company (EIC) in 1658, the island was never permanently or formally settled (Gosse 1938). From this date, a concerted settlement policy was implemented, and soldiers, servants and planters (employed and contracted by the EIC, who held direct control over the island until the 1830s) were recruited to St Helena, along with slaves supplied on request by the Company's ships. Even though the exact origins of the British settlers are not known, there is socio-historical evidence that most of them came from southern England. Moreover, the majority of the planters had working class origins and the EIC recruited many of its soldiers (and settlers as well, for that matter) from among the unemployed in England (Gosse 1938: 72). We know that many of them were illiterate (as evidenced by an entry in the *St Helena Consultations* (quoted in Brooke 1808) on February 2nd, 1774: "On 31st Jan. six soldiers deserted in the night taking two Boats …

The deserters were illiterate men of bad character and only a few days provisions and must inevitably perish at sea.”).

The origins of the non-white population are better documented, and various records show that slaves were imported from the Guinea Coast, the Indian sub-continent and Madagascar, and to a lesser extent from the Cape and Larger Table Bay area, the West Indies, Indonesia and the Maldives. In 1789, the importation of slaves officially ended, but the lack of cheap labour was compensated by Chinese indentured labourers who arrived on the island from 1810 onwards. However, very few, if any, stayed on permanently and slavery was finally abolished in 1832 (Melliss 1875). In 1815, the total population was 3,342, comprising 694 whites, 1,517 slaves, 933 non-permanent army personnel, as well some 300 indentured labourers from China (see Table 1, adapted from Schreier 2008).

Table 1. The sociodemographic situation on St Helena in 1815

	Men	Women	Children	Total
White	109	202	383	694
Non-white	342	245	610	1,197
Army personnel (white)		933 (combined)		933
Company slaves (Black)		98 (combined)		98
Free blacks		420 (combined)		420
Total				3,342

The situation was to change dramatically, when in 1834, St Helena’s administration was transferred from the EIC to the British government and St Helena officially became a crown colony. Poverty led to out-migration and the remainder of the 19th century was characterised by extreme hardship. Crucially, this period saw an increase in mobility and also ethnic mixing. Governor Charles Elliot remarked in 1868 that “there can be no position on the face of the earth where it would be more difficult to discriminate between the various strains of blood of which the body of the population is composed than here in St Helena” (quoted in Gosse 1938). The population loss due to out-migration was compensated for by the arrival of immigrant groups: the indentured labourers from China, liberated African slaves, brought to the island after 1840, when St Helena was used as base for rehabilitating slaves from captured slave ships (some of them chose to stay while the majority were sent on to the West Indies or repatriated back to

the African mainland) and hundreds of Afrikaans-speaking Boer War prisoners in 1902, only very few of whom stayed behind upon their release.

The increasing use of steam-driven ships and the opening of the Suez Canal voided the island's strategic purpose as a refreshment station. With the exception of a short-lived flax industry (which ended in 1965 when the British postal service switched to cheaper synthetic fibre), no industry has provided a viable means of sustaining the island. There is no airport and the single government-subsidised ship that connected the island with the United Kingdom has changed its route to become more cost-efficient, now only serving Ascension, St Helena and Cape Town (the annual run to Tristan da Cunha was cut as well). Today, many Saint Helenians (or 'Saints', as they call themselves) take on contract work on the military bases on Ascension and the Falkland Islands; since 1999, when the British Government conceded full citizenship rights to the islanders, they have had full access to United Kingdom workplaces. This has affected the community heavily, as perhaps up to 30 per cent of the population, mostly younger Saints, left the island in search of better job opportunities.

4. The sociolinguistic evolution of St Helenian English

We need to address a number of questions in order to reconstruct the history of StHE and by doing so, to understand how StHE came to be the way it is. The issues, by nature historical, social and sociodemographic, linguistic and sociolinguistic, are addressed in turn, before I evaluate them and reach some first conclusions and guidelines for further research.

To begin with historical, social and sociodemographic issues, there is no doubt that settlers, planters, administrative staff, soldiers and slaves came to the island from three continents: Europe, Africa and Asia. The origins of the settlers (and founders of the colony) can be identified as follows:

- England (mainly south(-eastern) England)
- France
- St Iago, Guinea, Nigeria, southern Africa, India, Indonesia, Madagascar, Maldives
- China (indentured labourers in the 1820s and '30s)
- South Africa (POWs from the Boer War, 1898–1902)
- West Africa (liberated slaves from 1850s)

The strong early presence of English settlers and planters is evidenced by the first account of life on St Helena: Henry Gargen's (1665) diary, in which he describes the little community in quite some detail, as the following excerpts show:

(1) Now I shall enbold my selfe to give you account of ye inhabitants and there [sic] habitations. Firstly Mr Robert Stringer and his family which is his wife and his sonnen and sonne in law. And his two daughters 2 maid servants and one man servant and 4 blacks. Mr Butler second: with his wife and his childe and one servant: now for ye rest: John Coulson His wife and childe, John Wood His wife and childe; William Young Steward His wife and childe; John Evans Militiaman His wife and childe; Thomas Harper His wife and childe; John Waily His wife and childe; William His wife and sonne in law; Thomas Holton and his wife; Now for ye rest as are single persons: William Rogers: William Fox: William Gates: Richard Price: Frances Mold: James Hastings: Thomas Evans: Edward Carre: James Codner: John Young: Thomas How: John Greentree: Henry (Pride) … William Goy … Thomas Collins: Richard Swally Thomas Hallicross staied in my birth: Mr Charles Higginson; … now as for ye rest of ye Englishmen there is 3 that run away … Now I will sattisfie you of ye freemen and there [sic] plantation and hoe they lie there 4 of them in all. John Coulson; John Wood; Thomas Harper; John Waily.

All the historical sources agree that there was a strong British presence on the island. However, they also evidence that slaves were on the island from the early 1660s onwards. Their precise origins are unknown, but order was given that "[i]n case at St. Iago you can procure five or six blacks or Negroes, able men and women, we desire you to buy them, provided they may be had at or under 40 dollars per poll" (*Company Instructions*, quoted in Gosse 1938: 46–47). A later entry in the *St Helena Consultations* (collected by Janisch 1885) points to Guinea as a place of origin: "There are but twelve out of 42 Guinea Blacks now living yet more dyed from want of care or victuals." From the 1700s on, the preferred place of origin of slaves was Madagascar, and requests were made to provide slaves from that island exclusively. Other sources (Brooke 1808; Janisch 1885; Gosse 1938) inform us that some of the inhabitants came from France (Huguenots, who fled in the 1590s). Consequently, then, the historical account of the local community allows us to pinpoint the founders and to speculate on their sociolinguistic input, which is particularly important for the question as to whether there was a potential for "founder effects" (Mufwene 1996). Historically speaking, these were the English planters and their offspring

(other groups were too small in size and keen to integrate and accommodate, e.g. the French Huguenots, or they left the island before they could make an impact on the evolution of the local variety, e.g. the South African POWs), as well as the slaves, the majority of whom came from Madagascar.

Sociodemographically, the question is how the populace developed generally and how stable or transient it was. In the years following the Dutch Interregnum (when St Helena was taken over by the Dutch for a few months in 1672), there were countless conflicts in the island community, affecting soldiers and planters alike. Promises of land grants were broken and the late 17th century was characterised by quasi-feudal relationships between the Company directors in London, the local administration and the settlers and their families, who were in fact nothing else than indentured labourers. Most of the planters were dissatisfied with these conditions and left the island at the first occasion. There were fluctuations in the army and administrative staff as well. The fort saw revolts and rebellions, which lead to casualties, death penalties and out-migration. In 1693, for instance, during the infamous 'Jackson Conspiracy', 27 soldiers seized the fort (killing the Governor), and escaped from the island on a Company ship. As for the slaves, the *St Helena Records* (*StHR*; Janisch 1885) mention dozens of escapes, mostly by young slaves. A number of slave uprisings were reported in the 1680s and 1690s, and slaves were trialled and brutally punished, often without proof or following a forced confession. As a result, slaves seized every opportunity to flee the island, and the loss of manpower was compensated by the importation of new labour, preferably from Madagascar (more than one hundred slaves arrived from that island in 1716 alone).

In addition, illnesses and diseases ravaged the community in the first half of the 18th century, and diseases like chicken pox spread on the island like wildfire. Thirty planters died in the first half of 1718 alone and there were large numbers of victims in the black population. Mortality rates in this period were exceptionally high. An entry in the *Consultations* (Janisch 1885) from May 26, 1719 reads that "We usually decrease here among the white people five in a hundred per annum – but in each of the two last years not lesser than 10 per 100!!". Census and shipping lists show that there was a massive population turnover on St Helena, and the population only stabilised from the 1740s onwards. Consequently, then, we can exclude "founder effects", simply because many of the founders did not stay on the island long enough to leave an impact.

5. Earlier evidence of St Helenian English

This leads me to the central question of the paper, namely how the earliest forms of StHE can be identified and reconstructed sociolinguistically. The sources used for this purpose are of different kinds, ranging from letters, reports sent by island representatives to the London headquarters of the East India Company, verbatim protocols of court cases, short stories, casual observations, etc. Of course, one must not make the mistake of taking all these features at face value (even though I simply lack the space to enter into a discussion of analytical problems here), but we will see that the features reported yield a pattern nevertheless, which complements and supports the social and sociohistorical evidence presented.

The diachronic excursus begins with the most copious and reliable account of St Helena's social history: the *StHR* (Janisch 1885). Though few and far-between, they contain useful material, particularly when the direct speech of white soldiers and planters is reported. Court cases are particularly important here; the scribes had to render the exact wording because the testimonials had to be sent with the general reports to the Company's headquarters in London, where punishment and indictment were assessed and approved. An additional source of information comes from islanders' letters sent to the UK, either to families or relatives in England or to the East India Company directly. These specimens are rare, but they occasionally contain interesting features. Consider for instance the following passages (emphasis added):

(2) Taylor complains that "Parrum's cow is an unlawful beast for she hath bin seen to leap over a wall *above six foot high* and over *a ditch nine foot wide* and *eight foot deep*." (*StHR*; January 21st, 1687)

(3) Mr. Coxe late Member of Council accused of employing the Company's blacks on Various and numerous occasions for his own benefit and advantage – also "keeping one Black when ships were in the road continually shooting of Patrages and Ginny hens for presents to commanders and *when shipps was not here* to kill him wild goats which he presented as he pleased and sent nor spent any of them to ye Govr" (*StHR*; April 26, 1688)

(4) I remember *you was some years past very uneasy* wth Mr. Beale (Letter from Josiah Child; February 20, 1689)

(5) Complaint against Jonathan Mudge that he whipt Sarah Sinsemig's son while picking green tobacco on the Common. Mudge says yes he did be-

cause she and her son used to call to him as loud as they could in a jeering way as he went by her house "Goe home Boy, Goe home Boy, *Red cards is trumps*." (*StHR*; April 19, 1697)

(6) *Mr. Humphrey is come here* and would faine extenuate ye crimes (Letter; April 16, 1701)

(7) Edmonds answered what for running away I believe *the Governor and Field is agreed* (*StHR*; September 29, 1702)

(8) Again last night he came drunk into my private room putting many impertinent questions chiefly why did I not order a guard to wait on him ashoar being a gentleman, when I myself rather than to weaken our guards *I won't use none*, or very seldom (*StHR*; October 27, 1703)

(9) Anthony the Prisoner of the Bar, Juba and he *eat* some Rice together about Nine of the Clock, that same night, after *they had eat* the Rice, the Prisoner bid them a good Night (*StHR*; 1762)

With the exception of the last sample, these passages come from documents produced between 1687 and 1703, thus very early on in settlement history. They contain a number of insightful features:

- no plural *–s* with count and mass nouns ("a ditch nine *foot* wide")
- past *be* levelling with pivot form *was* ("when shipps *was* not here")
- bare root extension (i.e. usage of infinitives as preterits: "they had *eat* the Rice",[1] also found in Thomas Goodwin's report of the Jackson Conspiracy: "When they weighed anchor and set sail and *run* two leagues off")
- present tense *be* concord with *is*, particularly with plural NPs and conjoined subjects ("Red cards *is* trumps", "the Governor and Field *is* agreed")
- perfective *be* ("Mr. Humphrey *is* come here")
- multiple negation ("I wo*n't* use *none*").

One cannot help but notice that (with the exception of perfective *be* and present *be* regularisation) these features are widely attested in many (if not all) non-standard varieties of British English. In fact, they are not in the least regionally confined (such as no plural with mass nouns, or multiple negation, or past *be* regularisation, the latter two representing "vernacular roots" (Chambers 1995: 242), i.e. features that make an appearance in English varieties all over the world). If they are of any interpretative value for

our search of the original inputs and the successive development of StHE, then we can say that the manifestation of these features points to a working or lower middle class background of the planters and soldiers, which suggests that non-standard inputs had a strong impact on the development of StHE.

Other insights come from newspapers, which flourished in the 19th century; short stories, jokes, verbatim reports of conversation of "country fellers" (usually for humorous purposes), articles and letters to the editor are particularly promising in this context. As an illustration, let us consider excerpts from the following letter to the editor, which originally appeared in the first issue of *The Advocate, Or St. Helena Weekly News* (on May 15, 1851):

> Mr. Hedditor, I is but a ould Yamstok, but Bil Jinkens wot is a Hinglishman sais, as ou u is the proprest wun to rite to bout evree ting ; and Bill noes a kow's tale from a jak-ass as well as any man vot hever I seed; and ven he fus cum'd to de hiland Bill knowed a yam from a tater drekly – by instink as he kalls hit. So I takes Bills adwice, and if so be has I his rong, u musint be hangry. Vot I wants to no is the rites of dis ere ; vy. they maks us pore fellers pa for everee ting as day dus. – If ve vonts to go a fishen it ar 30 shillens for a bote licens everee yare, an' 3 poun for a passeg bote, an one poun for everee tun if it ar a luggedge bote–wich don't luke rite an jonnak; cos ve mus git as vell as udder fokes vot is gut mor munny den ve is. An nou day maks us pa werry hi for de vine vot ve drinks by risin de dooty, an it vornt so werry little afore needer. Nou do it be werry fine for em to sa as ou day vonts us not to drink, stil it don't luke natril like not to drink nuthin.

Authorship and purpose of the document remain unclear. It could have been a serious concern by a semiliterate Saint (who describes himself as somebody "vot aint ad no heddykashen") and who prefers to remain anonymous, signing the letter "A OULD YAMSTOCK". Interestingly, there is no reference to a Jinkens (or Jenkins?) family in the 1815 census (the *StHR* mention Governor Robert Jenkins in the 1740s, but, having lived a century earlier, he can't have been the addressee of the first letter). Alternatively, and perhaps the most plausible explanation, the document is a made-up mock letter, produced for humorous purposes and general amusement (e.g. to attract readership for a newly established newspaper). What is clear is that it abounds in non-standard features; if these are in any way representative of 19th century StHE, then they provide a veritable treasure chest for our present purpose (regardless of questions relating to authorship and authenticity). To list just some of the phonological features that make an appearance:

- hypercorrect /h/ ("Bil Jinkens wot is a *Hinglishman*", "u musint be *hangry*")
- /h/ dropping ("dem fellers vot drinks so '*ard*", "them as *as*, arnt no better")
- /v-w/ interchange, both towards /w/ ("I takes Bills *adwice*") and /v/ ("a drop o' *vine* for dinner"), sometimes in both directions and in the same sentence ("the wimmen is so *wishus* ven day taks it into thare heds", "nou day maks us pa *werry* hi for de *vine vot ve* drinks")
- consonant cluster reduction ("ven he *fus* cum'd", "a drop for a *fren*")
- jod dropping ("by risin de *dooty*")
- TH stopping ("vitch is I *tink* werry clever", "the rites of *dis* ere")
- alveolar /n/ for *–ing* ("to git a onnest *liven*", "keep fokes from *drinkin*")
- tense vowel in *happ*Y ("pa for *everee* ting", "I dus *pittee* them")
- STRUT for NURSE ("ven he *fus* cum'd", "de moor vot day as to pa the *wuss* it be for de ould man")

It is quite striking that, in contrast to the samples from the StHR, many of these features can be localised, namely to Southeast England and the Greater London area (hypercorrect /h/, /h/ dropping, the /v-w/ interchange, jod dropping, STRUT for NURSE, adopting Wells' 1982 system of lexical sets). The first hypotheses developed on social and historical information are linguistically confirmed, and there is sociolinguistic evidence that non-standard varieties of southeastern England provided a substantial input here.

Finally, before turning to an evaluation and some first conclusions, we need to look into reports of slave speech, which is particularly important for the potential of pidginisation and/or creolisation on the island. First of all, consider the trial against a slave by the name of Sattoe. A white planter claimed that Sattoe had physically attacked and attempted to kill him, and the court transcriber rendered the trial as follows: "Sattoe being examined confesseth that upon his said master beating him and threatening to do it a second time he took his knife and wounded him in the arm and legge. That he received the knife from Rowland Mr. Swallows Black about ten days before who said *when your master beat or strike you then doe you beat him again and kill with this knife*" (StHR; November 3, 1679). This short sample contains two diagnostic features that point to possible creolisation and/or substratum transfer: 3rd person singular present tense zero ("your master beat or strike you", and PRO drop ("you beat him again and kill Ø with this knife"), which suggests that language contact on St Helena wit-

nessed manifestations of pidginisation and creolisation (more samples are located and discussed by Wright 2004), legitimising speculations that StHE as such bears resemblances with Atlantic Creoles (Hancock 1991).

A much later, but equally insightful example comes from another article, "The Secret of Mount Eternity", which appeared in the *Monthly Critic and Flashlight* in 1892. The first person narrative of a slave is rendered as follows:

> Ye see dis powd'-horn Massa? Well, one day that ere cork in de small end done stuck fas', and I 'magines all day in my kop how I get him out. Not like knock him in fear I split de horn, so I dinks I jus' burn him out shua! So I put my ramming rod in the fiah, and when he jus' nice and read, I stick de cold end of de rod inter de ground … I done forget dat de horn full ob powder, and when de rod burn troo de cork, it go kerslick inter that powder. And de powder explode … I clar to the Lord, Massa, it take three doctors to cut it out, and it leave mark all around my eye you see. Surgeon-Major say 'Jake, you berry long-headed man, and you head jus' thick as it long; dat what save you.'

This passage contains a number of (proto-)typical creole features, namely:

- completive *done* ("that ere cork in de small end *done* stuck fas'", "I *done* forget dat")
- consonant cluster reduction ("stuck *fas'*", "dat what *save* you")
- TH stopping ("so I dinks", "de rod burn *troo* de cork")
- /v/ realised as [b] ("full *ob* powder", "you *berry* long-headed man")
- bare root extension (infinitive forms as preterits: "it *take* three doctors to cut it out", "I *stick* de cold end of the rod", "and it *leave* mark")
- copula absence ("you head Ø jus' thick as it Ø long", "when he Ø jus' nice and read")
- PRO drop ("Ø Not like knock him")

Consequently, then, we have every reason to assume that the StHE feature pool contained pidgin- and/or creole-like forms as well, and that these were brought to the island rather than originating due to language contact (English, Malagasy, and African and/or Asian languages) on the island itself. This claim is supported by the fact that there is just one reference to a slave who did not speak English sufficiently enough to stand in court. Sattoe defended himself in English, and so did dozens of other slaves who had to face trial from the 1780s onwards. All the slaves who appeared in court were proficient enough (in English) to answer the Governor's and/or the jury's questions. There are reports of bi- and/or multilingualism (the StHR

report that some slaves spoke Portuguese with each other, which, needless to say, made them highly suspicious), and we also read that, as late as in 1762, a bilingual (Malagasy-English) slave was hired as an interpreter on ships bound to Madagascar. Even though some members of the community were bi- and/or multilingual, there is no doubt that English served as a lingua franca on the island, and that language shift to English was completed in the second half of the 19th century at the very latest: "The Inhabitants, who are of European, Asiatic and African origin, and whose only language is English, are peaceable and kind, and are as independent as their white brethren, with whom they intermarry" (Grant 1881: 10–11).

6. (Some first) conclusion(s): Non-standardisation and St Helenian English

This paper has presented some preliminary observations on the history and development of StHE, with the aims of providing a socio-historical profile of the community and reconstructing the sociolinguistic situation on the island between the 1660s and the late 18th century, thus pinpointing the origins and evolution of StHE. Generally speaking, the social, historical and sociolinguistic findings complement each other well. Though sketchy and far from representative, the samples presented here show that the StHE feature pool was quite diverse, containing donor varieties from England, continental Europe, Africa and Portuguese colonies in the Atlantic Ocean, as well as the Indian subcontinent and Asia. The language samples, whatever their nature, are supported by the community's social, sociodemographic and historical development. Consequently, then, a historical analysis must necessarily integrate all these pieces of information; with due caution, reports of direct speech, samples of dialect writing, etc. are certainly useful for historical linguistic methodology.

Second, and more important here, what does all this mean for 'non-standardisation' in English? First of all, we note that a particularly strong input to StHE came from non-standard, working-class southeastern British English, which was quite likely the most influential donor variety of all. Most of the planter families came from the English Southeast, bringing non-standard forms of English with them. This variety (or perhaps: these varieties) were highly influential in the StHE feature pool, not only because of the (comparatively) sizeable number of speakers, but also because they served as a reference and target variety for members of the community whose native language was not English (and who spoke English-based

jargons, pidgins and/or creoles, or entirely different languages, e.g. French or Portuguese, along with rudimentary English). Consequently, then, StHE was non-standard to start out with, simply because it largely derives from non-standard English varieties brought to the island by members of the English working class. Additional processes of linguistic contact (with other European, African and Asian languages) were likely to influence the development of StHE (the extent of which needs to be examined in more detail; see Schreier 2008) and to have a catalysing effect on non-standardisation (via all kinds of substratum effects, pidginisation, perhaps creolisation, etc.). These processes mirror what happened in other colonial settings (e.g. in the Caribbean or in the Southern Hemisphere), even though, needless to say, the local contact scenarios manifested themselves differently in each case.

Non-standardisation, then, is explained historically by the fact that in virtually all colonial possessions, the majority of the British founders – and those that followed in their wake – were speakers of non-standard varieties, and that the influence of the standard variety was small (simply due to the fact that there were few speakers of Standard English among the permanent populace). Dialect (and even more so: language) contact thus contributes heavily to the continuing spread of non-standard varieties throughout the English-speaking world. As for total numbers, the speakers of StHE may be no more than the metaphorical drop in the ocean of the English-speaking world; sociolinguistically, however, they represent what has happened and is happening in so many other places. The diversification and spread of English goes hand in hand with non-standardisation, certainly in the Outer and Expanding Circles.

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Notes

1. Unless this spelling represents a past participle form after all, as Dave Britain points out to me (p.c. February 9, 2006).

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Chapter 6
From 'standard' to 'nonstandard' grammar. New England in the days of *Salem Witchcraft* and the Civil War

*Adrian Pablé**

1. Scope and aim

Several grammatical features deemed unacceptable in present-day formal Standard American English were taken to the early colonies by British emigrants, who used them regardless of their social status or the linguistic medium. The relegation of most of these traits to the level of 'vulgar language', and, concomitantly, their banishment from cultivated speech, very likely coincided with the early federalist period following the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, when specific variants became subject to 'focusing' while their counterparts were assigned 'dialectal' status (see e.g., Cooley 1992). The shift in social, i.e., diastratic, evaluation that some of these features underwent in the course of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has been commented on repeatedly in the scholarly literature: George P. Krapp (1925: 261), for example, discussed the variants *were* and *was* in second person singular contexts, and presented convincing evidence that the less general form *you was* constituted "the better and finer usage" in eighteenth century America. Analogously, Krapp (1925: 263) pointed out that adjectival *them* was formerly found in "reputable writings" and that *ain't* was not thought "reprehensible in colloquial style". Alexander (1928: 148), in an article dedicated to the language of colonial American English, expressed the notion mentioned above as follows: "Many so-called vulgarisms are found to have their roots far back in the history of our language and to have graced the lips of distinguished people in a past that is often not very remote".

In the present article I will discuss a selection of grammatical features and their distribution along linguistic contexts. These features are all attested in early colonial New England as well as at the time of the Civil War: however, none of them carried a social stigma in the former period, while they clearly did so in the latter (as becomes clear from the comments

on 'provincialisms' and 'vulgarisms' by early nineteenth century grammarians [e.g., Kirkham 1834]). The features under discussion are the following:

- Finite indicative *be*
- Nonstandard *was*
- Nonstandard verbal *-s*
- Unmarked present and past tense verbs
- *don't* in third person singular contexts
- Levelling of participle forms
- Unmarked plurals
- *them* used pronominally and as an adjective
- Adjectives as modifiers of adjectives and verbs
- *a*-prefixing
- Subject relative pronoun deletion

My analysis relies on the scrutiny of selected texts drawn from two sources: the *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, a collection of colonial court records (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977)[1], and Civil War correspondence, in fact letters exchanged between New England soldiers and the home front (Silber and Sievens 1996).[2] I am aware of comparing data retrieved from two different text genres, but, as I will specify below, the texts chosen for investigation are exclusively those with a 'speech-reflecting' quality.

2. New England's nonstandard speech

Traditional New England folk speech, including many of its characteristic grammatical features, had practically disappeared from the southern New England states (Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island) by the early twentieth century, while the largely rural northern states (New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine) preserved it for a longer period. In his *Word Geography of the Eastern United States*, Hans Kurath (1949: 5–9) attributed the decline of New England's folk speech to several interdependent factors, all at work since the early colonial days: (1) the steady development of "an intelligent and active middle class", speakers of what Kurath calls "the common speech", whose forefathers – English farmers and craftsmen – had emigrated to New England as literate men; (2) compulsory school attendance, even though rarely up to the age of fourteen; (3) protracted exposition to literary English outside the school context: "The [early] New Englander

read the Bible or had it read to him in his own home or that of a neighbor until he knew much of it by heart" (Kurath 1949: 5). Bearing this in mind, as well as the fact that church attendance and catechism were obligatory, it may well be assumed that New Englanders grew up in a milieu at once literate and speech centered. However, universal literacy did not lead to the demise of New England folk speech; Kurath gives the following convincing explanation for this:

> The small farmer, the farm tenant, the fisherman, the mountaineer learns his language by ear. A person of this class reads little, if at all. He does his shopping the year round in the same general store where he meets his like to talk to. His occasional visits to […] the village or the county seat, have no appreciable effect upon his habitual speech ways […] his pronunciation and grammar are little affected by these contacts. In the local school he gets to know the written language, but if he settles back into the simple life of his forbears he will continue to speak much like his family and his neighbors of an older generation … . (Kurath 1949: 8)

In the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (Kurath et al. 1939–43) one can catch a glimpse at what must have been New England's traditional folk speech around the late nineteenth century, as reflected in the language of some octogenarian informants (in fact, those classified by the fieldworkers as 'old-fashioned'). Unfortunately, in Kurath's *Atlas* relatively little space was devoted to the regional folk grammar, the focus being clearly on phonetic and lexical variation. The present study thus intends to fill this void by analysing primary evidence of New England's (spoken) grammar predating the *Atlas*.

3. Sources and text genres relevant to the present study

3.1. Salem Witchcraft Papers

The importance of the *Salem Witchcraft Papers* (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1977) as a treasury for the study of the speech of colonial New England was recognized early and has lead to the publication of several scholarly articles (e.g., Alexander 1928; Rissanen 1997, 2003; Kytö 2004; Grund, Kytö and Rissanen 2004).[3] Of particular significance is the fact that the Salem manuscripts were written 70 years after the first settlement of New England, and hence offer an insight into a new regional variety spoken by the first generation of genuine New Englanders:

> The records give us what is probably the best and most complete picture of the popular language as spoken in New England at this period [...] The date of the witchcraft trials, 1692, is sufficiently long after the first settlement of New England for us to assume that the language indicated is really the speech of American settlers and not merely that of recent arrivals from England. This is made all the more certain because a good deal of the testimony against the supposed witches was given by rather young people. (Alexander 1928: 390–391)

Alexander's statement suggests that the history of New England English is comparable to the evolution of Southern Hemisphere Englishes, to which dialectologists have devoted considerable attention lately. Peter Trudgill, who has written extensively on the formation of new dialects out of so-called 'tabula rasa' situations, argues that a new unitary dialect resulting from dialect mixture and levelling takes about 50 years to come into being, i.e., two generations (Trudgill 2004: 23). Trudgill considers the children of the children arriving with their parents at the time of the first settlements to be the artificers of the new 'homogeneous' variety; these children, in fact, will diverge from their parents' speech patterns by converging to the patterns of their peers, thereby establishing what variant will be chosen as the new (categorical) form. What forms are ultimately selected will depend on such factors as the demographic strength of a particular dialect variety and the markedness of a variant (Trudgill 2004: 34–35). The situation in the seventeenth century New England colonies mirrors what happened – two centuries later – in Australia and New Zealand: in fact, Wakelin (1986) convincingly argues in favor of a linguistic heterogeneity that must have characterized *Plimoth Plantation* in the 1620s. By the time of the Salem witchcraft trials in 1692, it can be assumed that the second and third generation colonists no longer spoke regional varieties of British English but a veritable colonial variety, i.e., the earliest form of New England English.

The colonial records taken into account for the present study are (a) transcripts of court examinations, in which speech is generally rendered in dialogue format, and (b) testimony deposed by witnesses, which are written down as indirect discourse, or mixed discourse (e.g., '*He* testifieth and saith that on April 18 *I* did see …'). Overall I have chosen to analyze 155 such 'speech-related' texts from the *Salem Witchcraft Papers* (58 examinations, 97 witness accounts), containing the sociolects of New Englanders of very different educational backgrounds. In view of the 'standard–nonstandard' framework adhered to in this article, I have focused on the direct discourse of both educated Salemites, i.e., the magistrates who pre-

sided over the trials, and less educated ones, as taken down by the various scribes.[4]

3.2. New England 'vernacular' letters

Written documents may, under certain circumstances, contain language that is very close to the spoken, even if we must bear in mind that written language is always one or more times removed from speech, regardless of a writer's educational background. As a matter of fact, the language contained in some of the mid-nineteenth century New England letters inspected for the present study was found to digress considerably from what must have been the conventional epistolary style of the time. These nonstandard linguistic elements are assumed to be the result of the intrusion of speech habits upon the written language. In several of his publications, dialectologist Michael Montgomery (e.g., 1997, 2005; Schneider and Montgomery 2001) has classified these kinds of texts as "vernacular" or "colloquial" documents, i.e., writings by individuals of lower social stations composed in the least self-conscious style. Montgomery (1997: 229) describes three types of such individuals as well as the situations most likely conducive to producing 'vernacular' language in writing:

> If we can identify those individuals who were separated from loved ones ['lonelyhearts'], were in desperate straits and needed help ['desperadoes'], or were required to submit periodic reports ['functionaries'], we may be on the path to locating the letters of greatest linguistic interest […] these situations are compelling enough to motivate individuals to write for themselves, to do their best in putting words to paper regardless of their level of literacy. In other words, someone pleading for mercy or relief may well pay little attention to the form (spelling, capitalization, grammar, etc.) of his or her writing, being more concerned with getting an unambiguous message across.

The extralinguistic situation underlying Civil War letters exchanged between Yankee Union soldiers and their families qualify as such 'colloquial' documents, as, addresser and addressee being often on intimate terms, they fostered the recourse to informal, i.e., 'close-to-oral', language. Faced with the prospect of either imminent death (the soldiers) or insolvency (the beloved ones remaining behind), we must assume that letter writers were not particularly heedful of 'correct' writing; as transpires from the contents of these letters, in fact, many of them were written hastily and under great emotional strain. A caveat seems to be necessary at this point, however: we

must always bear in mind that letters written by soldiers staying in a different dialect area for a longer period (as was the case with New Englanders stationed in the South), some of whom may have been in daily contact with comrades in arms of different dialect backgrounds, are likely to contain dialect 'contaminations'.

For my mid-nineteenth century corpus I have inspected 126 letters edited by the historians Nina Silber and Mary Beth Sievens (1996): of these I have selected 53 letters providing clues to New England's contemporary folk grammar. The presence of both unorthodox spellings and grammatical features regarded as 'nonstandard' in those days served as the criteria underlying text selection.[5] A few of these letters contain apologetic remarks on the part of the writer, which shows that he/she was conscious of not adhering to linguistic and textual norms (italics added):

> I shall hav to close for want of paper *please excuse this bad righting* and right soon (Ellen Horton, of Chittenden/Vermont, writing to Edwin Horton, 1864)

> *Excuse all mistakes you know I write so seldom* we all send you our love to you (Sarah Fales, of Middletown/Rhode Island, writing to her son Edmund, 1862)

4. Grammatical features of late seventeenth and mid-nineteenth century New England speech

4.1. Verb forms

4.1.1. Finite indicative be

In relation to New England, the verb form usually referred to in the literature as respectively 'invariant *be*' and 'finite *be*' functions as a substitute for the suppletive verbs *am*, *is* and *are* (both copula and auxiliary), and should be kept distinct from subjunctive *be* (even though the division is not always that clear-cut, especially in colonial usage). This particular feature was included in the *Linguistic Atlas of England* (see e.g., Atwood 1953: 27), however without any mention of its status in a crossdialectal perspective; in fact, Pablé and Dylewski (2007: 175) found that *be* in nineteenth century New England folk speech differed considerably from *be* as recurrent in (present-day) African American Vernacular English (e.g., Bailey

and Bassett 1986) and other ethnic and regional varieties of American English. Again, this is confirmed in the data inspected here: the *Salem Witchcraft Papers* feature a handful of tokens of the verb form at issue, with *be* occurring preponderantly within interrogative clauses and in sentence-final position, i.e., in positions not allowing verbal contraction (1–3), and not in unstressed sentence-medial position (as is the case in African American English):

(1) (Magistrate:) Mary you are accused of sundry acts of witchcraft: Tell me *be* you a Witch? (Examination of Mary Black)[6]

(2) (Magistrate:) Where *be* those images, at your house? (Examination of Deliverance Hobbs)

(3) (Clement Coldum:) She asked me to ride faster, I asked her why; she said the woods were full of Devils, & said ther & there they *be*, but I could se none (Clement Coldum vs. Elizabeth Hubbard)

I have found only two attestations of *be* in the Civil War letters (4–5). This is unexpected because, on the one hand, the verb form was a prototypical (and thus stereotypical) feature of nineteenth century New England folk speech, as suggested by many contemporary literary portrayals and by the evidence in the *Linguistic Atlas of New England,* but on the other hand it is corroborating: in fact, Montgomery and Mishoe (1999: 261) propose that occurrences of *be* in vernacular documents of the postcolonial period are rare due to "pragmatic constraints", such as being associated with spoken interaction exclusively and therefore shunned in writing. Again, the two instances of *be* occur in syntactically 'strong', i.e., non-contractable, positions (see Ihalainen 1991):

(4) I feel better about you where you *be* than I should if you were here and acted as will cameron does… (Ira Morse, of Woodbury/Vermont, writing to her son Franklin, 1862)

(5) …for i think that if you knew the particilars of things as they *be* you would feel different about somethings than you now do (Hulda Morse, of Woodbury/Vermont, writing to her husband, 1864)

4.1.2. Nonstandard was

Nonstandard *was* is a recurrent feature in both text collections inspected, though still clearly the minority variant with respect to *were*. In the *Salem Witchcraft Papers* plural *was* in nonstandard positions co-occurs with existential clauses (6), conjoined noun phrases (7), and, in a scattered fashion, with simple noun phrases (8), including pronominal *they* (9):

(6) (Magistrate:) how many *was* there in all? (Examination of Richard Carrier)

(7) (Simon Willard, scribe:) the afflicted sayd Dan'll Eames & Capt. Floyd *was* upon that cloth when it was upon the table (Examination of Abigail Faulkner, Sr.)

(8) (Simon Willard, scribe:) but Jaxon s'd he was at work at Cap. Wicoms of Rowley last night he s'd these persons *was* not in their right mind (Examination of John Jackson, Sr.)

(9) (Magistrate:) *was* they to Sett up the divels Kingdome? (Examination of Elizabeth Johnson)

In conjunction with singular *you*, on the other hand, *was* occurs regularly within the discourse of the Salem magistrates; they alternate as a rule between *you were* and *you was* within one and the same interrogation (10):

(10) (Magistrate:) *was* you not at Mr Ballards house on thanksgiving day at night? […] *were* you Ever baptized? (Examination of Ann Foster, Mary Lacey Sr., and Mary Lacey, Jr., Second Version)

A noteworthy difference between the colonial records and the Civil War letters is linked to the fact that in the latter corpus nonstandard *was* occurs more frequently in conjunction with pronominal subjects, especially the pronouns *we* and *they* (11–12); as might be expected, nonpronominal subjects (i.e., zero, nominal) are equally found to attract nonstandard *was* in the writings of mid-nineteenth century New Englanders (13–14), but not to any greater extent than personal pronouns:

(11) They said that they *was* very short of coffee and salt and clothing (George Bradley, Connecticut, writing to his friends at home, 1862)

(12) We dont Know whare we will be in the morning for when we *was* encamped on miners hill they had us up every night (Reuben Thornton, of Warwick/Rhode Island, writing to his friend George, 1863)

(13) Those that *was* drafted in Woodbury payd 300 (George Morse, of Woodbury/Vermont, writing to Franklin Morse, 1863)

(14) I think we have wrote enogh that you might know what our minds *was* (Ira Morse, of Woodbury/Vermont, writing to Franklin Morse, 1864)

4.1.3. Nonstandard verbal -s

In the colonial records only three instances of nonstandard *-s/-th* were found (15–16), notably in third person plural contexts in conjunction with nonpronominal subjects; plural *-s* occurs once as part of a magistrate's discourse (15):

(15) (Magistrate:) how long *hath* your Mast'r & Mistris bin Witches? (Examination of Mary Warren)

(16) (Deliverance Hobbs:) There are a great many persons *hurts* us all (Examination of Deliverance Hobbs)

In the Civil War letters, the *-s* inflection in nonstandard contexts was found to occur in nonpronominal environments – i.e., in relative clauses (17), one of which in conjunction with a suppressed relative subject (as in example 16) – but also in pronominal ones (18):

(17) their is a good many *comes* into our lines every night (Edwin Horton, of Chittenden/Vermont, writing to Ellen Horton, 1865)

(18) …and I myself *has* roat him a great many letters to send to you (Thomas Nickerson, Rhode Island, writing to Ellen Bullock, 1862)

4.1.4. Unmarked present and past tense verbs

Uninflected third person singular present indicative forms are by no means frequent in the *Salem Witchcraft Papers*. They are mostly encountered as part of the contemporary 'non-speech-based' legalese, in particular in con-

junction with periphrastic *do*. As far as full verbs are concerned, the zero form and the inflected form can be found within the same record, typically with reporting verbs. My impression is that the Salem scribes shifted arbitrarily between three variants in third person singular contexts when introducing reported discourse, namely zero, *-s* and *-th* (19–20):

(19) (Scribe unmentioned:) Elizabeth Clark who then was the wife of the aboves'd Nathaniell Clarke *doe testifie* that … (Elizabeth Clark v. Susannah Martin)

(20) (Simon Willard, scribe:) He *conffess* that Yesterday he afflicted martha Sprauge […] he *Conffesses* also that he and the Rest of his Comp'y did daunce at Moses tylers House ... (Examination of Stephen Johnson)

Uninflected forms in third person singular contexts within 'spoken' discourse are also infrequent in the colonial documents: the most prominent context attracting this particular type of unmarked verb, and especially the auxiliary *have*, is the affirmative clause with a zero or non-adjacent subject (21). I have found only two instances of uninflected present indicative non-auxiliary verbs within 'spoken' discourse (22–23):

(21) (Joseph Hutchinson, landholder:) Abigaill Williams I have heard you spake often of a booke that *have* bin offred to you (Joseph Hutchinson v. Abigail Williams)

(22) (Elizabeth Symonds:) I have bin at the Docters but thay cannot give mee any thing that *doe* mee any good (Elizabeth Symonds v. Sarah Wilds)

(23) (Mary Warren, servant maid:) I said Master, w't *make* you say soe? (Examination of Mary Warren, May 12)

In third person singular contexts, the majority of unmarked verbs in the *Salem Witchcraft Papers* are to be classified as past tense forms: the most recurrent ones belong to the category of irregular verbs (e.g., *come*, *run*, *see*, *speak, break, shake*, *say*) (24–25), while there are also scattered tokens of 'weak' preterites (26). Obviously, the phenomenon at issue concerns all person-number combinations:

(24) (Magistrate:) w't the Divel *Come* to You did he not? (Examination of Elizabeth Johnson)

(25) (Abraham Wellman:) after this time when she *see* any person coming to milk her she would run … (Abraham Wellman v. Sarah Cole)

(26) (Ann Putnam, Jr.:) I then saw that she was the very same woman that tould me hir name was Mis Bradbery and she most greviously *afflect* and *torment* me dureing the time of hir examination... (Ann Putnam, Jr. v. Mary Bradbury)

In the Civil War letters zero-marked third person singular verbs are rare overall; it deserves notice that those with a present tense value express either an iterative/habitual meaning (27–28)[7], or stativity (29):

(27) It is a treat for Sarah to write she *enjoy* it much she will write soon (Sally Fowler, of Danversport/Massachusetts, writing to Henry Fowler, 1862)

(28) I know that it *take* a long time for a letter to come but if you write often we shall get them often … (Benjamin Morse/Vermont, writing to Rosina Morse, 1862)

(29) Forty Company in all. It *look* quite warlike here Cos. drilling all the while… (John Norton, of Hartford/Connecticut, writing to Lissie Norton, 1861)

I also spotted two unmarked verbs with a past tense value, namely *see* and *run*, both in a third person singular context (30–31):[8]

(30) I expect Hannah thinks it is a long time since she *see* her (Mattie Blanchard, of Foster/Connecticut, writing to Caleb Blanchard, 1862)

(31) after getting off we continued up the river, when the celebrated "Hillins Ram" *run* for us, striking our port quarter (W. H. Robert, Rhode Island, writing to his wife, 1862)

4.1.5. Don't *in third person singular contexts*

Only two instances of third person singular 'do not' are attested in the *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, in fact once in conjunction with a preposed pronoun subject (32) and once with a non-adjacent preposed pronoun subject (33):

(32) (Robert Pike, scribe:) He farther say that he *do not* know any such pitt to be in the place that he was sliding into (John Pressy v. Susannah Martin)

(33) (Joseph Putnam, scribe:) Why did she pinch the young woaman shee never did nor *dont* know who did (Examinations of Sarah Good, Sarah Osborne, and Tituba)

In the Civil War letters nonstandard *don't* occurs more frequently, which deserves notice given the fact that the latter corpus is considerably smaller; also, the linguistic contexts attracting *don't* are different ones than in the witchcraft records. Thus, we find the form under scrutiny in conjunction with adjacent subjects, both pronominal (34) and nominal (35):

(34) if that *dont* disharten him put half Bushel of corn on his back and march all day … (Charles E. Jewett, of Gilford/New Hampshire, writing to his brother and sister, 1862)

(35) time *dont* seem as long there as it does here (Edwin Horton, of Chittenden/Vermont, writing to Ellen Horton, 1864)

4.1.6. Levelling of participle forms

In the colonial records, the phenomenon of levelling occurs with irregular verbs displaying non-agreement between preterite and participle in present-day Standard English: thus, the verbs *write*, *tear*, *speak*, *break*, *shake*, and *beat* are variably treated by the colonists like verbs of the type 'buy-bought-bought', e.g., 'write-wrote-wrote'. Some of these levelled participles are part of the magistrates' direct discourse (36–37):

(36) (Magistrate:) Why if you *have not wrote* in the book, yet tell me how far you have gone? Have you not to do with familiar Spirits? (Examination of Bridget Bishop, First Version)

(37) (Reverend Samuel Parris, scribe:) Mary Walcot said that her brother Jonathan stroke her appearance & she saw that he *had tore* her coat in striking … (Examination of Bridget Bishop, First Version)

In the Civil War letters, *wrote* is the most prominent nonstandard participle (38); this very participle was found to be recurrent throughout the New England states at the time of the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (see Atwood 1953: 26). Other levelled past participles encountered in the vernacular letters inspected are *fell*, *tore*, *drove* and *froze* (39):

(38) I dont want you should feel hard towards me for what I *have wrote* for I mean well … (Caleb Blanchard, of Foster/Connecticut, writing to his wife Mattie, 1863)

(39) …our Mizzen Mast shot away, rigging dammaged, and boats *tore* in Pieces, but most fortunately, only two killed … (W.H. Robert, of Rhode Island, writing to his wife, 1862)

4.2. Nouns, pronouns and modifiers

4.2.1. Unmarked plurals

In the *Salem Witchcraft Papers* absence of the plural marker *-s* is a phenomenon confined to the following nouns: *year, month, day, night, mile, rod* and *pole* (40–41). The scribes are sometimes found to alternate between marked and unmarked forms within one and the same document; based on this, it is tempting to think that zero-marked plurals may in fact have been due to scribal negligence. However, the elevated number of tokens found suggests that such variants as *year* and *years* were rather in free variation within colonial discourse:

(40) (Magistrate:) how *maney year* is it since you had familliarity with the divil? (Examination of Mary Lacey Sr. and Jr., Ann Foster, Richard & Andrew Carrier)

(41) (Scribe unmentioned:) …that he would kil 10 folck in boston before next *six day* … (Susannah Sheldon v. Sarah Proctor et al.)

I have spotted only two unmarked plural nouns in the Civil War letters (42–43), even though from the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (Kurath 1939–44: M83) it appears that at least the plural noun *year* was still common among the elderly 'noncultured' informants in the 1930s:

(42) Tomorrow you will be *23 year* old (Sally Fowler, of Danversport / Massachusetts, writing to her husband, 1862)

(43) I doant know what they will do when they come to hav an addition to there family and they will ere the corse of *seven month* if nothing happenes (Ellen Horton, of Chittenden/Vermont, writing to her husband, 1864)

4.2.2. The demonstrative pronoun them *used pronominally and as an adjective*

In the colonial records there are scattered instances of demonstrative *them* used either as an adjective (44) or as a pronoun (45), the latter especially in contexts involving a relative clause (e.g., 'here are *them that* accuse you'):

(44) (Simon Willard, scribe:) Mary Warrin: was asked if this was one of *them men* she saw the other night (Examination of John Jackson, Jr.)

(45) (Scribe unmentioned:) & shee said shee Came to see what Lies *them* were that we raisd of hur…and as soon as Ever she s'd Rachall Herd them words: she run out of Dors (James Fuller, Jr., v. Rachel Clenton)

In the Civil War letters, *them* used as an adjective and a pronoun each occur once (46–47). It is, however, highly likely that the feature at issue was a frequent one in the contemporary folk speech, judging from the fact that its status is that of a vernacular 'angloversal':

(46) I saw *them Troops* from Boston that were attacked in Baltimore shook hands with a great many of them … (John Norton, of Hartford/Connecticut, writing to Lissie Norton, 1861)

(47) and those who counsel it are no better than Jeff Davis and all his friends, *them*s [them is] my sentiments … (Edward Hall, of Exeter/New Hampshire, writing to Susan Hall, 1863)

4.2.3. Adjectives as modifiers of adjectives and verbs

A recurrent pattern in the witchcraft records involves the use of an adjective as a modifier of either an adjective (48) or, less prominently, of a verb (49):

(48) (Mercy Lewis:) mr Burroughs caried me up to an *exceeding high* mountain and shewed me all the kingdoms of the earth (Mercy Lewis v. George Burroughs)

(49) (Simon Willard, scribe:) she s'd she would for god was a god of truth: & she presently spoke very *hoars* (Examination of Jane Lilly and Mary Colson)

In the Civil War letters the use of adjectives as adverbs parallels that of the colonial records (50–51):

(50) …and I hope that there will not be an other such a thing to occur…for it creates a *dredful bad* feeling amoung us (Thomas Nickerson, of Rhode Island, writing to Ellen Bullock, 1862)

(51) Emma is so large now she helps *considerable* (L. W. White, of Royalston/Massachusetts, writing to her husband Stephen White, 1864)

4.3. Syntactic structures

4.3.1. a-*prefixing*

In the *Salem Witchcraft Papers* the *a*-prefix appears in the same contexts as the ones described by Walt Wolfram (1980) for twentieth century Appalachian English, namely in conjunction with progressives in which the auxiliary is either overtly realized or omitted (as illustrated in example 52). Verbs of perception (especially *see* and *hear*) also attract the *a*-prefix on -*ing* forms without an overt form of *be* (53).[9] Besides appearing on -*ing* forms functioning as a complement of perception verbs, the *a*-prefix also occurs with other types of adverbial constructions (as in example 54). It deserves notice that one instance found in the colonial records may violate the phonological constraint described by Wolfram (1980: 125–126) for Appalachian English, namely that the *a*-prefix only gets attached to monosyllabic verbs and those plurisyllabic verbs stressed on the first syllable; the latter condition may not have been fulfilled in the case of the verb *to discourse* (55):

(52) (Samuel Wilkins:) ...as i was *a weaveing* the yarn broak exceeding fast: and as I was *a tying* a thread I had a stroak on my hand … awhile after as I was once in the woods and *a goeing* hom … (Samuel Wilkins v. John Willard)

(53) (James Carr:) I hard sumting *a coming* to me againe (James Carr v. Mary Bradbury)

(54) (Samuel Barton:)…saith that I being at Thomas putnams *a helping* to tend the aflickted folks I heard them talking … (Samuel Barton and John Houghton for Elizabeth Proctor)

(55) (Priscilla Chub:) sum time last winter I was *a discoursing* with abigail hobs her wicked cariges and disobedience to hir father and Mother (Priscilla Chub v. Abigail Hobbs)

In the Civil War letters, *a*-prefixing is a phenomenon confined to monosyllabic verbs. It is found with progressives whose auxiliary is overtly realized, and especially in conjunction with *go* having a future meaning (56); in the colonial records, in turn, *a-going* was found to be a main verb exclusively. I have also spotted instances of *a*-prefixed *ing*- forms that lack the auxiliary and with an adverbial function (as in example 54 above); notably, in my nineteenth century example the competing ('standard') variant appears in one and the same sentence (57):

(56) whether there is *agoing* to be any thing more to it I do not know … (Edwin Horton, of Chittenden/Vermont, writing to his wife, 1863)

(57) I am up stairs in the bed room *a riting* and celia is out in the other room *riting* a letter to you for orlando (George Morse, of Woodbury/Vermont, writing to Franklin Morse, 1862)

4.3.2. Subject relative pronoun deletion

In the *Salem Witchcraft Papers* subject relative marker deletion is primarily a phenomenon affecting existential clauses as well as *it*-cleft sentences (58–59); semantically weak verbs (60) and structures of the type 'NP-relative clause-VP' (61) also attract the structure at issue – though clearly less frequently so:

(58) (Magistrate:) we now further enquire: *here is one person saith* you brought her the book (Examination of Ann Pudeator)

(59) (Abigail Faulkner, Sr.:) she s'd yes but *it is the devill dos* it in my shape (Examination of Abigail Faulkner Sr.)

(60) (Nehemiah Abbot:) *I had a kow was* so weak and lam that she could not go with out the halp of thre or fouer men … (Nehemiah Abbot v. Elizabeth How)

(61) (Scribe unmentioned:) The rags being put into water, *two of the aforenamed persons were* in dreadful fits almost choaked, and the other was violently running … (Examination of Candy)

As already noted with regard to the colonial documents, the omission of the subject relative pronoun in the Civil War letters is most prominent in the context of existentials (62). One example also involves a semantically weak verb (63). Notably, constructions of the type 'two of the aforenamed persons were in dreadful fits almost choaked' (see example 61 above) do not occur:

(62) Their has been a great number of convertions I attended one eve *their were a number spoke* and told what the Lord had done for them (Eunice Snow, of Greenwich/Connecticut, writing to her son Henry, 1864)

(63) *We had one ball took* the legs of three boys at one time (George Sargent, of Manchester/New Hampshire, writing to his brother, 1861)

5. Comparing the two historical varieties under scrutiny

The feature discussion of the preceding sections suggests that the spoken grammar of New England English was fundamentally the same in the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries: the number of shared grammatical traits presented in the article corroborate this hypothesis. What did change in the course of the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century was the social evaluation – from positive or neutral to negative – underlying these grammatical forms and structures. The fact that the Salem magistrates supposedly used features highly stigmatized in our days constitutes evidence in favor of the sociolinguistic development outlined above. The counterargument that the forms and structures used by the magistrates could be attributable to scribal error is unconvincing, on political-historical grounds: in fact, the court's clerks were employed by the official authorities, who in turn were keen to cleanse the colony once and for all of 'God's foes'; keeping in mind the sacred cause of these trials, it is sensible to assume that the Salem scribes must have made every effort to portray the state officials acting as examiners favorably – among other things, by avoiding putting in their mouths language traits negatively connoted at the time.

It has also transpired on several occasions that the linguistic contexts attracting the nowadays stigmatized variant are not congruent when colonial and postcolonial data are compared: hence, in nineteenth century New England folk speech the range of contexts allowing the nonstandard variant seems to have been wider (with respect to the colonial variety): for instance, nominal subjects (in particular conjoined nouns) no longer attract

plural *was* to a higher extent than pronominal subjects, and nonstandard *don't* also occurs in conjunction with single nominal subjects. In the seventeenth century, collocations like *they was* and *we was* were clearly minority variants, while, to my knowledge, phrases combining a noun subject with indicative *don't* (e.g., 'time do not') have not been attested so far in Early Modern documents. In a similar vein, Bailey and Ross (1988: 199–200) confirm the results obtained from scrutinizing the *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, namely that in Early Modern English the *-s/-th* marker was disfavored in the context of a personal pronoun other than *he/she/it* (e.g., 'I takes'), which was no longer the case in postcolonial varieties of nonstandard American English. On the other hand, it turns out that narrowing of linguistic contexts was also involved in the passage from colonial New England to postcolonial New England English: thus, subject relative marker deletion applied to a wider range of contexts in colonial English than in nineteenth century New England folk speech. In fact, colonial constructions of the type 'two of the aforenamed persons were in dreadful fits almost choaked' (see example 61) are certainly not characteristic of nineteenth and early twentieth century spoken/colloquial language, possibly owing to a lack of transparency as to which verb is embedded and which is not.

It deserves mentioning that some of the features found in the colonial records are attested in several nineteenth century literary portrayals of the rustic New England dialect, but do not occur in the Civil War letters investigated: the absence of specific oral features from 'colloquial' documents can be explained as follows: (a) the form is avoided in writing because it is overtly stigmatized; (b) the form is primarily used in conversation, which is why pragmatic constraints apply. One such feature, besides finite indicative *be*, is *and* in absolute clauses, which occurs occasionally in the *Salem Witchcraft Papers* (64–65), and of which we have ample attestations in nineteenth century dialect literature:

(64) (Magistrate:) it is very awfull to all to see these agonies *& you an old professor thus charged with contracting with the devil* … (Examination of Rebecca Nurse)

(65) (Samuel Wilkins:) awhile after as I was once in the woods and a goeing hom *& a little boy with me*. I thought I must run and I said … (Samuel Wilkins v. John Willard)

Last but not least, it must not be forgotten that in spite of the corroborating evidence suggesting that there is a common grammar underlying colonial

and postcolonial New England speech, some grammatical features are found to have been characteristic of only one period: hence, the preterites *seen* and *done*, which did not enter what Mencken (1948: 353–354) refers to as the 'common speech' until the late eighteenth century, occur repeatedly in the Civil War letters, but are in fact absent from the *Papers*. In turn, the Salem records feature a considerable number of structures that became obsolete in the course of the eighteenth century, which is why they no longer appear in nineteenth century writings (i.e., neither in vernacular letters nor in fictional portrayals): among them are *be* as a perfect auxiliary (e.g., 'you *are* become a tormentor'), the analytic possessive ('Martha Carrier *her* malice'), the transitive use of *to discourse* (meaning 'converse with'), the topicalization of pronoun objects ('it he did himself'), *whether* as a mere sign of interrogation introducing a direct question ('Whether you did not know that it was the Devils book when you signed?').

In his *Dissertations on the English Language*, dating from 1789, Noah Webster (1967: 384, 389) praised the "New England common people" for still using "ancient English phrases" and for having an "idiom [that] is purely Saxon or English". On the other hand, he conceded that they "often make false concord". The present article has for the most part considered precisely the latter phenomena in order to show that 'false concord' was by no means a marker of low education among early New Englanders, but rather reflected 'ancient use'. This, the prescriptivist Webster was not willing to admit.

Notes

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1. For the present paper I have availed myself of the electronic version of Boyer and Nissenbaum (1977). For critical comments on Boyer and Nissenbaum's edition, see Grund, Kytö, and Rissanen (2004).
2. As the two corpora are of unequal size, I have not worked within a quantitative frame. Thus, the fact that a feature occurs, for instance, with a higher frequency in my colonial corpus than in my Civil War corpus does not necessarily mean that this very feature had become less prominent in nineteenth century New England folk speech.
3. See Grund (2007) for a critical view on the *Salem Witchcraft Papers* as a source for studying spoken seventeenth century American English.

4. Whenever I cite direct discourse as evidence, I will identify the 'speaker' and try to supply information about the social status of the latter (e.g., 'magistrate'). As far as the words rendered as indirect discourse are concerned, I will limit myself to mentioning the fact that it is a scribe reporting somebody else's words, and, if possible, I will identify the scribe.
5. Obviously, I have also come across letters featuring unorthodox spellings but no grammatical 'mistakes'.
6. I have seen fit to highlight the key words or expressions in the examples.
7. Wright (2001: 251–53) equally found such uninflected present indicative forms (other than periphrastic *do*) expressing habitual/iterative aspect in Early Modern English records.
8. As far as verb stems used as preterites are concerned, the Civil War letters are hardly representative of the contemporary folk speech of New England. In fact, based on E. B. Atwood's (1953: 5–25) analysis of preterites in the *Linguistic Atlas of New England*, the unmarked past forms *come*, *see*, *give*, *sit* and *begin* (among other ones) were still relatively common in the speech of the 'noncultured' informants born in the latter half of the nineteenth century.
9. Concerning the latter category, Wolfram (1980: 111) distinguishes between cases featuring embedded sentences lacking the *wh* relative pronoun + *be* (e.g., 'I saw the boys *a*-playin' basketball but I didn't see those that was *a*-playin' football') and post-nominal *-ing* forms that are verb complements, i.e., having an adverbial function (e.g., 'I saw the boys *a*-playin' basketball but I didn't see them steal anything').

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Chapter 7
The rise of prescriptive grammars on English in the 18th century

Miriam A. Locher

1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the dramatic increase in the number of publications on English grammar in the second half of the 18th century in England. These texts have been discussed in connection with the process of language standardization since they propagate a normative, prescriptive view of language (cf., e.g., Milroy and Milroy 1991). The questions I will focus on are the following:

– Why is there an increase in the number of grammars of the English language from the middle of the 18th century onwards? and
– How are these texts to be understood in their socio-historical context?

One can of course ask 'why should we care about prescriptive grammars?', 'why should we study them' or 'why should we ask the questions previously raised'? The answers to these questions are, of course, positive ones in that it makes a great deal of sense to study this era and these texts for the following reasons: (1) If we are dealing with sociolinguistics, we first of all have to study language in its context, and investigate the factors that might have influenced the creation of such texts. The social history of the time has to be taken into account: We profit from knowledge about the school situation, about the literary texts of the time, about earlier grammars, about the printing situation, etc. in order to develop an understanding of the meaning of the texts. I intend to point out a number of such socio-historical factors in this chapter. (2) The grammars of the 18th century are important with respect to many of the ideological ideas on language, that are still present in today's discourse, and the process of language standardization, which, of course, did not end in the 18th century. Finally, (3) to understand today's ongoing language processes better, it is important to embed our investigations in historical studies. Some have called this field 'historical

sociolinguistics' others have named it 'socio-historical linguistics', as reflected in the title of the online journal edited by Tieken-Boon van Ostade in the Netherlands, that actually combines the two terms. I believe that we can gain much from such investigations, no matter what term we use.

This chapter is organized as follows: In section 2, I will give a brief historical sketch to contextualize the situation before the 18th century. In Section 3, I will describe the increase in the number of grammars of the English language in the 18th century in more detail and in Section 4 I will point to some characteristics of such grammars in order to demonstrate how these texts were constructed. Then I will proceed to answer the question 'Why in the 18th century?' and will illustrate my findings with examples from the grammars (Section 5). To conclude I will offer an analysis of a grammar from 1784 by a lesser known grammarian called John Fell, because he displays a surprisingly modern attitude to the study of the English language that might be unexpected for a prescriptive grammarian (Section 6).

2. Before the 18th century: A brief historical sketch

The situation of grammar writing from the renaissance until just prior to the 18th century can only be presented very briefly here. In general, we can say that, while there was a wealth of textual material in English, there was not yet what we would understand as a standardized system of orthography or an established version of English that was perceived as 'standard English'. In addition, many scientific and scholarly texts were written in Latin rather than English, there was no official school system yet, nor was there a systematic teaching of the English language as such. Overall, we can say that, in comparison with the 18th century, there were only a number of treatises on the English language from 1580 onwards, some of which were still in Latin.

Examples of such 16th and 17th century grammars of the English language are the following:

William Bullokar	1586	*Pamphlet for Grammar*
Paul Greaves	1594	*Grammatica Anglicana*
Charles Butler	1633	*The English Grammar*
Ben Jonson	1640	*English Grammar*
John Wallis	1653	*Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*
John Wharton	1654	*An English Grammar*

For example, John Wallis' *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae,* which was written in Latin, was highly influential for the writers of the next century as well.

3. The increase in the number of grammars in the 18th century

As mentioned above, there is an enormous increase in grammar writing from the 1750s onwards. Ian Michael (1997: 41) reports for the last three decades of the 18th century that 99 new grammars were published during that time. If you count the new editions and print-runs of previously published grammars as well, the total is an astonishing 345. To visualize this increase in the number of grammars in the second half of the 18th century, I have reproduced a graph by Michael (1987: 12) that shows the number of publications in intervals of five years. Figure (1) demonstrates that the

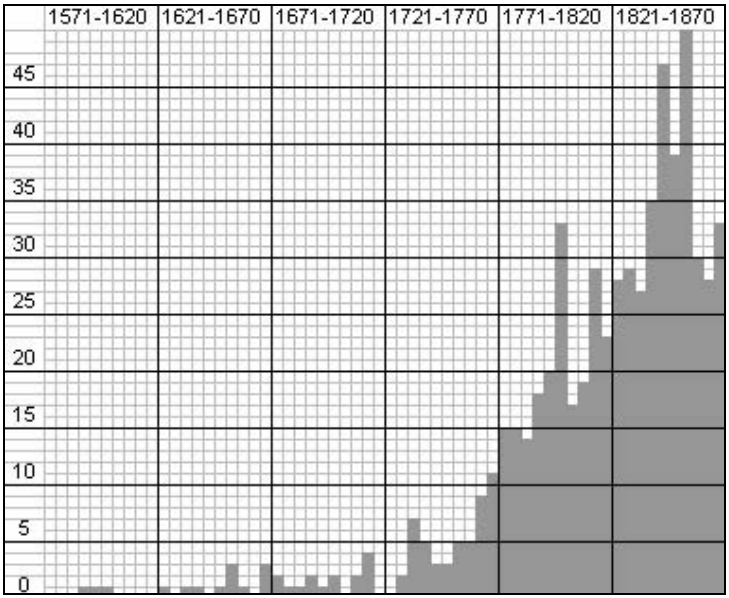

Figure 1. The increase in the number of grammars on the English language per five year slots, according to Michael (1987: 12) (shading added; reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press)

number of publications increases steadily from the middle of the 18th century onwards. What one can also see is that this process did not stop by any means at the end of the 18th century, a point I will return to later.

4. Material: The 18th century grammars consulted

In order to study the grammars, we have to go to the original primary sources, which I accessed in the form of the "English Linguistics 1500–1800" microfiches, edited by Alston in 1974. For this analysis the grammars I have chosen from this corpus are all from the second half of the 18th century. The authors are:

Fisher, Ann	1750	*A new grammar.*
Priestley, Joseph	1761	*The rudiments of English grammar.*
Lowth, Robert	1762	*A short introduction to English grammar.*
Fenning, Daniel	1771	*A new grammar of the English language.*
Fell, John	1784	*An essay towards an English grammar.*
Murray, Lindley	1795	*English grammar, adapted to the different classes of learners.*

The grammars by Fisher, Priestley, Lowth, Fenning and Murray were successful grammars of their times, while Fell's was less well known (Alston 1974).

4.1. Some characteristics of these grammars

Before we move to some explanations for the increase in numbers, I will mention a few characteristics of the grammars I consulted to give the reader an idea of how these texts were constructed.

- In the title pages or prefaces it is usually mentioned that the grammars are written for young men, ladies, children, and/or schools or foreigners. The authors often mention that English is not taught at schools and that their book is intended to fill this gap.
- The grammars have a clearly 'prescriptive', some also a 'proscriptive' stance. This means that they not only list what should be done, but some also describe what linguistic behavior should be avoided by giving examples of bad English.

- By analogy, a distinction is being made between 'proper', 'correct', and 'polite' versus 'improper', 'low' and 'incorrect' use of English.
- Some authors attempt to move away from the Latin example of grammar writing by inventing English terminology. Ann Fisher (1750), for example, proposes the term 'helping verb' instead of 'auxiliary verb'.
- In terms of text genre, there are two main types: Namely a "Question & Answer" text, or, alternatively, the grammars are written as an informative "essay", that is as a factual non-dialogic text.
- The grammarians comment on the way in which their books should be used, and usually recommend learning the grammar rules by heart. Some also offer exercises for the students.
- In addition, it should be mentioned that the grammarians rely heavily on each others' work. There is, in other words, a significant amount of copying going on, although some authors, like Lindley Murray, avoid reproaches of plagiarism by referring to themselves as 'compilers' rather than as authors of the grammars (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996; Steadman-Jones 2003; Terry 2003).

These characteristics are also the ones reported in the literature on prescriptive grammars in general. I will present some examples for the prescriptive nature of the texts, as this is one of their most striking features. The examples are taken from Robert Lowth's influential *A short introduction to English grammar* from 1762. Robert Lowth was a renowned Oxford Professor of Poetry, well-known for his expertise in Hebrew. In 1777 he became Bishop of London.

What we can see in Figure (2) are two fairly typical pages of Lowth's *Grammar*. Lowth gives the description of the grammar rules in larger print and then comments on the main text in footnotes. It is mainly in these footnotes that we find evaluative comments, and good and bad examples of English. The arrows are added and point to the sources that Lowth uses: Clarendon, Dryden, Pope, Tillotson.

To illustrate this usage, let us have a closer look at footnote 7, reprinted in Example (1):

(1) "He caused all persons, *whom* he knew had, or he thought might have, spoken to him, to be apprehended." Clarendon, Vol. III, p. 618.8 **It ought to be** *who*, the Nominative Case to *had*; not *whom* as it were the Objective Case governed by *knew*. (Lowth 1762: 97, emphasis in bold added)

This *it ought to be* is a quite typical formulation used by Lowth and can be read as an indication of his prescriptive stance.

96 *A Short Introduction*

Sentences are Simple, or Compounded.

A Simple Sentence hath in it but one Subject, and one Finite Verb; that is, a Verb in the Indicative, Imperative, or Subjunctive Mode.

A Phrase is two or more words rightly put together in order to make a part of a Sentence; and sometimes making a whole Sentence.

The most common PHRASES used in simple Sentences are as follows:

1st Phrase: The Substantive before a Verb Active, Passive, or Neuter; when it is said what thing *is, does*, or *is done*; as, "I am;" "Thou writest;" "Thomas is loved:" where *I, Thou, Thomas*

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are the Nominative[7] Cases; and answer to the question *who*, or *what*? as, "Who is loved? Thomas." And the Verb agrees with the Nominative Case in number and person[8];

[7] "He caused all persons, *whom* he knew had, or he thought might have, spoken to him, to be apprehended." Clarendon, Vol. III, p. 618.8 It ought to be *who*, the Nominative Case to *had*; not *whom* as it were the Objective Case governed by *knew*.
"Scotland and *Thee* did each in other live." Dryden, Poems, Vol. II p. 220.
It ought to be *Thou*.

[8] "But *Thou* false Arcite never *shall* obtain Thy bad pretence. Dryden, Fables.
"That *Thou might* fortune to thy side engage." Prior.
It ought to be *shalt*, *mightest*. The mistake seems to be owing to the compounding of *Thou* and *You* as equivalent in every respect; whereas one is Singular, the other Plural. See above, p. 48. "Great *pains has* [have] been taken." Pope, P.S. to the Odyssey. "I have considered, *what have* [hath] been said on both sides in this controversy." Tillotson, Vol. I. Serm. 27.

Figure 2. Lowth, *A short introduction to English grammar*, 1762, pages 96-97 (arrows added)

Lowth uses a canon of mainly restoration and early 18th century writers as his source for good and bad examples. As Table 1, compiled by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1997: 452), shows, Lowth does not shy away from criticizing even the language of the bible. Swift, to name just one of his other sources, is mentioned 39 times, and is criticized 39 times. Lowth thus sets himself up as an *authority* over authors of literary work.

Table 1. Numbers of quotations from Lowth's "best writers" as well as from the Bible (reproduced from Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1997: 452; reprinted with the permission of the *Société Neophilologique*)

	total	main text	notes	criticised
Bible	44	10	34	21
Old testament	19	6	13	6
New testament	25 [sic.]	4	22	15
Swift	39	-	39	39
Addison	22	4	18	16
Dryden	20	4	16	16
Pope	18	2	16	14
Clarendon	17	-	17	17
Milton	16	1	15	15
Prior	14	-	14	14
Tillotson	12	-	12	12
Atterbury	6	-	6	6
Bolingbroke	6	-	6	6
Gay	1	-	1	1

5. Why in the 18th century?: Suggested reasons for the increase in the number of prescriptive grammars

Let me now move to answering the question 'why did this increase in the number of grammars occur in the second half of the 18th century'? I propose the following four reasons:

(I) There is a new market situation with so-called 'social climbers',
(II) a process of language standardization is involved,
(III) as well as the notion of politeness,
(IV) and finally, new developments in the printing trade play an important role.

It has to be stressed that these reasons are interrelated and thus closely connected. In what follows I will discuss them one by one.

5.1. New market situation: 'Social climbers'

In the 18th century we have an increase in population numbers from roughly 7 to 12 million people (Belanger 1982: 18–19; 'United Kingdom', Encyclopaedia Britannica 2007). The middle classes grew and aspired to climb the social ladder. They are referred to as social climbers.

Apart from amassing more wealth, these people wanted to better their situation by investing into 'polite' language – a notion that I will return to later. With respect to the grammars, Susan Fitzmaurice (1998: 315) claims that "[w]hat is striking about these texts is that they seemed to promise social advancement". Correct language was therefore seen as a commodity that could be bought and "marketed" (Fitzmaurice 1998: 325). Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2000: 33) supports this argument by saying that the booksellers and publishers had an interest in exactly this market to make a financial profit: "The booksellers' concern was not the language but the market". For example, one of the leading publishers, Robert Dodsley, not only published Samuel Johnson's famous *Dictionary* in 1755, but also Lowth's grammar in 1762 (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000, 2003).

5.2. The process of 'standardization'

The 18th century is not only the century of population increase, the middle classes and social climbers, but it is also closely associated with the process of language 'standardization' in general. Even as early as 1697, Daniel Defoe called for a language 'Academy' in analogy to the *Académie Française*. This English Academy, however, never became a reality. And Swift, in his 1712 *Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue* also argued for improving the current language situation.

In the course of the 18th century the idea that English was deteriorating and that it was past its prime is also reflected in the grammars which try to 'fix' proper language usage. This process is called 'codification' in the literature on standardization (cf., e.g., Haugen 1966). Several ideologies have been found to play a prime role in this process, as discussed, for example by Milroy and Milroy (1991). Watts (2000) mentions, among others, the

- *Language and nationality myth*: The idea that Britain needs one language that unifies it and that can be transported to the colonies;

- *The myth of superiority*: The idea that a particular variety of English is better than all the others;
- *The myth of the perfect language*: The idea that a language can reach a state of perfection. In the grammars this is usually seen to have been the case at the turn of the 17th to the 18th century; and
- *The myth of the undesirability of change*: This means that if change is happening, it is perceived as being for the worse.

The process of standardization is a fascinating topic that would have deserved a chapter in its own right. Here I cannot go much further into detail, but I will briefly illustrate the 'myth of superiority' with an example from Hugh Jones (1724). In his *An accidence to the English tongue*, Jones is quite clear about which English needs to be fixed. He claims that:

(2) Out of this Confusion of English may we collect 5 principal Dialects and Tones.
1. The *Northern Dialect*, which we may call *Yorkshire*.
2. The *Southern*, or *Sussex Speech*.
3. The *Eastern*, or *Suffolk Speech*.
4. The *Western*, which we may call *Bristol language*.
5. The *Proper*, or *London Language*. (Jones 1724: 13)

What we can see here is a process of 'selection', that is elevating one variety at the cost of the others. This process also eventually helped to bring about a stigmatization of those speakers who did not speak the 'proper' language (cf., e.g., Milroy 1999, 2000). As I have reported previously, Lowth, like many of the other grammarians in the second half of the 18th century, uses a canon of written, literary sources to create the distinction between good and bad English.

5.3. The notion of 'politeness'

One aspect that is closely linked to the process of standardization is the notion of politeness. Several researchers (Stein 1994; Fitzmaurice 1998; Watts 1990, 2000, 2002) have studied this aspect and the following explorations are based on their work. We can summarize three processes that are of importance with respect to politeness in the 18th century:

(I) Two poles emerge between 'correct' / 'proper' versus 'incorrect' / 'low' / 'vulgar' language usage.
(II) There is the creation of a *moral* distinction between people who speak politely and 'with propriety' and those who do not.
(III) It is believed that it is possible to *learn* the ways of 'polite society'.

I will now look at these three propositions in turn. A vital aspect of the study of politeness is the historical development of this concept, a point also stressed in my current research on politeness in contemporary English (cf., e.g., Locher 2006). In the present context this means that we have to look at the change in meaning the word 'politeness' experienced in the 18th century. Stein (1994: 8) claims that before the 18th century, politeness referred to "a social ideal, the polite urban, metropolitan gentleman, well-versed in the art of 'polite' conversation, a man about town". By the second half the 18th century, Stein continues, a new notion of 'politeness' had developed, one that is closely linked to prescriptivism, in that two poles between 'correct' / 'proper' language spoken by the so-called 'polite society' and 'incorrect' / 'low' / 'vulgar' language usage are created. To illustrate this consider the following three examples from Lowth's grammar. In Example (3), Lowth describes the usage of *an eight days* as *obsolete*, *vulgar* and *improper*:

(3) About "*an eight days:*" that is, a space of eight days. *Luke* ix. 28. But the expression is obsolete, or at least vulgar; and we may add likewise improper: … (Lowth 1762: 20)

Lowth objects to the usage of "an eight days", i.e., the combination of the singular article with a plural noun, on the grounds that *days* "has not been reduced by use and convenience into one collective and compact idea" such as *a hundred* or *a thousand*. In Example (4), Lowth describes an agreement mismatch as an *enormous solecism,* a serious blunder:

(4) *You was*, the Second Person Plural of the Pronoun places in agreement with the First or Third person Singular of the Verb, is an enormous Solecism: and yet Authors of the first rank have inadvertently fallen into it. (Lowth 1762: 48)

And in (5) Lowth censures the omission of relative pronouns most severly:

(5) The Construction is hazardous**,** and hardly justifiable, even in Poetry. (Lowth 1762: 137)

What we can see from these examples is a creation of a notion of 'correct', 'proper' and 'polite' language versus 'incorrect', 'improper' and 'impolite' language usage.

The second aspect linked to this development is that *a moral distinction* started to be made between people who speak politely and 'with propriety' and those who do not. This is illustrated once more with an extract from Hugh Jones' text. He claims that:

(6) We should aim at an elegant and fluent Style; gliding like a smooth River, and not running violently like a rapid Torrent. Our Language affords us Choice of Words, and Variety of Expression; in which *we should imitate the Learned and Polite, the Correct and Pure*, without jingling Terms, harsh or obsolete, vulgar or unbecoming Words, ungrateful to the Ear, difficult in Sound, or offensive to Modesty, good Manners, or good Sense. (Jones 1724: 62, emphasis added)

Jones thus claims that the *Learned and Polite* people are also *Correct and Pure* and that they should be taken as a model. A similar view is expressed by Lindley Murray, an American who lived and published in England most of his life. He argued in the following way in 1795:

(7) That persons who think confusedly, should express themselves obscurely, is not to be wondered at; for embarrassed, obscure, and feeble sentences, are generally, if not always, the result of embarrassed, obscure, and feeble thought. (Murray 1795: 183)

Murray proposes that a connection is made between a person's mental capacity and the way he or she speaks. Finally, in (8) Lowth describes the so-called mismatching of verb forms as follows:

(8) In the rest it seems wholly **inexcusable**. The absurdity of it will be plainly perceived in the example of some of these Verbs, which Custom has not yet so **perverted**. We should be immediately **shocked** at *I have knew*, *I have saw*, *I have gave*, &c: but our ears are grown familiar with *I have wrote*, *I have drank*, *I have bore*, &c. which are altogether as **barbarous**." (Lowth 1762: 89–90, emphasis in bold added)

That Lowth labels these mismatchings as *inexcusable*, *perverted*, and *barbarous* and argues that one should be *shocked* at hearing them is significant

because these words reflect on the speaker's character. The way a person talked began to be seen as an index of his or her social worth as well. What we witness, then, in the latter half of the 18th century is, to put it in Richard Watts' words, that

> language use became a marker of socio-political affiliation in Britain, and has continued to serve the function of social, political and educational demarcation till the present day. (Watts 1990: 299)

This brings me to the final point connected to politeness. The social climbers mentioned earlier had an interest in acquiring 'proper' language. This 'proper' language is what they were given to believe they would find in the grammars. They wanted to avoid appearing as if they belonged to the 'lower' classes, and they hoped that they could better their social situation by acquiring 'proper' English. The texts clearly indicated that you could *learn* to speak properly, as exemplified in Example (9), taken from Lowth's preface:

(9) A Grammatical Study of our own Language makes no part of the ordinary method of instruction which we pass thro' in our childhood; and it is very seldom that we apply ourselves to it afterward. And yet the want of it will not be effectually supplied by any other advantages whatsoever. Much practice in the polite world, and a general acquaintance with the best authors are good helps, but alone will hardly be sufficient: we have writers, who have enjoyed these advantages in their full extent, and yet cannot be recommended as models of an accurate style. (Lowth 1762: vii)

In his preface, Lowth first points out that a lack in proper language education cannot be s*upplied by any other advantages whatsoever*. In other words, no matter how wealthy you have become, your language will still give you away – unless you study. In the continuation of the example, Lowth admits that *even* writers who had practice in the *polite* world still make mistakes, presumably because they had no proper training in the English language. At the same time, however, Lowth implies that the whole endeavor of the grammar he has written is meant to educate those who do not have access to this polite world, and that studying the English language is a necessity in order to become refined and in command of an *accurate style*. The middle classes were thus encouraged in their struggle for social betterment and were led to believe that language played a major role in such an advancement.

5.4. New developments in the 'printing' trade

Finally, the last point suggested as a factor that facilitated the increase in the number of grammars in the 18th century is the development in the printing trade more generally. According to Belanger (1982), at the end of the 17th century there were virtually no magazines or newspapers and publishing was only possible in London, Oxford and Cambridge due to the so-called 'Licensing Act', which expired in 1695. If we compare this situation to the one at the end of the 18th century, we find that a dramatic shift has taken place. There are now local newspapers and periodicals, even though the national newspapers are still based and thriving in London, and there are pamphlets and books available for purchase. In addition, the copyright situation had changed dramatically over the same period of time, in that there was no longer any perpetual copyright. This meant that provincial publishing received an enormous impetus, that cheap editions of the classics could now be produced, and that unaltered reprinting of established bestsellers, such as the grammars, had become possible everywhere.

This changed situation in the printing trade, in combination with the other factors previously mentioned, helps to explain the large numbers of re-editions and reprinting of prescriptive grammars. Lowth's grammar, for example, sold 34,000 copies by 1781 (Mandelbrote 2004). Since the market was clearly there, this might also go a long way towards explaining that the increase in the number of new grammars continued into the 19th century.

5.5. Summary: Suggested reasons for the increase in the number of prescriptive grammars

To summarize so far, we can say that there are several interrelated factors which can explain the increase in the number of grammars of the English language from the middle of the 18th century. The grammars have to be seen in the light of the process of 'standardization', which elevated one particular English variety over others. This process can be seen in connection with the notion of 'politeness' that had developed away from describing polished, and refined behavior in general, to pointing out 'correct' language usage. The middle classes believed that, by acquiring 'polite' language, they would also get access to 'polite' society. The grammar books, in addition to spelling books and dictionaries, were perceived by the social climbers as a help on their way to achieving this aim. There was, in

other words, a market for these books, and one that was considerable due to the increase in population in the 18th century. Finally, and not unimportantly, the new developments in the printing trade made it possible to cater for this market and to produce books all over the country.

6. John Fell's *Essay towards an English grammar* (1784)

To demonstrate the topicality of 18th century grammars for today's linguists, I have chosen examples from the grammar by John Fell, a minister, schoolteacher and classical scholar (Gordon 2004). This grammar was published in 1784 and contains a preface written by the editor, that is "generally attributed to Richard Sharp, a pupil of Fell's" (Alston 1974: I, 380). It is not a particularly successful grammar in that it was only published once, but I have chosen it because there are interesting thoughts on the English language as such that are worth being discussed. Let me start by giving a number of details on this work.

6.1. Characteristics

According to the editor in the preface, John Fell's grammar is written and published with the aim of "instructing youth", for those who "are already acquainted with polite literature" and for "foreigners" (xiii). It consists of a preface, a discussion of the parts of speech, a chapter on syntax and a text on auxiliary verbs. Fell's grammar is thus less complete than others' since he leaves out a discussion of the spelling system or prosody (cf. e.g., Ann Fisher's grammar). The text is written in an 'essay' rather than a question and answer style. Fell does not give 'bad examples' of English but uses 'good writing' for illustration. Among the sources of good writing that he uses, Fell lists the Holy Scriptures, Shakespeare, Milton, Sidney, Locke, Addison, Dryden and Pope (xv). In addition, Fell explicitly refers to the grammars by Lowth, Johnson and Priestley. He often discusses different points of view on a grammar issue, and asks rhetorical questions before presenting his own conclusions. He thus engages in a discourse with the other grammarians (cf. Watts [1999] for the notion of a 'discourse community' with respect to the grammarians). What I want to focus on here are the contradictory statements about language in the editor's Preface (v–xiv) but also in Fell's main text, because they show us competing forces at work.

6.2. Striking contradictions

On the one hand, the Preface clearly describes the quite common idea that there *is* a *pure and genuine* English, as can be seen in Example (10).

(10) During the last thirty or forty years …. there are but a few [writers] that deserve the praise of having expressed themselves in a *pure and genuine* strain of English. (Fell 1784: vi, emphasis added)

In (11), the editor identifies the age of best writing at the beginning of his century:

(11) I fear we cannot find in our later writers so rich, so appropriated a diversity of expression as we can in *those that flourished at the beginning of this century*. (Fell 1784: x, emphasis added)

And in (12), he shows prescriptive and evaluative tendencies, when he speaks of *disgusting* language that is due to *affectation*. This term was, at the time, perceived to be the opposite of 'polite' language (Watts 2002: 159).

(12) The alterations in our language here taken notice of, are certainly not for the better: they give the phraseology a *disgusting* air of study and formality: they have their source in *affectation, not in taste*; … (Fell 1784: ix, emphasis added)

Examples (10) to (12) are very much in line with the prescriptive stance I have illustrated in previous sections.

The contradictions to this position arise in quotations such as the following. In (13), a fairly modern idea of a non-prescriptive, even *de*scriptive approach to a grammarian's work is pursued by the editor:

(13) It matters not what causes these customs and fashions owe their birth to; the moment they become general, they are laws of the language; *and a grammarian can only remonstrate, how much soever he disapprove.* From his opinions and precepts an appeal may always be made to the *tribunal of use*, as to *the supreme authority and last resort*: for all language is merely arbitrary. (Fell 1784: xii–xiii, emphasis added)

This modern attitude is especially aptly summarized in Fell's comments on neuter and passive verbs in (14):

(14) … the Writer will by no means presume either to resist or censure, *intending no more than to state the facts, frequent among our best writers, just as they are,* … Whether such conduct would be a real improvement, or a diminution [sic.] of our language, *the learned public must determine, with whom is the undoubted right of decision.* (Fell 1784: 114, emphasis added)

Here Fell seems to be influenced by the science tradition thriving in the 18th century, which has also been called the Age of Reason and Enlightenment. He presents himself as somebody who collects facts and presents them *just as they are*. This attitude can also be found in Joseph Priestley's work, *The rudiments of English grammar* from 1761, and precedes the ideas of the 19th century grammarians who put forward the idea that linguistics should be descriptive rather than prescriptive (e.g., Max Müller 1861; Bloomfield 1933; discussed in Milroy and Milroy 1999: 6–7). At the same time, however, Fell leaves judgement to the *learned public*, which immediately contradicts a descriptive approach as such.

What is the solution to these apparent contradictions between the quotations (13) and (14) and the ones in examples (10) to (12)? I suggest that the writer of the preface and Fell himself do not actually solve the contradictions, but that the solution the editor proposes in the preface merely adds a further angle to the discussion as can be seen in a further extract. In one and the same Example ([15]–[17]) we can see that he wants the grammar to be *both* prescriptive *as well as* descriptive. Just before Example (15), the editor has mentioned the efforts of the *Académie Française* to save French from deterioration. He goes on to say:

(15) [B]ut the republic of letters is a true republic, in its disregard to the arbitrary decrees of usurped authority. Perhaps such an institution would do still less with us. Our critics are allowed to petition, but not to command: and why should their power be enlarged? (Fell 1784: xi)

The editor is thus not in favor of an English Academy, and implies once more that authority lies with custom, that is with the language users. The role of critics can therefore only be to suggest changes, but not to *command* them. He then continues by saying that:

(16) The laws of our speech, like the laws of our country, should breathe a spirit of liberty: they should check licentiousness, without restraining freedom. (Fell 1784: xi)

In other words, the editor – and I assume Fell too (cf. example [14]) – is in favor of regulating language usage after all, but only to a certain degree and without constraining a person's freedom. In addition, the editor feels strongly that the English language in its current stage is deteriorating. He says that:

(17) The most effectual method of preserving our language from decay, and preventing a total disregard to the Saxon part of it, is to bring about a revolution in our present mode of education. (Fell 1784: xi)

The solution to prevent this deterioration from continuing, in the editor's view, is to revolutionize the education system.

6.3. Striking contradictions: Summary

Summarizing this discourse, we can see two contradictory ideals. On the one hand, a 'scientific' approach is described that is coupled with an idea that language changes, that 'use' is the ultimate authority, and that the grammarian is only a compiler of what he can observe in the (primary) texts, an attitude reflecting the era's scientific concerns with empiricism. On the other hand, the text demonstrates a different ideological approach which propagates a belief in the existence of a 'best' language, coupled with a notion that the Saxon heritage must be preserved. The time of best writing is linked to the writers of the early 18th century. This conservative view stands in opposition to the implied recognition that language changes through use. Such contradictory views are not reconciled in the text, but an emphasis on the importance of education is added.

In doing this, the text also reflects a concern of many of the numerous grammar publications during the 18th century, namely the feeling that the English language has been neglected in the teaching of young people and that it should deserve more attention in the schools. While 'English' had already been taught in schools before the 18th century, never before was there a need for instruction expressed this clearly and frequently. This can also be seen in the numerous private schools that opened in the 18th century to provide an education in the English language, some of which only lasted a couple of years. Attending school in general, however, only became compulsory towards the end of the 19th century (cf. Michael 1987; 'United Kingdom', 'Education' in Encyclopaedia Britannica).

7. Concluding remarks

The 18th century is a fascinating era for linguists to study an ever-increasing awareness of the English language as witnessed in the printed material of the time. The grammars that are produced in such enormous numbers from the middle of the century onwards deserve being studied in more detail. Among others, Tieken-Boon van Ostade and her team are currently pursuing this interest in the research project on 'The codifiers and the English language: tracing the norms of Standard English' (2004). In this chapter I discussed a few reasons for the increase in the numbers of publications on English. In addition, I suggest that Fell's grammar serves as an intriguing example to show that many of the issues that linguists deal with today, such as prescriptivism versus descriptivism exemplified in the controversy around John Honey's contribution (e.g., 1997), the ongoing question of the development and nature of standard English, and the connection of these issues to education were already discussed in the 18th century. The brief analysis of Fell's *Grammar* shows that a text of a comparatively unknown grammarian and his editor can serve unexpectedly as a rich source for modern-day linguists who are interested in these subjects.

Acknowledgments

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Chapter 8
Lest the situation deteriorates – A study of *lest* as trigger of the inflectional subjunctive

Anita Auer

1. Introduction

"Lest the situation deteriorates Orrrr: Lest the situation deteriorate" serves as the title of a correspondence on the conjunction *lest* as a possible trigger of the inflectional subjunctive, which I came across in a language forum on the World Wide Web (Online discussion forum. Retrieved 29 May 2007, from http://forum.wordreference.com/showthread.php?t=64969). In this first posting, the anonymous writer, who reports to be a native of England, raises the question of whether the conjunction *lest* requires the following verb form to be in the indicative or the subjunctive mood. S/he notes that the French equivalent of *lest – de peur que* – is followed by the subjunctive and thus wonders whether "Lest the situation deteriorate" may be "some bizarre leftover of the English subjunctive". Another contributor (living in Canada and 61 years old in 2005) confirms that the phrase is a subjunctive and also voices the opinion that s/he thinks that it is the correct form and that "there's life in it yet". Finally, a third contributor (native of Italy, 21 years old in 2006) states that s/he was taught "that *lest* is usually followed by *should*" and then raises the question of whether "Lest the situation should deteriorate" is correct.

I am aware that it is a rather unconventional way to begin an academic paper with the presentation of a language forum discussion from the world wide web. The discussion in the online forum does however highlight the timeliness of the topic, the inflectional subjunctive and in particular that the conjunction *lest* may be a trigger of the subjunctive. It is generally agreed that the decline of the subjunctive as an inflectionally marked verb form started in ME times (cf. Görlach 2001: 122; Traugott 1972: 149). Statements such as "the subjunctive is dying", "it is moribund except in a few easily specified cases" (Fowler 1965: 595) and "[t]he subjunctive, like *whom*, survives – on life support" (Redfern 2001: 65) are fairly common. In recent years, several studies have been carried out that aimed at shed-

ding light on the precarious subjunctive situation. These corpus-based studies investigated the development of the subjunctive form in a range of constructions in British English as well as other varieties of English (for studies on the subjunctive in adverbial clauses see Peters 1998; Moessner 2002a, 2002b, 2006; Auer and González-Díaz 2005; Auer 2006; and Grund and Walker 2006; for studies on the mandative subjunctive see Haegeman 1986; Övergaard 1995; Hundt 1998, forthc.; Peters 1998; Serpollet 2001; Fillbrandt 2006; Moessner 2007; Leech et al. forthc.). As I cannot summarise the outcome of every single study here, suffice it to say for now that the fate of the subjunctive is not as straightforward as the statements above suggest and the form "is still enjoying an active retirement" (Peters 1998: 101).

The main focus of this paper is the role of the conjunction *lest*[1] in the development of the inflectional subjunctive, more specifically from Early Modern English to the twentieth century. Even though the use of the subjunctive form started declining in ME times, Barber (1997: 173) notes about the subjunctive in Early Modern English that it

> is particularly frequent in clauses introduced by *if*, and is also quite common in ones introduced by *though, unless, except* 'unless', *whether*, and *till*. [...] The subjunctive is also found in clauses expressing purpose [...]

which can be introduced by the conjunction *lest*. As regards the level of formality in which the inflectional subjunctive was used in Early Modern English, Barber (1997: 173) claims that "it was part of everyday familiar speech, even among lower-class characters." According to Charleston (1941: 139), "the subjunctive mood has almost completely decayed away"; "[i]n the early 18th century, however, the subjunctive mood form is more tenacious of life." She then lists different kinds of clauses in which the inflectional subjunctive was used in the beginning of the eighteenth century. One of these environments are "negative clauses of purpose (introduced by *lest, for fear [that],* etc.)", which are illustrated with the examples "... they had best moderate their ambition in time, lest infamy or death *attend* their success" and "... while thou hast power left thee, avoid the tempting evil, lest thy grand enemy... *return* to the assault..." (Charleston 1941: 140). Similarly, Görlach (2001) notes the following:

> The few remaining subjunctive forms (*If he be there, God save the queen*) were distributed as they are in PDE, though slightly more frequent in the 18th century, mainly in wishes and hypothetical conditional clauses (introduced by *if, lest, tho', altho', albeit, unless, except, whether, however, that,*

> according to Kirkby 1746:89), and largely confined to formal registers; some phrases have become fossilized (*Heaven forbid*). (Görlach 2001: 122)

The conjunction *lest* was thus considered a trigger of the inflectional subjunctive in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, conjunctions such as *although, unless* and *if* (and possibly also *lest*) still required the subjunctive after them if the language user tried to be formally correct. Görlach (1999: 83) notes in a footnote that "Savage (1833: 94–5) was quite outspoken in considering *If it is so* and *Although he is there / does so* and *Would to God that it was so* as improprieties". Even though individuals proposed these notions of correctness, as regards the inflectional subjunctive, "PDE conditions had largely been reached by 1900" (Görlach 1996: 83). In the twentieth century, Quirk et al. (1985: 158) exemplify clauses of condition or negative purpose introduced by the conjunction *lest* with "The President must reject this proposal, *lest* it *cause* strife and violence. <formal>" and then state that "[t]his *lest* construction is restricted to very formal usage in BrE, but it is more current in AmE". In the example given *lest* is followed by the inflectional subjunctive. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 1108), "[a]rchaic *lest* tends to have a modal auxiliary or (esp) in AmE the present subjunctive". Similarly, Huddleston and Pullum (2002) note that

> *lest*, which belongs to formal style, is the only preposition where the subjunctive is the preferred construction, though specialised *should*, [...], is also readily used. Ordinary declaratives are possible, but comparatively rare. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1000)

What Quirk et al. and Huddleston and Pullum agree on is that *lest* is confined to formal contexts and that it mostly requires the subjunctive form or modal auxiliaries. Their accounts also differ slightly: (1) Quirk et al. (1985) state that the subjunctive is especially used in American English, a fact that is no longer mentioned in Huddleston and Pullum's grammar (2002), which was published almost twenty years later. (2) Where Quirk et al. (1985) note that *lest* can require modal auxiliaries, Huddleston and Pullum (2002) have already narrowed modal auxiliaries down to *should*.

Even though the inflectional subjunctive has been on the decline since the Middle English period, a type of construction in which the subjunctive form has been claimed to have survived is in adverbial clauses introduced by a range of conjunctions, one of which is the conjunction *lest*. In the second half of the twentieth century, the *lest*-subjunctive construction appeared to be more common in American than in British English (Quirk et al. 1985: 1108). Also, according to the statements above, the construction

used to be part of everyday familiar speech, even in lower classes, in Early Modern English but has been associated with formal style from the Late Modern English period onwards. As none of these claims are supported by empirical data, the fate of *lest* and the subjunctive will be investigated here.

The paper will be divided into two parts: The first part will trace the actual usage of the conjunction *lest* as a trigger of the inflectional subjunctive – an investigation which will be based on diachronic and synchronic corpora. The second part of the paper will be concerned with meta-linguistic comments on the *lest*-subjunctive construction. The comment on the language forum about the subjunctive being the correct form as well as Görlach's quotation (1996: 83) of Savage (1833: 94–95) suggest that the subjunctive is strongly associated with correct and proper language use. I will thus investigate comments by grammarians and language-guardians from the Early Modern English period onwards to see whether (a) *lest* has always been considered a trigger of the inflectional subjunctive, and (b) these comments mirror actual language usage.

2. The development of the *lest*-subjunctive construction from 1570–1994

2.1. Methodological preliminaries

The corpora used in this investigation are the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (HC), A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers 3 (ARCHER-3)[2], the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus (LOB), The Freiburg - LOB Corpus of British English (FLOB), the Brown Corpus of Standard American English (BROWN), the Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English (FROWN) and the British National Corpus (BNC). The main focus is on the development of the *lest*-subjunctive construction in British English. However, in order to verify the claim by Quirk et al. that the construction is more common in American English, I will also look at some twentieth-century American data, i.e. BROWN and FROWN.

This corpus study is restricted to adverbial clauses that are introduced by the conjunction *lest* (and its variant spellings *last(e), leste, les, lesse, leest, lyst, lyste, leist least(e)* according to the OED online) and the 3rd person singular present tense. Even though the subjunctive-indicative contrast is still given in Early Modern English (indicative: *thou lookest* and *he looketh*; subjunctive: *thou look* and *he look*), in the periods following,

which will also be investigated in this paper, the distinction only survives in the 3rd person singular present tense (except for the verb *to be*). As indicated in the language forum discussion at the beginning of the paper and, more importantly, by the linguists' comments above, the subordinator *lest* can either be followed by the inflectional subjunctive (*Lest the situation deteriorate*), modal auxiliaries (*Lest the situation should deteriorate*), or the indicative (*Lest the situation deteriorates*). Which of the three forms the conjunction *lest* prefers will be investigated in the following section.

2.2. The *lest*-subjunctive construction – a corpus study

Table 1 presents the results of the conjunction *lest* followed by the three-way distribution of the inflectional subjunctive, modal auxiliaries, and the indicative from 1570 to 1949.[3]

Table 1. The diachronic development of *lest*-constructions and the three-way distribution (HC and ARCHER)

3rd p. sing.	1570-1640	1640-1710	1700-1749	1750-1799	1800-1849	1850-1899	1900-1949
Subjunctive	11 (73.3%)	4 (44.4%)	-	-	-	-	-
Mod. Aux.	4 (26.7%)	4 (44.4%)	3 (100%)	2 (100%)	1 (100%)	3 (100%)	-
Indicative	-	1 (11.2%)	-	-	-	-	-
Total	15	9	3	2	1	3	0

The conjunction *lest* does not occur very frequently followed by 3rd person singular present tense verbs.[4] The data do however provide some indications: The conjunction *lest* was predominantly followed by the inflectional subjunctive in the Early Modern English period, in particular in 1570 to 1640, taking up 73.3%. In 1640–1710 the use of the *lest*-subjunctive construction had already dropped to 44.4%, which then equals the frequency of the *lest*-modal auxiliary construction. From 1700 onwards we do no longer come across a single instance of the *lest*-subjunctive construction. Between 1700 and 1899 *lest* is exclusively followed by modal auxiliaries – a result that does not agree with the statements by Charleston (1941: 139) and Görlach (2001: 122) that *lest* triggers the inflectional subjunctive in the

eighteenth century. As for *lest*-indicative constructions, I only came across one instance in 1640–1710, which shows that this type of construction has already been rare in Early Modern English and not only in present-day English (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1000). The corpus does not contain any examples of the conjunction *lest* (3rd person singular present tense) in the period 1900–1949 at all. The results in Table 1 indicate that the conjunction *lest* contributed to the alleged death struggle of the subjunctive rather than to its survival.

As regards Barber's claim (1997: 173) that the inflectional subjunctive "was part of everyday familiar speech, even among lower-class characters" in Early Modern English, only 1 out of 15 *lest*-subjunctive constructions has been attested between 1570 and 1710 that may be considered an exemplification of everyday speech. It occurs in the play *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (1630) by Thomas Middleton, and in particular in the speech of the Second Promoter, an informer, who may not necessarily belong to the higher circles of society (see example 1).

(1) Either will serue, This Butcher shall kisse Newgate, lesse he turne vp the Bottome of the Pocket of his Apron, You goe to seeke him? (HC 1630 Th. Middleton, A Chaste Maid in Cheapside)

The other 14 examples containing the *lest*-subjunctive construction are found in the following text types: Bible (3 instances), philosophy (3 instances), educational treatises (2 instances), fiction (2 instances), handbooks (2 instances), science (1 instance), and biography (1 instance). All these text types are close to the formal end on a formal–informal continuum, which suggests that the construction under discussion can already be associated with formal style in the Early Modern English period.

A study of the development of the inflectional subjunctive in adverbial clauses[5] (introduced by a range of conjunctions, including *lest*) from 1570 onwards showed that the decline of the form was not so straightforward (Auer 2006: 45). In fact, after a fairly rapid decline from 1570 to 1700 the data show an increase in usage in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Thereafter we can observe further decline of the subjunctive form in adverbial clauses. A comparison between the development of the inflectional subjunctive following all conjunctions and the conjunction *lest* only is provided in Figure 1 below.

The results show very clearly that *lest* did certainly not contribute to the brief revival of the inflectional subjunctive in the Late Modern English period. Auer (2006) ascribes this "blip in the diachronic development of

the subjunctive" to the influence of prescriptive grammars published in the Late Modern English period which advocated the use of the inflectional subjunctive. Whether the grammarians also recommended *lest* as a trigger of the subjunctive form will be looked at in section 3.

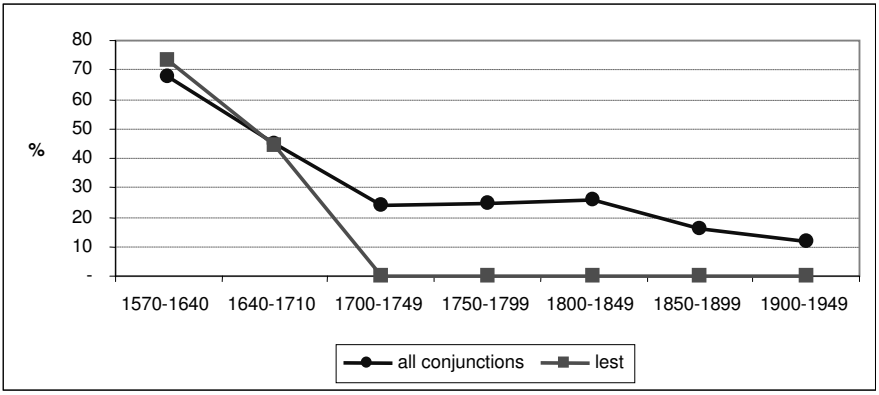

Figure 1. The development of the inflectional subjunctive – all conjunctions versus *lest* (based on the Helsinki Corpus and ARCHER-3)

Was the era of the *lest*-subjunctive construction over by 1700 or were there signs of a revival after 1950? After all, the construction has not been considered extinct by linguists in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Table 2 provides results on the *lest*-construction and the three-way distribution in British English corpora from 1961 (LOB) and the 1990s (FLOB) as well as comparative American corpora.

Table 2. Lest and the three-way distribution in British and American English

	LOB (BrE; 1961)	FLOB (BrE; 1990s)	BROWN (AmE;1961)	FROWN (AmE; 1990s)
Subjunctive	-	1	8	5
Modal Auxiliaries	-	2	3	1
Indicative	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	0	3	11	6

The data clearly show that *lest* (in the 3rd person singular present tense) has a very low frequency in all four corpora, even more so in British English data (LOB/FLOB) than in American English data (BROWN/FROWN).[6]

The results thus confirm the claims made by Quirk et al. (1985: 158; 1108) that (a) the use of *lest* is archaic, (b) the construction "is more current in AmE", both in 1961 and in the 1990s, and (c) in AmE *lest* is mainly followed by the present subjunctive.[7]

The only example of the *lest*-subjunctive construction in FLOB (BrE) is taken from a novel and is thus categorised as general fiction (see example 2).

(2) She didn't say this out loud, having become, she believed, the world champion walker-on-eggs, always alert lest a chair come flying across the room aimed at her head. (FLOB, K06)

Note that the BROWN and FROWN *lest*-subjunctive constructions, as illustrated in (3), occur in a wide range of textual categories, namely (A) reportage, (B) editorial, (F) popular lore, (G) Belles Lettres, biographies, essays, (H) miscellaneous, (J) science, (K) general fiction, (N) adventure and western, and (P) romance and love story. The only category that contained more than 1 (AmE) *lest*-subjunctive example is (K) general fiction with 3 out of 13 examples.

(3) I did not sleep much that night, which I spent struggling against the Kaiser, dodging his submarines and holding him back in the trenches lest he storm Paris. (FROWN, G39)

Even though the occurrence of *lest* in LOB/FLOB and BROWN/FROWN is rather low, the data do show that *lest* was used with a subjunctive and modal auxiliaries in British English in the 1990s. Considering that there is no occurrence of *lest* in LOB (1961) but in FLOB (1990s), this might indicate that the *lest*-construction experiences a revival. In order to confirm or reject this very tentative assumption, I will investigate the BNC which does not only focus on selected years but contains examples from more years from 1960 to 1994.

The BNC search returned 411 *lest* occurrences out of which 185 *lest*-constructions (3rd person singular present tense) can be investigated with regard to the paradigmatic variation. Figure 2 shows that in the period 1960–1994 the *lest*-construction occurred 59.4% (110 instances) with the inflectional subjunctive, 35.7% (66) with modal auxiliaries and 4.9% (9) with the indicative form. Strang (1970: 209) claims that "[…] the subjunctive was from the 15c, as it is now, largely a function of *be*." This is however not the case with respect to *lest*-constructions as the BNC data show:

44.5% (49 instances) of the examples contain the verb *be* (see example 4) whereas 55.5% (61) contain a lexical verb (see example 5).

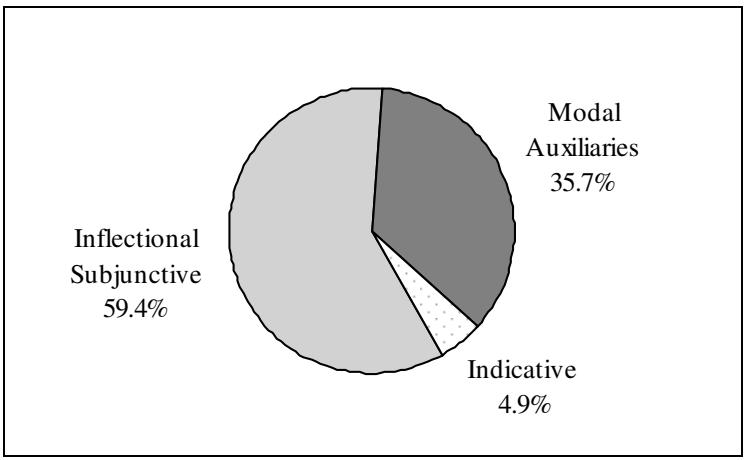

Figure 2. Lest and the three-way distribution in the BNC (N=185)

(4) Lest it be thought I am attributing vile motives to such people, it is noticeable that when non-card communions are held, attendance is considerably diminished. (BNC B1J 1373)

(5) That premium should not grow too large lest it bring increasingly intolerable cohabitation rules with it -- which is why the basic level of child benefit should be raised first. (BNC ECB 1096)

Huddleston and Pullum's (2002: 1000) remark that *should* is an alternative form to the inflectional subjunctive in *lest*-constructions can be supported as 66 instances contain 72.7% (48) *should*, followed by 12.1% (8) *might*, 7.6% (5) *would*, 6.1% (4) *may*, and 1.5% (1) *could*.

When the occurrence of the *lest*-constructions is divided into subperiods, the following development can be observed: The results depicted in Figure 3 clearly show that *lest*-constructions followed by the inflectional subjunctive experienced a revival taking up 86.3% (95 instances) during the period 1985 to 1994. Considering this sudden increase, the question arises in which text domains the construction occurs and whether *lest* is confined to formal contexts, as Quirk et al. (1985) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002) argue. The results show that 99.1% (109 instances) occur in written texts and only 1 instance was found in spoken material. A subdivision in terms of text domain shows the results presented in Table 3.

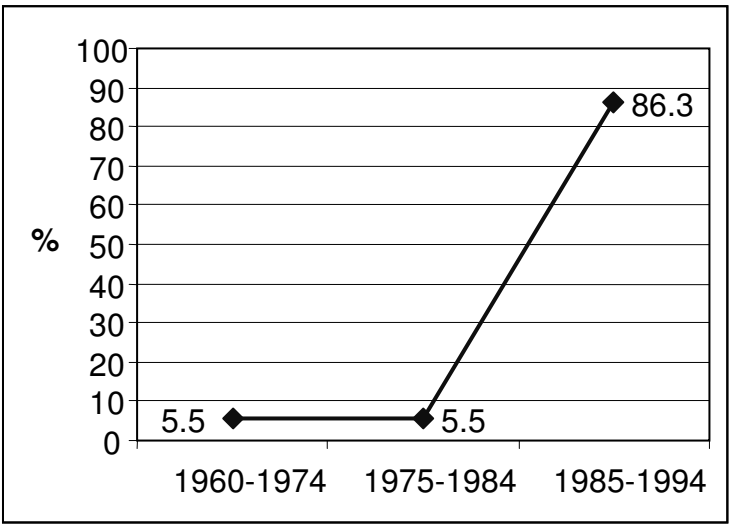

Figure 3. Diachronic development of *lest* and the subjunctive (N=110)[8]

Table 3. Lest and the subjunctive in different text domains

	Text domain	*lest* & subjunctive (N=110)
Written	Arts	4.5% (5)
	Belief and thought	11.8% (13)
	Imaginative	32.7% (36)
	World affairs	15.5% (17)
	Commerce and finance	7.3% (8)
	Social science	16.4% (18)
	Leisure	5.5% (6)
	Applied science	3.6% (4)
	Natural and pure sciences	1.8% (2)
Spoken	Education / Informative	0.9% (1)

The construction under investigation is most frequently found in so-called imaginative texts, i.e. 32.7% (36 instances). Other text domains in which *lest* and the subjunctive occur fairly frequently are social science with 16.4% (18), world affairs with 15.5% (17), and belief and thought with 11.8% (13). In the BNC the category imaginative texts includes novels, short stories, poems, and drama scripts.[9] As Lee (2001: 53) points out, the sub-genre information, i.e. whether a text is poetry or a short story, "is not recorded in the file headers or in any documentation associated with the

BNC" and this makes it difficult or even impossible for the researcher to retrieve more detailed information. This is certainly the case with this study as I am unable to find out whether the examples can be categorised as formal or informal texts. The text domains social science, i.e. academic prose, world affairs, and belief and thought are categorised as informative written texts (Lee 2001: 50), which indicates that these texts are more likely to be situated on the formal end of the continuum.

As regards the distribution according to gender (in written texts only), men use the *lest*-subjunctive-construction slightly more frequently than women; men use it 39.4% (43 instances) and women use it 31.2% (34 instances).[10]

An analysis of the distribution according to age shows that the use of *lest*-subjunctive-constructions is largely confined to writers aged 35 to 60+ (see Table 4 below).

Table 4. The distribution of *lest* and the subjunctive according to age

Unknown	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-59	60+
66.1% (72)	-	-	1.8% (2)	11% (12)	10.1% (11)	11% (12)

As age and gender of several writers is labelled 'unknown', a correlation between these two variables amounts to rather low figures, as can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5. The distribution of the *lest*-subjunctive-construction according to age and gender

	25-34	35-44	45-59	60+
Male	2.7% (1)	24.3% (9)	16.2% (6)	18.9% (7)
Female	2.7% (1)	8.1% (3)	10.8% (4)	13.6%(5)
Unknown	-	-	2.7% (1)	-

The results show that the construction is used most frequently by men aged 35–44, followed by men aged 60+ and then by men aged 45–59. As regards women's use of the *lest*-subjunctive construction, it was most frequently used by women aged 60+, followed by the age range 45–59 and then 35–44. As the numbers are so low, the results would not be considered statistically significant. The data do however reveal that men and women over the age of 35 use the construction in written language. This result may reflect the sampling choices made by the BNC compilers, i.e. the sample of, for instance, imaginative texts written by people under 35 would presumably be rather small.

This corpus-based study of the *lest*-subjunctive construction showed that the construction was in use in the Early Modern English period but then disappeared. After a hibernation period of 250 years, we were able to observe a slow increase starting in the 1960s and then an extremely sharp rise between 1985 and 1994.

3. *Lest* and the subjunctive – a match made in (grammar) heaven?

One of the comments made in the online language forum was that the subjunctive was the *correct* form following *lest*. The use of the term *correct* suggests that there are/were formal rules that a language user should be aware of. I will not focus on the issue of correctness here but investigate meta-linguistic comments by grammarians and language-guardians from Early Modern English onwards to find out (a) whether the combination of the conjunction *lest* and subjunctive is mentioned at all, and if so, (b) whether these comments can shed some light on the historical development of the construction.

As Dons (2004: 222) points out, "[t]he government of conjunctions used to be more important in Early Modern English than it is today, because the subjunctive was much more frequent." This is also reflected in Early Modern English grammars which contain comments "in more or less detail on various conjunctions and their moods". The usage data from the Early Modern English period (Table 1) clearly showed that the conjunction *lest* was followed by the inflectional subjunctive, which raises the question of whether grammarians in the Early Modern English period have also pointed out the government of *lest* in their works. According to Dons (2004: 225), who analysed a wide range of Early Modern English grammars, "[t]he conjunctions *if* and *although* are mentioned most frequently, while *unless, provided, ere, before,* and *in case* occur only once or twice." Moreover, Table 43 in Dons's (2004: 224) monograph contains a list of all the conjunctions mentioned in the grammars, which does however not contain the conjunction *lest*. Note that not all grammarians in the Early Modern English period accepted the subjunctive as a mood,[11] which is why some grammars do not contain accounts of the subjunctive, e.g. Greaves (1594), Jonson (1640), and Wallis (1653), according to Dons (2004: 106). To illustrate selected accounts of grammarians who do consider the subjunctive a mood, I will first have a look at Poole (1646), who notes that

> [t]he Subjunctive mood hath some such conjunctions as these joyned with it, when if, since that, because: as, when I did love, if I live, since that you have heard, because he was sick. (Poole 1646: 10)

Poole points out that the subjunctive is linked with certain conjunctions, one of which is *if,* according to the examples he provides. He does however not describe the meaning of the subjunctive mood and from his examples it appears that Poole does not recognise the form of the subjunctive either.

Lye in the *Childs Delight* (1671) describes the subjunctive mood as follows:

> The Subjunctive, which is *join-ed* with, or *depends* upon another Verb in the same sentence. When it is used in *wishing*, 'tis called the *Optative* Mood; but the *Potential*, when it hath the signs *may, can, might, would*, &c. I *may*, or *can turn*. (Lye 1671: 120)

Following this account, Lye only provides examples of the potential to illustrate the subjunctive mood, i.e. examples containing auxiliary verbs. I did not come across an inflectional subjunctive example, let alone an example with *lest* or a comment on *lest* being a trigger of the subjunctive.

The subjunctive account in Miège's *English Grammar* (1688) serves as the final illustration from the Early Modern English period. Miège (1688) notes the following:

> The Subjunctive Mood is much the same in English with the Indicative; but that it is used with Conjunctions before it, from whence it has got the Name of *Subjunctive*. 'Tis also called *Optative*, because in it we make Wishes; and likewise *Potential*, for that the Verb *May* and *Might* are used in this Mood. Thus, with the Conjunction *If, Though*, or *Provided*, the Present Tense is Conjugated in the following manner. (Miège 1688: 54)

Miège points out that the subjunctive is used with conjunctions such as *if, though*, and *provided.* Following the description of the subjunctive, he illustrates the mood with the inflectional subjunctive (*If I love, If thou lovest, If he love*, etc.) and modal auxiliaries, i.e. the potential mood (*That I may love, That thou mayst love, That he may love*, etc.).

The selected accounts from the Early Modern English period showed that those grammarians who recognised the subjunctive as a mood did not describe it in a uniform fashion. It is indicated that conjunctions serve as triggers of the subjunctive but the conjunction *lest* is not explicitly listed. This evidence suggests that the use of the *lest*-subjunctive construction in the Early Modern English period could not have been triggered by grammarians' comments.

According to the corpus data, in the eighteenth century there were no *lest*-subjunctive constructions but only *lest*-modal auxiliary constructions. To find out whether grammarians in the eighteenth century commented on either of these constructions, I investigated a range of grammars that represent both the pedagogic and philosophical grammar writing tradition (cf. Auer 2004). The grammars investigated from the first half of the eighteenth century did not contain comments on the conjunction *lest* and its relationship to the subjunctive and/or modal auxiliaries. Accounts containing either a description or an example of *lest* and the subjunctive are contained in Table 6 below.

Table 6. Lest and subjunctive accounts in eighteenth-century grammars of English

Grammarian	**Year**	
Bayly	1758 (5th ed.)	p. 105 – The first *English* Writers were more accurate than the Modern in distinguishing the *Subjunctive* from the *Indicative*: With *if, unless, except, lest, that, though, if so be, until* – they always used the Verb in the second and third Person *Singular* without any Change.
Ash *Institutes*	1761	p. 82 – The Conjunctions *if, though, except*, &c. implying a *manifest Doubt* or *Uncertainty*, require the *subjunctive* Form of the Verb: as, "Tho' he *slay* me, yet will I trust in him. I will not let thee go except thou *bless* me. Kiss the Son lest he *be* angry. If he but *speak* the Word. See thou *do* it not."
White	1761	p. 10 – This Mood is called by us the *Subjunctive*, because there are certain words, in our language, to which it is generally *subjoined*, or which it generally follows. These words are, *before, ere, except, however, if, lest, so, tho', till* or *until, whatsoever* or *whatever, whether, whosoever* or *whoever*; and perhaps a few more. p. 117 – The Subjunctive Mood, in its Present Tense, is also annext to *Lest*. "Bid him bring his pow'r before sun-rising, *lest* his Son George *fall* into the blind cave of eternal night." SHAKESPEAR. "Go, *lest* the haughty partner of my sway with jealous eye thy close access *survey*." POPE. "This let him know, *lest*, wilfully transgressing, he *pretend* surprisal; unadmonish'd, unforewarn'd."

		MILTON. "Reason he made right; but bid her well beware, and still erect, *lest*, by some fair-appearing good surpriz'd, she *dictate* false, and *misinform* the will." IDEM.
Lowth	1762	pp. 142–143 – *Lest*; and *that* with a Negative following it; and *if* with *but* following it; necessarily require the Subjunctive Mode: Examples; "Let him that standeth, take heed, *lest* he *fall*." I Cor. x. 12. "Take heed, *that* thou *speak not* to Jacob." Gen. "*If* he *do but* touch the hills, they shall smoke." Ps. civ. 32.
Ward	1767	p. 127 – *Of the Conjunctions and Indefinites which require a Verb in the Subjunctive Mood.* To express uncertain States, *except, lest, so, before, ere, till, if, howsoever, though, although, unless*, with *who*, - and *whatsoe'er*, and *whether*, the Subjunctive Mood prefer. The Subjunctive Mood is frequently used with the Conjunctions and Indefinites mentioned in the Rule; as, [...] *Let us sacrifice to the Lord,* LEST *he* FALL *upon us with Pestilence.* Ibid. [Old Testament] [...]
Shaw	1778	pp. 105–106 – Rule V. The conjunctions *if, though, except, lest, before, ere, till, howsoever, unless, whether,* with the indefinites *whosoever* and *whatsoever*, frequently govern a subjunctive mood, when the sense is doubtful or uncertain; as, [...] Rule VI. The conjunctions *lest* and *that* annexed to a command preceding, and *if* with *but* following it, govern a subjunctive mood; as, Let him that standeth take heed *lest he fall*. *See that thou do* it not. *If he do but touch* the hills, they smoke.
Murray	1795	pp. 128–129 – *Lest* and *that*, annexed to a command preceding, and if with but following it, necessarily require the subjunctive mode; as, "Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall;" "Take heed that thou speak not to Jacob;" "If he do but touch the hills, they shall smoke."
Gardiner	1799	p. 90 – The conjunctions *lest, that*, and *till*, require sometimes the subjunctive: as, "Love not sleep lest thou *come* to poverty;" "Take heed that thou speak not."

Bayly (1758: 105) lists the conjunction *lest* as a trigger of the subjunctive whereas Ash (1761: 82) is the first grammarian to illustrate the *lest*-subjunctive-construction (*Kiss the Son lest he be angry*). In the same year, White (1761: 117) lists *lest* as a trigger of the subjunctive and provides examples from renowned writers such as Shakespeare (1564–1616), Milton (1608–1674) and Pope (1688–1744). It is noteworthy that the remaining *lest* examples I came across in eighteenth-century grammars are taken from the Bible, both the Old and the New Testament. In the 1762 edition of Lowth's grammar he illustrates the construction with "Let him that standeth, take heed, *lest* he *fall*", which is taken from the first epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians (New Testament). This exact example and examples with other conjunctions that were first used in Lowth's grammar can also be found in Shaw (1778) and Murray (1795).[12] Lowth (1762) commented on the conjunctions *lest* and *that* and their governing the subjunctive mood separately, an approach that was also adopted by Shaw (1778), Murray (1795), and Gardiner (1799). All four of these grammarians emphasise that *lest* necessarily requires the subjunctive, which is illustrated with the inflectional subjunctive and not with modal auxiliaries. Even though these grammars emphasise the *lest*-subjunctive construction and the account is formulated as a rule to be observed, this is not mirrored in actual usage as the corpus results showed.

An investigation of meta-linguistic comments from the nineteenth century led to the following results: Most grammarians do not mention *lest* in conjunction with the subjunctive, as exemplified by Leigh (1840: 86), who states that the subjunctive "is preceded by a conjunction, expressed or understood". Other grammarians such as Sweet (1892) describe the conjunction *lest* as expressing negative purpose or avoidance as in "they took away the knife lest he should cut himself". *Lest* is here followed by the modal auxiliary *should* rather than the inflectional subjunctive. Those nineteenth-century grammarians who did comment on the government between certain conjunctions and the subjunctive appeared to somehow challenge their eighteenth-century colleagues on this topic. Cobbett (1818) for instance states that

> Bishop Lowth, and on his authority, Lindley Murray, have said, that some conjunctions have a government of verbs; that is to say, *make them or force them to be in the subjunctive mode*. And then these gentlemen mention particularly the conjunctions, *if, though, unless*, and some others. But (and these gentlemen allow it) the verbs that follow these conjunctions are not always in the subjunctive mode; and, the using of that mode must depend,

> *not upon the conjunction*, but upon the sense of the whole sentence. (Cobbett 1818: 146–147)

Similarly, Foster and Foster (1858) note that

> Our earlier grammarians laid it down that 'some conjunctions require the indicative, and some the subjunctive, mood after them;' and, whether in obedience of them, or from some more remote cause which we have not penetrated. Scotch writers almost invariably use the subjunctive with the conjunctions *if, lest, although*, and *whether,* whatever the sense may be. Subsequent grammarians have with much more accuracy decided, that when a matter is contingent and future, the subjunctive is required; but the indicative, if the thing is in itself certain, whatever the dubiety of the speaker concerning it. (Foster and Foster 1858: 239)

Earle (1898: 131) argued along the same lines that "[t]he frequent connection between certain conjunctions and the subjunctive must not induce us to think as if they caused the Mood, for indeed a little observation will show us that this relation is by no means constant."

This survey of meta-linguistic comments during the Early and Late Modern English periods revealed that between the publication of the earliest English grammars and the end of the eighteenth century, grammarians recognised a connection between certain conjunctions and the use of the inflectional subjunctive. The *lest*-subjunctive construction in particular was however only pointed out and strongly advocated by grammarians in the second half of the eighteenth century. Nineteenth-century grammarians distanced themselves from such claims by emphasising that it is not the conjunction but the meaning of the entire sentence that decides which mood should be used.

4. Conclusion

It was the aim of this paper to trace the development of the conjunction *lest* as a trigger of the inflectional subjunctive. An investigation of diachronic as well as synchronic corpora has shown that the construction was still used in Early Modern English, then disappeared for 250 years, and it has experienced an enormous revival between 1985–1994 (the end date of the study). The analysis of meta-linguistic comments by grammarians and language-guardians exhibited that only eighteenth-century grammarians were particularly concerned with emphasising that *lest* necessarily required the inflectional subjunctive. In the period before, i.e. in Early Modern English,

grammarians still struggled to come to terms with the concept of mood in the English language, and in the period following the eighteenth century, grammarians were concerned with distancing themselves from claims made by eighteenth-century *prescriptivists* and emphasised their descriptive approach. For all that, this development in the grammar writing tradition was not reflected by actual language usage.

One important question remains to be answered and this concerns the revival of the *lest*-subjunctive construction in British English between the 1960s and 1994 (and possibly beyond). The increase may be explained by looking at the recent development of the mandative subjunctive in British English. Övergaard (1995), Serpollet (2001), and Leech et al. (forthc.) are all concerned with the development of the mandative subjunctive, i.e. the subjunctive in subordinate *that*-clauses, the main clause of which expresses recommendation, demand, proposal, resolution, intention (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 156–157), in American and British English in the twentieth century. Throughout the twentieth century, the inflectionally marked subjunctive increased (at different times) in both varieties of English – the rise first occurred in American English and was then observed in British English. The much later occurring increase of the subjunctive form in British English is considered to have been influenced by American English, in particular through the mass media after World War II, according to Övergaard (1995: 89). Serpollet (2001: 531) also argues that even though the American data show that the increase of the mandative subjunctive has slowed down, it appears to have had an influence on British English. The increase of the *lest*-subjunctive construction does in fact resemble the rise of the mandative subjunctive in British English as the comparison of frequencies in LOB (12.6%) and FLOB (38.3%) in Leech et al. shows (forthc.: Ch. 3; cf. Serpollet 2001). Note also that the *lest*-subjunctive construction gained ground in American English as the BROWN and FROWN data showed in Table 2 before it reappeared in British English. I will here conclude that the *lest*-subjunctive construction has clearly made a revival which strongly resembles the recent development of the mandative subjunctive. As for the fate of the inflectional subjunctive, the form appears to have taken up a long-neglected activity in its retirement (cf. Peters 1998: 101).

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Notes

1. *Lest* is usually classified as an adverbial subordinator that expresses negative purpose, which Kortmann (1997: 86) describes as "*not-p* is an intended result or consequence of *q* that is yet to be achieved". The subordinator developed from the Old English phrasal connective *þy læs (þe)*, which is "a combination of the instrumental form of the demonstrative *þæt,* the adverb *læs* 'less' and the optional subordinating particle *þe*" into monomorphemic *lest* through the process of univerbation (López-Couso 2007: 12).
2. ARCHER-3 = A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers 3. 1990-1993/2002/2007. Compiled under the supervision of Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan at Northern Arizona University, University of Southern California, University of Freiburg, University of Heidelberg, University of Helsinki, Uppsala University, University of Michigan, and University of Manchester.
3. Note that the Helsinki corpus compilers subdivided the data into 70-year time spans (1570–1640; 1640–1710) whereas the ARCHER data consists of 50-year time spans, i.e. starting with 1700–1749 up to 1900–1949. As the sizes of the corpora differ, a comparison of frequencies will mostly be based on percentage figures rather than absolute numbers.
4. López-Couso (2007) investigated the distribution of *lest* with respect to its functions of (a) expressing negative purpose and (b) serving as a complementiser from Old English to the present day (850–1990) based on the *Helsinki Corpus* and *ARCHER-2*. López-Couso's results are not restricted to a certain person and tense (as is the case in the current study). She (López-Couso 2007: 14) notes that there is an "overall low frequency of occurrence (only 322 instances in circa 3.4 million words ..." and that "the connective *lest* has been attested in all periods of the history of English."
5. This study is based on the *Helsinki Corpus* and ARCHER-3.
6. As regards the general occurrence of *lest* in British and American English, Algeo (2006: 202) notes the following: "In the mid twentieth century, *lest* was apparently 5 times more frequent in American English than in British, the ratio in the Brown and LOB corpora being 17:3. CIC [Cambridge International Corpus], now shows *lest* to be actually more frequent in British use than in American. It has 53.7 iptmw [instances per ten million words] in British texts, mainly fiction, and 32.6 in American texts, mainly academic."

7. Peters (1998: 97) investigated the mandative subjunctive and the subjunctive in adverbial clauses in BROWN, LOB, and the Australian ACE corpus, the latter of which contained 3 *lest*-subjunctive examples.
8. The publication date of three examples (2.7%) was unknown, which is why the percentage figures do not add up to 100%.
9. Rohdenburg and Schlüter (forthc.) investigated the subjunctive use following *lest* in selected British and American newspapers: "The results confirm that the subjunctive is virtually obligatory in this context in AmE, and that BrE has already caught up to a considerable extent." This is shown "by the clear difference between the earlier (1990–1992) and later (2001–2004) years of *The Times*, which have 58% and 77% of subjunctives, respectively."
10. Note that 22% (24 instances) of the writers are unknown and 7.4% (8 instances) are labelled as 'mixed'.
11. For a description of the situation in the eighteenth century see Auer (2004).
12. It was shown that Murray leant heavily on Lowth's work when writing his grammar (Vorlat 1959; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996).

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Chapter 9
The BBC Advisory Committee on Spoken English or How (not) to construct a 'standard' pronunciation

Jürg Rainer Schwyter

1. Introduction

The BBC started life as the British Broadcasting Company (note: Company, not yet Corporation) in 1922. Its "influence", the social historian Asa Briggs wrote, "both on education and the pronunciation of 'standard English' has been noticed by almost all the people who have described its work" (1995: 222). In order to understand how the BBC had gained such a uniquely powerful position I will examine – with the help of linguistic examples, historical BBC documents and articles from the BBC weekly magazine *Radio Times* – the language policy of the BBC Advisory Committee on Spoken English 1926–1939, especially its (ultimately failed) attempt at fixing and diffusing a uniform standard of pronunciation; I will also try to give some impressions of the public's reaction to that policy. Although my main focus will be on the early days of BBC language policy, as "early days are crucial ones in either individual existence or corporate organisation" (Reith 1924: 24), it will also become clear that some aspects of the Advisory Committee's work can still be felt today, for example with respect to the pronunciation of proper names as well as in terms of public notions of "correctness", whatever changes in actual language policy the BBC has introduced in more recent years.

2. The foundation of the BBC Advisory Committee on Spoken English

From very early on the BBC was meant to be a tool not only to entertain, in the most positive sense, but also to educate "the great multitude", namely by "carry[ing] into the greatest possible number of homes everything that is best in every department of human knowledge" (Reith 1924: 34). "It

followed naturally", as Briggs has pointed out, "that genuine differences of opinion would be expressed about what constituted 'the best'"; but John Reith, the BBC's first managing director, tried to solve this problem by creating a "network of advisory committees which drew upon the services of experts in various fields" (Briggs 1995: 218–219). One such committee was the Advisory Committee on Spoken English. Its formation in 1926 was considered absolutely essential as in the words of Reith summarised in the minutes of a preliminary meeting held on 25 June,

> it was becoming increasingly apparent that large numbers of words in common use were pronounced by educated people in entirely different ways, and in many cases it was practically impossible to say which was best. Further, in addition to the particular question of vowel sounds or accents in various words, there arose such general questions as the final and medial "r" in southern English and various common usages by educated people which in some quarters might be regarded as being as wrong and unfortunate as the practices of (say) the Cockney.
>
> The Broadcasting Company felt that they should secure the most expert advice to the intent that, if possible, a standard form of pronunciation for doubtful words should be settled [...] and a ruling given as to whether such modern customs of educated people as those mentioned above should be accepted as justified and authorised, or whether the Broadcasting Company should by their powerful example endeavour to stem modern tendencies to inaccurate and slurred speech. (R6 / 201 / 1)

The above quotation is revealing for a number of reasons. On the one hand, the apparent impossibility of clearly identifying the "best" pronunciation – note, here it is again, "the best" – shows that, in the 1920s, Reith was simply confronted with the same problem already stated, towards the end of the 19th century, by Alexander J. Ellis and Henry Sweet, namely that "even among educated London speakers" there is quite considerable variation "from individual to individual, and more markedly from generation to generation" (quoted by Mugglestone 2003: 259, 261).[1] On the other hand, we not only witness here an expression of Reith's firm belief in the possibility as well as necessity of fixing, of standardising pronunciation, but also an example of what Jean Aitchison (2001: 13) has called a "vintage year" view of language; or as Gimson (1994: 80) put it a little more technically, "within RP, those habits of pronunciation that are most firmly established tend to be regarded as 'correct', whilst innovation tends to be stigmatized".

Two additional points, however, should be made here. First, "the public image" of the BBC was very much one "drawn from upper-class or upper middle-class life" (Briggs 1995: 167). The broadcasters, "mostly young men", were in "a large portion [...] University undergraduates" who, before the microphone, should speak "good English and without affectation" (Reith 1924: 37, 51, 162). Therefore, the most appropriate medium for the BBC, it was agreed, was the *Public School Pronunciation* – eventually renamed *Received Pronunciation* or RP – as this accent "would convey a suitable sense of sobriety, impartiality, and impersonality" (McArthur 1992: 110).[2]

The second point is this: it may be asked whether in fact radio and TV *can* influence people's speech behaviour and, if so, to what extent. Labov and Harris (1986: 20), for example, have claimed that "linguistic traits are not transmitted across group boundaries simply by exposure to other dialects in the mass media or [even] in schools" – with the exception of a few self-conscious corrections, sometimes hypercorrections, in formal styles. Trudgill (1986: 39–41) explains why: as accommodation seems the most likely explanation for the spread of linguistic features from speaker to speaker, that is the conscious or unconscious convergence of a speaker to the speech of his/her interlocutors, face-to-face contact is obviously a prerequisite for linguistic diffusion to take place. It is thus clear that "the electronic media are not very instrumental in the diffusion of linguistic innovations, in spite of widespread popular notions to the contrary", a fact supported by "the geographical patterns associated with linguistic diffusion":

> Were nationwide radio and television the major source of this diffusion, then the whole of Britain would be influenced by a particular innovation simultaneously. This of course is not what happens: London-based innovations reach Norwich before they reach Sheffield, and Sheffield before they reach Newcastle. (Trudgill 1986: 40)

By contrast, neither the broader public nor Reith and his contemporaries at the BBC seem to have doubted the Company's mission and success. Though Reith admitted that it was impossible to "compute in concrete terms" the influence broadcasting would have on people's pronunciation, he insisted that "there is an influence, and a great one": "children in particular have acquired the habit of copying the announcer's articulation; this has been observed by their teachers" (1924: 183, 162).

The front page of the Advisory Committee's minute book not only repeats the brief mission statement, but also illustrates what a most distinguished body this actually was:[3]

> The British Broadcasting Company, recognising their responsibility in setting a standard of spoken English, have appointed the following to act as an Advisory Committee: –
>
> Dr. Robert Bridges [Poet Laureate since 1913 and a founder of the Society for Pure English; Bridges became chairman of the Advisory Committee];
> Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith [a naturalised American literary scholar and essayist representing, on the Committee, the Society for Pure English, which he co-founded with Bridges and others];
> Mr. G. Bernard Shaw [the Irish playwright and critic, whose keen interest in phonetics and spelling reform was well known];
> Mr. Daniel Jones [Professor of Phonetics at University College London and compiler of the *English Pronouncing Dictionary*, first published in 1917];
> Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson [a well-known actor and theatre manager, who was "one of the most distinguished speakers of the British stage" (*Radio Times*, 16 July 1926)];
> Mr. A. [Arthur] Lloyd James [a Welsh phonetician at the School of Oriental and African Studies and former pupil and colleague of Jones at UCL; Lloyd James had advised the BBC before and became the Advisory Committee's honorary secretary]. (R6 / 201 / 1)

The Committee officially met for the first time on 5 July 1926. Two points stand out from that meeting. First, the Committee put itself up as the BBC's absolute authority in matters of what is referred to as "doubtful words": it "will decide upon the term to be adopted [...] by announcers and other officials of the Company" (R6 / 201 / 1).

Secondly, a number of "general principles" of pronunciation were agreed so that *rules* for announcers could be drawn up; among them were the following:

Vowel sounds in unaccented syllables.	The Chairman demonstrated that it is possible to give all vowels in unaccented syllables a <u>flavour of their original character</u> [...] and that indeed the matter was merely one of good or bad articulation, e.g. the slovenly speaker uses a single sound (represented by "eh") for all vowels in unaccented syllables. He says parehdy, parehsite, Julieh, Ehphelieh, where the speaker with good articulation says par<u>o</u>dy, par<u>a</u>site, Juli<u>a</u> and <u>O</u>pheli<u>a</u>.

	It was agreed that the announcers should attempt the differentiation of such vowel sounds, but without becoming stilted.
The "h" in which, why, whale, etc.	After some discussion it was decided that speakers of Southern English would find difficulty in pronouncing which, whale, why, white, etc. with the aspirated "w" [...], although differentiation between which and witch, whale and wail, etc. should be recommended in order to avoid homophones.
Untrilled final "r" and "r" between vowels.	The possibility of pronouncing the "r" in fire, tower, sure, hour, poor, etc. without trilling, was demonstrated. It was felt, however, that Southern English speakers [...] would have considerable trouble in pronouncing an untrilled "r". If that were so, it was agreed that the untrilled "r" should be treated as a separate vowel, though not syllabic, e.g. tired to be pronounced tired, not tahd [i.e. no smoothing either[4]]. It was agreed that an attempt should be made to give the letter some sound value, however slight.
Foreign words.	It was agreed [...] that foreign words in common use should be Englished and that where their sounds approximated to English sounds the original sounds be respected, e.g. chauffer, and in proper names, Shoobert, but Mose-art, Reams (Rheims).
	(Minutes, 5 July 1926; R6 / 201 / 1; emphasis in the original document)

The Committee further decided not to use the phonetic alphabet for the transcription of their decisions, in order to make communication to the Press – and therefore the general public – as easy and straightforward as possible (8 November 1926; R6 / 201 / 1). All the Committee's rulings were, as a matter of routine, published in the *Radio Times*, whose letter pages at the time developed into a veritable forum for language prescriptivists and purists.

From a linguistic point of view, it is quite remarkable that most of the pronunciation features drawn up in the Committee's very first list of recommendations are not only "old friends" going back to the 19th century,[5] but they still caused bouts of fierce controversy in the early 20th century – and beyond – and I therefore would like briefly to look at them in turn.

There are dozens of letters addressed to the editor of the *Radio Times* complaining about the pronunciation of vowels in unstressed syllables (that

is the shwa or even its elision), about the pronunciation of aspirated "wh", of "r" in all its forms from postvocalic to linking and intrusive, and about the smoothing of triphthongs. Here is an example of one such letter:

> *Announcers' English.*
> Dear Sir, – The announcers seem to find a lot of difficulty with the letters "r" and "h". Why should a word ending in "er" be pronounced as if it ended in "aw" or "ah"? Why put in an "r" when it isn't there? Such vulgarisms as "Indiar" and "Australiar rand Africa" are painful. Why say "modden" when the word is "modern"? [...] We also heard that the King had been "weeled" in a bath-chair, when – I suppose – he announcer meant "wheeled". Also, is it the British Empire or the British Empiah? If the B.B.C. pronunciations in the above instances are the correct ones, then I apologize for my ignorance. If they are not correct, surely listeners are justified in saying so. – F. W. E. Wagner, Castletown Road, West Kensington. (Radio Times, 28 June 1929)

The "wh" aspiration question, incidentally, triggered months of controversy in the *Radio Times*, with quotations ranging from the *New English Dictionary* (that is, the *Oxford English Dictionary*) to Anglo-Saxon. With respect to this feature Gimson (1984: 47) observed that "the phoneme /ʍ/ as in *white*, although characterized as obsolescent by phoneticians a hundred years ago, was nevertheless often recommended as appropriate in more formal styles."

It is also interesting to note that, as late as 1981, Burchfield, in his *BBC Guide*, recommended to "avoid the intrusive *r*", at least "in the formal presentation of the news or of other scripted speech" (1981: 10), even though this is a well-known feature (be it categorical or variable) of non-rhotic accents (Wells 1982: 222–227). Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt (2005: 46) equally consider intrusive /r/ as "very much a part of RP", but they add that "careful speakers and speakers of adoptive RP may [...] avoid it", whereas Trudgill (2002: 174) lists intrusive /r/ among a number of "features which used not to be RP and now are RP".

Concerning the treatment of foreign words, Loyd James told his audience in a radio talk, broadcast on 29 November 1926:

> Foreign words are a source of anxiety, and here the committee has one policy, which is, for better or worse, to anglicise as many as possible. Whether a foreign word has lived long enough among us to be given papers of naturalisation is for the committee to decide. (R6 / 196 / 1)

It seems, to give just one example, that the word *garage* was given its UK passport eventually. While on 5 July 1926 "It was [...] decided not to anglicise the word 'garage' yet", the minutes of the Committee's tenth meeting,

held on 20 November 1930, record: "GARAGE: The committee substituted GÁRREDGE for their previous recommendation." (R6 / 201 /1)

Finally, as for giving the postvocalic /r/ "some sound value" and the unstressed vowels "a flavour of their original character", it was not until 1934 – more than eight years after the first meeting – that the Committee finally realised that

> Southern announcers cannot treat the r sound in the Northern manner, and very few English born speakers give to the unaccented vowels the flavour that Mr. Bridges recommended. But the B.B.C. very definitely concerns itself with checking ultra-modern tendencies in the language [...]. (Minutes, Enclosure A; 20 September 1934; R6 / 201 / 2)

This is, in fact, another important point about the working mechanisms of the Committee. In spite of the fact that "in many cases the recommendations of the Committee involve a dogmatic decision on points which might legitimately be argued, but to prevent confusion uniformity has to be attempted" (*Radio Times*, 16 July 1926), the Committee actually increasingly sought the public's views and, not infrequently, took some of the criticism on board, and from the later 1920s onwards showed an increasing willingness to change some of its earlier decisions.

3. A "listening" BBC?

In 1930 the Committee even went so far as to regard *all* its decisions on pronunciation as "provisional and be published as such in 'The Radio Times', being given as much publicity as possible". Then "these provisional decisions should be reviewed at the following meeting, when they would be either confirmed as final, or altered in the light of criticism received" (17 January 1930; R6 / 201 /1).

I should like to illustrate this new, pragmatic "listening BBC" with two brief examples. The first concerns place names. The Committee decided early on to produce a pronouncing dictionary of English place names that would be "of service to general learning, and of practical use to the B.B.C." (8 November 1926; R6 / 201 /1). In the spring of 1927, "a card index of some nine hundred place names, with their pronunciations, had been compiled from information received from listeners in the country" (26 May 1927; R6 / 201 /1). But the place name consultation process undoubtedly reached its climax in 1929 with a full-page appeal in the *Radio Times* by Lloyd James. He wrote that "several hundreds" of letters had already

been received about place names with unfamiliar pronunciations, "but more are required" (*Radio Times*, 3 May 1929).

The reactions were overwhelming, and three weeks later, the *Radio Times* had to publish the following statement: "Mr. Lloyd James has received so many letters in reply to his request for place-names of strange pronunciation that he is unable to reply to them all individually". It continued on a lighter note with respect to the BBC's station and transmitter in Daventry (Northamptonshire):

> A listener has taken exception to our spelling the local pronunciation of "Daventry" as "Daintry". This, she says, should be "Dane-tree". Daventry was the scene of the last stand of the Danes; and the town's crest is a "Dane under a tree". We thank her for this information, which was new to us. The next time we see a Dane under a tree anywhere, we shall think of Daventry. (Both Sides of the Microphone; *Radio Times*, 24 May 1929)

Although the main work on place names was of course done by the Committee (particularly a three-member sub-committee specifically set up for the purpose; it consisted of Daniel Jones, Lloyd James and J. C. Stobart, the Director of the Education Department (R6 / 201 / 1)), the input from listeners should not be underestimated. The result was impressive. A pamphlet, entitled *Recommendations to Announcers Regarding the Pronunciation of Some English Place Names*, published in 1930, contained "some 1500 English names, a few Manx names, and one or two Welsh names from border counties" (*Broadcast English II*, 1930: 5).

The English place name booklet also introduced two important novelties. First, although it continued to be the case that "one pronunciation only should be recommended for Announcers", there now are, in a separate column, the "accepted local pronunciations which are still in general use". Secondly, it was decided – for the first time – "that pronunciations should be given in phonetic script, but that a popular notation should also be given" (Minutes, 25 July 1929; R6 / 201 /1).

As for *Daventry*, therefore, both pronunciations were listed (in phonetic script and modified spelling): first the pronunciation recommended to announcers *ˈdævəntri / dávventry*, followed by the local (and historical) *ˈdeintri / dáyntry* (*Broadcast English II*, 1930: 36).

The second example I would like to give relates to the pronunciation of the word *ski*. The Norwegian and Swedish pronunciation, where <sk> before front close vowels is pronounced /ʃ/, was common in English at the time (see Jones 1924, 1937: s.v., who in both editions gives /ʃiː/ first, followed by the less common alternative /skiː/ in brackets). However, there

was a constant stream of letters objecting to the pronunciation /ʃi:/. Here is one from 1927:

> *"Ski" or "Shee"?*
> Dear Sir, – Would it not be as well if the B.B.C. Advisory Committee on Spoken English gave attention to that vexed word "ski"? When broadcasting some time ago from the Plymouth Station, I was informed by the Announcer that, so far as he was aware, the accepted pronunciation was "shee". If the Norwegian pronunciation be adopted, then presumably the Norwegian plural, without the final "s" should also be used: which I venture to think would ultimately lead to confusion. In any case, since the word is almost universally called "ski" on the Continent, where the sport actually takes place, is it not somewhat absurd for us in England to adopt the sound used by the minority in Scandinavia? [...] F. McDermott, Tregoose, St Columb, Cornwall. (*Radio Times*, 16 September 1927)

The *ski* question – the word was borrowed into English from Norwegian – is directly linked to the treatment of loan words in English and, therefore, the question, as Lloyd James put it, whether "a foreign word has lived long enough among us to be given papers of naturalisation", i.e. to be "Englished"; that, he said, was "for the Committee to decide" (see above, §2). Of course there are no objective criteria of "long" or even "common use", the condition given in the 1926 "general principles". According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v.) there is an isolated early use of *ski* in English dating from 1755, but all the other early attestations are late 19th and early 20th century. But, after another three years of uncertainty, the Committee *did* decide to listen to its critics: on 17 January 1930 the pronunciation "skee" was adopted (R6 / 199 / 2), and on 7 February 1930 the Advisory Committee's new findings were published in the *Radio Times*. This, however, was not the end of it. The complaints continued – now arguing for reinstatement of the pronunciation /ʃi:/ – and so did the discussion among Committee members. On 20 September 1934, the Committee "listened" again and therefore accepted "SHEE to replace SKI", that is, to "denaturalize" the loanword, so to speak, and thus to reverse the previous reverse decision (R6 / 201 / 2).

In spite of such apparent "openness" to suggestions and criticism, the BBC still was, in many respects, frightfully upper-class, public school and Oxbridge. In the letter pages of the *Radio Times* (12 February 1932) a listener (the playwright and biographer St John Ervine) asked the meaning of the word *nesophile*, which he had heard in a broadcast but could not find in any of the dictionaries. To which the broadcasters who had used the word replied, obviously tongue-in-cheek but nonetheless rather high-handedly:

"We apologize with horrid humility for having gone one better than the best dictionary. Our only excuse is a classical education. We derive the word, which means simply an 'island lover' from the Greek noun *nēsos* 'an island', and the verb *phileō* 'I love'. It is one which we have always used under the impression that it was supported by tradition." (In the actual reply, the Greek words are not transliterated, but in their original Greek script.)

4. Achievements, changes and suspension

Excesses like the above – patronising though they were – should not, however, tarnish the larger picture. In its first dozen or so meetings, the BBC Advisory Committee on Spoken English achieved the following:

- it drew up general pronunciation guidelines for announcers and newsreaders;
- it drew up whole lists of words whose pronunciation was uncertain and made recommendations or suggestions for these;
- it implemented the compilation of a card index for the pronunciation of place names;
- it decided to publish its findings and, if necessary, revise them.

The last two points – as we have already seen in the case of English place names – eventually led to the publication of a series of enormously popular pamphlets, entitled *Broadcast English*:

- I: Recommendations to Announcers Regarding Certain Words of Doubtful Pronunciation (1st edn 1928; 2nd edn 1932; 3rd edn 1935; a fourth edition was planned in the course of 1938 but never published (Minutes, 28 June 1938; R6 / 201 / 2))
- II: Recommendations to Announcers Regarding the Pronunciation of Some English Place Names (1930)
- III: [...] Scottish Place Names (1932)
- IV: [...] Welsh Place Names (1934)
- V: [...] Northern Irish Place Names (1935)
- VI: [...] Foreign Place Names (1937)
- VII: [...] British Family Names and Titles (1939)

The minutes of 29 November 1928, that is immediately after the publication of *Broadcast English I*, record that "the attitude of the Press was, on the whole, favourable, and that the pamphlet had aroused considerable interest throughout the country" (R6 / 201 / 1). The pronunciations contained in the 2nd edition of *Broadcast English I*, by the way, were recorded and published by the Linguaphone Institute.[6]

On the surface, the Advisory Committee on Spoken English continued its work – in a fashion broadly similar to that outlined here – until its suspension at the beginning of the Second World War in 1939. Below the surface, however, there were various difficulties, conflicts and crises; as a result of these, two important and wide-ranging sets of changes in policy and structure were implemented over the years.

First, a kind of widening-up process: the accession of new members to the Committee came in two "waves", the first of which was the result of the Committee's first serious crisis in 1929, triggered mainly by the problem of irregular attendance of some members and decisions taken by majority voting in meetings where half of the members may have been absent.[7] The second, bigger "wave" of enlargement took place in 1934 and led to the creation of a permanent specialist sub-committee whose paid members – Professors Daniel Jones, Lloyd James and Henry Cecil Kennedy Wyld, since 1920 Merton professor of English language at Oxford University, and Mr Harold Orton, a dialectologist from King's College, Newcastle, and former pupil of Wyld (ODNB 2004–6) – would make recommendations before the word-lists were put before the full Committee. By October 1938 the main Committee consisted of 18 non-specialist members, including representatives of various learned societies such as The British Academy or The Royal Society of Literature, plus the four members of the specialist sub-committee (for details, see Appendix).

The second set of changes is of a more linguistic nature, namely the general introduction of the International Phonetic Alphabet (or IPA) in 1934, first used tentatively, as we saw, in the English place names booklet. As Lloyd James pointed out:

> The early recommendation to record pronunciations only in the modified spelling system proved unsatisfactory, and a strictly phonetic pronunciation (using the International Phonetic Alphabet) was adopted in addition. (Minutes of the first meeting of the reconstituted Committee, 20 September 1934; R6 / 201 / 2)

This change is clearly connected with the creation of the specialist sub-committee; the presence of more linguists, as well as the Committee's in-

creased contacts with academics from overseas,[8] not only helped to push through sensible measures like the use of the IPA, but also "ensured that the strict prescriptivism expressed by Reith [...] was to some extent mitigated" (McArthur 1992: 110).

Finally, in 1937, we see the suspension of regular publications of the Committee's decisions, decisions often reached by majority voting as, frequently, several pronunciations were found to be "equally good". A statement by R. C. Norman, the Chairman of Governors, to the main Committee reads:

> The Corporation [...] now proposes that, since the public persistently misunderstands its motive in publishing a list of pronunciations recommended for the use of Announcers, it should no longer necessarily publish them in the "Radio Times" and in the daily Press as a matter of routine. (Attached to the minutes of 29 January 1937; R6 / 201 / 2)

Instead, the BBC would only "give private instruction to announcers" based on the specialist members' reports and comments by the main Committee.

At the outbreak of the Second World War the Advisory Committee on Spoken English was formally suspended, although Lloyd James had "made a strong request that [it] should continue its work" (18 December 1939; R6 / 196 / 11). Tellingly, it was not reactivated in 1945.[9] Instead, the BBC-internal Pronunciation Unit was eventually to emerge in the 1940s, with Daniel Jones as Chief Pronunciation Advisor, a role he kept until his death in 1967. The Unit's much reduced responsibility was and still is consistent and "accurate" pronunciation – rather than the promotion of a particular accent or even a single pronunciation of common words with "rival forms" – of all types of *proper* names or phrases, from any language, that BBC staff need to say before the microphone (Catherine Sangster, BBC Pronunciation Research Unit, 18 November 2004, private communication).

5. Conclusion

So, what can we conclude from all this? First, we noticed a strict and dogmatic prescriptivism; the original intention was not only to achieve consistency among BBC announcers and newsreaders but also to educate the public through notions of what was – or was not – "good and correct English"; in short, to find and define the "best" pronunciation, to fix and diffuse it, and thus create a uniform standard.

Then, more and more we saw a kind of "listening BBC", which regarded its decisions on pronunciation as largely provisional until a proper feedback from an ever-larger circle of committee members, advisers and the public was received. Additionally, there was a slow but steady trend towards what could be called "linguistic professionalization": the weight clearly shifted towards the specialist sub-committee; alternative pronunciations were admitted and eventually found to be "equally good"; the IPA was used routinely and the dogmatic press releases of the Committee's rulings were stopped.

Was it all a failure then? Yes and no. Yes, in the sense that the goals the Advisory Committee set out in its early mission statements – to fix and thus standardise spoken English by finding the "best", "most correct" pronunciation of "doubtful words" and then, by the BBC's "powerful example, endeavour to stem modern tendencies to inaccurate and slurred speech" – simply could not be attained; phonology, as Lesley Milroy (1999: 173) has observed, is "particularly resistant to standardisation". To give just one example, unstressed vowels: the Advisory Committee could neither stop "the loss of a post-tonic secondary stress in words such as *territory*, *adversary*, *ceremony*, with a consequent weakening of the vowel to /ə/ and its frequent elision" (Gimson 1984: 47)[10] nor prevent the change from /ɪ/ to /ə/ in weak syllables, particularly after /l/ and /r/, as in *angrily* or *merrily* (Gimson 1994: 83, 99–100).[11] Language variation and change are undeniable facts, as is the focused (rather than fixed) nature of even a reference accent such as RP (Smith 1996: 65–66) – something the Advisory Committee only eventually came to terms with.

It was not a failure in two other senses, however. First, the Advisory Committee played an important role in the emergence of a kind of "broadcast English" or "broadcast style" which – though allowing for some variability – nonetheless conveyed and still conveys a sense of "objectivity" and "authority" going far beyond the UK, particularly when it comes to news broadcasts. The Advisory Committee's influence can be felt up to this day (most clearly when it comes to the generally respectful treatment of domestic as well as foreign place and personal names). In this respect, the early and pioneering work of the BBC in defining a style appropriate for broadcasting may be seen as somewhat parallel to the influence of printing on the written language, though the analogy is of course only a superficial one and therefore should not be pushed too far.

And no, it was also not a failure in that it raised awareness of language issues among the population. True, every variation in pronunciation triggered and still triggers a flood of letters by the "language mavens" (as Ste-

ven Pinker has famously called them), but at the same time, the various discrepancies in pronunciation – be it between two newsreaders, be it between a newsreader's pronunciation and our own – has made us think about notions such as "standard", RP, and "correctness" more than ever before. And this, I believe, is the other lasting legacy of the BBC Advisory Committee on Spoken English.[12]

Appendix

The Reconstituted Main Committee (31 October 1938; R6 / 196 / 10):
(Biographical information, taken from the ODNB 2004–6 unless stated otherwise, is provided for only those members not already introduced in §§2 and 4).

Professor George Gordon (Chairman) [a literary scholar, President of Magdalen College, Oxford and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University];

Lady Cynthia Asquith [writer of memoirs and diaries; admired at the time primarily for her "unique blend of intelligence and playfulness", social background and beauty; friendships with D. H. Lawrence and the playwright J. M. Barrie (ODNB 2004–6)];

Lord David Cecil [a literary biographer and critic, former fellow of Wadham College, Oxford];

Sir Kenneth Clark [art historian, director of the National Gallery and surveyor of the king's pictures];

Alistair Cooke [BBC Film Critic from 1934–1937, he was suggested by Lloyd James as he is "a very brilliant man [...] and very familiar with modern educated American usage" (Lloyd James to Reith, 31 March 1935; R6 / 196 / 7); Cooke's weekly "Letter from America" could be heard on the BBC until just before his death in March 2004];

Professor Julian S[orell] Huxley [zoologist, formerly professor of zoology at King's College, London; Secretary of the Zoological Society];

F[rank] L[aurence] Lucas [author and classical scholar, fellow of King's College, Cambridge];

P[ercy] H[ugh] B[everly] Lyon [Headmaster of Rugby School (*Who Was Who* 1991)];

Miss Rose Macaulay [novelist and essayist, Macaulay was also the author of *Catchwords and Claptrap* (1926), "which reflected the pleasure she derived from the English language and her insistence on verbal precision" (ODNB 2004–6)];

Sir Edward Marsh (Representing Royal Society of Literature) [retired civil servant, patron of the arts, chairman of the Contemporary Art Society and council member of the Royal Society of Literature];

Emeritus Professor Sir H[erbert] J[ohn] C[lifford] Grierson [literary critic and scholar, formerly Professor of English at the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh];

S[amuel] Ratcliffe [a journalist and lecturer, suggested by Shaw as he is "very sensitive to shades of pronunciation, and he does a lot of lecturing in America and comes up against all the differences between spoken English and Spoken American" (19 June 1934; R6 / 196 / 5)];

Dr. I[vor] A[rmstrong] Richards [lecturer in English at Cambridge University, later professor at Harvard, well-known to linguists for his collaboration with C. K. Ogden on *The Meaning of Meaning* (1923) and, in the 1930s, on "Basic English"];

George Bernard Shaw [see §2];

Logan Pearsall Smith (Representing Society for Pure English) [see §2];

Dr. W[alter] W[ilson] Greg (Representing British Academy) [independent literary scholar and biographer, fellow of the British Academy];

The Rev. Canon H[arold] Costley-White (Representing English Association) [when nominated by the English Association, Costley-White was Headmaster of Westminster School; he later became Dean of Gloucester (*Who Was Who* 1979)];

Sir Kenneth R[alph] Barnes (Representing Royal Academy of Dramatic Art) [head of the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, knighted in 1938 "at the insistence of George Bernard Shaw, a firm friend and generous benefactor" (ODNB 2004–6)].

And the four members of the permanent specialist sub-committee:

Professor Daniel Jones [see §2];
Mr. A. Lloyd James [see §2];
Professor H. C. K. Wyld [see §4];
Mr. Harold Orton [see §4].

Notes

1. Gimson (1994: 77–78) has justly remarked that "there have always been at any one time disparities between the speech sounds of the younger and older generations" and that therefore "the speech of the young is traditionally characterized by the old as slovenly and debased."
2. Daniel Jones later also abandoned the term Public School Pronunciation (PSP) and followed H. C. K. Wyld in using Received Pronunciation, a label actually first utilised by A. J. Ellis (Gimson 1984: 45; Strässler 2005). Interestingly, the term "BBC English" originally had a rather negative connotation and was used "among regional BBC staff resentful of the better prospects of speakers with

public-school accents" (McArthur 1992: 109). The fact that in the 1920s the two terms "BBC English" and "public school accent" were perceived as synonymous speaks volumes about the public image and composition of the early BBC.

3. Biographical information, unless stated otherwise, is taken from BBC-internal documents and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB 2004–6).
4. The monophthongisation process of, in this case, the triphthong in /ˈtaɪəd/ to /ˈtɑːd/ is commonly referred to as smoothing (see Wells 1982: 238–242, 292–293).
5. See Mugglestone (2003) on homophones (114–115), aspirated w /hw/ (186–188), vocalisation of /r/ (86–89), and linking and intrusive /r/ (91–94).
6. The final paragraph of the preface in the first edition was omitted and substituted with the following sentence in the second: "All the pronunciations contained in this booklet have been recorded on two ten-inch gramophone records which are published by the Linguaphone Institute" (Minutes, 26 March 1931; R6 / 201 / 1).
7. The problems are outlined and enlargement is recommended in a seven-page document (most probably drawn up by Lloyd James) from the autumn of 1929. C. T. Onions, co-editor of the Oxford English Dictionary and reader in English philology at Oxford University, and Lascelles Abercrombie, a leading poet and at that time professor of English literature at Leeds, were invited to join the Committee (R6 / 196 / 3; ODNB 2004–6). The former eventually resigned under rather acrimonious circumstances (R6 / 196 / 4), the latter died in 1938 (Minutes, 8 December 1938; R6 / 201 / 2).
8. The advisory committee minutes of 30 November 1933, for example, report an exchange of letters between Lloyd James and Professor George Philip Krapp of Columbia University in New York. Krapp – the author not only of the two-volume *The English Language in America* (1925) but also of popular handbooks like *A Comprehensive Guide to Good English* (1927) (Garraty and Carnes 1999: 901–902) – approved of Lloyd James's suggestion "that an American Advisory Committee on Pronunciation might be formed to act in conjunction with the B.B.C. Committee, so that one Committee might co-operate with the other in ascertaining general usage in debatable cases." In the same meeting it was further suggested that "in view of the introduction of Empire Broadcasting steps should be taken to obtain the co-operation of authorities on pronunciation in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada" (R6 / 201 / 1).
9. Note that Reith, who had created the ethos that led to the Committee's formation, left the Corporation in 1938 and Lloyd James, not only the Committee's honorary secretary but also its driving force, had suffered from "depressive insanity" due to the "stress and anxieties of war" and committed suicide in 1943 (ODNB 2004–6).

10. Though in 1981, Burchfield still advised announcers to "be careful not to garble" words like *library* or *secretary* (at 11).
11. Wells (1982: 296) lists *merrily* among various types of words "where RP speakers differ from one another, some using /ɪ/ and some using /ə/." Twenty years on, Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt (2005: 48) write that "in general, younger people are more likely to have /ə/, upper-class speakers are more likely to have /ɪ/."
12. Many thanks to the BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham, for kindly granting permission to quote extensively from BBC-internal documents; to its staff, particularly the ever-helpful and deeply knowledgeable Jeff Walden and Jacquie Kavanagh; to Jens Poulsen for competently and efficiently checking various sources in Zurich to which I did not have access in Lausanne; to Peter Trudgill, Catherine Sangster and Anne-Laure Gex for their very helpful comments on an earlier (and rather different) version of this paper; and above all to Peter Jackson, who not only very kindly and generously passed me his extensive research and archive work on the same topic, but whose careful proofreading of a near-final version also saved me from numerous errors and inaccuracies.

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Chapter 10
Liverpool to Louisiana in one lyrical line: Style choice in British rock, pop and folk singing

"Can Blue Men Sing the Whites?"
(The Bonzo Dog Doo Dah Band)

Franz Andres Morrissey

1. Introduction

When Pink Floyd's original guitarist/songwriter Syd Barrett died in July 2006, the BBC News website featured a quote by British singer David Bowie, "He was the first guy I'd heard to sing pop or rock with a British accent – his impact on my thinking was enormous". Indeed, as we shall see, the two 1967 singles "See Emily Play" and "Arnold Layne", which represented the Pink Floyd's entry into the musical mainstream, show unmistakably just how British Barrett's vocals sound.

Bowie's admiration for Barrett's adoption of "a British accent" and the fact that this should be noteworthy can be explained in terms of a phenomenon that is typical for British popular music.[1] At the time relatively few singers of note used a British singing style consistently, the best known – and exceptional – exponents being former actor Anthony Newly, who focussed mainly on chanson- or music-hall-oriented material, and Jake Thackray, the "founding father of English chanson" (Clayson 2002). By contrast, ever since the Jazz era, but particularly from the 1950s onwards, British singers have modelled their singing style on what they perceived to be an American pronunciation, a tendency that continues to the present time. This is true for Jazz singers, Skiffle groups, Rock'n'Roll, R'n'B or Hard Rock bands as well as doowop pop and soul vocalists to the extent that this style represents a standard style, a norm that seems to permeate even the material of musicians who as of the mid-Sixties have begun to adopt singing styles other than American ones. The reason for the choice of standard style is clearly that the original input for these types of popular music is based on Afro-American Blues and its musical developments, mixed with other elements, such as white American pop music ("Schlager-

musik") (Flender and Rauhe 1989: 72), American folk song influences, Country and Western, etc. Unmistakably the resulting melting pot had and still has a strong American flavour.[2]

This choice of singing style often contrasts drastically with the singers' speech style, e.g. Keith Richards' and Mick Jagger's insistent – and given their background, not always wholly convincing – Cockney speech style whereas their singing is predominately based on American models, particularly in the early Blues and R'n'B material, with which the Stones first made a name for themselves in the purist Crawdaddy blues club in Richmond, London (Shapiro 1999: 831). However, despite the continued prevalence of American pronunciation in the singing style of British vocalists, there have been trends towards other, mostly British accents, in rock and pop vocals, a trend that began, according to Trudgill (1983: 150–151), as of 1964, became more widespread in the Seventies and Eighties with Punk and the New Romantics, and reached a new high with the popularity of Brit Pop and Indie Rock from the Nineties onward.

This paper discusses various factors which influence style choice in rock, pop and folk singing and attempts to present reasons for some of the dialectological inconsistencies which Trudgill (1983) and Simpson (1999) have pointed out. Their approach primarily focuses on sociolinguistic theories, which will also form part of this analysis. I would posit, however, that there are explanations for style choice and the inconsistencies mentioned, for which we may need to look further afield. Admittedly, some of these explanations may be somewhat marginal to linguistic investigation in a narrow sense, focussing on issues such as musical genre, song topics and cultural considerations, as well as the fact that performance has an important role to play. Therefore, the final focus of this paper will include phonological considerations, which to date seem to have been somewhat neglected.

The data used are a number of recordings by seminal artists representing a variety of genres, in particular rock, pop, mainly of the Sixties, folk rock, singer-songwriter material and, given the starting point of this paper, psychedelic and prog rock. Clearly such an analysis, even if it were conducted in a format which would afford more space, needs to remain impressionistic and indicates tendencies rather than universal realities.

2. Theoretical framework and scope

For the discussion, the term *style* will be used in preference to *accent.* Accent according to Swann et al. (2004: 2) "identifies a speaker in terms of regional origin, social standing and, possibly, ethnicity", which does not describe the deliberate nature of the choice that appears to be at the basis of what singers do. For this, the term *style* seems to be more appropriate, firstly, because style "refers to a distinctive way of speaking … People *adopt* different styles in different contexts" (Swann et al. 2004: 299, emphasis added). Furthermore, Bell (1984: 2001) uses the term in his discussion of *audience design*, which presents the aptest model for the phenomenon under discussion.

At this point a caveat is called for. A crucial fact when we discuss style choice in popular music is that it is part of an act, a performance. Flenders and Rauhe (1989: 72) point out that recorded instances of performances play a crucial role for the dissemination of popular music; sheet music is usually available but, unlike in classical music, is not crucial for reproduction and hardly ever does justice to an actual performance. Moreover, performances, even by the same artist, frequently differ considerably from the original recording – and in concerts may even be expected to.[3] Thus, to a certain extent the performance poses similar problems for notation as for linguistic analysis, a point we shall return to below. What is more, it is a cultural construct, not an instance of natural language, a fact that we can afford to ignore with as much impunity as a discourse analyst examining an excerpt from a play. A literary text, like the – intrinsically theatrical – performance of a singer, can yield interesting insights, but conclusions drawn will apply only partially to the "real world".

Another characteristic of performance is its unidirectionality and the resulting lack of interpersonal interaction that much of sociolinguistic analysis is based on, which poses problems for such an analysis. Trudgill (1983), for instance, rightly dismisses accommodation as an explanatory framework for style shift in the absence of interlocutors a speaker could accommodate. The fundamental peculiarity of popular music and of mass communication in general lies in the spatial and usually the temporal distance between the audience (addressee), and the performer. As a mass, the audience make performers into stars, but at the same time may well force them to "replay concert after concert popular songs that [they] *will* hear but the musician wants to leave behind" (Bell 1984: 193, emphasis added). By contrast, performers "hold the initiative to express themselves, and the audience has *no adequate channel for feedback*" (Bell 1984: 193, emphasis

added), which is an integral part of (face-to-face) verbal interaction. Furthermore, if we consider Bell's model of concentric circles (1984: 159) to describe the various roles of participants in a speech situation, we can see that the audience at a performance may have characteristics of all the "persons and roles in [a] speech situation", and yet lack some as a result of the temporal and spatial distance mentioned (see Diagram 1 and Table 1). Thus, the audience exhibits characteristics of addressee, auditor, overhearer and eavesdropper, the latter in the sense that they may not be known to the performers, especially if the performance is recorded rather than a live event.

Table 1: Attributes and audience roles in a speech situation according to Bell (1984), with *popular music audience* added

	Known	Ratified	Addressed
Addressee	+	+	+
Auditor	+	+	-
Overhearer	+	-	-
Eavesdropper	-	-	-
Popular music audience	-/+	+	+/-

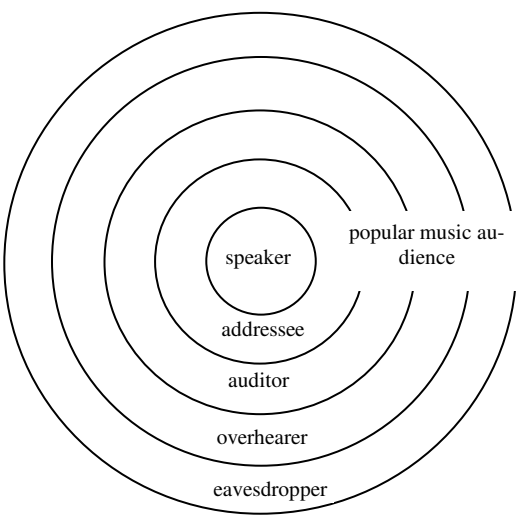

Diagram 1. Persons and roles in a speech situation according to Bell (1984: 159) with *popular music audience* added

When style shift occurs in face-to-face verbal interaction it tends to be a reaction to the persons and their roles in the interaction as shown in Dia-

gram 1 and therefore represents, in Bell's terminology, *Responsive Style Design.* However, style shift can also signal a change in topic or the speaker's attitude, e.g. a shift towards a more formal style if the speaker wants to make a point with authority and uses, say the H-variety in an L conversation (e.g. Standard German in a Swiss German conversation; cf. Ferguson 1959) to do so. Style shifts of this type are not responsive, but as they are initiated by the speaker, represent instances *Initiative Style Design*. As Bell (2001) puts it:

> Initiative style shift is essentially a redefinition by speakers of their own identity in relation to their audience. The baseline from which initiative shifts operate is the style normally designed for a particular kind of addressee. (Bell 2001: 147)

Furthermore, such style shifts "are not predictable" and thus represent "the marked case, which draws its force from the unmarked, responsive use of style" (Bell 1984: 184). They depend for their effectiveness on their relative infrequency. By contrast, an institutionalisation would also mean a loss of markedness.

However, as "pop musicians … are acting according to *conventions*" (Frith (1988: 4, original emphasis), as quoted in Simpson (1999: 344)), their choice of singing style is one of them and thus institutionalised, which suggests that we are faced with a special type of initiative style design, the so-called *Referee Design.* According to Bell, "a speaker diverges from an addressee and towards a third party whom I call the 'referee'." Referees, usually "not physically present at the interaction" are regarded by speaker (and listener) as so important as to "influence speech events in their absence" (Bell 1984: 186). The resulting style model could be called the *reference style*. Blues, blues-derived rock and pop, and country-based singer-songwriter material are obviously rooted in American popular culture and generally associated with an American reference style. Song material of this kind, for which the expected American reference style is not used, will, like marked forms in language, either sound odd or have a specific effect on the audience. The same holds true for other genres of popular music, associated with a specific style, such as British English, perhaps regionally coloured, for music-hall or regional accents for traditional folk material.

The tendency for British singers to adopt an American singing style represents an instance of Bell's *Outgroup Referee Design*: "speakers lay claim to a speech and identity which are not their own but which hold prestige for them *on some dimension*", but the absence of the outgroup referee

and thus the "absence of feedback" often leads to an "inconsistent adoption of the forms of outgroup speech" (Bell 1984: 188). One could argue that this insight provides the perfect explanation for the often less than accurate imitation of American pronunciation, for instance in the case of "hyper-rhoticity" in Cliff Richard's "Bachelor Boy" where "(I'll be) a bachelor boy" is rendered as [əɹ bætʃələɹ bɔɪ] (Trudgill 1983: 149).

However, with the move away from American forms as the main model *Ingroup Referee Design* has started to play a role as well. Here group membership is emphasised in interaction with "members of an outgroup … with a shift towards the speaker's own (absent) ingroup" (Bell 1984: 187). Instances of this in the context of Brit Pop and British Indie Rock will be discussed below.

This raises the question as to which features speakers and listeners would consider salient in an American or a British reference style. Simpson (1999: 345) presents five such features, the "USA-5", which represent the distinctive differences between Standard British English or Received Pronunciation (SBE/RP) and General American (GenAm, Wells (1982a: 10)). In the following I shall refer to these features as SF for Style Feature and the number under which they appear in Table 2.

Table 2: Distinctive Style Features (SF) and their realisations in SBE/RP and GenAm (adapted from Simpson 1999)

Style Feature	Standard British English (SBE) / Received Pronunciation (RP)	General American (GenAm)
SF1	Vowels in *bath* and *hat* are realised as [ɑː] or [æ] respectively.	The vowel in *bath* and *hat* is realised as [æ].
SF2	Vowels for *not* and *all* are rounded [ɒ] and [ɔː].	The same unrounded lower back vowel [ɑ] is used for *not* and *all.*
SF3	The vowel in *eye* is the diphthong [aɪ].	The vowel is pronounced as a half-lengthened [aˑ] (the so-called Confederate Vowel).
SF4	Postvocalic /r/ as in *car* is realised as a lengthening of the vowel [ː].	Postvocalic /r/ is realised as an alveolar or possibly retroflex approximant, i.e. [ɹ] or [ɻ].
SF5	Intervocalic /t/ is pronounced as [tʰ] or [t] ([ʔ] in regional variants).	Instead of intervocalic /t/ we have a [d], (Simpson (1999: 345), possibly dentalised [d̪] (Trudgill 1983) or something close to the alveolar flap/tap [ɾ].[4]

In addition, we will also touch upon features such as "yod-dropping", the replacement of SBE/RP vowel [ʌ] in *love* with a more central, more fronted American vowel that could be represented as [ɜˑ] and the complementary distribution of [l] and [ɫ] in SBE/RP versus dark /l/ in GenAm. These are less salient features and in the case of the elision of /j/ "not entirely uniform" in GenAm (Wells 1982: 247). Nevertheless, "yod-dropping" will have a bearing on the considerations in Section 4.

3. Instances of style choice

3.1. Defining oneself through a reference style

On the Lindisfarne live album "Caught in the Act", recorded in Newcastle City Hall in 1983, we can observe a telling phenomenon: in "Lover not a Fighter" the lyrics are sung in an unmistakable and relatively consistent American singing style.

(1) I'm a lover not a fighter
[aˑm ə ɫɜˑvəɹ nɑɾ ə faˑɾəɹ]
and I'm [aˑm] really [ɹiːɫɪ] built for [fɔː] speed

There is widespread use of flapped intervocalic /t/ (SF5) and relatively consistent postvocalic /r/ (SF4), with the exception of the missing /r/ in "for speed". In addition we have two elements which go beyond the USA-5, the pronunciation [ɜˑ] for /ʌ/ in *lover* and the dark /l/ where we would expect a light /l/, especially in "Geordie", which, unlike SBE/RP has the light /l/ feature in all positions (Wells 1982: 374). However, in the music-hall flavoured "I Must Stop Going to Parties" we are confronted with a high incidence of unmistakably (North Eastern) English features.

(2) I must [ɑ mʊst] stop going [ɡɵːɪn] to parties [ˈpaːɾiz], …
My hair is changing colour [ˈkʊlɑ] and I'm getting kind [kɛɪnd] of thin
…
Next time [tɛim] you see me there, will you kindly [ˈkɛɪndlɪ] throw me out [ɛʊʔ].

The sample, apart from the typically northern absence of the FOOT-STRUT split in [mʊst] and [ˈkʊlɑ], highlights a whole range of Geordie features (cf. Wells 1982: 374) such as the rather open word-final [ɑ] in *colour*, the monophthongal realisation [ɵː] in *going*, the [ɛɪ] in *kind*, *time* and *kindly* (but [ɑ] for *I*) and the [ɛʊ] in *out* together with the glottal stop.

However there is a departure from the almost textbook Geordie style in the pronunciation of *parties*, where we would expect at least a glottalised intervocalic /t/, if not a glottal stop. However the weak vowel /ɪ/, both raised and relatively long, again corresponds to the Tyneside style.

What we observe here is not so much an inconsistency in singing style between the two examples (although some of the features are inconsistent with the style chosen) but a deliberate change between the two songs, in keeping with the different genres, namely, the Swamp Blues "Lover not a Fighter" by Louisiana producer J.D. Miller and the "folky" self-penned Lindisfarne song. Whereas it makes sense to use an American model for the former, it seems just as appropriate to use a Geordie style for the latter.

The departure from the "unmarked" American reference style conditioned by genre, i.e. Rock'n'Roll, can also be observed when the Bonzo Dog Doo Dah Band's Viv Stanshall covers the Elvis hit "Suspicion" (1974) and in Nottingham-based Roaring Jelly's Buddy Holly parody "Trev and the Rock'n'Roll Rockets" (1977) complete with Holly's legendary yelps. In the former, Stanshall sings the lyrics in his trademark RP accent, in the latter the pronunciation never wavers from Midland / Northern English style. In both cases much of the resulting comic effect stems from the use of this "marked" singing style. To put it another way, the unmarked style choice reflects the style of the culturally dominant group from where the genre originates, i.e. an American singing style for Blues, blues-derived rock and pop. By contrast, the marked use of a style, regional in the case of Lindisfarne (Geordie) and Roaring Jelly (Midlands), SBE/RP in the case of the Bonzo Dog Doo Dah Band, contributes to what is known in the recording industry as their novelty status.

The cultural dominance manifested in a reference style can be illustrated particularly well with the Rolling Stones version (3a) of "Little Red Rooster" (1964), where Jagger demonstrates how closely his singing style is modelled on that of the original singer, black Blues shouter Howlin' Wolf (1961) (3b).

(3a) Ain't had no peace in the farmyard [ˈfɑːmjɑːd]
Since my [maˑ] little [ɬɪɾ̩ɬ̩] red rooster's [ˈruːsɾəz̩] been gone

(3b) There's [ðɛəz] been no peace in the barnyard [ˈbɑːnjɑːd]
Since my [maˑ] little [ɬɪɾ̩ɬ̩] rooster [ˈruːsɾə] been gone

Both use the "Confederate vowel" (SF3), both are clearly non-rhotic (SF4), and in both versions we can observe a flap (SF5) between two vowels or between a vowel and a syllabic /l/.

Another example that illustrates the strength of cultural dominance, even when the image of the band or the setting of their material are in conflict with this are "The Who". They started their career on the London pub circuit with a sound that has been described as "the hard, vulgar and relentless Rock'n'Roll style of British working class youth" (Graves and Schmid-Joos 1990: 854). Although Townsend often wore a jacket made of a Union Jack and many early publicity photographs show the band posing against the British flag, the singing style of their enduring first hit "My Generation" (1965) obviously owed more to their genre of choice, R'n'B, than to their projected British image:

(4) People try [traˑ] to put us [pʊɾəz] down
talkin' [ˈtɑːkɪn] about my [maˑ] generation
…
Hope I die [aˑ daˑ] before I [aˑ] get old

Clearly in evidence is the American model for SF2 in [ˈtɑːkɪn], SF3 for "I die" etc., and SF5 for "put us". This pattern remains the same even in "Pinball Wizard" (1969) with its unmistakable English setting; in the opening lines "Ever since I was a young boy, I played the silver ball/ from Soho down to Brighton I must have played them all" /aɪ/ is consistently realised as [aˑ], and "all" and "ball" as [ɑːɫ] and [bɑːɫ] respectively.

A similar pattern is evident in the singing of Kent songwriter and folk guitarist Ralph McTell. The 1974 hit "Streets of London" shows "McTell's admiration for practitioners of the country blues" (Jenkins 2003) both in the guitar picking style and in the chord progressions. However, the musical orientation towards American country blues and the focus on lonely denizens of the Capital create an interesting conflict. One might well expect the topic to have a stronger influence on the singing style than the musical orientation, but the result is less clear-cut. While there is a consistent absence of postvocalic /r/ (SF4), in my mind based on SBE/RP rather than a non-rhotic Southern American style, there is a case of yod-dropping in the first verse in the line "Yesterday's papers telling yesterday's news [nuːz̩]", which would be in line with just such an American model. However, as (5) illustrates, there are several other instances where GenAm and SBE/RP seem to sit side by side:

(5) In our winter city [ˈsɪɾɪ] the rain cries [kɹaɪz] a little pity [ˈlɪɾɨ̞ ˈpʰɪɾɪ]
for one more forgotten [fəˈɡɒɾn̩] hero …

We have, thus, for SF3 in [kɹaɪz] for SF2 in "forgotten" [fəˈgɒɾn̩] the SBE/RP pronunciation; the same applies for the differentiation between light and dark /l/ in [ˈlɪɾɫ].

However, for SF5 the intervocalic /t/ is consistently flapped as would be typical for GenAm. In the chorus we have a further American feature, albeit not a phonological one, when McTell sings "and say that for you the sun *don't* shine" instead of *doesn't*.[5] However, this may be as much an issue of rhythm as a bow towards an American reference style.

In later McTell recordings similar phenomena persist. Both "The Enemy Within" and "Care in the Community" on the 1995 album "Sand in Your Shoes", take up two catchphrases of the Thatcher era. "Care in the Community", described in the liner notes as a follow-up to "Streets of London", also presents maladjusted inhabitants of London's streets. Unlike its predecessor, however, it contains references to two actual places, the Strand and Waterloo station, as well as to the Tube. The song is set to a laid-back, jazzy tune, which stands in stark contrast to the bitter sarcasm of the lyrics. It seems that, here too, it is the music that determines the choice of the singing style more than the topic (the effect of Thatcherite politics) or the setting (London) as (6) demonstrates:

(6) At the world [wɜːl] blurring past [pæst] on the street.
[…]
You better [ˈbɛɾə] take care [kɛə] in the community [kəˈmjuːnəɾɪ]
The community [kəˈmjuːnəɾɪ ˈbɛɾə] better take care [kɛə]
There is no immunity [ɪˈmjuːnəɾɪ]
Everybody [ɛvrɪˈbɑdɪ] must bear [bɛə] his share [ʃɛə].

SF1 being realised as /æ/, SF2 as unrounded [ɛvrɪˈbɑdɪ] and SF5 consistently as a flap rather than a voiceless plosive point towards an American reference style, which could well be the result of the choice of tune and orchestration. However both SF3 (/aɪ/ diphthong rather than the Confederate vowel) and SF4 (absence of rhoticity) are relatively consistently realised according to an SBE/RP model.

By contrast, we have a British reference style in "The Enemy Within", the Thatcherite reference to the miners during the 1984 Miners' Strike. The tune is based on a hymn and the arrangement features a colliery band. It may well be that all elements come together in this song, the topic (the miners' strike), the setting (the practice room of a colliery band) and the reference style. All style features from SF2 to SF5 are consistently SBE/RP, as illustrated to an extent in (7), but there are two features in the excerpt which deserve special attention.

(7) … the colliery band [band] in front
Some said we'd been defeated [dɪˈfiːtəd]
but it felt [fɛɫt] as if we'd won

As we can see SF1 is realised closer to /a/ rather than /æ/, and the /ɛ/ in "felt" seems to be lowered somewhat in comparison to the SBE/RP pronunciation; these two elements would seem to point towards a "folky" rural style with a slight Northern English flavour which we can find in the singing style of some folk singers with rocky leanings as a shift towards what could perhaps be called a "generic non-urban" singing style.

This generic non-urban style is not usually in evidence with more traditional folk singers, whose singing style does not differ markedly from their speaking style, even when the topic of the song or its origin (and setting) might make such a shift appropriate. Admittedly, Scottish folk singer Dick Gaughan sings "Song for Ireland" (1981) in less pronounced Scots than the traditional "The Bonnie Earl O'Moray" (1978) but nevertheless makes no attempt at including Irish style features in the former. The same can be said of Irish singer Christy Moore or Northerner Dave Burland and their respective versions of Ewan MacColl's "Sweet Thames Flow Softly" (1972/1978), which depicts a relationship from the tender beginnings to the break-up as a journey along the Thames flowing through London. Neither affect a singing style like MacColl's, nor do they opt for (perhaps London-tinged) SBE/RP to reflect the fact that the song was originally written for a radio adaptation of Romeo and Juliet set in London.

In contrast to the tendency among traditional folk singers not to adopt a singing style markedly different from their speaking style, English folk rockers like Fairport Convention, The Albion Country Band and Steeleye Span have a tendency to make use of certain features that would signal the "generic non-urban" singing style that McTell uses in "The Enemy Within". Bell (1984) has made the case that for Outgroup Referee Design it is enough that the style chosen contains the features associated with the outgroup, but need not be so convincing as to pass muster with it. The token gestures of the folk rock singing style illustrates this, perhaps even going beyond the concept of an existing outgroup because the style features that can be observed do not seem to belong to *one* actual style. Thus, apart from a lowering of /æ/ towards [a] alongside [ɑː] and a similar lowering of the unrounded front vowels /e/ and /ɛ/, we have /aʊ/ and /əʊ/ sounding relatively close to Southern rural styles (cf. Trudgill 1999). To complete the picture of a lack of specificity in terms of dialect area and group we sometimes have a slight raising, possibly with some lip-rounding

of /ʌ/ towards [ʊ], but without the full realisation of a Northern vowel. Consonant articulation includes intervocalic /t/ being usually an aspirated voiceless alveolar stop, a penchant towards l-darkening also in places where in SBE/RP the /l/ would be light, a tendency towards lenis pronunciation of some word-initial voiceless stops, in particular /k/, as well as occasional h-dropping. However, even if the subject matter suggests a relation to specific regions as in Fairport Convention's concept album "Babbacombe Lee" set around the Torquay area, the typical style features which one would associate with South Western dialect varieties, initial fricative voicings (['zɛvən] instead ['sɛvən]), lenis articulation of medial obstruents ([dʒaˑgɪd] for *jacket*) and the typical West country "burr" (cf. Wells 1982: 343–344 and Elmes 2005: 29–30), are largely absent. The style that emerges shows a mixture of local features, predominately but not exclusively rural, from a variety of traditional dialect areas being added to what is otherwise a relatively clearly identifiable form of SBE/RP.

3.2. SBE/RP as a dominant reference style

Whereas the picture that emerges for a folk rock reference style is slightly uneven, an interesting case can be made for a somewhat more uniform reference style in prog or art rock. Pink Floyd guitarist Syd Barrett's use of SBE/RP style features has been referred to briefly at the beginning of this discussion. To illustrate, in the second line of "See Emily Play" "She often inclined to borrow somebody's dreams till tomorrow" the pronunciation of *tomorrow* is [tə'mɒrəʊ], with the vowel in the second syllable possibly slightly lowered and fronted (SF2); in the opening line of the second verse "Soon after dark" [suːn 'ɑftə dɑːk], there is not only no trace of post-vocalic /r/ (SF4), but we also get the typical SBE/RP /ɑ/ in the pronunciation of *after* rather than the GenAm /æ/ (SF1). In "Arnold Layne" the pronunciation is also SBE/RP throughout, for instance with the rounded back vowel /ɔː/ in *wall* and *tall* (SF2) in "on the wall hung a tall mirror" and the clearly non-rhotic ['mɪrə] (SF4). The adoption of these SBE/RP features, especially the focus of SF1 (/ɑ/ instead of /æ/) has remained a feature in much of Pink Floyd material, clearly observable in many of the songs sung by Barrett's successor Dave Gilmour (cf. for instance "Comfortably Numb", where Gilmour sings "I can't [kɑːnt] hear what you're saying"). But also in "Another Brick in the Wall Part II" (both 1979) sung by Roger Waters we have "no dark [dɑːk] sarcasm ['sɑːkæzm̩] in the classroom ['klɑːsruːm]" although in other places Waters may use the GenAm pro-

nunciation for instance SF2 in "is there anybody [enɪˈbɑːdɪ] in there" and SF5 in "on your feet again [fɪːɾ əˈgɛn]" in "Comfortably Numb".

What may account for the adoption of SBE/RP as the reference style for much of prog rock, at least in Britain, is that these compositions aspired to be much more sophisticated than the standard three-minute pop song; with the increasing length and musical complexity of the material and its aspirations towards "serious" music, the lyrics had to move away from the (American) Rock'n'Roll model towards the language of the literary sophistication of the – theatrical – stage, in other words towards SBE/RP.[6]

Another reason for the emergence of SBE/RP as a reference style in prog rock may be the celebration of Englishness, possibly resulting from the popularity of English bands with audiences worldwide in the second half of the Sixties. At that time, British musicians met with considerable success in the US and the resulting tours by British bands was often referred to as the "British Invasion". This rise and the attendant increase in what one could call cultural confidence began with The Beatles, although at the time, about 1964, they still focussed on American material for their covers on "Beatles for Sale" (mainly black Rhythm and Blues, Rockabilly and Country). Robertson (1994: 26) points out that on some recordings this album "sounds like the peak of British beat music", a fact that becomes obvious when we consider the cover of Carl Perkins' "Everybody's Trying to Be My Baby", on which "Harrison's scouse drawl made Perkin's lyrics almost impossible to decipher" (Robertson 1994: 31). Scouse, however, had always been part of their media personality, first on the (RP) BBC and later during interviews in the States (cf. Atkinson 2007: 17). The trend away from American dominance is evident on the albums that followed in the next two years, "Help", "Rubber Soul", "Revolver", "Sgt. Pepper", which show how the Beatles left their rock roots and embraced new concepts, musically and lyrically. As of "Rubber Soul" they entirely eschewed cover material, only doing their own songs.

Interestingly enough, Beat music, spearheaded by the Beatles, seems to have given rise to a reference style of its own, which in turn created a phenomenon not often discussed in the literature, i.e. that not all transatlantic style imitation went from the New to the Old World. Probably the best-known example for this are The Monkees. Formed in 1965 by Columbia in response to the commercial success of the Beatles films *A Hard Day's Night* and *Help* the group, selected from a field of 400 applicants, comprised a carefully tailored line-up of two folk/country musicians, Michael Nesmith and Peter Tork, and two singing actors, Micky Dolenz and Manchester-born Davy Jones, the latter included no doubt for both his boyish

good looks and the added bonus of being a Northerner. The "manufactured" band, "an American Beatles" (Nixon 1999: 858), meant to be the transatlantic answer to the Fab Four, were often unflatteringly referred to as "the Prefab Four".

It is hardly surprising that when Jones sings lead vocals, the pronunciation is unmistakably British. In "Here Comes Tomorrow" we have SF1 as [ɑː] in *can't* but also some non-standard features such as a glottal stop in [əʊ wɑʔ ə swiːt gɜːl], the "Velar Nasal Plus" in [lɒŋg], a feature typical of "most of the western half of the midlands and the middle North, including … Manchester and Liverpool" (Wells 1982: 365). Possibly the most interesting instance is Jones' adoption of specific Northern English style features in the 1967 hit "Daydream Believer" (8):

(8) Oh, I [aˑ] could hide [hɑɪd] 'neath the wings
…
But [bʊt̪] it [ɪt̪] rings and I [ɑɪ] rise [rɑɪs]

The /aɪ/ diphthong seems to conform mostly to the midland pronunciation (Wells 1982: 358).[7] More surprising is perhaps that Mancunian Jones uses Scouse t-affrication in [bʊt̪ ɪt̪], which, similar to his more recent fellow Mancunian Liam Gallaher in "Wonderwall" (see Simpson 1999: 363), may well indicate an imitation of the Beatles (even though they rarely used Scouse features in their singing[8]).

However, SBE/RP features play an important part in the Monkees' singing style even when American Micky Dolenz acts as the lead vocalist. "I'm a Believer", a number 1 hit in 1966, shows a surprising adherence to a British style in the consistent absence of rhoticity (SF4) ("for" [fɔː] and "believer" [bɪˈliːvə]), and /aɪ/ being mostly realised as a diphthong (SF3) in [maɪ maɪnd]. Back vowels, on the other hand, seem to follow mostly American models as in [nɑt] and [ˈhɑːntɪd] although there is a relatively British realisation of [ɔːɫ] in "haunted all my dreams". Similarly, intervocalic /t/, only in evidence at a word boundary in this song (e.g. "not a [nɑɾ ə] trace"), corresponds to the American voiced flap rather than the British unvoiced plosive. "Last Train to Clarksville" (1966), on the other hand, presents a wider spectrum of USA-5 features but here too we have a mixture of styles.

(9) Take the last [læst] train to Clarksville [ˈklɑːksvɪl].
I'll [aɪl] be waiting [ˈweɪtʰɪŋ] at the station.
We'll have time [taɪm] for coffee [ˈkɒfɪ] - flavoured kisses
And a bit of conversation [ˌkɑːnvəˈseɪʃn̩].

SF1 unmistakably follows the American model, SF2 once again veers between GenAm and SBE/RP, whereas SF3 and SF4 are consistently British. That Dolenz's style seems so strongly influenced by SBE/RP is somewhat unexpected when we consider the song's subject matter – a young man about to be drafted and shipped off to Vietnam (hence "I don't know if I'm ever coming home") arranging a last date with his girlfriend – as well as the geographical reference, i.e. Clarksville, Tennessee near Fort Campbell, Kentucky, the young man's presumed destination. What this would point towards, on the one hand, is the strength of British cultural dominance in pop and beat music at the time, which led to the adoption of British features. On the other hand, it demonstrates that reference style in popular music, when it goes from Britain to the New World, is subject to the same lack of consistency in the adoption of salient features that would apply to British singers aiming for an American reference style.

Another instance where the reference style is SBE/RP with an American singer trying to sound British can be observed in Jefferson Airplane's "White Rabbit" (1967). The title alludes to *Alice in Wonderland* and the musical style is reminiscent of Pink Floyd's prog rock / psychedelic piece "Astronomie Domine". Both factors, but certainly the former, may be the reason for the style choice in this instance. The first verse (10) shows a number of interesting elements

(10) …and one pill [pɪl] makes you small [smɔːl],
And the ones that mother [ˈmʌðə] gives you
Don't do anything at all [ətʰ ɔːl].
Go ask [ask] Alice
When she's ten feet tall [tʰɔːl].

Most style features follow the SBE/RP model: low back vowels are rounded in *tall* and *at all* (SF2), *mother* is non-rhotic (SF4), SF5 is realised as an aspirated /t/ (*at all*) and /a/ in *ask* (SF1), while not corresponding entirely to SBE/RP seems closer to a Northern English than a GenAm pronunciation. It is intriguing, however, that the /l/ in *pill*, *all* and *tall* is pronounced as a light [l] where we would expect [ɫ] in SBE/RP; this appears to be a hypercorrection of a (perceived) British feature, which results in something resembling an educated Irish accent.

While American singers adopting SBE/RP features is a relatively rare occurrence, the weakening of the American model as the only or the strongest reference style as of the mid-Sixties (Trudgill 1983) is evident in a number of cases, for instance in the Small Faces "Lazy Sunday Afternoon" (1968), which has mainly Cockney vocals. What is interesting, how-

ever, is that the last chorus after an instrumental break has lost all Cockney features and, in keeping with the R&B musical style, reverts to the American style model in all features in evidence, i.e. SF1 [æftəˈnuːn], SF2 [gɑt], SF3 [maˑ aˑz].

A similar tendency towards a British reference style can be observed in Brit Pop and Indie Rock of the Nineties. Both genres owe an allegiance to the British musical past, the former to the Sixties, the latter more to the punk era of the Seventies and early Eighties. In several cases the tendency is to employ regional features, e.g. the Scouse t-affrication in Mancunian Oasis's song "Wonderwall" referred to above. Other examples include the Colchester band blur (11) or Catatonia from Wales (12).

(11) City dweller [ˈdwɛlɑ], successful fella [ˈfɛlɑ]
… I'm caught in a rat race [kɔːʔ ɪn ə raʔ reɪs] terminally
("Country House" 1995)

(12) You should be making it easy on yourself [ˈmeɪkɪŋ ɪɾ ˈiːzɪ ɑn jɔːsɛlf]
…
It's all over [ˈouvə] the front page, you give me road rage, [ˈroud ɾeɪdʒ]
… possibly [ʁeɪdʒ]
you're driving [ˈdɾaɪvɪŋ] me crazy [ˈkɾeɪzɪ] ("Road Rage" 1998)

In (11) we have evidence of Southern English features, for instance, non-rhoticity with a tendency towards an open rather than a central word-final vowel for *dweller* and *fella.* SF2 follows the SBE/RP rounded back vowel and /t/ mostly the "Estuary" style model as a glottal stop. Similarly there are typical Welsh elements in (12), notably the [ou] in *over* and *road* and the absence of rhoticity (SF4), but probably the most strikingly Welsh feature is the /r/ in *rage*, *driving* and *crazy.* Carmosino (1999: 7) has argued that /r/ in *rage* is a uvular /ʁ/, a rural Welsh feature known as *tafod tew* (thick tongue) (Wells 1984: 390), but this is a little difficult to assess because of the instrumentation. It is also possible, and in the case of *driving* and *crazy* more obvious, that what we are faced with is the flapped realisation – or possibly a very short alveolar trill – that is also widespread in Welsh English (Wells 1984: 390).

Two points are noteworthy here: firstly, the commercial success of Brit Pop and Indie Rock on both sides of the Atlantic may well have been a driving force for the tendency to retain British reference styles. Clarke (1998: 135) has suggested that Brit Pop and Indie Rock of the Nineties are characterised by a "backward-looking anglocentricity", and thus hark back to periods in which there was a similar cultural confidsence as during the

Sixties and Seventies.[9] Secondly, the prominence of these features hints at an interesting phenomenon, which Carmosino (1999) links to Giles and Couplands' concept of ethnolinguistic identity (1991): the marked use of such features can "accentuate ingroup communicative markers" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 97). This ties in with Bell's notion of *Ingroup Style Design* and would explain the salience of regional style features connected to the bands' origins or possibly their real or suggested social background as they emphasise group membership, i.e. (regional) Britishness, with "members of an outgroup", the audience, "with a shift towards the speaker's own (absent) ingroup" (Bell 1984: 187).

4. Beyond sociolinguistics

What is interesting in the case of Catatonia (12) – as well as in other examples – is the presence of GenAm features, i.e. SF2 realised as an unrounded lower back vowel and SF5 flapped, which represent some of the many inconsistencies in style choice presented in this chapter and referred to in the literature. The questions they raise are summed up in the conclusion of Trudgill's 1983 paper:

> … even in the narrow field of pop-song pronunciation it is not possible, in terms of [Le Page's] theory [of linguistic behaviour] (or any other), to explain why *particular* … consonantal, vocalic or other variants are retained, rejected or selected, and not others. We may therefore await theoretical refinements, since it may be the case that until we are better able to account for why, say, the Clash … sing [kɑːnt gɛd̪ əˈhɛd] (rather than [kænt gɛd̪ əˈhɛd] or [kɑːnt gɛʔ əˈhɛd], we as sociolinguists may perhaps not be able to make much progress either. (Trudgill 1983: 159–160)

The present discussion neither claims to present these theoretical refinements, nor to advance the theory that would help the sociolinguistic progress Trudgill refers to. However, a partial answer to the question why The Clash, like so many others, are inconsistent in their use of SF5, among other style features, and why they opt for a GenAm rather than a British realisation, could well stem from the fact that the data we are examining are performances of songs. As such they are subject to rules and restrictions not necessarily and certainly not only governed by sociolinguistic considerations.

As any vocalist appreciates, there are certain speech sounds that lend themselves better to singing than others because, to put it simply, they

"carry" the tune. Hawkins, somewhat more technically, points out that "more 'sonorous' sounds have greater carrying power …, which corresponds in articulatory terms to the freedom of passage of air through the vocal tract" (1984: 98). Whereas (voiceless) stops restrict the free passage of air, vowels, at the other end of the spectrum, have the greatest carrying power; particularly "[o]pen vowels are (as any singer appreciates) more sonorous than close vowels" (Hawkins 1984:98). In other words, the more sonorous speech sounds vocalists can use in their singing, the easier it is to hold their own against the electric competition of the band.

Sonority of speech sounds can be illustrated with the following diagram:

Most sonorous	↑	low (open) vowels
		mid vowels
		high (close) vowels
		glides
		flaps
		laterals
		nasals
		voiced fricatives
		voiceless fricatives
		voiced plosives
		voiceless plosives
Least sonorous		complex plosives /affricates

Diagram 2: Sonority scale (Burquest and Payne 1993: 101)

This scale ignores the issue of lip-rounding, which would also affect sonority because the relative opening through which the sound escapes is reduced in comparison to unrounded (and not spread) vowels produced in the same articulatory region.

Reconsidering the style features discussed above, we see an interesting pattern emerge: several of the favoured – and, one could postulate, unmarked – style features, i.e. the GenAm realisations, have a higher sonority than their SBE/RP equivalent. SF5 is a case in point. Intervocalic /t/ realised as a voiceless stop, irrespective of whether it is alveolar or glottal, has a very low sonority; by contrast, if we accept the sonority scale above, flaps are considerably more sonorous, which is also the reason why it makes sense to transcribe this speech sound in singing as [ɾ] rather than [d] or [d̪]. In practical terms the SBE/RP realisation of /t/ or a regional [ʔ]-variant means that the sound produced by the two vowels is interrupted by

a voiceless stop, which is difficult to sing unless the song allows for a *staccato* phrasing. This is the case, for instance, in the chorus of the Small Faces's "Itchycoo Park", an acoustic, bluesy song with relatively strong SBE/RP style features. "It's oh so beautiful" is realised as [ˈbjuːtɪfʊl], i.e. with an aspirated /t/ with each syllable articulated separately. However, in (12) the phrasing for "making it easy" is much more *legato*. The same is true for "to make it better [ˈbɛtʰə] better [ˈbɛɾə] better [ˈbɛɾə] in the Beatles' "Hey Jude" (1968) and in "We're so pretty [prɪɾeɪ], oh so pretty [prɪtʰɪ]" in "Pretty Vacant" (1977) by the Sex Pistols (cf. Simpson 1999: 349). In both cases we have the SF5 GenAm and SBE/RP variants side by side, but the musical phrasing in "Hey Jude" would make it almost impossible to pronounce the intervocalic /t/ as a voiceless stop in the ascending melody after the first *better*. The Sex Pistols may simply sound inconsistent but it is at least possible to interpret this as vocalist Rotten succumbing to the temptation of opting for the more "singable" flap, even in this tendentially more *staccato* phrasing. To put it another way: the flapped realisation of intervocalic /t/ is relatively sonorous and thus more singable, which is why we can take it as the unmarked form, particularly in *legato* phrasings; by contrast, the unvoiced stop /t/ may represent a marked realisation, which signals a conscious choice of a British reference style as is the case in "Itchycoo Park".

Singability may also have an impact on rhoticity (SF4). A postvocalic /r/ represents a closure in comparison to the position of tongue and mouth during the pronunciation of the vowel. For the singer this creates two problems: firstly, the closure reduces the opening for the air flow, thus reducing sonority, and, secondly, it requires a decision as to when the tongue should begin to move from the vowel constellation towards the alveolar approximation of the [ɹ]. For a singer, non-rhoticity may therefore be preferable, particular in sustained notes. In shorter notes, on the other hand, it is easier to produce the approximant, because the two problems mentioned above represent less of an issue. Nevertheless, they may be a reason why non-rhotic realisation is relatively widespread, especially in monosyllabic words, at the end of a line in the lyrics or generally in a sustained note, an observation which also applies to singers not actively aiming for an SBE/RP or a Southern/Black Southern reference style (3a and 3b).

What holds true for the difficulties in producing post-vocalic /r/ also applies to SF3, the /aɪ/-diphthong and to an extent to yod-dropping, although in the opposite direction: the diphthong requires a movement from a relatively sonorous open vowel to a less sonorous closed vowel. Both, the reduction of sonority and the need to decide when this movement is best

executed, create a problem for singers, which can easily be avoided if a monophthong is substituted. This is clearly the case in a long note, where the decision when to start the move is not an easy one; furthermore, notes sustained on /iː/ create a screechy, rather unpleasant sound and are therefore avoided. On a very short note the problem of the screech obviously does not apply but may make it difficult to execute the diphthongal glide. The decision to produce a SBE/RP /aɪ/ is therefore probably limited to a middle-length note on a syllable with a coda. In yod-dropping the move is from the relatively less sonorous glide /j/ to a more sonorous vowel; this means that the potential difficulties mentioned above apply, albeit in the reverse direction. Life for a singer may therefore be easier if the (American) realisation with yod-dropping is an option.

As far as SF2 is concerned, we can perhaps say that this is, together with SF5, the feature which is used most inconsistently as far as adherence to a reference style is concerned. Our examples show that singers who use a SBE/RP or a British regional reference style may use the unrounded back vowel [ɑ] in preference to [ɒ] and [ɔː]. Ringo Starr's "I need somebody [ˈsʌmbɑdɪ] to love" in "With a Little Help from My Friends", where he also uses the "velar nasal plus" feature in "if I sang [saŋg] out of tune" illustrates this preference. Avoiding the reduced "freedom of passage of air through the vocal tract" (Hawkins 1984: 98) as a result of lip-rounding could present an explanation for the prevalence of the unrounded and more open back vowels that we can observe in so many of the examples discussed in this paper. Therefore, if Grace Slick not only opts for an aspritated /t/ but also the rounded back vowel in [atʰ ɔːl] (10), we can postulate that this constitutes a marked form, a clear signal that the reference style used here is SBE/RP in keeping with the Carrollian theme of the song.

This leaves us with the one style feature not affected by sonority, the choice between [æ] and [ɑː] (SF1). Both are open vowels and their length can be varied and thus adapted to the needs of melody. Therefore, when the Beatles sing "I can't [kæ̃nt] get you out of my mind" in the Coasters' cover "Young Blood", they plainly adopt the (black) American pop vocalists' reference style.[10] In the same way, Sophie Ellis-Bextor pronunciation of [ˈdɑːns flɔː] in "Murder on the Dance Floor" (2002) must represent a conscious decision to opt for an SBE/RP reference style, possibly to convey an image of Sloane Ranger poshness demonstrated in the video.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion we can say that there are a variety of elements that affect style choice. There is clearly the issue of reference style which may be influenced by the origin of the song, the demands of the genre, to a lesser degree the topic and to a certain extent the cultural confidence in the image the performers are trying to project. Many of these choices reflect what could be considered an unmarked style, where the genre and the reference style are in keeping with each other, i.e. an American pop song would be sung with American style features, a Sixties beat number may be studded with English or even Northern style features, a folk rock ballad would use elements from a variety of rural English dialects, etc. By contrast, a deviation from this unmarked use of a reference style may lead to a variety of effects, often comical, e.g. Spinal Tap's prog rock parody "Stonehenge" (1984), where the spoken intro and much of the lyrics are intoned in a London accent (including h-dropping in [staʊnˈɪŋ]), or the Bonzo Dog Doo Dah Band's SBE/RP pronunciation of the blues lyrics in "Can Blue Men Sing the Whites" (1974).

However, a discussion of the phenomenon of style choice in popular music must also take into account the aspect of performance and its impact on pronunciation. It is a truism that singing is not speaking and that singing style and speaking style are therefore subject to different parameters. As the literature makes abundantly clear, singers do not have the sociolinguistic knowledge that would allow them to monitor the accuracy of their adopted singing style, but it is clearly also important to take into account that their performance needs to conform to different criteria, one of the foremost being lyrics affording the potential for carrying sound. For this reason it makes sense to broaden the scope of the discussion of reference styles to include the notion of sonority and to what degree it can help to answer the question that Trudgill raised at the end of his seminal 1983 paper.

Notes

1. In this paper I shall use "popular music" as an umbrella term for rock, pop and modern folk music, both traditionally influenced and contemporary.
2. Liverpudlian dockers and sailors who first brought recordings of American Rock music to Britain in the Fifties were known as "Cunard Yanks", Cunard

being one of the principal shipping lines by which these records and other American goods were brought across the Atlantic.

3. Compare, for instance, the recording of Eric Clapton's "Layla" (1972) with the unplugged version of 1992.
4. I shall use the /ɾ/ for reasons that will emerge later in the discussion but as Trudgill (1983: 141) has pointed out the sound is "a voiced alveolar flap of some kind."
5. This could be a Cockney feature but the pronunciation makes this possibility rather unlikely.
6. Theatricality was also a strong feature in the almost operatic performances with elaborate costumes and stage effects (e.g. Peter Gabriel with Genesis and the legendary special effects at Pink Floyd concerts).
7. Nevertheless there are some instances of American realisations, e.g. SF3 for *I* in the first line.
8. Lennon's pronunciation of *git* [get] in "I'm so tired" ("White Album"), the Liverpudlian style in "Polythene Pam" or the Scouse /r/ in "spinal cracker" on "Come together" ("Abbey Road") are relatively rare exceptions.
9. For a more detailed discussion of Brit Pop, cultural precedents and the perception of it representing a reaction against American dominance in popular music compare Mitchell (1996).
10. The recording represents a wild mixture of styles in the line "just look at her" sung in succession by all four band members, running the gamut from GenAm to Scouse. This may be a sign of markedness as the band are known to have tired of doing BBC studio session at the time and may have been sending up the song with this strategy.

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Part II
English usage in non-native contexts

Chapter 11
'Standard' English, discourse grammars and English language teaching

Tony Bex

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I intend to consider some of the emerging views of discourse grammars with particular reference to the CANCODE project. This is a unique project established by the universities of Cambridge and Nottingham in which recordings of spoken English comprising some five million words were collected between 1995 and 2000. It is unique because the corpora have been coded, among other things, according to the relationships between the speakers (Cambridge International Corpus). In particular, I shall be considering the proposed applications of this research in language teaching (e.g., Carter 1998, 1999; Carter and McCarthy 1995; Hughes and McCarthy 1998; McCarthy and Carter 1995; McCarthy 1998). I shall be concentrating on English language teaching (ELT) because I believe English has a unique status in the world with a variety of functions that is not matched by other languages. In passing, I shall refer to the debates concerning 'standard' English. My concluding argument will be that the native-speaker English teacher has become an expensive irrelevance for those countries which teach English as a second language, and that such teaching should be restricted to countries which have English as a first language.

2. Grammar and discourse grammars

For these purposes, it is necessary to investigate the nature of grammar, and its place within language teaching projects. Traditionally, language teachers have regarded grammars as sets of instructions for producing well-formed sentences within the target language. Typically, such instructions are treated as the 'rules' of a language. There are two major problems with this characterisation: the first being a failure to ascertain the nature of such

rules, and the second being a failure to recognise that such grammars only represent a very small part of a dialect of the language so-called.

Clearly, such 'rules' cannot be immanent within the language since this would involve proposing that languages can exist independently of their speakers. It could be argued *pace* Chomsky and his followers that they somehow exist within speakers' heads. But this involves treating grammar (and I have chosen the singular form deliberately) as universally abstracted from individual languages, and of little interest to the language teacher.[1] It would thus seem that such 'rules' are the construction of particular speakers and are therefore normative rather than natural. This normativity derives from those speakers who typically use the dialect that has been codified which, in the case of English, is typically referred to as 'Standard English'.

It could be argued that these are 'Saussurean' grammars which give partial synchronic accounts of the language. But such grammars give a distorted picture of how meanings are actually made. The whole process of producing a meaningful utterance is far more provisional than such abstractions allow and as discourse grammarians are discovering. As Cumming and Ono (1997) state in their extremely useful introduction to this area:

> the actual production of syntax is locally managed – that is, transpiring in real time, second-by-second, and always contingent on negotiation with the other participants in the speech event. Moreover, although the grammatical patterns resulting from this process would often be considered 'syntactically ill-formed' in traditional accounts, interactants are extremely tolerant of such constructions. (Cumming and Ono 1997: 132)

Of course, this is not to argue that grammar does not exist. There may well be a universal semantic grammar which identifies processes, participants and circumstances, but in any particular language the items (and their inflections) which can fill these slots are not predetermined but are subject to the exigencies of the communicative event. Thus, the Saussurean distinction between *langue and parole* dissolves since *parole* is *langue* as it undergoes a process of grammaticalisation (Hopper and Traugott 1993; Toolan 1994).

If this is true, and it gains further support from researchers (e.g., Bechtel and Abrahamsen 2002) who are investigating neural networking within the brain, it poses a dilemma for language teachers for the particular grammars they are teaching are necessarily always provisional. Widdowson (1997) has captured this insight neatly when he asserts à propos systemic functional grammars:

> The question arises though as to how far a grammar can actually account for language use, and how far there is indeed a correspondence between categories of description and instances of communicative behaviour. (Widdowson 1997: 149)

If this is a problem with systemic functional grammars, it is no less a problem with other types of grammar. Certainly, discourse grammars are less normative than traditional descriptive grammars have tended to be (cf. Taylor 1997: 136) since they are no more than a model of what *has* occurred. However, there is always a risk that they may become predictive, and this is what seems to be happening with the findings from the CANCODE project.

It is clear that Carter and McCarthy are attempting to develop a discourse grammar of the spoken language for they adopt a similar position to that of Cumming and Ono:

> … speakers make different grammatical choices according to the context in which the language is used … it is also significant that speakers regularly make choices which reflect the *interactive* and *interpersonal* nature of the communication. (McCarthy and Carter 1995: 211, emphasis in original)

However, they go further in arguing that:

> [a] more discourse-oriented approach, we suggest, acknowledges the indissoluble link between structure and function in context and aims to incorporate systems of appropriateness and use at the heart of the explanation. (Hughes and McCarthy 1998: 281)

Although such an aim is highly desirable, it is ultimately unrealisable simply because it involves idealisations at three separate levels and of three different kinds of entities.

The first idealisation is that which all linguists typically practise: that of identifying a set of features which count as the units of language (i.e. words, sentences, etc.). Without some such idealisation, the study of language would be well-nigh impossible. However, the next idealisation, that of relating given structures with given functions, is, as already indicated, highly questionable. At best, it is a convenient fiction derived from observations as to how linguistic utterances appear to 'mean', although it comes with no guarantee that such utterances will always 'mean' in the same sort of way. The third idealisation is the most illegitimate, since it involves assuming that contexts are replicable. A moment's reflection will show that this is strictly impossible since all contexts are necessarily unique either by virtue of the times at which they are occasioned, or by virtue of the partici-

pants involved, or by both of these. There are some theorists (e.g. Halliday and Hasan 1985) who would argue that text and context are indissoluble in that texts construct their own contexts. Although this is an attractive approach, it is ultimately untenable since, while texts are necessarily part of contexts, there are other random elements which may be salient to participants involved in linguistic exchanges (cf. Sperber and Wilson 1995).

These problems are even more apparent in their claims that the meanings they are interested in are not simply semantic but also affective (e.g. McCarthy and Carter 1997). While I have argued that grammars are 'emergent' at the moment of utterance, it follows that the same will be true of semantic meaning. Thus, although it may be the case that the investigation of linguistic units at word or sentence level can reveal a great deal about the conceptual and logical organisation of a particular utterance at a particular time, it gives us no guarantee that any particular speaker or hearer will activate precisely that concept or set of concepts upon hearing the utterance at another time. And it becomes even more difficult to argue that the affective meanings of any particular utterance bear a direct relation to the forms of that utterance. Indeed, if such were the case it would be extremely difficult to understand how two or more people could fail to agree whether a given utterance were meant sarcastically. If meanings (whether affective or semantic) were realised by forms, such misunderstanding would be impossible. The counter-argument that such misunderstandings derive from the different pragmatic circumstances in which the utterance is processed will not work here because either these pragmatic circumstances include the affective states of the interlocutors, in which case the forms do not map as proposed, or the utterances lead directly to affective states, in which case the affective interpretations of the utterance should be identical.

This being the case, it adds weight to my earlier claim that the grammar of any particular exchange and the meanings that derive from the linguistic tokens that are exchanged are always *sui generis*. As Roy Harris (1998) puts it

> the signs that occur in first order communication are those that the participants construe as occurring, and what is signified is what the participants construe as having been signified. *There is no higher court of appeal.* (Harris 1998: 21, emphasis in original)

One way of capturing this insight has been explored by Potter (1996) who draws on ethnomethodological research to show how the constructed meanings of particular exchanges are always the result of 'work'.[2] Al-

though Potter does not explore this area in detail, it seems reasonable to assume that the emergent grammars of each utterance are the result of this work and are shaped rhetorically not merely to represent a state of affairs in the world but also to persuade the interlocutor that such a state exists.

It further follows that the emergent grammars are the 'possession' of the speakers engaged in the exchange and that native speakers have no absolute lien of possession on the grammar of any particular language. This may seem a fantastic claim since it is clearly the case that native speakers are usually able to use 'their' language more effectively than non-native speakers and they also possess a richer metalanguage for discussing it. However, it is not so surprising when we remember that such speakers are employing the conventionalised grammatical forms on a day-by-day basis. Clearly, the role of memory comes into play so that what has worked before will be used again when the situation appears to warrant it. In this sense, the grammar of a particular language represents the collective memory of those who use that language most frequently.

To date, grammars of English have been of written English and the particular value of the CANCODE project lies in demonstrating that spoken English operates within different constraints. Carter (1999) gives a useful summary of some of these findings, identifying such features as heads and tails, ellipsis, different word orders and the uncertain status of clauses, and observes:

> that there are forms of spoken English which are perfectly standard and which are indeed grammatically correct. These forms do not appear in standard grammars, however, and it is easy, therefore, for them to be judged as non-standard and ungrammatical. (Carter 1999: 158)

There is no doubt in my mind that the CANCODE findings are of immense interest. Not only have they disclosed previously hidden features of the language and described their distributional features; they have also indicated some of the ways in which speech forms are similar to, or different from, written forms. Their educational potential is beyond question in that they can help the mother-tongue teacher of English develop appropriate speech or writing habits in their pupils.

However, they also need to be treated with caution. McCarthy (1998) observes that:

> . . . some things emerge time and time again, whichever words or structures we look at, and these are that face-to-face interaction brings the people who use language slap-bang into the centre of investigation; it is simply impossible to idealise the data away from who said it, to whom, at what point, with

> what apparent goals and purposes, in the context of what relationship, and under what circumstances. (McCarthy 1998: 173)

In the tradition of the discourse grammarians that I cited earlier, there is a tacit recognition that meanings are constructed in real time, and their grammaticalisation is a function of all the variables McCarthy lists. Although there may be high statistical correlations between given forms and imputed meanings, there is no guarantee that forms map onto meanings in a non-problematic way. This is a comfortable observation for mother tongue teachers of English because they can situate the forms within a cultural context that is immediately salient. It is far less comfortable for teachers of English as a second or foreign language since they will have to construct a cultural context in which such forms achieve meaning, and it may be one that is alien to their pupils. Carter and McCarthy's proposals, therefore, to introduce the teaching of spoken English into EFL based on the findings of CANCODE need to be treated with some scepticism.

3. CANCODE and ELT

Needless to say, their programme has aroused considerable interest within the ELT profession. Prodromou (1996) rejects the three assumptions which he sees lurking beneath McCarthy and Carter's earlier (1995) paper arguing firstly that what may be interesting to the native speaker of English may not be to the non-native speaker, at least in the ELT classroom; secondly, that non-native speakers will not necessarily achieve raised language awareness by studying informal native speaker varieties; and thirdly, he doubts that such varieties can be taught by non-native speaker/teachers. He also asks the pertinent question (1998: 266) " ... how much 'native speaker reality' can the non-native speaker and the EFL classroom take?" echoing an earlier comment from Guy Cook (1998: 62): "For language teachers the issue remains as to what the principles for selection, idealization and simplification should be."

Prodromou's pragmatic objections must be taken seriously, for while it may be possible to incorporate some elements of the research findings of the CANCODE project into the foreign language classroom in an interesting way, and in a form likely to interest the learner, it would certainly require a teacher with near native competence. His final question, although pertinent, could be better reformulated as "How much 'native speaker real-

ity' does the non-native speaker and the EFL classroom *need*?" In this form, it overlaps with Cook's concerns.

Prodromou is writing from the Greek perspective, and it may be that Greek learners of English, under the pressure of the European Union, will be taught a variety of English that is based on British forms. However, even when this is the case it does not follow that Greek learners necessarily wish to sound like, or to imitate, native speaker norms. For them, English is not a language imbued with the culture of Britain or the US, but that of a largely deracinated language which has a world function. This being the case, it is important for the ELT profession to understand exactly how English is situated within the world. Further, because the profession is very significant economically, teachers need to guard against the charge of 'linguistic imperialism' (Pennycook 1994, 1998; Phillipson 1992) whether conceived of as the increasing 'Macdonaldisation' of world cultures, or as leading to linguicide.

There seems little argument that English is the most widely used language for international communication, and it is at least likely that (if only in the short term) it will be even more widely used with the development and spread of electronic communication. One consequence of this spread has been the development of a wide variety of different dialects both socially and functionally and attempts to describe these different Englishes have been made by Kachru (1985) who distinguishes between three different 'circles' in which English is spoken. The inner circle contains those countries in which English is a mother tongue, and in which it is multifunctional and can be used in all domains. The outer circle consists of countries where it is largely learned at school as a second language but where it also has a societal role. The expanding circle is effectively the rest of the world. Here, English is learned as a foreign language either for educational purposes or as a means of international communication. The boundaries between the outer and expanding circles are fluid in that countries may shift between them.

Kachru's characterisation is useful as far as it goes, but it tends to ignore the basic question of what we mean when we talk about English. Elsewhere (Kachru 1986: 159) he refers to English as pluricentric, arguing that different countries appeal to different models as their standard. There is, then, a tension between the centripetal forces which allow us to regard all these Englishes as dialects of 'a language' and the centrifugal forces which are driving these Englishes apart as they develop more localised forms to express particular cultural identities. Nevertheless, Kachru acknowledges that the development of English as an international language is

likely to ensure some degree of mutual intelligibility between these different dialects. The problem, at least for those who wish to use English as an international language, is how to maintain and nurture this mutual intelligibility.

One solution would be to adopt a purely *laissez faire* attitude and assume that the pressure of communicative needs will create its own solution. To some extent, I am in sympathy with this position, but it is of little help to governments who wish to nurture the teaching of English in their schools and universities. They need some model to appeal to and which they can offer to their pupils as 'correct'. For countries in the inner circle and, to a lesser extent, the outer circle this seems largely non-problematic. There is a range of internal models which are perceived as more or less 'correct'. For countries in the expanding circle, however, there are no such models so they have to appeal to some external model and usually one drawn from the inner circle. But, as Kachru (1986) points out, native speaker models are not necessarily those which will obviously lead to mutual intelligibility in an international context:

> ... in the case of English, we must be clear about whom we have in mind when we talk of participants in a linguistic interaction. What role does a native speaker's judgement play in determining the intelligibility of non-native speech acts that have intranational functions in, for example, Asia or Africa. (Kachru 1986: 94)

4. 'Standard' English versus 'standardised' English

Needless to say, Kachru's view has not been universally accepted. There is a body of opinion that asserts that there is one (or two, if one distinguishes between the UK and the USA) variety of English which is multifunctional and can serve as a model both for mother tongue teaching as well as for EFL teaching. This model derives historically from the East Midlands dialect as used in the 15th century, and its syntax is predominantly based on the written language. Typically, it is referred to as 'standard' English. If, however, it can be shown that 'standard' English does not exist, at least as a linguistically describable variety, then Kachru's functionalist arguments will be further supported by evidence of a different kind.

In Bex (1993, 1996), I attempted to show the unreality of 'standard' English. However, in Bex and Watts (1999: 7–8) we also argued that throughout history there have been powerful forces attempting to 'strait-

jacket' the language into acceptable forms both grammatically and phonologically. Such forces are frequently represented by people who are deemed to possess linguistic 'authority' and in Bex (1999), I discussed some of the authorities of the 20th century and noted that they were not obviously trained linguists and this tradition persists, as exemplified by John Humphrys (2004). Occasionally, however, professional linguists will declare themselves on the prescriptivists' side. In recent years, a notable example has been John Honey (1997) who argues that 'standard English', apart from being based on written forms of the language is that used by 'educated', or prestigious, speakers. He includes among such people those

> ... [who have graduated] from (often famous) universities, of literary reputation, or [who have] the ability in all other respects to use the language in highly acceptable ways – or who are in some other way high-status figures (like royalty) ... (Honey 1997: 161–162)

This is puzzling for a number of reasons. In particular, although it is quite clear that Honey's characterisation of 'standard English' is as a class dialect (something that he denies elsewhere), it is unlikely that all the speakers he lists adopt similar locutions even in similar communicative situations, and when he argues that these people use "the language in highly acceptable ways", he forecloses the debate by not indicating who regards such uses as 'acceptable'. But, although Honey's position is untenable, and has been effectively refuted by Crowley (1999), he does represent a body of opinion that believes there is a linguistically describable 'standard English' which should be taught to all pupils, and that should also form the basis of EFL teaching.

My preceding arguments have attempted to show that the grammars of natural languages are far less stable than were previously thought, and that the model of English typically recommended to teachers is more of a social 'myth' (Milroy and Milroy 1991) than a linguistic reality. However, when we enter the pedagogical debate, we are faced with a conundrum since language education, and especially foreign language education, is by its nature prescriptive. We are therefore obliged to select a set of grammatical rules and persuade our pupils that they are 'correct'. But this begs the question of where these rules come from. Some theorists (e.g. Carter 1999; Cheshire 1999), faced with this dilemma, have chosen to assume the existence of 'standard' English while recognising that it has not yet been adequately described and for these people the task is to construct a more inclusive grammar which takes into account the spoken features which have tended to be ignored in existing grammars.

I believe this is both misguided and potentially dangerous. Leaving aside the question as to whether there is a 'standard English' which can ever be satisfactorily codified, and recognising that some form of codification is essential for any kind of syllabus, we need to ascertain why people wish to learn English, and then develop a syllabus which is appropriate to their communicative needs. Although I have no certain evidence, I would assume that most non-native Englishes are used for business, the dissemination of scientific information, diplomacy and tourism and that most interactions are between non-native speakers. It therefore leaves me wondering whether it is appropriate that these speakers should learn the kinds of spoken grammatical constructions that McCarthy and Carter wish to teach them and which have developed from native speaker interactions.

While we need to distinguish between learners in different situations, for the moment I wish to focus on those learners who are learning EFL in a country where English is the primary means of communication. Although necessarily heterogeneous, the students I am thinking of are primarily students who spend some time in a country where English is the first language and typically attend a (private) language school. My own experience[3] suggests that such students come to Britain with the intention of developing their English skills for clearly motivated, though not identical, purposes. The majority of those that I have taught have come from Kachru's 'outer' circle. They, therefore, represent a rather different constituency than the Danish learners discussed in Preisler's interesting chapter in Bex and Watts (1999) in that they are exposed more to 'English from above' than 'English from below' (1999: 247). Those that I have spoken to have indicated that they regard the possession of a certificate in English as a tool to further their careers. They have, therefore, commodified the language and expect the product they are buying to be of the highest quality. In this sense, they have a clear concept of the standard of English they wish to achieve, even though they may not know exactly what this entails.

The notions of correctness that they bring with them derive largely from their experiences of learning English in their home countries and where their instruction has been highly prescriptive, they tend to assume that grammatical form, communicative function and consequent meaning have an invariant relationship. As Bright and McGregor (1970) observed:

> In our first language we pick up strong emotional associations within the home. They are built into the learning situation . . . [But this is not so in the second language classroom]. The result is a lack of emotional involvement

> in the language and hence great difficulty in seeing any other meaning than plain sense. (Bright and McGregor 1970: 30)

Or, as discussed earlier, they tend to be oblivious to the affective uses of English.

The teaching staff, who are all native speakers, tend to deal with such issues pragmatically being subjected to three, often conflicting, constraints. First, they have their own beliefs about what constitutes 'correct' English; second, they recognise that students may be at a particular stage of development and that presenting them with alternative constructions could interfere with the learning process by overloading their memories, and therefore confuse them; and third, they are following a syllabus (often established by the given textbooks) which require them to teach a set of items within a given time period.

The first of these constraints is difficult to quantify and will depend to a large extent on education and training. However, those that I have spoken to are comfortable with the local dialect[4] (which the students are necessarily exposed to) while recognising that certain forms are unacceptable in the language classroom. The second and third are best seen as two sides of the same coin. While some teachers may prefer to downplay constructions which are problematic either because they are outside the context of the current syllabus, or because they present peculiar *ad hoc* difficulties,[5] others will offer a brief explanation with the promise of a fuller one at the appropriate time. Much the same will apply to vocabulary items which may be heard on the street. So, for example, the use of *wicked* or *awesome* to refer to something perceived as *excellent* can be both acknowledged and treated as ill-advised at the same time. The assumption here is that students should not be denied knowledge, but should be made aware that certain usages tend to be restricted to a social group or particular type of communicative activity.

Textbooks tend to be less problematic. Although there may be some teachers who slavishly follow the sequence of items in the book, I have not met them. The majority seem to supplement the books with their own materials and ignore items which they feel are badly presented, although they do have to work within the limits of the overall syllabus designed for students of a given level. Perhaps the biggest constraint lies in the tapes, videos and CDs which accompany certain textbooks. These tend to present educated south-eastern English as the target pronunciation, although there has been a recent welcome increase in other regional accents. Perhaps none of the above will surprise many readers, but the point I wish to make here

is not that the variety of English being modelled is 'standard' English, but that it is 'standardised' English (cf. Bex 1993).

5. Standardised English in the wider world

However, it is also interesting to observe how the students interact outside the classroom. Although they necessarily draw on what they have learned, the pressures of immediate communication lead to the construction of interesting 'emergent' grammars, and this has led me to believe that the models of English taught in both the expanding and outer circles should be based on the kind of 'standardised' English referred to above but should be thoroughly expropriated by the country in which it is being taught.

There is an apparent paradox in this suggestion, since by taking control of English language teaching to such an extent the maintenance of 'mutual intelligibility' would appear to be under threat. Again, I believe this risk to be more apparent than real. The variety that I have been describing has been codified largely from written forms, and the extent to which it is held in common by the majority of writers of English for non-specialised writing minimises the risk of non-intelligibility. It is clear that as writers explore their way into more advanced genres of writing, they will need to develop more sophisticated modes of expression, but these are shaped by their purposes and are not the preserve of native speakers but of the people engaged in the communicative acts.

There is a potential problem with phonology, and it could be argued that native speakers are particularly useful in modelling this feature of the language. But, again, this is often overstated. When appeals are made to the native speaker in this area, one can usefully ask the question 'Which native speaker?' And it is inadequate to respond with British, Australian, American, etc. since within all these countries there are wide phonological divergences. The only possible answer will be to appeal to a phonological model that is internationally comprehensible, but in doing this one is no longer necessarily referring to the phonology of any particular native-speaker since such a phonology can be manipulated by all speakers of English. It may retain traces of a Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, French accent, but these traces do not render it incomprehensible. Rather they serve to indicate the provenance of the variety in the same ways that a Scottish or New York accent indicates the geographical provenance of the native speaker. In fact, from my preceding argument it becomes desirable to retain these variations of accent since they serve as a marker of cultural distinction. In most lin-

guistic exchanges there is a desire both to transmit one's message as clearly as possible and to understand to the best of one's ability what is being communicated in return. This desire for mutual comprehension overcomes such local difficulties as accent and pronunciation and, where it seems not to be occurring, the interlocutors can always request a repetition or re-formulation. Thus, I am suggesting that Cuban, Chinese, or Japanese businessmen can negotiate both their business deals and their linguistic interactions quite successfully by using their own varieties of spoken English. In fact, I am going further and arguing that it is desirable that they should do so. If this means that they are speaking in ways that seem inappropriate to native English speakers, this is insignificant since what is important is that all users of English, so long as it remains an international language, should take control of the language and use it to express their own identities and cultures.

If context is a determining factor in grammatical choice, then the context in which communication between non-native speakers takes place should also determine the grammars adopted. If they follow native-speaker norms, then they are implicitly signalling that they wish to convey the values of such native speakers. This may seem a large claim, but it is relevant here precisely because all linguistic exchanges take place in a cultural context, and native-speaker exchanges are imbued with the cultures of their origin. Thus, I am suggesting that any syllabus which follows Carter and McCarthy's recommendations will be inadvertently inviting the learners to become mini-British or mini-American.

A further consequence of McCarthy and Carter's proposal is that it privileges native speaker teachers for they are the most likely people to be comfortable with this grammar. However, this is dangerous for two reasons. To the extent that this grammar is not yet codified, it means that the textbooks and the teachers will be out of step. There will therefore be a dissonance between what learners hear from their teachers and what they read in their books. Of course, this is relatively trivial since successful classroom practice would be able to resolve the potential problems created by this dissonance.

More important is the implicit linguistic imperialism inherent in the proposal. Phillipson (1992) has pointed out the very real dangers of linguicide as English becomes more and more widespread, while Pennycook (1994) has illustrated how the British Council has used its teaching operations as a hegemonic practice which bypasses the needs of the countries in which it operates. It is arguable that Phillipson overstates his case, and it is certainly not clear to me how we can resist the spread of English so long as

the rest of the world regard it as a valuable resource. However, there are ways in which the increasing McDonaldisation of the world can be resisted, and one of these ways is for those countries in which ELT occurs to take complete control of the syllabus and to teach a variety which is appropriate to their needs.

Earlier, I argued that countries within Kachru's expanding circle were necessarily exonormative in their search for an appropriate variety of English. Initially, it seems reasonable for such countries to look to places within the inner circle to supply a model. By extension, it also seems appropriate to hire 'experts' and even teachers from the inner circle so that the variety of English is appropriately modelled. However, I have also argued that, for various reasons both linguistic and social, this may not be the best way of proceeding. On the contrary, I am suggesting that it is better for such countries to avoid the importation of inappropriate cultural models and avoid the economic costs of hiring expatriate 'experts'.[6] However, it remains to indicate how this can best be done.

6. Conclusion

Following on from what I have argued above, the kind of 'standardised' English I refer to has been codified in various grammars and forms the basis for much English language teaching. This variety is typically used for non-threatening service encounters and adequately serves for such activities as tourism. Clearly, it is inadequate for business transactions or more specialised activities. Nevertheless, it serves as a useful basis from which learners can develop both more appropriate varieties as they come into contact with other English users and, if they so desire, a degree of personal idiosyncrasy which will allow them to express their own personalities. More importantly, it represents a variety which is likely to have been learned by the majority of other non-native speakers.

It may seem that this is a utopian suggestion. The alternative, adopting models derived either from US or UK usages, is dangerous since it leads to the insidious spread of an alien culture which eventually runs the risk of dominating the cultures with which it comes in contact. While this is not an inevitable consequence of appealing to native speakers both for models of English and teaching expertise, there is sufficient evidence (Phillipson 1992) to suggest that it has occurred in some African and South East Asian countries, is occurring in Greece (Prodromou 1992), Turkey (Alptekin 1993) and Morocco (Bentahila and Davies 1989) and needs to be resisted.

My argument, then, is that the findings of the CANCODE project are indeed fascinating, but that they should not be pressed into the service of EFL teaching. As a discourse grammar, they represent the choices of native speakers communicating with each other. Their use in mother tongue teaching of the language is therefore highly desirable. However, their importation into ELT is dangerous both because they involve incorporating the cultural values of native speaker use and because they privilege the native speaker teacher of the language. In most expanding circle countries, English is being learned as a way of representing the countries desire to engage in international activities. Native speaker varieties of English will hinder this desire, while the use of native speaker teachers is economically and culturally undesirable. Rather, such countries should rely on their own teachers of English who would be able to mediate the countries' own cultures through the medium of English.

Notes

1. Vivian Cook (1988, 1989), however, argues that it can help in the understanding of second language acquisition and, by extension, help in second language teaching.
2. The concept of work involves (in speech) joint orientation to the evolving meanings. Although this has parallels with Grice's CP, it is different in that it does not take co-operation as a fundamental given. Rather, co-operation can be suspended or even resisted when alternative constructions of reality are involved in the interchange.
3. Since 2001, I have been teaching on a part-time basis at Churchill House School of English Language. This is an independent, average-sized and well-respected school with an international intake at all levels. I am grateful to the staff and students for allowing me to draw on my experiences there. My observations are entirely personal and do not necessarily reflect either the school's policy or the views of individual staff members.
4. For example, the Thanet dialect tends to generalise 'was' in the past continuous for all numbers and persons.
5. For example, I recall a staffroom discussion of the phrase: "I was sat there, minding my own business". Given that it is clearly deviant from the more common (EFL) expression: "I was sitting there, minding my own business", there is a potential problem in explaining it to any student who comes across it and tries to generalise the form. One possible explanation could be that it is a dialect form. This, though, seems unlikely since I have heard the expression used quite widely. It can more easily be explained as a passive form analogous

to "I was hit by a passing bicycle", whereby speakers are conveying the sense (affectively and effectively) that they were not participating actively in the 'sitting'. However, because EFL students are struggling with the language such a construction is likely to be confusing simply because it fails to fit with the 'rules' they have learned.

6. These costs can be excessive when one takes into account housing, education, medical care, air fares, etc.

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Chapter 12
Towards a new English as a Foreign Language curriculum for Continental Europe

Urs Dürmüller

1. Introduction

English today is no longer the same subject it was fifty years ago. The internationalization of English has dramatically changed especially what in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) studies could be perceived as just one language, one culture and one literature. English does not belong exclusively to its native speakers any more (cf. Gnutzmann and Intemann 2005). There is an awareness of the difference between English as a first language (EL1), and English as a second (EL2) or foreign language (EFL), and of English as a Language of Wider Communication (*lingua franca*, ELF) that is not necessarily identical with EL1 prestige varieties. In addition, English is finally seen as a language symbolizing globalization and westernization. EFL Teachers begin to mind the ideological load of the dominant EL1 varieties and to think about redefining separate standards for ELF and EFL, independent from the standards set in EL1 education, and with special regard to the goals set for language competence, access to culture, and knowledge about literature.

This means that the English studies curricula, in countries where English is not a first language, have to be redesigned. The new curriculum for future teachers of English at secondary school level at the PHBern Teacher Training College in Bern, Switzerland, does not only illustrate openness towards English as a global auxiliary language and the various English language cultures, but also shows respect for the continuing needs of students to become familiar with prestige varieties, even in the age of Global English (cf. Graddol 2006). In what follows I am going to discuss the ways the status of English as an international language, its many varieties and the cultural and ideological loads carried by these challenge the traditional understanding of English in EFL curriculum development in outer circle nations, particularly in Continental Europe, and I am going to show how such discussions can produce a new orientation for EFL teacher training.

2. Re-Defining the subject of English as a Foreign Language (EFL)

Discussing the subject of English as a Foreign Language makes it necessary to look at English from the outside, rather than from the inside, as has been customary in the past. Not the perspective taken by L1 speakers of English – e.g., the native speakers of English in Britain or in the USA – should be taken, but that of those speakers who are adding English to their personal language repertoires. The question is not simply "What is English?" any more, but "What is English to its users in Switzerland or Bulgaria, or any other country where English is a foreign language?"

This new perspective has been encouraged since Kachru (1985, 1986a/b) presented his idealized model for the spread of English, in which he distinguished between three types of areas affected by the expansion of English. These are now called, respectively, the *inner circle* (EL1 nations), the *outer circle* (EL2 nations) and the *expanding circle* (EFL nations). In this paper I am not concerned with the subject of English in a nation where it is a national and/or official language, but with English as a subject of study and language education in one of the many nations where it is simply an additional and foreign language (EFL). When doing so, I will rely on my first-hand knowledge of English in Continental Europe, especially of English in Switzerland (Dürmüller 1992, 2003), and on my experience of teaching English to students at the PHBern Teacher Training College, Bern University of Applied Sciences (Pädagogische Hochschule Bern).

For the reasons mentioned above, outside the core-English (the EL1) nations the subject of English is in need of redefinition. Many more students than ever before are willing and eager to take up the subject today, especially to learn a language that has become an international means of communication. While in the past it was taken for granted that these learners of EFL would model their English after EL1 speakers, now it is not so easy anymore to say what exactly they want or need to learn.

Questions like the following are being asked:

- What is English today, especially to non-native speakers?
- Who does English belong to?
- Which of the many varieties of English should be the target of second language acquisition?
- Should EFL learners be encouraged to imitate an L1 accent?
- Should identification with a certain L1 variety be a goal of EFL learning?

- Thus, what is going to be the standard for English instruction? Could that be a variety that has no native speakers?
- Which of the numerous authors writing in English should students read and study?
- Which parts of English-speaking culture, civilization, lifestyle should they know something about?

The learning and teaching of English as a foreign language has generally been based on one of the two dominant EL1 varieties, Standard British or Standard American. There may have been discussions on whether American or British English was to serve as the teaching model, but other questions, e.g., relating to alternatives to the supremacy of UK and US English in EL2 acquisition, have hardly ever been asked.

Such questions, however, cannot be ignored any longer. The voices of English today are many, and the values associated with the various varieties are quite diverse. Educators have to become aware of what it means today to choose a certain variety as their standard for EFL teaching and to actually speak it. They must understand that the globalization of English has put an end to the uncritical use of EL1 varieties in EFL contexts.

Outside English-speaking countries, it is becoming more and more obvious that it is not only British or American citizens that use English, but people from all over the world, particularly also people from and in nations where English is not a national language. English today is used much more by people for whom it is a second or foreign language added to their language repertoire than by people who speak it as a first language.

Nobody really knows how many speakers of English there are. Crystal (2002) suggests that 400 million people speak English as a first language and that another 400 million use English as a second language, while the number for speakers of English as a foreign language might even reach a billion. If today there are many more speakers of English as a second and foreign language – with a ratio of (at least) 2 to 1 in favor of non-native speakers –, that is the result of the spread of English, which is due to various factors, political, military, economic (Crystal 2002), and cultural (Dürmüller 1986, 1996).

The expansion of English from the inner to the outer and the expanding circle has been accompanied by a move of the center of English from the UK to the USA. In the 19th century and the early half of the 20th century, Britain was one of the world's leading industrial and trading nations, the biggest colonial power and easily the most important military power of the world. But after World War Two this leadership role was taken over by the

USA. This has helped English to ensure its position as a world language in spite of the fall of the British Empire. For the EFL curriculum today this means that a global definition of English has to include US English not only next to British English, but before British English. To people affected by the spread of English in the expanding circle and partly also in the outer circle, American English has become more important than British English.

Indeed the factors encouraging the spread of English in the second half of the 20th century were mainly US-related, namely: the military and economical power of the USA, the affiliation in large parts of the world with much of US culture, a culture with enormous popular appeal, the concentration of technological and general scientific advances in US corporations and universities, and the development of the new communication technologies like wireless, telephony, telegraphy and internet (cf. Crystal 2002; Graddol 1997). English became a very powerful language, attracting new speakers everywhere – and has continued to do so. (For the parameters of the power of English see Kachru [1986a: 130].)

In spite of the obvious differences between the status of English in the Inner Circle on the one hand and in the Outer and Expanding Circles on the other hand, the subject of "English" has traditionally been associated with native-speaker English and culture everywhere, and schools have based their courses on the prestige varieties of the core-English nations, or, rather, on what the English (British) textbook industry – itself based in Inner Circle nations – has offered them as the standard for English language teaching. Even where in the Expanding Circle national educational authorities had their own English language materials developed (as, e.g., in Switzerland), the L1 models were closely followed. However, the fact that there are so many non-native speakers of English now that use English to interact with other non-native speakers of English casts some doubts on programs for EFL education in Expanding Circle nations that are based on Inner Circle curricula. What do learners of EFL really need to know about English? If they are studying English as a *lingua franca,* do they need to know anything about the culture, say, of England, or the lifestyle of Americans? If they focus on English as a language for international communication, is it necessary for them to concentrate on the two dominant varieties, i.e., American and British English? Or can the target of EFL be some other variety of English, even one that does not exist among L1 speakers?

Indeed: Most students of English in the Expanding Circle do not take up the subject because they want to learn about the British or the Americans, but because they want to become fluent in the English language. They ex-

pect that they will be using English as a language for wider communication, both intranationally and internationally. If they are using English for communication with other non-native speakers, their medium will be some form of International English, and that is not necessarily one of the varieties used as a national language in core-English speaking countries. To learner-speakers of EFL English is not "English" in the restricted sense of relating to Anglo-Americans, their culture and language, but just a tool for communication between people whose linguistic and cultural backgrounds can be quite different from that of EL1 speakers. Reference to Anglo-American culture is often irrelevant and in some instances even undesired.

It is true that in the past EFL education used to take as its target the national standards of Britain or the USA as they appeared in the teaching materials produced in these EL1 countries. In Continental Europe there was a clear preference for the type of British English promoted by the language education industry of the UK. There was no doubt that the L1 standard varieties would also serve the EFL functions of wider communication and of dealing with specific purposes (ESP). If in the Expanding Circle everywhere the same "textbook variety" were used in English language education, then, indeed, this would be the obvious language of wider communication. However, where English is not L1, new oral-vernacular Englishes have come into being and now compete with "Textbook English". I am not just referring to the so-called new varieties of English, mostly forms of English in the Outer Circle, but to the "impure" forms of English that can be encountered in the Expanding Circle, also, of course, in Continental Europe. These are mixtures of American and British and possibly other L1 Englishes, with additions of words and phrases imported from various culture fields, such as trendy sports, fast food, discos, advertising, pop music, comics, films, etc., all of which colored by the local languages of the EFL speakers. In the profile of these new varieties, particularities can be detected in pronunciation, spelling, lexicon, grammar, semantics (word, phrase and text meanings), and in pragmatics which make them differ, not only from each other, but also from the established standard varieties.

For Continental Europe Barbara Seidlhofer (2004; cf. also Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006) has discussed such characteristics which are mainly simplifications of English based on contact-linguistic, i.e., interference phenomena in second-language acquisition.

Together with Jennifer Jenkins, she is proposing a locally (contact-linguistically) simplified English as a possible *lingua franca* in Europe (Jenkins and Seidlhofer 2001; cf. also Jenkins 2007). The main maxim for

that kind of EFL would be: Teach only what is crucial for communication! This might mean allowing /th/ to be replaced by either /s/ or /z/ or /d/ or /t/, getting rid of the redundant {-s} as verb ending in the present, considering the relative pronouns *who*, *which*, *that* as interchangeable, doing without the correlation of the present perfect with *for/since*, or even no longer insisting on the use of articles (Jenkins and Seidlhofer 2001). It would also mean okaying words and phrases that are unique to European EFL varieties, and doing without British or American idioms.

Such a form of English would certainly no longer be grounded in British or American uses of English, but in contexts where English is used as a foreign language, and it would mean recognizing the fact that English is no longer the preserve of native speakers only. This kind of Continental European English would certainly be removed from the "classical" forms of EFL and the standards set for language education in British and American English. It might be seen as a truly international form of English, making English into a *lingua franca*, as Seidlhofer and Jenkins claim, to be used not among native speakers, nor between non-native speakers and native speakers, but among non-native speakers first of all. It appears that a simplified, streamlined variety, stripped down to the essentials for communication, might work as a *lingua franca* just as well as any EL1 variety used among native speakers.

However, practitioners of EFL teaching and researchers in English second language acquisition will know that English-target interlanguages vary greatly according to their source languages. Interference-based errors are not the same in the English produced by EFL learners in Bulgaria, in Finland, Hungary, or in Italy. For a Bulgarian and a Finnish or a Hungarian and an Italian EFL learner to understand each other might not be so easy if each is making use of their own form of English. It is not surprising that Jenkins and Seidlhofer were criticized when they popularized their ideas and talked about "Bringing Europe's lingua franca into the classroom" in the *Guardian Weekly* (2001).

Mixing EFL learner varieties cannot produce the standard language to be used in Continental European or in global EFL teaching. The interferences caused by the L1 of Polish, Portuguese, Greek or Latvian learners of English are so different from each other that it will always be possible to distinguish not only Polish, Greek or Latvian accents but also L1-specific lexical and grammatical particularities in the EFL varieties of these Europeans. What can be perceived as German English, Romanian English or Slovenian English may work in their own L1 contexts, but communication is bound to break down when the L1 boundaries are crossed. Multilingual

Switzerland can serve as an example: The English learnt as a foreign language in German-speaking Switzerland is markedly different from that produced by learners in French-speaking Switzerland and that heard in Italian-speaking Switzerland. If the Swiss should ever choose to use English as a *lingua franca* intranationally, they would all have to use the same variety, one that, in addition, would also be understood internationally (cf. Dürmüller 2003).

If the wider communication function of EFL is considered, the academic construct of a common European English *lingua franca* cannot be an option for language education in Continental Europe. Another reason against settling for the simplified English as a *lingua franca* model, is the fact that internationally EFL is very often used by non-native speakers in the shape of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). ESP is chiefly learnt and used not to indulge in social talk with native speakers but to get access to various global communities of experts, e.g., scientists, engineers, medical doctors, lawyers, bankers, air traffic personnel, business people, media experts, advertisers, etc. ESP varieties of English that are used internationally make it possible for people from all kinds of linguistic, cultural and political backgrounds to communicate with each other in the special language of that community, about topics that are the concern of them all. What is needed here is not a simplified *lingua franca*, but a highly developed tool for communicating even specialized information with great detail and high accuracy.

Does that mean Continental European language educators have to fall back on the old standards for EFL and again follow the practice of the past and use the standards set for EL1 education in Continental European EFL teaching as well? If so, would we opt for British English or for American English?

To answer that question, one should take into consideration that increasingly the ESP jargons are grounded in American English. It is not only in popular culture, but also in most academic and other professional circles that US English has overtaken UK English and established itself as the language of choice in many domains where ESP is used. While (Standard) British English is still present in international fora, American English is now clearly dominant. Keeping that in mind, Continental Europe might be well advised to prefer American English over British English and set that as a standard for EFL education.

However, there is a problem with that as well. Language does not only serve the purpose of neutral, subject-centered communication but also the purpose of identification in interpersonal exchange across cultures where it

might become necessary to express one's identity as a member of a particular cultural community. This is obviously the case for Inner Circle speakers of English. It is also the case where English has been localized, i.e., where new varieties have arisen, as typically in Outer Circle nations, e.g., as Nigerian English or Sri Lankan English. The special local forms of these varieties, which are the result of long contact between English and non-English local languages, can give a lot of information about their speakers that can be interpreted culturally or socially.

On the other hand, Expanding Circle speakers of EFL, e.g., from Continental Europe, say from Switzerland, or Bulgaria, do not have such localized or nativized varieties of English. If they use the Seidlhofer/Jenkins ELF, which is a compromise of "Textbook English" with interference-caused errors produced by EFL speakers having different L1s, they would be perceived not as speaking a variety of European English, but a form of English as a learner language. These "localized" forms of English are not what people want to speak – even if many, inevitably, do speak an L1-marked form of English. Italian English, French English, German English are not accepted as targets of EL2 acquisition, as they are easily recognized as the result of imperfect L2 learning. Nor are they accepted for the expression of European identities. Until quite recently the target of Continental European EFL education tended to be a student emulation of an L1 prestige variety, above all the standard of British L1 education, which would mean imitation of the accent (RP) and use of the variety-specific vocabulary and phraseology, including idiomatic expressions. Linguistically and culturally the goal was identification with a certain L1 speaker group.

However, neither non-native speakers talking to each other nor non-native speakers speaking to native speakers need to assume a native-speaker identity. For, when using English as a *lingua franca* they remain what they are: German, French, Russian, Chinese. Why should they emulate the speech habits, including accent and lexical idiomaticity, of an American or a British person? Doing so might even send out undesired or wrong signals. For, when looking for a standard for EFL in Continental Europe and the Expanding Circle, simply opting for the dominant varieties – American and/or British English – has become problematic. Apart from the regional diversification of English, it is also the ideologies associated with particular varieties that influence people's choice of English. Attitudes towards a language are important: i.e., what we think English will do for us and what others think of us when we use that language. The recent US and British invasion of Iraq has made this quite obvious again. Speaking like the members of the US administration may be worth imitating to

some, but others might want to distance themselves from them (cf. Graddol 2006: 112). International English acquired as a foreign language in the Expanding Circle ought to be a neutral tool rather than an ideological protagonist or an ambassador of a particular culture.

A new definition for EFL in the Expanding Circle seems to demand a degree of critical distance towards the dominant presence of American and British based forms of English worldwide. Traditionally, quasi native-speaker proficiency has been a target for EFL courses in the Expanding Circle areas. Students would not only be encouraged to imitate prestige accents, use the idiomatic expressions of elite L1 communities, but also to try and integrate themselves with these cultures and societies. Learning English thus has meant accepting the dominant Anglo-American mindset and supporting what Kachru (1986b) has described as "the power" of English. Now the ongoing internationalization of English is giving EFL students an opportunity to learn English without having to become advocates of Anglo-Americanism at the same time.

Even if they are not going to take any of the new nativized varieties (say Kenyan English) or their own learner languages (the Seidlhofer/Jenkins English as a *lingua franca*) as their target for EL2 acquisition, but stick to the educational standards of British and/or American English, they will not have to concentrate on culture elements that are specifically British or American, but can try to familiarize themselves with as many cultures that find expression in and through English today as possible or desirable.

Using English as an international language means communicating with speakers from various and differing backgrounds. The majority of ELF interactions worldwide take place between speakers for none of whom English is the mother tongue and for none of whom English is a cultural symbol. For example, if a Swiss person conducts business in China, English is likely to be used. English language cultural elements will most probably not enter the conversation at all (cf. House 1999: 84). What EFL speakers need today is not information about traditional Britishness and Americanness, but the teaching of transcultural politeness strategies that are part of the pragmatics of International English.

In order for students to acquire some knowledge about the identities and the social and cultural lives of speakers of International English, the literatures (and other culture products) from the Outer and Expanding Circle must be given more and more weight. While international communication in English may still be served best if L2 acquisition continues to focus on standardized forms of UK and/or US English, the accompanying teaching of English language culture does not have to focus on Britain and the USA

exclusively, not even principally. Reading English in EFL classes still means reading Inner Circle authors, but no longer exclusively so. In the chorus of World English, their voices may be the loudest, but they may no longer indicate the rhythm and melody of the English language or express the central interests and concerns of those who speak it.

Actually, what American and British English symbolize today, may be quite contradictory. We all know that English has spread as a result of exploitation and colonization. But Anglo-American English has also become a language of support and liberation. English represents the success of a certain economic model, but also the egoism of capitalism, it stands for human rights and charity, but also for the perversion of democracy and Christianity (cf. Bailey 1991: 165).

Thus, it is possible for many learners of EFL to both love and loathe that language, something which, on the level of specific cultural interest, is quite obvious. While young learners of English, for example, may radically distance themselves from the discourse of the present US and UK political leadership, they may want to identify as much as possible with the rap of certain music culture stars.

3. Effects on the EFL curriculum

How does all this affect the subject of English as a foreign language? How can all these considerations be integrated into an EFL curriculum? In the remainder of this essay I am outlining how the new study plan for English at the PHBern Teacher Training College, in Bern, Switzerland, reflects what I have said about the changes the internationalization of English might bring about in the definition of "English" in Expanding Circle nation EFL education, particularly in Continental Europe.

In EFL Teacher Training the educational focus must center on high language competence in a form of English that can serve both, the *lingua franca* function and the need for detail and accuracy in ESP. The English defined as target should be instrumentally neutral. This might mean creating a compromise variety of British and American English as the basis for EFL education, something suggested by Modiano already in 1998. His *Mid-Atlantic English* does not make it necessary for EFL educators to really set up a new hybrid variety of English, but encourages them to be open towards American and British English at the same time, thus not forcing EFL learners to choose one or the other. *Mid-Atlantic English* mirrors the situation of Continental Europeans who are exposed to both, British

and American English, at the same time all the time. It makes it possible for those learning EFL to keep a certain distance from the values associated with both British and American English, the ideologies carried by them, the economic models propagated through them, and the lifestyle advertised by them, while still using an English that will be recognized as prestigious even if it does not belong to any group of native speakers.

The English Modules now taught at the PHBern Teacher Training College first give students a survey of what the English language is today (Table 1). *English Today* deals with the spread and globalization of English, the claims for English made by the speakers of English as a first language and those made by speakers of English as a second and foreign language, it presents the "old" varieties of English in the Inner Circle and the many new varieties of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles: it discusses the cultural and ideological load of the various Englishes, particularly of the "prestige" varieties of Standard British (RP) and Standard American (GA), and it considers the *lingua franca* function of international English, for which it suggests an English that is based on the educational standard varieties of both American *and* British English.

Table 1. Modules of the PHBern English Study plan (from the 2006/7 curriculum for secondary school teachers)

Language Competence C1/C2:	C1
	C2
Language Skills:	Oral Skills
	Writing Skills
English Today	
Introduction to English Linguistics	
Introduction to Literature in English	
English Second Language Acquisition	
School Literature	
Culture, Language and Literature:	Culture Topics
	Selected Literature
	Language, Culture and Society

With all that information at hand, prospective teachers of English at secondary school level in Switzerland, when making a choice for a certain variety as their standard in the classroom, can be expected to know why they

are choosing one rather than another. If they use British or American textbooks, as most of them might have to, they are encouraged to approach these materials critically, and to keep in mind that they are teaching EFL and not EL1.

In *EL2 Acquisition*, apart from discussing theories of L2 acquisition and how these could be applied to the acquisition of English as a Second or Foreign Language, the choice of a standard – for pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar above all – is discussed in further detail, as is the inevitability and acceptability of interlanguage forms. Communication among non-native speakers is contrasted to communication among native speakers.

Culture Topics may examine characteristics of communities and lifestyles in the English-speaking parts of Asia, Africa, Europe, Australia and America. English-language culture is not restricted to learning about traditional British or American features like cricket, high tea and semi-detached houses or high school graduation, baseball and big breakfasts. While British and American cultures are, of course, not excluded, other cultures are included on purpose. These reflect the internationalization of English: aspects of modern life in Africa and Asia that can no longer do without English, and the dependence of various transnational communities – like those of business people, researchers, scientists, indeed all kinds of professionals – on English and the ensuing forms of ELF and ESP.

Language, Culture and Society takes a closer look at the factors that have promoted the spread of English in continental Europe; it tries to define the place English occupies within the language repertoire of multilingual and multicultural Europe or a multilingual nation like Switzerland; it investigates the changes English is undergoing when used by speakers of other languages. And it asks questions like: How are varieties of Oral Vernacular English created and who makes use of them, when and where? How do these affect the international standard varieties of English? Local advertisements and graffiti can be examined as examples of particular text types that integrate English language elements, while Black slang may be studied as a source of borrowings into local (European) languages and learner EFL.

Regarding literature, the idea of going through the classical canon of English literature is entirely given up. There is an introduction to what literature is and how it can be approached and studied (*Introduction to Literature in English*), as there is a general introduction to language and linguistics (*Introduction to English Linguistics*). But passing on the English literary heritage is understood as a task for schools in countries where English is a national language. *Selected Literature* focuses on literature in

English, written by authors from all corners of the world, selected for its relevance with regard to content and form. It is a course about texts that are hoped to find the interest of students and to strengthen their attachment to reading literature in general. Of course, such a course will not exclude British or American authors. But it will not prefer them over Indian, Egyptian, Nigerian, Caribbean, or, indeed, Swiss (e.g., Alan de Botton) authors writing in English. In *School Literature* the prospective EFL teachers learn about what texts are suited to the needs and expectations of adolescents, both from the point of view of contents and linguistic complexity. The process of text simplification is of greater importance than the question whether a story is grounded in Anglo-Saxon culture.

While all these modules reflect the awareness that English today is different from what it was fifty years ago, the language skills modules, *Oral Skills* and *Writing Skills,* and *Language Competence (C1/C2 Common European Framework of Reference, CEFR)* swing back to traditional mainstream English. Students need to be able to give an effective oral presentation and to write an academic paper or a CV, and they need to be able to do so in a form of English that is developed, has international recognition and will not be mistaken for a restricted learner language exhibiting L1 interference phenomena jeopardizing successful communication. That is why *Language Competence* is a course preparing them for language certificates that have wide recognition and promise material benefits. C2, the highest level of the CEFR, must be attained before the students are certified as English teachers. Many of them will make use of the training received as a preparation for the corresponding Cambridge (Proficiency) or TOEFL exam.

4. Conclusion

The internationalization of English is challenging not only the hegemony of Standard American and British English, but also the way English as a foreign or second language is taught in the Expanding Circle. For EFL teacher training in Continental Europe native-like proficiency based on what is considered the standard in Inner Circle nations – especially Britain and the USA – and integration within the dominant L1 speaker communities cannot be the main goal any longer. Instead, English must be perceived as a truly international language, increasingly expressive of many and differing cultures, literatures and lifestyles, not necessarily congruent with the Anglo-American worldview, even if the *lingua franca* function of English

is guaranteed best if the target for EFL acquisition is set as an approximation of British and/or American English.

This means that with regard to culture and literature there has to be a truly global orientation, and that the linguistics of EFL in grammar, spellings, vocabulary, and also in pronunciation should favor a compromise model of what has been called *Standard American-British English* or *Mid-Atlantic English* (Modiano 1998). Like the problematic *English as a Lingua Franca* model (Jenkins and Seidlhofer 2001), this can guarantee critical distance to English language imperialism, and the accompanying imposition of social, economic and cultural values, while at the same time giving access to an English developed enough for special purposes and recognized everywhere to ensure the *lingua franca* function.

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Chapter 13
Language learning and medium of instruction: Understanding contemporary discourses and practices in Swiss schools and classrooms

Daniel Stotz

1. Introduction: An impetus for immersion

In the late 1980s, a number of linguists, practitioners and politicians began pushing for more intensive forms of foreign language education in Swiss state schools. This movement arose in parallel to an insufficiently coordinated reform to introduce a first foreign language (in fact, the second national language, French or German) to the primary school curriculum.[1] One of the events that enlivened the debate on desirable forms of foreign language teaching (FLT) was an international symposium organised by a group of linguists and pedagogues around Richard J. Watts at the University of Berne in 1988. The aim of the gathering was not only to discuss novel forms of intensive language learning in and through schools, but also to develop ways of enhancing mutual understanding across language borders in Switzerland, in other words to counter the risk that Switzerland "falls apart into monolingual regions between which communication was barely possible any longer"[2] (Andres and Watts 1990: 9).

The symposium participants were invited to search for models of schooling that could provide better results with respect to the acquisition of a second national language and, at the same time, to civic integration. Despite some doubts about the link between school language learning and mutual understanding in a multilingual country as well as about the potential of educational institutions to facilitate language learning, there was a good measure of optimism: the implementation of French or German in the primary school curriculum was seen as an intermediate goal, but genuine improvements in overall competence would best be accomplished with immersive forms of language learning. This would mean that subjects such as history, geography or mathematics could and should be taught and conducted in the language to be acquired. Hence the name of the project that

ensued from the symposium: "Unterrichtssprache Französisch/Deutsch", which can be translated as "French or German as a medium of instruction".

This chapter traces the pathways of attempted and completed reforms in the second/foreign language domain over the last decade and provides some empirical classroom data in order to discuss issues along the fault lines between discourses on societal multilingualism and classroom realities in a context characterised by multiethnic plurilinguality. The article questions the notion of standard, in particular with respect to the diglossic situation in Swiss schools, and points to the additional sociolinguistic complexities that the standard/dialect dichotomy introduces. It also problematises simplistic models of form-oriented foreign language learning and the ideology of the monolingual use of the target language in FLT. In brief, the argument is that while immersion-style provision of language classes may look like a persuasive solution to the school system's task of promoting students' multilingual competence, it comes with the inherent contradiction that it attempts to introduce, as a medium of instruction, standard forms of language in an environment characterised by various forms of non-standard use such as dialect, learner language and hybrid mixing of different varieties. In processes of gatekeeping, e.g. giving or withholding access to valued resources such as vocational education and good jobs, the current language ideology privileges some varieties over others (Standard German over dialect) and some languages over others (English over French). Rather than engineering classroom interaction by decreeing a particular medium of instruction, schools could raise awareness of how languages are used meaningfully and provide more opportunities for negotiating topics which are both educationally relevant and linked to the students' social worlds and identities.

The research presented here stems from a larger-scale project on multilingualism, identities and school language learning[3] (Stotz 2005), which attempts to discover, with the help of ethnographically based sociolinguistics, the contribution that language learning can make to the construction of identities among children and adolescents and, hence, to suggest ways in which schools could promote a kind of multilingualism that supports young people in "mastering their lives" (Andres and Watts 1990: 9).

The following section looks at the educational and political goals of intensive language learning through immersion and analyses the contexts for such programmes in German-speaking Switzerland. The situation is made complex by the phenomenon of diglossia, where dialects and Standard German are used in different domains and under intriguing conditions of power and access. The third section provides a bottom-up perspective of

language education in one school community in the Canton of Zurich, Stätten,[4] which has undergone significant changes. The event described is an information forum for adolescents and parents in this multiethnic suburb of Zurich. An analysis of representations and uses of standard and dialect varieties of German helps to focus on the question of linguistic resources and their value at the transition between school and occupation. In the fourth section, evidence from language classrooms is used to make a case for a close emic perspective on the parallel development of skills in four languages or varieties (dialect, Standard German, French and English). It asks how ways of communicating and referring to subject content shape the opportunities that learners have to develop the desired skills. The concluding section retraces the recent history of language education reform and, on the background of the evidence discussed, asserts the need to offer adolescents more binding ways of engaging with content issues and move away from a simplistic focus on form-oriented language teaching.

2. Language as a learning objective and as a medium of instruction

In the late 1980s, majority immersion programmes had the allure of a magic potion for FLT. They were exploited by second language acquisition theorists as a "natural approach" which could do away with many tenets of "instructed" language learning (Krashen and Terrell 1983; Krashen 1985; Krashen 1998). Canadian models of French immersion were cited in the Berne symposium report as case studies in the "transmission of meaningful content and subject matter in a foreign language" (Stotz 1990: 37) with only a minor focus on the target language as a system. The programmes usually led to native-like receptive competences while the ability to produce and interact in French remained more limited or even fossilised (Harley et al. 1990). In her symposium contribution, Monica Heller shed some light on the sociolinguistic context of the French immersion wave: The programmes provided "access to authentic communication situations in the foreign language" (1990: 108) thanks to native or bilingual teachers of the target language, but, she concludes:

> Malgré l'immersion, l'école n'est finalement pas en mesure d'apporter une contribution décisive à l'abolition des barrières linguistiques. (…) Tout l'environnement social des élèves reste anglophone, ce qui signifie que, pour des contacts avec des francophones, leur compétence sociolinguistique n'est tout de même pas assez développée. (Heller 1990: 108)[5]

To judge from the success of the Canadian programmes, it appears that they fulfil a desirable socio-economic function in that they allow middle-class anglophone students to broaden their employability in a declaredly bilingual state. There is a sociolinguistic paradox in this: much as in Switzerland, the principle of territoriality locks the national languages in their places, while at the same time urban communities are becoming more and more multiethnic and multilingual as a result of old and new forms of migration. While nationally oriented bilingualism is lived by few, societal multilingualism is often treated as a problem to be overcome by unilateral integration on the part of immigrants.

If one wanted to transfer the Canadian immersion model to European contexts, a sociolinguistic perspective that includes considerations of power and difference would be called for. Thus, a paradox of the Canadian experience was that Anglophone majority students who had achieved higher competence in French started competing for posts reserved for bilingual speakers. Among the French-speaking minority this may have led to a sense of "la francophonie menacée" (Heller 1990: 109). In Switzerland, the franco- and italophone minorities are under greater economic pressure to learn German than the German speakers are to acquire French or Italian (Grin 1999). However, the minorities are confronted with societal diglossia in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, which may frustrate their efforts to learn Standard German (Watts 2001). While French Canadians who learn English gain a world language and a desirable form of bilingualism (at least in some functions, cf. Heller 2004), the francophone Swiss with school-learnt German may not even be able to cope with the 'Swiss model of multilingualism' according to which everyone speaks their mother tongue and is capable of understanding their conversational partners. The reluctance of many dialect-speaking Swiss to use Standard German in public and private encounters with speakers of other languages exacerbates the situation (Watts 1999).

Any discussion of educational language politics in Switzerland must go beyond the "topos" (Hägi and Scharloth 2005) that "Standard German is a foreign language for the pupils" and seriously analyse the roles of dialects and standard. It is on the basis of the underlying duality of dialect and standard that Swiss German pupils learn foreign languages such as French and English. Watts reflected on this from a vantage point of contrastive analysis already in the early 1980s (Watts 1981) and later from a critical sociolinguistic point of view (Watts 1997, 1999, 2001).

The German-Swiss linguistic situation has been characterised in two ways. It is sometimes said to be a type of medial diglossia (Kolde 1981;

Werlen 1998), where written communication is mainly conducted in Standard German while speakers use their local dialect in informal and even formal situations. Other researchers describe it as a case of outright societal bilingualism (Ris 1990: 42). Werlen distinguishes between receptive and productive uses of Standard versus Swiss German and notes that speakers are often engaged in "asymmetric bilingualism" (Werlen 1998: 26), where Standard German is more often heard than spoken, e.g. as a result of widespread consumption of TV channels broadcasting from Germany and Austria. However, written forms of dialect are increasingly used in electronic media of communication such as text messaging and Internet chat.[6] Even though there is now some consensus that the hypothesis of medial diglossia cannot be upheld due to the widespread use of both varieties in different functions and social situations, we must stress the link between social difference and the ability to speak Standard German fluently. Werlen points out that "spoken Standard German represents an integral part of occupational life, albeit for only about a third of the working population" (1998: 28). Census data corroborates the suspicion that the standard is used more frequently by academics and professionals (Lüdi and Werlen 2005: 47). While mastery of Standard German may not be the most important key to successful careers, it is certainly a concomitant feature and an imperative stressed both by university professors with respect to their students and by employers in local communities speaking to secondary school leavers (see Section 3 below). Gate-keepers for desirable positions often use the written standard as a device for controlling access (e.g. letters of application and CVs).

Significantly for the present discussion, Standard German cuts across the spoken/written medial divide at school, the most important arena for spoken use of Standard German in most Swiss German biographies. In official terms, exposure to and interaction in the standard variety at primary school is seen as the key ingredient for the acquisition of Standard German. For instance, the Zurich curriculum stresses the role of school as an opportunity for pupils to "build up a broad repertoire of spoken registers in High German [sic] and to refine it in various configurations of speaking" (Bildungsrat des Kantons Zürich 2005: 105). The educational goal is thus one of language acquisition through the use of a range of registers in the context of schooling with the help of specific arrangements for implicit and explicit learning, but in the absence of native speakers of the standard variety. Traditionally, there has always been a partial focus on the grammar and lexis of the written standard through instruction. Contemporary approaches such as Hägi and Scharloth's stress the need to teach "oral com-

munication abilities in the standard more purposefully and consciously" (2005: 16). This mixed process of implicit acquisition and instructed learning of Standard German is expected to unfold in conjunction with subject knowledge learning and the acquisition of social skills. In other words, what is theoretically postulated is nothing less than genuine immersion, albeit not with a foreign language as a medium of instruction, but the standard variety, which is not used regularly in the everyday routines of the local community.

In reality, the easy acquisition of Standard German through schooling is hampered by a variety of factors:

- Many teachers tend to use a characteristically Swiss subvariety of Standard German, which is often described as showing a lack of typical features of orality and fluency (cf. Sieber and Sitta 1986; Bachmann and Ospelt 2004).
- Interaction in educational contexts is characterised by asymmetric participation structures, giving the pupils less share in front-stage oral language production and interaction.
- Young pupils often start school with high idiomatic competence in the standard, acquired through media exposure and active use in peer role-play (Häcki Buhofer et al. 1994; Watts 1997), but tend to adapt their phonology and delivery to a less native-like version used by teachers.
- There is less emphasis on the acquisition of presenting, debating and other rhetorical skills compared to, for example, the Anglo-Saxon educational tradition.

In recent years, educational authorities and public discourses have increasingly emphasised the use of Standard German at primary and secondary schools as a result of perceived mediocrity of PISA test results and an attempt to provide better educational conditions for children with a background of migration. Brochures and projects have been created to lend support to a less uptight approach to Standard German. Paradoxically, however, the school system sets itself the goal of rectifying a situation for which it has itself been responsible. As dialect use is spreading to new niches and as new subcultural varieties such as "Balkans German" (possibly a crossing phenomenon, Rampton 1995) are emerging, the discourse of educators and politicians on Standard German is often fraught with notions of language decay ("Sprachzerfall") and the emergence of despised hybrid language forms. This suggests that Standard German as a medium of instruction keeps supporting the reproduction of socially selective ways of

schooling. The following two sections underpin this suspicion with ethnographically gained evidence.

3. Communicating language values: A public forum on the transition between school and work

Stätten is a town of 13,000 inhabitants on the outskirts of Zurich, characterised by a tradition of industry and a multiethnic present; it counts among the less desirable residential areas, but is socially too differentiated to be called a low-income ghetto. Social geographers have described it as part of an "edge city" which offers spaces for the development of new service industries and retailing (Leuthold 2005).

A key event to observe and describe linkages between school language learning and use of languages in occupational life is an information and discussion forum organised by the parents' council of the local secondary school. The evening, to which 8th graders and their parents have been invited, is about the challenges and opportunities of the search for apprenticeship contracts, the main avenue into employment from lower secondary school. In the following, some salient goings-on are reported and discussed with respect to the ways in which language values are communicated.

The president of the parents' council introduces the evening in Zurich dialect, reading out from notes. A young teacher briefly welcomes the participants in Zurich dialect. A professional moderator leads the discussion, speaking Standard German, using notes occasionally. After having given an overview of the evening, she engages a former student in a semi-spontaneous interview, asking questions in Standard German, while the apprentice, a young female florist, replies in Zurich dialect. None of these choices of varieties and switches between them are explicitly justified or commented on. It is obvious to residents of a multiethnic town such as Stätten that a fair share of parents will not be able to understand the dialect. The school itself normally emphasises the need to use the standard, not only for the benefit of families with a background of migration but also to support Swiss dialect speakers in the acquisition of the standard. The invited speakers on the podium, who represent various occupational domains from hairdressing through the hospitality to the construction industry, seem unsure which variety to use. The first speaker replies in Standard German, but the representative for a training centre for public transport announces that she will speak Swiss German and then quickly asks if there is anyone who does not understand her. However, the moderator intervenes

and asks her to use Standard German without giving a reason, possibly in order to save the face of those listeners who do not want to call attention to their own lack of competence in the local dialect. In the rest of the panel presentation and discussion, the speakers use a variety of Swiss High German which is clearly enunciated, delivered slowly but fluently with little hesitation. On the evidence of this public event, the claim that Standard German is used like a foreign language by adult Swiss speakers (e.g. Berthele 2004) cannot be maintained. But it also becomes clear that speaking it requires an effort and contextualises the speech event as official and portentous.

When asked which kinds of knowledge and abilities are crucial for a successful application for an apprenticeship, some panellists stress the importance of German as a school subject, or, as one speaker says, "learning German". The moderator repeats and emphasises this conspicuously ("Deutsch ist wichtig, ich möchte es nur noch sagen, dass man's bis ganz hinten hört").[7] In the question period, half the students use Standard German, the others dialect. One student questioner quotes his German teacher as saying that a punctuation error, e.g. a missing comma, in the letter of application would lead to the letter being thrown out and wants to know from the employers if that is correct. The responding restaurant owner rejects this but emphasises that some of the applications are written in "really bad German" and quotes the worst as running: "Sie Chef, ich gerne Koch wolle. Du mir habe Stelle?",[8] to the mirth of the audience. The quote plays on an immigrant hybrid caricature of German rather than a dialect-based version.

Written Standard German is thus presented as an important gate-passing skill, with an emphasis on formal aspects of the language. All of these students have been learning foreign languages for many years (French for 5 years, English for at least 3 years), but skills in and uses of these languages are never touched upon during the whole evening. They do not seem to play a crucial role in the transition from secondary school into the world of work. This does not mean that languages other than German do not surface in the daily lives at school as carriers of meaning potential, disenfranchisement or symbolic power. On the contrary, the multilinguality of the community itself is a constant undertow that pulls at the resources and beliefs of the students and teachers.

The following section provides insights into the situated practices of the language classroom in the same community, involving those same 8th-graders whose occupational futures were delineated in the forum.

4. Approaches to language teaching: Three languages in one class

We turn to social and linguistic practices in the language classrooms to ask what opportunities the students of this mixed suburban school community have to develop the language skills which will allow them to find their desired trajectories into occupational training and at the same time to develop ways of expressing themselves. The issues which the analysis deals with are the following:

- How are languages and their varieties contextualised as linguistic systems and ways of communicating in the classroom?
- How are topics introduced and negotiated in the language classroom? Do they serve as 'empty' carrier content or are they integrated into a broader agenda for learning, including other subjects and social skills?
- What role does the teacher and his/her interaction management play in the conduct of the lesson and what may be the consequences for the students and their learning opportunities?

Here I will focus on three lessons which were audio- and video-recorded with a view to approaching these questions empirically. The class of 19 students is in the B track of secondary school, in other words, third in a hierarchy of four academic tracks. Six of the students name German or Swiss German as their first language, the other mother tongues are Albanian, Arabic, Bosnian, Croatian, Italian, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish and Turkish. All except for two students were born in Switzerland, but only eight have Swiss citizenship. Each of the three languages, German, French and English, is taught by a different teacher. One reason for choosing these lessons as a basis for the analysis is the striking impression that the students' behaviour and interaction in the lessons differ greatly as a result of the teacher and his/her style and interaction strategy. The German lesson is taught by the class teacher, an experienced man shortly before retirement, while the English class is given by a middle-aged female and the French class by a young female teacher. The observers[9] noted very different levels of noise, discipline and concentration in the three settings.

The German lesson is somewhat of an exception as the teacher, whom I shall call Mr Götschi, has decided to offer a special lesson that he has taught before. The focus of the lesson is a transformation exercise for which the students have to transfer sentences from written Zurich dialect to Standard German. The topic is exclusively linguistic, as Mr Götschi announces: the lesson will deal with the word 'wo' (where), which, according

to him, is used "in the Swiss German language ... not only locally, but also temporally or as a relative pronoun".[10]

Mr Götschi asks the learners to transform 22 dialect sentences on a worksheet into "korrektes Hochdeutsch" (correct High German). An illustrative exchange is given below.[11]

(1) GÖT *ah probiert doch einfach (.) Artan*
just give it a try Artan
ART (reads) *höch uf de B- äh uf d Bäum wo d Vögel*
high on the trees where the birds
sitzed cha kchei Chatz chlättere (..) höch auf den
are sitting no cat can climb high on the
Bäumen wo die Vogel wo die Vögel sitzen kann keine
trees where the birds are sitting no
Katze klettern (looks up)
cat can climb
GÖT *ja (.) kannst du's noch einmal ganz deutlich sagen*
yes can you say it again very clearly
ART *ähm höch*
high (Swiss German phoneme)
GÖT *hoch*
high (Standard German phoneme)
ART *äh hoch (.) hoch auf den Bäumen wo die Vögel sitzen*
high on the trees where the birds are sitting
(.) kann keine Katze klettern
no cat can climb
GÖT *äh hört ihr den Fehler (.) hoch auf den Bäumen kann*
do you hear the mistake high on the trees
keine Katze kle- klettern (.) das ist nicht ganz
no cat can climb that is not quite
korrektes Deutsch (..) hoch auf den Bäumen kann
correct German high on the trees
keine Katze klettern
no cat can climb
MAR *hoch auf DIE Bäume*
high onto THE trees
GÖT *guet (.) sagst du den Satz ganz*
good can you say the whole sentence
(…)
MAR *hoch auf die Bäume wo die Vögel sitzen kann keine*
high onto the trees where the birds are sitting no
Katze kle[ttern
cat can climb

GÖT *[jawohl (.) guet*
yes good

Artan, a 15-year old male student of Albanian extraction, transfers the Swiss German umlaut in 'höch' to Standard German. The teacher corrects this mistake and then recasts the sentence for the learners to find the second mistake, a problem of case marking. Marco, a monolingual student, provides a correction and is asked to repeat the whole sentence. The routine feedback move by the teacher is Swiss German 'guet' for 'good'. The group of learners are frequently disciplined to provide complete sentences, they are mildly criticised if they deviate from the standard, and only once is there an oblique hint by the teacher as to the questionable nature of the example sentences when he comments on a form as "nöd ganz guets Züritüütsch" ("not quite good Zurich German").

Briefly summarised, the lesson is conducted like a foreign language class, with a focus on form but little in the way of metalinguistic explanation. Given the quaint meanings encoded by the sentences, we may wonder why the class, which can be unruly and noisy in other lessons, plays along well and why the general atmosphere is sober but friendly. On the one hand, the teacher commands respect and does not tolerate deviance, on the other, the lesson focuses on correct written Standard German, a resource that keeps being pointed out to the students as invaluable on the career path. The use of 'wo' as a non-local relative pronoun in Standard German is more than a grammar mistake – it can be read as a signal for incomplete mastery of the standard and may expose the speaker or writer more severely than a comma mistake. The difficulties that bilingual students have reading out written dialect and translating it into the standard may further intimidate them into compliance. A year before their graduation from secondary school, they are given a demonstration of how awkwardly they use both dialect and standard and how complicated these valuable resources are.

The English and the French lesson follow a similarly form-oriented agenda. As in the German lesson, the English teacher, Ms Keller, controls the management of the interaction in the whole-class phase and, in doing so, attempts to ensure that the target language is used as the medium of communication and that complete sentences are normally produced. The teacher initiates the sequence by asking the students what they know about Picasso; the learners had to read a biographical text on the painter in their course book. However, the topic is addressed not for its own sake, but with a grammatical focus, as Ms Keller made clear in the previous lesson: "Pi-

casso is dead, that's the reason why we must use past form." The famous painter is treated as mere carrier content, and the reproduction of a painting in the book is only briefly considered. However, as opposed to the German lesson, there is a factual background to the sample sentences, and the following exchange is noteworthy as one student, Tabea, corrects a statement of the teacher's (Ms Keller, KEL).

(2)	ART	*he was born in eighty eighty one*
		(…)
	KEL	*I have to look up – eighteen [ninety one yeah*
	ART	*[ninety one*
	KEL	*okay (.) more (..) yes*
		[(two girls, Tabea and Nathalia, are talking to each other, looking at the teacher critically)
	SXX	*[he and his family nei he and his father was painters*
	KEL	*ye:s [(.) hey-ey girls* (eye-gaze direction to Tabea and Nathalia)
	DAM	*[* (raises hand) *ääh*
	KEL	*was a painter he said*
		(..)
	KEL	*yes* (to Tabea)
	TAB	*she is the eighty EIghty one*
	KEL	*eighteen ninety one – or eighteen eighteen eighty one*
		[yes and he mo::ved to Vigo in ninety one yes (.)
	SXX	*[xxx*
	(KEL)	*you know better than I do*

Tabea and Nathalia are admonished by the teacher for talking back-stage, and when Tabea gets her turn to speak, she corrects the painter's year of birth (1881 rather than 1891), although her use of English makes her hard to understand. The teacher acknowledges her correction and comments appreciatively. In a second phase, not shown here, the students have to ask questions about Picasso, which are supposed to trigger the reply: "Picasso did". The content focus of the course book then moves away from Picasso to other famous dead people. Fatlum, another Albanian-origin student, provides a question based on a prompt in the book, a picture of Alexander Bell, believing that Bell invented the electric light bulb:

(3)	FAT	(points to his book) *who invented the electric lights*
		(..)
	KEL	*ääh* (sound of rejection)
		(…)
	FAT	*who did*

KEL	*no no no (..) who invented that's okay*
	(writes on blackboard)
FAT	*it's correct (..) the electric light* (looks at KEL)
KEL	*is it correct?*
MAR	(XXX)
KEL	*Alexander Bell invented the electric light?*
	(Marco and Sevda raise hands)
KEL	*oh no I'm sorry no he didn't invent the electric li::ght*
SEV	*the telephone*
KEL	*yes (.) the whole sentence please*

This sequence highlights a typical conundrum of FLT, the oscillation between a metalinguistic focus on form and an epistemic focus on content matter. The frame (Goffman 1974) for much of the lesson has been a focus on form, but Ms Keller's reaction to Tabea's initiative has shifted the frame slightly. Her self-correction and evaluative comment "you know better than I do" can be seen to contextualise factual correctness as indispensable. Hence the teacher is now constrained to insist on Alexander Bell as the inventor of the telephone and not the electric light. Fatlum has trouble understanding the import of her rejection and starts to correct the syntactic form of his contribution ("who did –") rather than the content.

What happens here could be called a re-keying along the lines of Goffman's frame analysis, where 'key' refers to a set of conventions by which a given activity (which is already meaningful in terms of a primary framework) is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something else (Goffman 1974: 43–44). In a form-oriented foreign language lesson, exemplars are usually treated in isolation from their meaning potential. In a communicatively oriented lesson, there are often two layers or laminations at play, the semi-authentic communication, where samples of language are used to emulate real-life exchanges, and a concentration on language forms as well as their pragmatic and sociolinguistic uses. In a genuine immersion situation, however, the primary frame would be that of subject knowledge acquisition through whatever configurations the players in the classrooms constitute as relevant and appropriate (Nikula 2005). Opportunities to use the target language – and hence improving competence in it – will arise as a function of learners' involvement, the social organisation of tasks and the exposure to the language that the lesson and the materials offer.

A precondition for an immersive process is the widespread if not exclusive use of the target language in the classroom. Interestingly, foreign language pedagogy has long insisted on this principle even outside properly

immersive classes. Communicative language teaching methodology aims to increase the opportunities for use and teachers adhering to it will often be adamant about it, as is Ms Keller when she insists on the use of English even in pairwork activity. Despite her insistence on the English-only principle, other languages are obviously used: Swiss German in group work interaction and Standard German to frame sentence patterns (e.g. "who *marschierte* first on the moon?"). Occasionally, in this multilingual class, another language does slip in on the front stage as when a student with Lebanese background pronounces 'travelled' as "travailed" and Fabio uses the Italian acronym "tivu" for TV. In both cases, the teacher good-humouredly acknowledges the slip but again insists "on ne parle pas français maintenant" and "tivu would be Italian, Fabio".

In sum then, the teacher's strategy of conducting the formally-oriented lesson is a rallying cry for concentrating on linguistically and factually correct use of the target variety with less emphasis on phonology than on syntax. The pragmatic hybridity of the situation is evident in a number of keyings and re-keyings, and thus there is more of a negotiation going on than in the German lesson, including even the distribution of speaking rights, with two cases where learners initiate corrections. The borders between back-stage and front-stage activity are more permeable than in the German lesson (cf. also Heller 2001). The teacher still manages to maintain orderliness through her insistence on the English-only practice and the narrow bandwidth of topical issues, dead artists and inventors whose main role is to allow practising the past simple.

There is not enough space here to describe and exemplify the French lesson. It takes place with the same class, but a different teacher. Disciplinary matters and open resistance determine long stretches of the interaction. The focus is once again on formal aspects of the language system, and there is a listening text, entitled "l'ambitieux" about a fictional ambitious pupil who does everything perfectly, a set piece of a display text which serves to drill a grammatical feature. It is perhaps ironical that its content refers to the exact opposite of what the learners are doing. They work their way obediently through a set of exercises, but at the same time they resist any opportunity to use French with respect to a content topic or even to the management of the situation at hand. Suffice it to point out that these glimpses of real life in the classroom are a long way away from the goal of immersion education and a kind of language learning which would promote mutual understanding across Swiss language borders.

This is somewhat surprising and potentially disappointing since the town of Stätten has taken part in a 5-year project run by the Zurich De-

partment of Education, which aimed to test new forms of language teaching methodology in an approach termed Content and Language Integrated Learning. A number of the students in this class took part in this project in their primary school years. The project was part of a re-orientation of educational language policy in Switzerland, which is tied, on the one hand, to the discourses on multilingualism and, on the other, to foreign language teaching methodology. The next section traces the developments that have led to a general shift in the priorities of foreign language teaching, both in the dimensions of language sequence and methodological concepts. We will see that the globalisation turn has become associated with immersion-type approaches, involving synergies but also contradictions.

5. Trajectories of change in educational language policy in Switzerland and their local implications

What has happened in the domain of foreign language learning in Swiss state schools since the Bern symposium mentioned at the beginning of this chapter? The story has been told and critiqued elsewhere by this author (Stotz 2002, 2006a/b; Stotz and Meuter 2003), and the discourses on multilingual Switzerland versus the "globalisation of English" were the focus of a critical analysis by Richard Watts (2001). Although the process of change has not come to an end yet, I will briefly summarise the developments, casting them against the background of a statement Watts made in 1997:

> As long as Switzerland exists in its present form, English will never be declared the first foreign language in preference to an LN2 [a second national language]. On the other hand, if the demand for English increases significantly – and I stress that there is no real evidence as yet to make this assumption – then it will be a strong indication that a great deal is wrong with language teaching and learning in the Swiss education system(s). (Watts 1997: 298)

It is a matter of debate what exactly may be wrong with FLT in Switzerland. In fact, the trajectory of changes over the last decade did lead to an advance of English, ending in a situation where 14 out of 17 German-speaking cantons are now implementing or will introduce English as the first foreign language.[12] During the 1990s, the pressure from parents, politicians and business representatives to devote more time and resources to teaching English first resulted in English being installed as an obligatory

subject at the secondary school level (age 13 and up) in several cantons. The process of globalisation and the techno-economic boom before the year 2000 contributed to a dynamic which, in a populist reform discourse, somehow got entangled with psycholinguistic theories of early second language acquisition (Stotz 2002). While in the previously dominant discourse on multilingualism, English was construed as a threat to linguistic harmony (Watts 2001), the most influential language policy document, the Comprehensive Languages report (EDK Expertengruppe 1998) is, in Watts' interpretation, an "attempt to play down the importance of English throughout all areas and in all social domains in Switzerland, whilst at the same time recognising its global importance" (Watts 2001: 313). The notion that English would be used as an intra-national lingua franca or link language was not prominently discussed; some would say it remained a taboo (Kleinberger Günther 2003), a spectre (Watts and Andres 1993), or lacked "empirical evidence on which to base such conclusions" (Watts 2001: 312).

By the turn of the century, the advocates of early English were dominating the discursive space with notions such as high motivation, naturalist approaches and English as the future language of international communication and, hence, advancement. Most importantly, they started implementing English as a first additional language in the primary school and thus occupied the field for experimenting with novel methodological approaches. While in the first canton to start out with a generalised primary English programme in 2001, Appenzell Innerrhoden, the method adopted was a story-based communicative approach, in Zurich as well as cantons in central Switzerland, English classes are now conducted on the basis of a model derived from partial immersion, termed Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL, cf. Marsh and Langé 2000; Nikula 1997; Wolff 1997). It would not be exaggerating to state that English as the language of globalisation has hijacked the model of immersion-type approaches to the teaching and learning of foreign languages in Switzerland. While experiments with bilingual French and German classes have been carried out with success in communes along the language border (Brohy and Bregy 1998; Le Pape Racine 2005), they exist in precarious conditions and are rarely transferred to wider regions. In contrast, English is more often associated with successful language learning even in the face of critical evaluation reports such as Büeler et al. (2001) and Stebler and Stotz (2004). The compromise decision reached by the federal coordinating body EDK/CDIP[13] in 2001 to allow regional conglomerates of cantons to determine the first additional language (English or the second national language) has exacerbated the tension since the language strife ("Sprachenstreit") now appears to breach

unity even between closely related cantons such as Basel Land and Aargau.[14]

In sum, educational language policy in Switzerland has been dominated by a rift in the discursive space on multilingualism and has led to a head-over-heels implementation of primary school English in many cantons and a patchwork of differing solutions depending on regional and local concerns. In other words, the checkerboard map of Swiss educational language policy shows traces of both globalising and localising tendencies that could be characterised with the hybrid term 'glocalisation'. The assessment that a great deal must be wrong in Swiss FLT if English were to become the first additional language to be taught can be turned on its head then: politicians, parents and practitioners have ambitiously invested in this reform, which piggybacks on English as a language of prestige and economic value. French, for the most part of German-speaking Switzerland remains on the curriculum of primary schools, and optimists hope for better results from earlier exposure to a popular language. The expectations are high indeed, and the question arises if the promised rewards in terms of power and access can be gained with reformed ways of learning two languages side by side.

6. Concluding remarks

On the basis of the sociolinguistic ethnography carried out in the project and exemplified in this chapter with insights into a public forum and three language lessons, the argument unfolds in the following way. The notion of using the target language as a medium of instruction is valuable (a) if it is properly translated into the diglossic situation of Swiss German schools, (b) if it recognises the limits of immersion-type language programmes, and (c) if it takes into account the reasons learners may or may not have for investing into language learning. In the event, competence in various registers of Standard German seems to be a desirable resource, valorised by teachers, parents and future employers, and a central part of legitimate repertoires. All learners, in particular those who speak another language at home, are expected to benefit from the practice of using Standard German as the main medium of instruction. Indeed, the school board of Stätten has decided to implement just such a policy: since 2006, all kindergarten teachers have been using Standard German (rather than Swiss German) as a matter of course when interacting in the classroom as well as in the school grounds. They have taken courses promoting a more natural and

spontaneous use of the Swiss variety of Standard German. Although some groups of parents and local politicians oppose the decision vehemently, the overall echo is positive. With such a move towards using the Standard German consistently in and around the classroom, it would be odd if lessons such as the German class discussed above were still to be held in future, where the standard is taught like a foreign language according to the grammar-translation method.

However, the inherent contradiction remains that in order to teach the curriculum, a variety is used which is not part and parcel of every-day communication. Thus, when the moderator of the Stätten forum says German is important what is meant is compliance with a written standard at a crucial gate-keeping moment where the criteria for evaluation are far from transparent. In the best case, the focus of using Standard German as a medium of instruction should not exclusively be on language in use; a systematic raising of awareness and of language reflection should be built into the curriculum. In this way, the functional and social distribution of dialects and standard can itself become a resource for heightened sensitivity to language issues. As the exchanges at the apprenticeship forum show, value-laden choices of varieties are often associated with insecurity and face threats. Students who have learnt to negotiate these choices with an awareness of their consequences will be better able to understand processes in which the distribution of power and access is at stake. For instance, they would not be led to believe by their teacher that a punctuation error in a letter of application is the end of their career prospects. They might even speak out against offensive caricatures of job applicants with purported lack of competence in German. And they would master the use of relative pronouns in written German earlier while still being able to speak idiomatic dialect and standard varieties, mixing in whatever hybrid forms they need in order to express their variegated identities.

However, what are we to make of the reform process which has changed the landscape of foreign language teaching over the last decade? Clearly, English, promoted as a resource in a globalising marketplace, has had a field day, but the compromise solution that the standing conference of directors of education (EDK/CDIP) is advocating may yet survive. The goal would be for all students at the end of obligatory schooling to be able to use a second national language and English at similar levels of competence.[15] Observations in a classroom where the reform has not really taken a foothold yet are obviously not sufficient to judge whether such objectives are realistic. However, our glimpse at current practices through the lens of ethnographic sociolinguistics suggests a number of issues to be taken up:

- While a form-oriented teaching methodology may be successful in disciplining learners into social-interactional patterns preferred by the teacher and the school as an institution, it misses out on opportunities for use of the language in the authentic context of learning events. It creates more problems of contradictory keyings than it solves in terms of language acquisition.
- The ideology of using the target language only militates against actual practices and may not always be helpful. A more systematic acknowledgement and management of languages and varieties having different functions in the classroom is called for. Immersion with its blanket identification of the foreign / second language as a medium of learning glosses over these challenges.
- Episodes involving learner initiative and multiple language use suggest that students could bring more to classroom learning than filling in the gap in the classic three-part Initiation-Response-Feedback exchanges. Resistance to the teaching agenda may also result from too low demands, especially with groups of learners categorised as academically less able.
- The evidence from these lessons suggests that 'content' is not constructed as a relevant issue in foreign language (and even German) lessons; the propositions that are expressed do generally not count as knowledge to be acquired or as expressions of self-identity, but as carriers of forms and lexis.

In all of the four points, foreign language teaching practices as observed here lead to an impasse: not only do the students lack opportunities for meaningful use of the new language, there is also a shortage of occasions where they can invest themselves with respect to who they are and who they want to be as speakers of various languages and varieties. In other words, the resources they are about to acquire are only tenuously linked to their identities and the broader educational agenda which should help the students gain access to valued resources such as apprenticeship contracts. This is mainly a consequence of the ways in which course book writers conceive their texts, exercises and listening pieces, and the ways in which teachers use the materials in class. While the painter Picasso may not be the most interesting topic for 14-year olds to deal with in the first place, the conspiracy with which course book and teacher refrain from engaging with the artistic, educational and social significance of Picasso's life and work is conspicuous. He remains just that: a dead white male.

The analysis of a public speech event and three language lessons comprising the same group of students suggests that if learners are to develop desirable resources to which value is assigned, they need to be given opportunities to engage with topics and speech activities that are relevant within their social worlds and tied to a broader educational agenda. This need is best captured by the notion of investment, developed by Norton (e.g. Norton 2000), which is in turn based on the economic metaphors Bourdieu uses in his work. For Norton (2000: 10), the term 'investment' refers to the "socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it". Young learners are more likely to invest in a second language if they stand to "acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of cultural capital" (2000: 10). In this vein, an investment in the target language is also "an investment in a learner's own identity" (Norton 2000: 11).

In the years between childhood and adulthood, the trajectory of identity formation is constantly accompanied by language learning efforts which are situated in social practices of the classroom and its environments. A higher degree of awareness among teachers, parents and students of the ways in which languages are used in educational and occupational domains could contribute to more informed choices in terms of teaching methodology and materials design. Something would be wrong with language teaching and learning in Switzerland indeed, not if English were the first language to be taught, but if language classes in general mainly used an orientation on language forms and structures to discipline students into complying with practices that pursue selection and gate-keeping in connection with Standard German as a central task of secondary schools. Rather, foreign language teaching and choices in the medium of classroom interaction should provide for learners to be able to engage in discourses as meaningful ways of using linguistic and other resources, starting from the word go. This objective constitutes a departure from the "more play-oriented pedagogy" advocated by Watts (1997: 300) towards an approach which integrates language use with the construction of 'content', or rather, discourse experiences within an overall epistemic agenda.

Transcription conventions

KEL	speaker acronym
(laughs)	non-verbal behaviour

(.) (..) (…)	short pause (½ second), medium pause, long pause (>2 sec)
li::ght	lenghthened syllable
[	onset of overlapping speech (first speaker)
[	(second speaker)
SXX	unidentifiable student speaking
(XXX)	incomprehensible passage

Notes

1. German was introduced as the second national language, taught like a foreign language, in the French-speaking part of Switzerland; in the German- and Italian-speaking parts French was phased in in similar fashion with the exception of the Canton of Uri, which chose Italian. In the trilingual Canton of Grisons a specific solution was sought involving bilingual schooling in Romansh and German as well as Italian.
2. All citations in German and French have been translated by this author, DS.
3. The 30-month project "Multilingualism, identities and language learning in Swiss schools and communities" is funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation as part of its programme 56 "Language variety and language competence in Switzerland" (cf. Stotz 2005).
4. All names referring to places and people with whom research was conducted have been changed. Prior consent has been sought for the data to be used in publications under these conditions.
5. Translation: Despite immersion, schools are not capable in the end of contributing decisively to the abolishing of linguistic barriers. (...) The social environment of students remains anglophone, which means that for contacts with francophones, their sociolinguistic competence is still not developed enough.
6. For an insightful discussion of the diglossia versus bilingualism question cf. Hägi and Scharloth (2005).
7. Translation: "German is important, I'd just like to say it again, so that you can hear it as far as the back (of the hall)."
8. A transliteration of this pidginised form of German would run as follows: "You boss, me want become cook. You have job for me?"
9. The lessons are part of a larger corpus of 48 lessons gathered in two schools as part of the project "Multilingualism, identities and language learning", see endnote 3. There were always two observers present in the lessons, including the author and a research assistant.
10. Using the relative pronoun 'wo' with a non-local reference in Standard German can be seen as an incorrect transfer from Swiss German. A constructed example would be: Swiss German: das isch de Maa, wo mir die Gschicht verzellt hät. Standard German: *Das ist der Mann, wo mir die Geschichte erzählt

hat. Correct: Das ist der Mann, der mir die Geschichte erzählt hat. (Translation: This is the man who told me the story).

11. The transcription conventions are given at the back of this chapter.
12. The bi- or trilingual cantons of Bern, Fribourg, Valais and Grisons are not counted in this tally. They opted for the intracantonal second language first.
13. The standing conference of cantonal ministers of education who coordinate educational policy in the absence of a national ministry of education. The constitution assigns education to the 26 cantons.
14. In addition, groups of members of the federal parliament now aim to re-assert the power of the centre by writing into a languages law a provision that the first additional language to be taught at schools must be French or German.
15. In Zurich, Zug, Thurgau and Schaffhausen there have been votes about initiatives restricting foreign language teaching to one language in the primary school. The voters rejected these initiatives in all these cantons, albeit with narrow margins.

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Chapter 14
Can academic writing style be taught?

Jürg Strässler

1. Introduction

Whatever subject students study at university level, they will sooner or later be faced with the task of having to write academic papers, either in their own mother tongue or in a foreign language. In the second half of the 20th century, English has increasingly become the lingua franca for academic writing and other languages have been neglected more and more, even in journals that are open to non-English submissions, for instance *Multilingua*. When it started in 1982 under the auspices of the Commission of the European Communities, Sager (1982: 7–8) stated in the editorial that the policy of *Multilingua* was "based on the recognition that linguistic diversity is a positive value which enriches the world and contributes to its full cultural and intellectual development" and that "[t]he journal will publish contributions in all European Community languages, with major emphasis on English, French, German and Italian. Articles will be preceded by abstracts in these four languages." In the first volume, the vast majority of articles were written in French. When Watts took over the editorship in 1987 and re-launched the journal with a slight shift in orientation towards cross-cultural communication, he kept the policy that contributions could be submitted in English, French, German, Italian or Spanish (cf. Watts 1987). Even though the abstracts in the four major European languages were no longer provided, which might account for the decrease of the number of non-English articles, the last one being published in 1998, it is simply a fact that nowadays researchers prefer English as a lingua franca among academics to writing in their mother tongue.

In his chapter on "The role of English in the research world", Swales (2004) shows that there is a similar situation in science, economics, psychology and applied linguistics by giving statistical evidence from a variety of sources. His most important findings, in my opinion, are that "[i]n today's Anglophone research world, the status and contribution of the non-

native speaker of English has become somewhat more central than it used to be" and that

> there seems little evidence that the larger non-Anglophone research languages (French, German, Japanese) are resisting the advance of English any better than smaller ones (Danish, Finnish, Portuguese). Indeed, the reverse may be the case. (Swales 2004: 52)

Furthermore he concludes that there is a constant proportional decline of the number of native speakers and that they will be outnumbered in the not too distant future by non-native speakers. In addition, Swales deplores the fact that

> there has been a massive conversion over the last two decades from other-language journals to English medium ones, and, as far as I can see, almost all of the many new journals that have been springing up have an English-only submission policy. (Swales 2000: 67)

Given the importance of English in the research world, it is therefore rather surprising that there is only a very limited number of university courses teaching academic writing at Swiss universities, and that there seems to be little interest among the students. In 2002, in other words, relatively recently, the University of Zurich and the Federal Institute of Technology (ETH Zurich) established their common language centre, which

> exists to foster the use of foreign languages at an academic level and acts as an inter-university reference point for matters concerning the acquisition of foreign languages and languages for specific and academic purposes. (http://www.sprachenzentrum.uzh.ch)

This centre is now in charge of all language courses apart from those which the language departments offer to their own students. At the University of Basle there is a similar language centre (established in 2003) with the same function, whereas the Centre for Language Competence of the University of Berne (established in 2006) only offers courses in German as a foreign language and English for science and for law.

In 2007 the Zurich language centre offered one introductory course in academic writing in English (level B2)[1] and one advanced course each for arts and social science and for sciences and engineering (C1).[2] Although there is a target group of more than 40,000 students for all three courses, the advanced course for arts and social sciences had to be cancelled due to the low number of people interested. One of the reasons might be that the description states that "the course will focus on both the techniques and the linguistic conventions of academic writing" and that "the course does not

focus primarily on improving participants' general English language skills" (Torr 2007). A similar picture emerges at the Bernese Centre for Language Competence, where in the autumn term of 2007 the course in English Scientific Writing had to be cancelled because here, too, enrolment was low.

The language departments in Switzerland are the only ones that offer their own courses as compulsory requirements for their students of language and literature, who already have a high command of the respective language and a certain awareness of the importance of different text types, and it might be argued that they are the ones who need such tuition the least.

Having a closer look at the topics of this type of courses in English we realise that they concentrate on issues such as "the accurate use of citations, attribution of ideas, and the judicious use of figures, tables, equations and references [as the] critical components of a successful paper"[3], on grammatical and lexical issues as well as on the overall structure of an academic paper. With respect to the notion of style, however, the course descriptions refer to "learning-by-doing", "practise this ability", or "trying to learn from the structure of articles and books that you are reading." In other words, style is considered to be an element that can neither be learnt nor taught, but that has to be acquired individually.

Most of the literature on academic writing skills shows a very similar approach to the topic as the courses mentioned above. Turabian's (2007: 3) *Manual for Writers*, which claims to have been the standard for generations of students and their teachers and which has sold more than 8 million copies, states as one of the running themes that "readers will judge [your research] by how well you report it, so you must know what they will look for in a clearly written report that earns their respect". Out of the 466 pages, a mere 10 pages are dedicated to language as such, the rest being on planning, source citation and style, meaning, spelling, punctuation, names, numbers, abbreviations, quotations as well as tables and figures. Furthermore, the chapter on revising sentences (Turabian 2007: 109–119) just concentrates on common-place suggestions such as "[f]ocus on the first seven or eight words of a sentence," "make subjects short and concrete," "if you never make a verb passive, you'll write sentences that contradict the old-new principle," "use first person pronouns appropriately," among others.

The Chicago Manual of Style (2003) as well as the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers* (Gibaldi 2003), the two leading handbooks for academic writing, show a very similar picture, apart from the fact that the

Chicago Manual contains a chapter covering American English grammar and usage.

Textbooks on academic writing such as Bailey (2003), Baugh (1993) Hamp-Lyons and Heasley (1987), Jordan (1999), Pirie (1985), Swales and Feak (2004), Tribble (1996), to name a few, show a very similar design. As they are mainly geared towards non-native speakers, they deal more with actual language problems. However, although specific linguistic features are linked to different stages of the writing process or to different genres, that link often remains obscure and information on genre-specific style is more or less inexistent.

In this paper I will refer to *style* as

> [t]he characteristic use of language in a text. When referring to the speaker, style is more or less the controlled choice of linguistic means, whereas in referring to texts, style is the specific form of language. (Bussmann 1996: 459)

I will not use *style* with reference to citation practice, typographic conventions, formatting, etc., which can be looked up in the manuals mentioned above. University departments and publishers have their strict norms with respect to the overall presentation of the texts, often laid down in their internal style sheets, but what their requirements for the actual use of language are is not stated.

The question I will address in this paper is whether students maintain personal, idiosyncratic features, which might reflect L1 principles, when taught how to write academic texts in English or whether there is an obvious change towards an English academic writing style as observed by Swales, who states that

> [w]e are faced in effect with a growing linguistic and rhetorical monopoly and monoculture against which we need to consider offering 'cultural rainforest' arguments of the following type: "Insofar as rhetorical practices embody cultural thought patterns, we should encourage the maintenance of variety and diversity in academic rhetorical practices – excessive standardization may counteract innovation and creative thought by forcing them into standard forms" (Mauranen 1993: 172). (Swales 2000: 67)

For this purpose I will use the QSUM method, which has proved very fruitful for the analysis of authorship in the framework of forensic linguistics. In the next section I will explain the QSUM method in as much detail as necessary and illustrate it with one of the student texts under scrutiny. This will be followed by the actual analyses of texts written by the same students at the beginning and at the end of a course in academic writing as

well as different texts written by native speaker academics. In the final section I will try to interpret the findings and to establish the possible consequences with respect to academic writing.

2. The QSUM method

2.1. Analysing for authorship

The cusum (cumulative sum) technique[4] is a statistical method used to establish the cumulative frequency of a variable as the sum of all preceding frequencies, starting from the lowest value of the variable. It is a technique widely used for instance in stock surveillance and quality control or as a tool for feedback about performance in clinical medicine (cf. Chang and McLean 2007). In linguistics the cusum technique is one of the stylometric methods used in the attempt to ascribe authorship to written as well as spoken texts, often used for forensic purposes.

The search for an objective method of authorship attribution has quite a long history. As early as 1851, Augustus de Morgan (1851) suggested to apply statistical methods to the *Epistles to the Hebrews* in order to determine whether they were written by the Apostle Paul. He claimed that if the average length of words was much the same as the one in the other Epistles, this might be a strong indication that Paul was the author, or at least that all the Epistles were written by the same person.

Even though this might appear to be a rather simplistic and unscientific method, it paved the way for stylometrics. De Morgan's method did not concentrate on overt individual language habits such as favourite words and phrases, which above all are rather infrequent in relation to the overall length of a given text, but on frequent, regular features authors use subconsciously. Yule (1944) in his *Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary* augmented de Morgan's method by adding elements of word distribution such as sentence length with respect to word length and the ratio of the various parts of speech within a given text.

In the 1960s, when computers became readily available, there was growing interest in applying such techniques to larger corpora and to improve the methods.[5] Without going into detail we notice that from a linguistic point of view there had been a constant shift away from semantics and the assumedly author-specific choice of words towards the subconscious but highly individual preference for specific syntactic structures.

2.2. Andrew Q. Morton's QSUM method

It was in the 1960s when Andrew Q. Morton, a Church of Scotland minister and a computer specialist, started to apply cusum tests to language as a method for authorship analysis. When he was convinced that this technique was applicable to any type of written and spoken texts, apart from being simple to use and easy to understand, he published the *Qsum Plot* (Morton and Michaelson 1990), introducing his method and illustrating it with a variety of text, mainly from modern literature. He was able to show that an author's writing style remains personal and consistent, not only within a given text, but across different genres of writing and over time, even if the author had deliberately changed her/his style.

The QSUM method is so convincing that it soon became recognised as a valid technique in legal settings and "Morton's expertise was to be sought in many sensitive legal cases where 'confessions' or admission statements were at issue" (Farringdon 1996: 15). The QSUM method is thought to provide an authorial "fingerprint" similar to voice prints or real fingerprints. Its success in forensic linguistics is due to its simplicity on the one hand and reliability and applicability even in relatively short texts, and thus being apt for analyses of alleged suicide letters, forged wills, forced confessions, manipulated interviews, etc.

2.3. How to design and interpret QSUM charts

As mentioned above, the QSUM method is easy to carry out and even easier to interpret, as a cusum chart is basically a graphical representation of the features under investigation. As sentence length, i.e. the number of words per sentence, is the first stylistic aspect of relevance, I will explain the design of the QSUM chart given in Table 1, which is based on one of the students' papers analysed in section 3.[6]

Every row in Table 1 represents one sentence of the text under investigation and is labelled with the respective sentence number. In the second column we have the words per sentence (wps) as well as the average sentence length. The third column gives the sentence length deviation (sld), i.e. the difference between the average sentence length of all the sentences and their respective sentence length. For the fourth column the cumulative sum of all the sentence length deviations (qsld) has to be calculated by adding the sld of all the previous sentences. Columns 5 to 7 are not relevant for the time being, but will be used below.

Table 1. QSUM chart of Text 1, Student A (A1)

#	wps	sld	qsld	23lw + ivw	(23lw + ivw)d	q(23lw + ivw)d
1	19	-7.88	-8	9	-5.65	-6
2	20	-6.88	-15	12	-2.65	-8
3	26	-0.88	-16	14	-0.65	-9
4	8	-18.88	-35	3	-11.65	-21
5	42	15.12	-19	23	8.35	-12
6	18	-8.88	-28	10	-4.65	-17
7	40	13.12	-15	20	5.35	-12
8	9	-17.88	-33	4	-10.65	-22
9	27	0.12	-33	15	0.35	-22
10	45	18.12	-15	26	11.35	-10
11	23	-3.88	-19	11	-3.65	-14
12	22	-4.88	-24	15	0.35	-14
13	23	-3.88	-27	15	0.35	-13
14	51	24.12	-3	28	13.35	0
15	28	1.12	-2	11	-3.65	-4
16	35	8.12	6	21	6.35	3
17	21	-5.88	0	12	-2.65	0
Average	26.882			14.65		

Key:
# = sentence number
wps = words per sentence
sld = sentence length deviation
qsld = cusum of sld

So far this method seems to be very similar to de Morgan's (1851) technique of counting word length with the only difference that instead of working with the bare values of the variable, they are put in relation to all the preceding values and the overall average. In the graphical representation with the sequence of sentences on the abscissa and the qsld (column 4) on the ordinate as given in Figure 1, we can see that the feature sentence length is not a very reliable parameter for analysing for authorship. A viable cusum chart would display a levelled graph with marginal deviations.

It is thus obvious that in addition to sentence length, other features have to be found. Although Forsyth and Holmes (1996) in their paper on feature-finding deplore the fact that the choice of textual features, which is a crucial determinant for success, is left to the intuition of the analyst, rather than being based on an objective method for finding the most suitable features in any given text, I suggest that we proceed with the ones suggested

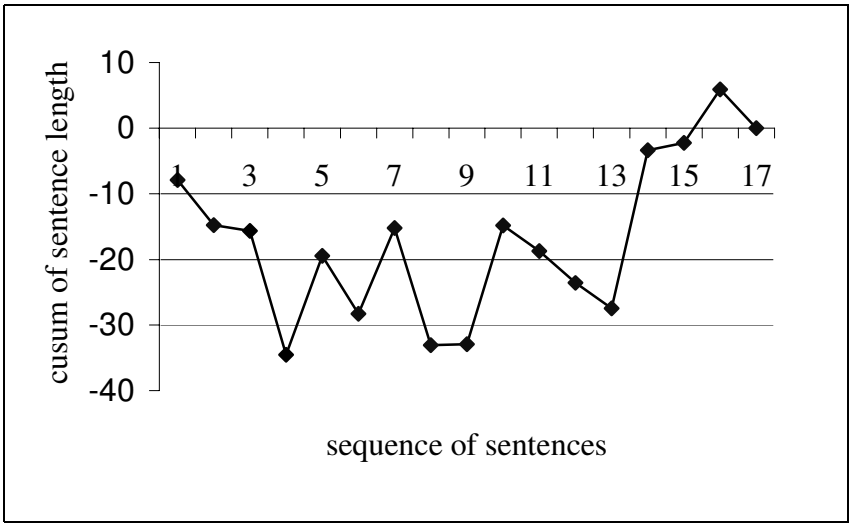

Figure 1. Cusum graph of sld of Text 1, Student A (A1)

by Morton (in Farringdon 1996). Firstly, there is no need for any background knowledge external to the texts being analysed and secondly they have proved very successful, as can be seen in all the different applications illustrated in Farringdon (1996).

As a second aspect of author-specific language use, occurrences of other features or 'habits' within each sentence have to be counted. Morton showed that an analysis combining words consisting of two or three letters (23lw) and words with an initial vowel (ivw) proved to be very fruitful, at least for English texts. The habit 23lw is a clear focus on function words, as most of them consist of two or three letters and as the number of content words shorter than four letters is very small. Based on absolute figures given in Farringdon (1996: 45) the two- and three-letter words account for 0.2% and 2% of all words respectively, including the function words. Their frequency in a text, however, is rather high. Among the 25 most frequent words in the British National Corpus, only two words (*that* and *with*) are longer than 3 letters. Furthermore, by concentrating on function words, the focus shifts to syntactically significant elements. Vowel-initial words on the other hand are very numerous in the English language, as a lot of them are Latin prefixed. A rough count in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Hornby 1995) reveals that about 20% of the lexical entries start with a vowel. Furthermore, by focusing on these two habits, we get a ratio

of nearly 50% of all the words occurring in a text, which is an ideal situation.

Considering the same text (A1) as above, we have entered the number of habits per sentence in column 5 (of Table 1 above), the respective deviations in column 6 and the cusum values in column 7. Rather than plotting the cusum values into a separate graph, we integrate them into the graph given in Figure 1, thus creating a representation of a QSUM chart, where sentence lengths and the habits are put into correlation (Figure 2).

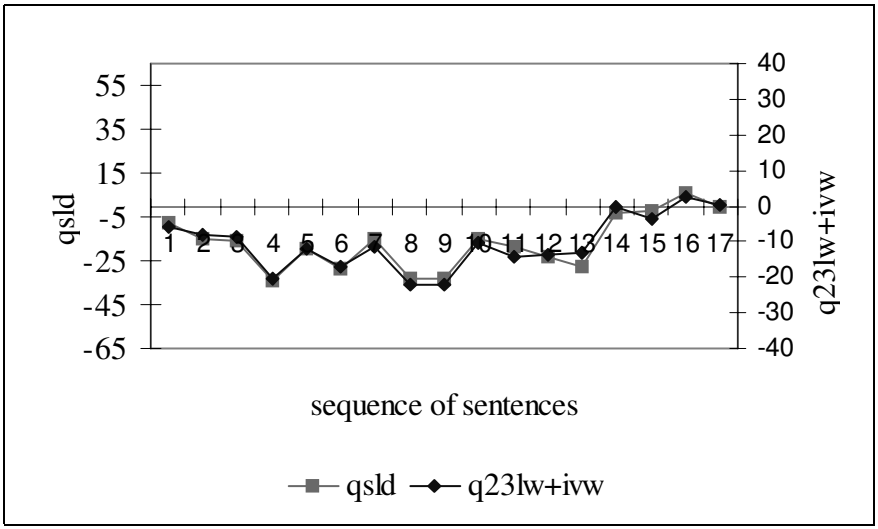

Figure 2. QSUM Chart of Text 1, Student A (A1)

In this chart we see the deviation from the average for the number of words per sentence (qsld) as well as the habit being analysed within each sentence (q23lw+ivw). If these two lines track each other closely enough, it is an indication of the integrity of the text and of its homogeneity. The elegance of the QSUM method is that reading such a chart requires no mathematical knowledge, although the respective distances between the two lines could easily be calculated and used as input for statistical analysis.

The very close match of the two curves thus shows that the text analysed is clearly consistent. Student A, at this stage in her development, has found her own personal style, although she is a non-native speaker. Furthermore, the whole text is free from any external influences, i.e., it was written by one and the same writer. As we know that this is actually the case, the QSUM method has once more passed the test. Farringdon (1996,

cover) claims that "[e]ach person's QSUM 'fingerprint' retains consistency across his or her written and spoken utterance and across different genres." In a number of analyses she further shows that the writer's age does not affect this consistency either.

In order to see whether this is also true for non-native speakers and whether the active teaching of writing skills has any influence, positive or negative, we will analyse a number of papers written by students attending academic writing skills courses at the English departments of the Universities of Berne and Zurich.

3. Analyses of student papers

If Farringdon's (1996) claims are valid, the teaching of writing skills would have no influence on the personal writing style of the students attending courses in which they are taught how to write academic texts. It must be noted once more that the notion of 'style' in this context has nothing to do with 'style' in the literary sense. In other words, we are not interested in "[t]he characteristic manner of literary expression of a particular writer, school, period, etc." but in the "[f]eatures pertaining to the form and mode of expression of a text" (Hornby 1995: s.v.). The results of my analyses will therefore either refute the QSUM method or question the influence of writing skills courses with respect to style. It goes without saying, however, that such courses are a valid part of the syllabus, whatever the results may be, particularly if the participants perceive them as useful for their studies and their academic work.

3.1. Methodology

For the present study I have randomly chosen 22 students in the English departments of the Universities of Berne and Zurich. All of them attended a course taught by different lecturers in which they had to write essays on literary or linguistic topics at regular intervals. As a longitudinal study would have gone beyond the scope of this paper, I decided to concentrate on their very first texts and on the ones written at the end of the course, that is on two texts for each student with a gap of 8 months in-between.

All the students are (very) advanced non-native speakers of English with levels ranging from B2 to C2, according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Their respective mother tongues

are mostly (Swiss) German, French or Italian, but also Spanish, Russian, Swedish, and Croatian. Most of them had just started their studies at university level, after having between four and seven years of two to three lessons a week of tuition in general English at grammar school level.

Although I asked the students for permission to analyse their essays, they were not informed about the purpose of the analysis or about the features under scrutiny. Thus even if some of them might have edited their texts with respect to grammatical or orthographic mistakes, this wouldn't have had any effect on the analysis.

Furthermore, the essays had to be slightly edited by myself. So names, dates, numbers, references and especially quotations were marked as such and analysed as being one word. For further details about preparing texts for a QSUM analysis and reediting them, the reader should turn to Farringdon (1996: 20–24).

3.2. Analyses and results

In order to illustrate how the QSUM method works, we have already analysed the first student paper in section 2 above. The first text by student A (A1) was her very first essay at the beginning of the course. Although her mother tongue is French, the analysis showed that her personal style when writing in English is very homogeneous, i.e. it shows a uniform character throughout with respect to the ratio of habits and sentence lengths. Such a homogeneity "is taken to mean that the sample ... is indeed by the one writer" (Farringdon 1996: 7) without any borrowings or insertions from other sources. It might of course be interesting to compare her French and English writing, but this would go beyond the scope of this study, as it would imply having to identify common habits for both languages.

In all the student essays under scrutiny, a very similar picture emerged, irrespective of what the mother tongue of the author was. We thus can assume that their English, or rather their respective interlanguage, shows idiosyncratic but consistent features. By way of further illustration let us consider the QSUM chart given in Figure 3, which shows the analysis of the first paper written by a student with Italian background (B1).

It can be seen very clearly that the charts given in Figure 2 and Figure 3 are both homogeneous but quite different. A critical reader unfamiliar with QSUM charts might argue that it is obvious that the number of habits in a sentence is always dependent on sentence length and that these charts are therefore relatively meaningless. In order to counter this objection, we can

use the so-called sandwich method, which is a reliable means for assessing whether a text of unknown origin is written by an assumed author or not. For our purpose let us put text A1 between the first and the last 15 sentences of text B2 and carry out the QSUM analysis. The resulting chart given in Figure 4 displays a clear mismatch of the two curves, which is proof that the intermittent text is of different origin.

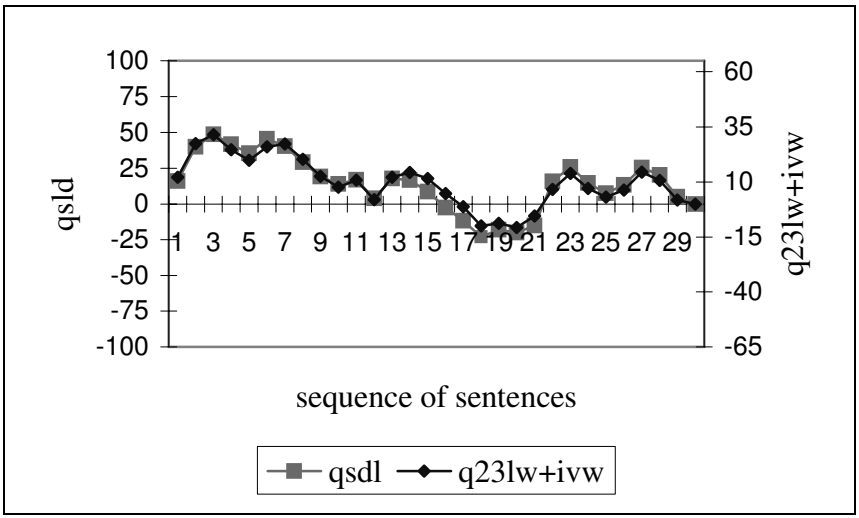

Figure 3. QSUM Chart of Text 1, Student B (B1)

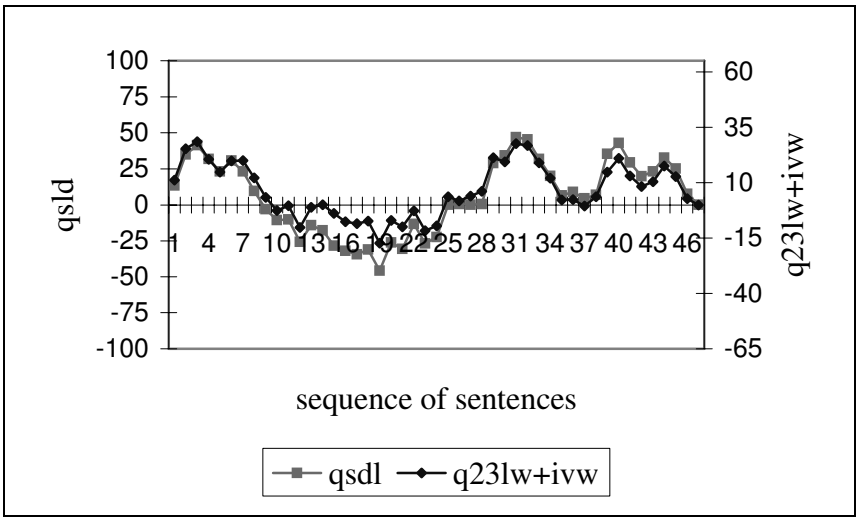

Figure 4. QSUM Chart of Sandwich (B1 – A1 – B1)

Thus far, the QSUM method has proved reliable and we can proceed with the analyses of papers written at the end of the writing skills courses. If Morton, Farringdon and their colleagues are correct in claiming that an author's personal style is consistent across different genres, we will get the same picture: QSUM charts of the individual papers as well as sandwich tests with text written by the same student at the beginning and at the end of the course will prove homogeneous. This would of course also be an indication that the students are resistant to changes in their individual writing style and that teaching genre-specific linguistic features of academic writing would appear to be a fruitless undertaking.

However, much to my surprise, the results were quite different from what was to be expected. The QSUM charts of all the texts written by the 22 students at the end of their courses show the same picture as given in Figure 5, which represents the QSUM chart of the second text of the same student B (B2).

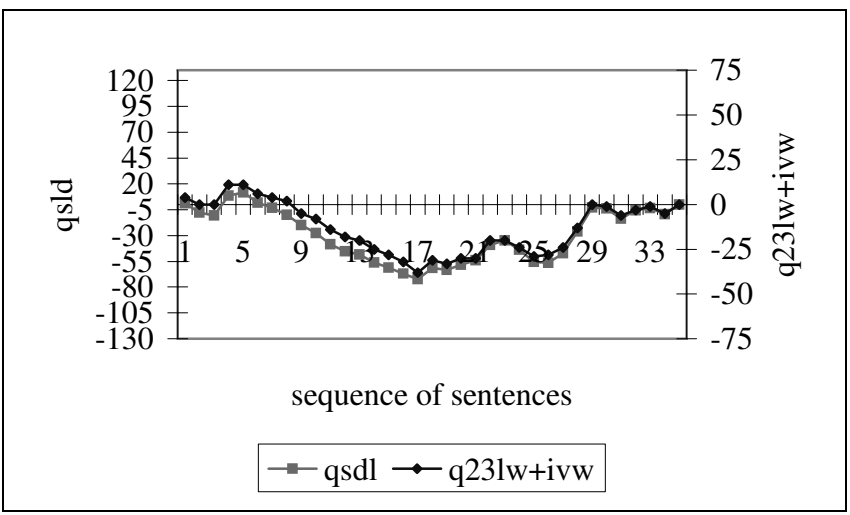

Figure 5. QSUM Chart of Text 2, Student B (B2)

As can be seen, the analysis of text B2 shows a lack of integrity and of homogeneity in the text, although quotations and references had been excluded from the test. As indicated above, there might be two reasons: Either personal writing is not consistent across different genres or the standards for academic writing taught in the courses are so rigid that they displace some individual features.

In order to test whether the latter is the case, let us have a look at the differences between personal and academic writing of two professionals of English mother tongue. For this purpose I analysed a personal letter (C1, D1) and a piece of academic writing (C2, D2) each, produced by two lecturers responsible for the courses and from whom I was able to obtain a personal text. In order to avoid the conclusion that their academic writing styles had influenced the students so strongly that they follow their master's voice, I have deliberately chosen tutors who were not directly involved in the teaching of students A and B, whose text analyses are shown above. They have, however, taught some of the other 20 students, whose writing showed the same characteristics.

As was to be expected, the analysis of the personal letters (C1, D1) showed a very high degree of consistency and I am convinced that comparison with other texts written by the same authors would show that they have their own individual styles and that the QSUM technique is a valid method to demonstrate this.

The QSUM chart of the academic text (C2, D2), however, showed a completely different picture, as can be seen in Figure 6.

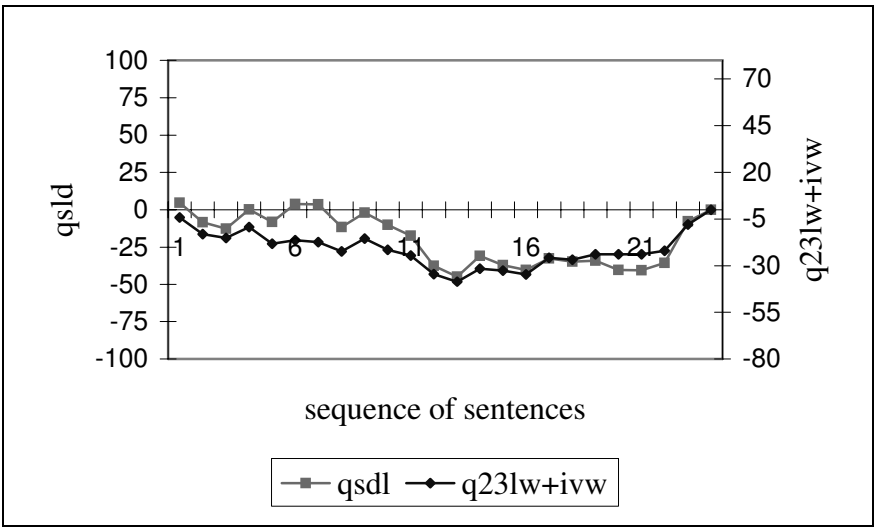

Figure 6. QSUM Chart of an academic text written by a professional (Text C2)

Apparently, academic writing has become so strongly standardised that it does not leave much room for individuality. It seems that the authors of academic texts feel forced to use constructions which are normally very

rare in their personal writing. What can for instance readily be noticed in the texts C1 and C2 is the fact that the passive is a rare feature in the author's personal writing, with only 2 occurrences, whereas in the academic text excerpt of roughly the same length, it occurs 11 times. For a detailed analysis of the passive in academic writing, see Wanner's (in press) case study in *Deconstructing the English Passive*.

4. Interpretation and conclusion

Although the present study is based on a rather small number of texts and relies exclusively on the QSUM method, we can see a clear tendency that academic texts differ from other text types with respect to their homogeneity. According to Farringdon (1996: 7) such heterogeneity "is clear evidence of its being mixed utterance. What we have here is a borrowing or insertion from other sources within the text." However, as we know that none of the texts lack integrity and that obvious insertions such as quotes have been excluded from the analyses, we have to assume that academic writing is strongly influenced by a genre specific standard. Swales (2004: 62–63) refers to Devitt's (1997) article 'Genre as a language standard', where she "argues that just as language standards provide rules of linguistic 'etiquette' (punctuation, usage, etc.), so genres also have their associated 'etiquettes' ... [which] are not absolute but are conceived in terms of what is socially and rhetorically appropriate." Nevertheless, Swales goes on to point out that "linguistic and generic 'standards' still permit a fair amount of choice ... because not everything is controlled or controllable."

The author of 'It's a steal' (*New Scientist* 2007) is not aware of the genre specific etiquette when he writes that "[e]loquent language has never been the strong point of academic papers, so it's somewhat ironic that some scientists are lifting clever turns of phrase ... from other published papers in a bid to sound more articulate." He then goes on claiming that "[m]ost culprits are people whose first language is not English", which is in strong contrast to Swales (2004: 52), who states that "[t]he difficulties typically experienced by NNS academics in writing English are ... *au fond* pretty similar to those typically experienced by native speakers."

In her survey of the reviewing process of an applied linguistics journal, Belcher (2007) also states that language use was not the most salient problem in international scholars' submissions. She reports a case where a reviewer commented on a paper written by a native speaker of English that "[i]t might be useful for a NS of English to read the text just to disentangle

some of the sentences." However, the author's disadvantage was not an issue of language competence but the fact that he was an off-network scholar with little access to scholarly publications, i.e. with little experience with the genre of academic writing.

Our analysis supports Swales's claim and gives an explanation for Belcher's example by showing that for native as well as non-native speakers academic writing differs considerably from other genres. Whereas the QSUM method as applied to the non-genre-specific texts, i.e. the first essays of the students and the private writings of members of staff, showed individual, yet consistent idiosyncratic features, academic writing seems to be depersonalised. This does not mean, however, that they would adhere to a common linguistic standard even if it were possible to tell what such a standard might be. The only assumption that can be made is that the standard, genre-specific overall structure of academic papers as outlined by Turabian (2007), Gibaldi (2003) and others has a strong influence on the actual language used in academic papers.

Devitt (1997: 54) stated that "[o]nly when we understand genres as both constraint and choice, both regularity and chaos, both inhibiting and enabling will we be able to help students to use the power of genres critically and effectively." One interpretation might thus be that the constraints are imposed by virtue of genre-specific requirements and that choice is reflected in the individual writing style.

Although academic writing style is not taught explicitly but emerges indirectly from the overall design of academic writing, we can draw the conclusion that the lecturers do a very good job in preparing their students for a professional career. Furthermore, it might be hoped that students outside the linguistics departments will discover the value of genre-specific language courses and their relevance in the globalised world of academia, where not only English as such, but English for academic writing has become the Lingua Franca.

Acknowldegements

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Notes

1. According to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.
2. There are no courses in academic writing in any of the other languages, neither at Zurich nor Basle. At Basle one single course in English academic writing (5 x 3 hours) is offered.
3. All the quotes in this paragraph are taken from different online course descriptions.
4. Cusum is the term I use when referring to the neutral statistical technique, whereas QSUM is its application for the analysis for authorship as developed by Andrew Q. Morton (cf. Farringdon 1996).
5. For a more detailed account, see Farringdon (1996, chapter 1).
6. For a detailed step by step explanation of the QSUM method, see Farringdon (1996, chapter 2).

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Chapter 15
Linguascaping Switzerland: Language ideologies in tourism

Adam Jaworski and Ingrid Piller

1. Language ideologies and media representations of tourism

The area of sociolinguistic research known as 'language ideologies', i.e., the study of a set of discourses "on language which represents a coherent set of beliefs about language, a language, a language variety, language use, language structure, etc." (Watts 2001: 299) has for the past decade produced a number of insightful studies placing language at the centre of various social, cultural and political debates (see, for example, Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998; Blommaert 1999; Jaffe 1999; Kroskrity 2000; Johnson and Ensslin 2007). These studies are usually based on the examination of competing discourses on language in particular countries, locations, communities, and so on, in overt texts, written or spoken, evaluating different aspects of language use from a variety of perspectives, such as those of government officials, educators, media organizations, 'ordinary' individuals, as well as other self- and other-appointed 'experts', including linguists. The ideologization of language, however, does not only take place through explicit metalanguage. Ideas about, beliefs of and attitudes toward language with regard to patterns of prestige and standardness, displays of authority and hegemony, acts of subversion and contestation, orientation to the aesthetic dimension of code, and so on may be articulated explicitly or made manifest in *communicative practice*, and they are always linked to specific contexts of use and the speaker's/writer's sociocultural knowledge (see, e.g., Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Kroskrity 2004). In this sense, all language use displays various degrees of reflexivity, or metalevel which is inextricably linked with the indexing of specific language forms as ideologically charged with respect to the relative power position and identity of their speakers (or writers) (cf. Coupland and Jaworski 2004 for an overview). One recent example demonstrating language ideological work through code choice in a bilingual setting is Alexandra Jaffe's (2007) study of language representation and use on Corsican radio and television.

Jaffe demonstrates how the choice of a minority language (Corsican), and the degree to which it is spoken in media broadcasts indexes their audiences as 'Corsican', whether a bounded and homogeneous speech community through hypercorrect, Corsican monolingual, authoritative news radio broadcasts, or a community undergoing a language shift in more relaxed, mixed-language use in light radio entertainment programmes. Jaffe also demonstrates how the representation of Corsican–French bilingual education in a TV documentary is achieved, somewhat paradoxically, by the editorial process of *erasing* in the final version of the programme most of the French language usage by pupils and teachers to normalize, or authenticate the use of Corsican as an academic register.

In an earlier study (Jaworski et al. 2003), we have examined the uses and representations of languages other than English in tourist destinations featured in British TV holiday programmes. In this work, we follow Deborah Cameron's claim that one of the central tasks of critical analyses of language practice is to reveal how institutions like the broadcast media (cf. Silverstein's 1998 notion of 'centering institutions') produce and reproduce linguistic norms, and then to consider "how these norms are apprehended, accepted, resisted and subverted by individual actors and what their relation is to the construction of identity" (Cameron 1990/1999: 62). Watts (1999: 84) raises a similar sentiment when he states: "Since any language ideology is constructed from mythical accounts of language use and language structure, it is important to locate examples of those accounts when observing the social practices of everyday life."

Our earlier study reveals that languages other than English in TV holiday programmes function in four main categories: (1) expert talk (e.g., guided tours, explanations, instructions); (2) service encounters (e.g., purchasing foodstuff in shops or markets); (3) phatic communion (e.g., exchanging greetings, thanking – often as part of a service encounter); and (4) naming and translating (e.g., providing labels for local concepts, artefacts or dishes, translating local place names). However, further inspection of metapragmatic comments about host languages made by programme presenters, suggested an underlying set of beliefs about these languages: that although tourists may have 'fun' trying them out in travel destinations, they are primarily employed to index local people as out-group members in relation to the British travellers (here, presenters and the implied tourists, i.e., TV audiences), and a useful semiotic resource in creating a linguascape of the travel destination, an authenticating and exoticizing strategy relying on the display of host languages alongside iconic sites, 'typical' dishes, artefacts, activities, etc. Whether using a local language (other than

English) addressing the TV viewers or in face-to-face interactions with local people, presenters rarely venture beyond acts of language crossing, i.e., using (snippets of) languages or varieties of language which the speaker cannot legitimately claim membership of (see Rampton 1995, 1998). By appropriating host languages in this way, the presenters in the holiday programmes never claim to be 'really' French, Italian, Kenyan, or Fijian. On the contrary, more often than not, they emphasize their difference from their hosts. For example, by often sending themselves up as incompetent host language speakers they position themselves firmly as British (English-speaking) tourists. Different from the hosts and aligned with the (implied) tourists in front of the TV screens, their ultimate aim is to create a sense of community of (British-international) tourists with their viewers, only playfully and fleetingly enacting a different linguistic, ethnic or national identity. Through these programmes, and venturing into host languages, they reassure their compatriots about the safety of foreign travel in these destinations: they can remain British even outside of Britain, finding the comforts of 'home away from home' and ways of getting by with no or little foreign linguistic skill. Using host languages may be useful and fun, but the low-level proficiency required on holiday does not threaten anyone to having to become 'someone else'. Not unlike Rampton's discussion of linguistic crossing creating new cross-ethnic patterns of identification, crossing in the holiday programmes may be regarded as creating new cross-national or inter-national allegiances, which allow one to maintain a preferred, conservative national identity while momentarily venturing outside of one's own national boundary. Even if one ends up in Italy, France, Kenya or Fiji becoming Italian, French, Kenyan or Fijian is no more than an optional pretend play.

Such play with local languages and orienting predominantly to the TV audiences by the presenters leaves local people depicted in the programmes with little control over their own subject-positioning or footing in relation to the presenters and TV viewers, as their role in the participation framework is constantly changing from the ratified hearer to ratified eavesdropper, onlooker, or bystander, and object of the (implied) tourist gaze (Urry 2002). In Goffman's (1981) terms, theirs is truly "subordinated communication" – in an interactional and also in a sociopolitical sense.

These mediatized representations of staged encounters in tourism are indicative of the degree to which language has come to be ritualized and commodified in tourism performances – what Jack and Phipps (2005) refer to as the "languaging and translating" of the tourist landscape. By referring to linguascapes and linguascaping, however, we mean also to reveal the

very particular deployment and devaluing of local languages as both backdrop and ludic resource. It is in this way, that, as powerful ideological mediators, TV holiday programmes and their style-setting presenters promote a regime of touristic and intercultural truth about local languages which construct subjectivities for hosts and identities for viewers (cf. Foucault 1980; Mellinger 1994). Specifically, host languages are appropriated as a primary identity resource by which visitors may construct themselves as tourists. Furthermore, it is through their playful, transient crossings into local languages that they further position themselves as "cosmopolitan internationals" – not in the sense of their being culturally engaged with, or embracing of, local people (cf. Hannerz 1996), but rather with respect to their appeals to the elite caché of global citizenship. These are people freely traversing national boundaries but staying firmly rooted in their mutual identification as (British) nationals.

Just as tourists pre-visualize before their holidays the famous landmarks to be visited, local 'types' to be encountered, leisure activities to be engaged in, etc., so is the linguistic situation in the destination scrutinized and assessed, even if only through the most banal, rhetorical question: 'Do they speak English there?' Much of the tourist texts consulted before the holiday provide just this information. Most tourist guidebooks published in the UK, for example, include language glossaries, information on local languages, the ability of locals to speak English or, more rarely, other tourist languages, the desirability of tourists speaking some local language, usually limited to a few phatic phrases, and other sorts of 'facts' on the use and ecology of language in the tourist destination. Such descriptions, inevitably conceived of as acts of linguistic differentiation are socially constructed and ideologically embedded practices (Gal and Irvine 1995; Irvine and Gal 2000).

The newspaper travelogue is a well-established and popular genre of tourism writing. In the UK, for example, many weekend editions of newspapers, both those traditionally referred to as 'quality' / 'broadsheet' as well as the 'tabloids', carry travel sections full of stories and accounts of different types of holidays by travelling journalists, assorted 'celebrities', and – increasingly – the reading and travelling public. These texts regularly involve three major types of metalinguistic information with regard to the destinations they describe: (1) naming of site-specific objects and concepts in a local language (e.g., indigenous people, dishes, traditions, animals, plants, artefacts, modes of transport, etc.); (2) quoting local people (e.g., in interaction with the writer in English, or in another language, with the English translation present or absent); (3) metapragmatic comments about local

languages and hosts' use of English; (4) describing holidays involving foreign language learning.

In the following analysis of extracts from UK travelogues focusing on Switzerland as a travel destination, we examine how the communicative practices and the Swiss linguistic situation at large are reported as indexes of particular types of people and Switzerland as a particular type of travel destination. We particularly focus on the three semiotic processes of the ideologization of language proposed by Judith Irvine and Susan Gal (2000; see also Gal and Irvine 1995): iconization (attribution of an inherent connection between a linguistic form or linguistic variety and social groups or activities; a transparent and dependable representation of the specific and distinctive qualities of the group), fractal recursivity (transposition of a meaningful opposition salient at one level of social and linguistic organization onto another level, e.g., projecting intra-group contrasts onto inter-group contrasts, or vice versa); and erasure (a simplification of the sociolinguistic field through which some sociolinguistic phenomena, and the social actors involved in them, are rendered invisible, e.g., imagining a social group or a language as homogeneous by disregarding its internal variation).

2. Switzerland as a tourist destination in the UK weekend travel sections

Our analysis is based on an 'opportunistic' sample of 23 travelogues published in three UK national, middle-class-oriented, weekend national papers: *The Sunday Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* published between 1999–2006. The predominant focus of the articles is on winter holidays in the Alps, particularly reporting and giving advice on winter sports (mainly skiing), food and drink, accommodation and transport. Four articles differ (slightly) from this pattern: one article features a report on a 'walk' across the Bernese Alps during summertime; two articles choose non-Alpine locations, these being reports on the attractions of Zürich and Lucerne; and another article also stands out: it is a feature on Romansch in the canton of Graubünden (Milnes 2001; see Sources below for an overview).

Various countries and regions around the world have developed specific genres of tourism for which they are known internationally (Urry 2002). Probably most famously, the UK seems to have morphed into a giant 'heritage site' attracting international tourists seeking to gaze at 'history' and

'tradition'. Although not exclusively, France is typically associated with romantic (Paris) and gastronomic tourism, Italy with cultural tourism and Thailand with sex tourism. As reflected in our data, in the context of the British media representations of tourism, and probably conforming to the stereotype and also patterns of actual British tourist behaviour, Switzerland appears to be associated predominantly with Alpine sports holidays. British tourism to Switzerland has a comparatively long history as Tissot (2000; 2003) demonstrates: it is British travellers who actually "discovered" the Alps as a tourist destination (rather than a hindrance or a place of hardship and even terror to be avoided). Even today, British tourists are amongst the top 5 source countries for tourists to Switzerland (No author 2006). One consequence of the traditionally very strong presence of British tourists and British institutions in Swiss tourism is the ubiquity of English in Swiss tourism contexts (see Piller 2007 for an overview). Although English is not an official language in Switzerland it is often called the fifth national language (see, e.g., Watts and Murray 2001). The most widely-known sociolinguistic characteristics of Switzerland are its diglossia in the German-speaking region (Ferguson 1959) and its official quadrilingualism. The official languages are (Standard) German, French, Italian and Romansch (in order of frequency) although the most widely used languages are probably German, French and Italian, with English being widely used as the 'first second language'.

2.1. Exotic linguascape – Romansch

Not unlike in travel stories about other destinations, where relatively lesser spoken languages are used (e.g., Wales, the Basque Country, Malta, and so on), articles about Switzerland often mention the smallest of its national languages, spoken as a first language by approximately 0.5 percent of the population – Romansch.

Extract 1 (Source: Kennedy 2002)

> If Switzerland is the Greta Garbo of European states (its federal slogan should be 'We want to be alone'), then the Engandine [sic] must be its most isolated outpost. Nearly four hours by train from Zurich airport, and 1,650 metres above sea level, it's a collection of medieval villages and small farming communities stretched out across a vast Alpine valley.
>
> Romansch, that curios hybrid of French, German and Latin, is the central language of this canton. To add to the sense of seclusion, the Engandine

remains one of the least developed corners of the country, free of the high-rise developments and commercial glitz that so characterise the usual ski-resort scene. St Moritz is its notable exception. […]

Extract 2 (Source: Milnes 2001)

Mountains lock in languages, just as surely as they conserve old beliefs. Consider that in one corner of western Europe, women did not get the vote until 1990.

The location was the Romansch-speaking villages in the canton of Graubünden in eastern Switzerland. Question: Where in the western world was motorised transport not legalised until 1925? Answer: you're getting the picture.

So it was easy for me to assume in advance that the struggle to keep the Romansch language, spoken by just 0.6 percent of the Swiss population, from dying out was just another example of King Canute-type behaviour; trying in vain to hold back the tides of language change.

As I arrived in the pristine Alpine town of Chur, capital of Graubünden, the chilly mountain air acted as an antidote to the British traffic fumes lodged in my lungs. There was an appealing bleakness about the icy peaks looming over the little town. Once the heart of the Romansch-speaking world, Chur is still the seat of Lia Rumantscha (the central organisation for the promotion of the Romansch language and culture) and of Romansch radio and TV, so I was disappointed to find the German language leaping out at me from billboards, signs, books and magazines. And despite straining my ears for a foreign tongue, only the sound of Swiss-German floated over coffee and cakes in the crowded cafés.

Fortunately, in my *faux*-rustic hotel, the young Latin-looking receptionist, who was chatting to her mate in a language that sounded like hurdy-gurdy Italian, instructed me where to go for the "real" Romansch experience. Tracing a line up the Engadine with her finger, she explained, "All these villages used to be Romansch, but now they're Swiss-German. But if you go here or here." She pointed to the area around Bad Scuol near the Austrian border and around Ilanz and Disentis to the west, "everything is Romansch; the kindergartens, the schools, the banks – you have to speak Romansch to live there."

I asked her where I could find interesting literature about Romansch culture and history. "Well that's the problem," she said wistfully.

A sign for guests on the desk stated that the five major dialects of Romansch were all spoken in this hotel; Sursilvan (from the area of Surselva, "above the wood"), Sutsilvan (from Sutselva, "below the wood"), Vallader, Puter and Surmiran. The problem, I discovered, was that there was no single written Romansch language.

I picked my way down icy pavements to the library of the Lia Rumantscha where, wading through scholarly tomes on the subject, I learnt that Rumantsch Grischun was invented around 1982 to address this problem. Unfortunately, less than half the Romansch-speaking population support its existence, since it is natural to no one.

Leaving Chur behind, I travelled west by train through the steep valleys of Surselva, sandwiched between the Glarner Alps to the north and the Andulamassiv to the south, heading towards Andermatt. Once I'd got over marvelling that it was possible for trains to run on time even when there was several feet of snow, I started to understand how this diversity of dialects came about.

Today, the bright-red train of the Rhätische Bahn stops every 15 minutes or so, as a cluster of snow-capped roofs comes into sight. Small towns such as Ilanz, Trun and Disentis are linked to the outside world by rail, road and global communications, even in midwinter. But in the days before motorised transport and TV, these places must have been completely cut off for much of the year, linked only by hazardous mountain-passes.

The train conductor passed the time by giving me examples of words that vary from valley to valley; so "snow" in Romansch, I learnt, could be *"neiv"*, *"nev"* or *"naiv"*. Ever since Rome invaded Rhaetia and vulgar Latin got mixed in with the local Rhaetish, resulting in Romansch, dialects have developed differently in separate secluded valleys, meaning that today there is no united Romansch front to fight the battle for language survival.

Stopping in Ilanz, I attempted to get directions to the regional museum of Surselva in the hope of finding out more, but was told disapprovingly that Romansch was "being lived, not displayed", and that anyway the museum was shut. I was told this, of course, in Swiss-German.

But in fact, finding Romansch "being lived" didn't seem to be such an easy task. No doubt in some of the less-visited villages, white-bearded old men and women with weathered faces still thrived, and the colourful Alpine ceremonies I'd read about for taking the cows up and down the mountain still punctuated the calendar. But in Disentis, when I asked about "cumegn", the traditional village voting assembly held every three years on 1 May in which voters turn out in costume to elect their public officials, I was told that the ceremony would sadly not happen in future. In the past, every village had its own voting system, and it was this that enabled political conservatism to thrive.

Today, insularity is gradually giving way to internationalism; Disentis is offering holidaymakers the opportunity to build and sleep in their own igloo; and in Ilanz the ancient cattle-market and old alleyways are now complemented by an internet café. As communications have finally broken down the isolation of different communities, the rural life and customs are evolving to suit the growing tourist industry.

> Nowhere is this clearer than in Bad Scuol in the lower Engandine, where, though tourism has not yet reached the mammoth proportions of St Moritz, thermal spas and skiing mean that the town now has 3,000 beds for visitors. Here, as in the glitzier resorts of the Upper Engadine, the old custom of "schlitteda", in which boys sledge from village to village taking a girl with them, has now become a kitsch tourist activity, with sledges replaced by horses and carts in the summer. Alongside genuine traces of the past, such as the benches outside houses, where residents still sit to exchange gossip with their neighbours, are fake frescos painted on modern hotels, offering visitors the clichéd Switzerland of their imaginations.
>
> In the year 1000, just about everyone in the current geographical area of Graubünden would have spoken Romansch in some form. But gradually, over the years, the language has been pushed aside – by German-speaking settlers, the emigration of Romansch-speakers to Austria and the US, and, more recently, by tourism and global communications. "The trouble is", one of the mountain guides told me "that when young people leave the villages to work in towns, they don't come back to the country."
>
> The receptionist in Chur had followed the same path as many of her contemporaries, away from the country and the language she grew up with. Switzerland is renewing financial and legal efforts to foster the Romansch language and culture, but the evidence so far is that the growth of tourism is inseparably linked to the decline of Romansch. So does it matter if Romansch disappears? In theory, one language is enough for the whole world, let alone one canton. But as I was blasted by English advertising in Zürich Airport, I felt a wave of resistance to the loss of diversity. Perhaps, I started to think, a little Romansch conservatism was not such a bad thing after all.
>
> Then again, perhaps I'd just spent too much time in Graubünden.

To begin with, it is worth noting that each of these extracts is characterized by factual inaccuracies that serve to exoticize Romansch even further: Engadin, for instance, is not actually a canton as Extract 1 asserts – it is a region in the canton of Graubünden. Women won the right to vote only in 1990 not in a Romansch-speaking area as Extract 2 claims but in the German-speaking canton of Appenzell-Innerrhoden.

As is clear from the above extracts, mention of Romansch comes with comments of 'isolation', 'seclusion', 'underdevelopment', and (traditional) rural life. The principle of fractal recursivity is manifested here, by extending the 'remoteness' and other 'peculiarities' of the language to the geographical and social characteristics of the community. But just as in Extract 1, Romansch seems to be mentioned 'for colour', to add a little exoticism to the skiing experience which the article focuses on, Extract 2 is a lengthy (1220 word) feature centring wholly on the language and the Romansch-

speaking areas of Graubünden and Engadine. The same tropes of relative isolation and backwardness are exercized, but here they are coupled with nostalgia for (possibly) disappearing linguistic and cultural diversity under the pressures of tourism and globalization, and the view of Romansch, and the way of life associated with it, as 'authentic'. The tourist quest for authenticity (MacCannell 1989) is clearly a top priority for the author, and as far as socio-linguistic authenticies are concerned, she finds them alongside a number of different criteria (cf. Coupland 2003) such as

- Romansch indexing individual *authentic* speakers, e.g., 'the young Latin-looking receptionist', or the pedagogically-inclined 'train conductor';
- Romansch being an attested and attestable, naturally occurring language in 'the area around Bad Scuol near the Austrian border and around Ilanz and Disentis to the west', and in the form of different dialects which 'vary from valley to valley';
- Romansch being a fully owned, unmediated language, even if it is only declared as such by a local resident: 'Stopping in Ilanz, I attempted to get directions to the regional museum of Surselva in the hope of finding out more, but was told disapprovingly that Romansch was "being lived, not displayed", and that anyway the museum was shut. I was told this, of course, in Swiss-German.' (but was the author attempting to speak to the local resident in Romansch or even Swiss-German?); and, finally,
- Romansch indexing authentic cultural membership – 'the young Latin-looking receptionist' again: 'everything is Romansch; the kindergartens, the schools, the banks – you have to speak Romansch to live there'; even though some traditional forms of cultural life are disappearing 'cumegn', or becoming commodified and stylised: 'schlitteda'.

Thus, even though still holding on to the status of an *icon* of the region and part of the local linguistic landscape (cf. the mention of the sign in stating that 'the five major dialects of Romansch were all spoken in this hotel'), the language seems to be giving way to one of a more prominent official language of Switzerland ([Swiss] German) and the globalizing use of English (cf. 'English advertising in Zürich Airport'). This imbalance in the use of Romansch and other languages of Switzerland (including English) is reflected in the remaining travelogues we analyse below.

2.2. Multilingual linguascape – German, French and Italian

Despite Switzerland's multilingualism as a nation consisting of several distinct linguistic areas, the majority of its population is said to remain monolingual. For example, quoting Dürmüller (2001), Demont-Heinrich (2005: 73) claims that "a majority of its citizens, with the exception of the speakers of what some have called 'small' languages of Italian and Romansch, are in fact monolingual". It is the peculiar tension between *state* multilingualism and individual monolingualism that remains one of the defining features of the Swiss ethnolinguistic identity (Demont-Heinrich 2005; Watts 2001). British press travelogues featuring Switzerland draw on this fact by slipping in the display of the rather predictable snippets of German, French and Italian words and phrases. As in other publications of this type, they predominantly draw from the semantic domains of food, drink, and other aspects of the locale. In our sample, we have found several examples of this sort of language crossing, reproduced in Extracts 3–6 below, mostly but not exclusively dealing with the culinary semantic field.

Extract 3 (Source: Scott 2001)

Specialities here include warm chicken salad with wild mushrooms, *pot au feu* and pancakes with berries.

[…]

Situated in a tiny hamlet of little *mazot* huts, Zum See has its own formal terrace with Matterhorn views, but in busy periods – which seems like every day in springtime – extra tables (sometimes simply comprising slates on oil drums) are sited in sunny corners amid the huts. Max Menning is an accomplished cook, and his home-made pasta is superb. Many people phone ahead on their mobiles to reserve slices of *Apfelstrudel* and other confectioneries. Max's wife, Greti, exudes a serene calm as the ambience gets ever more frenetic.

Extract 4 (Source: Anonymous 2005)

For rustic Alpine atmosphere: really, almost anywhere that sells *vin chaud* or schnapps will do – provided the view's good. Last season, our favourite was the very rudimentary Holzerbar, at the side of the Tschuggen piste in Grindelwald.

Sure, the gluhwein was good enough, but what really mattered was the weather, the scenery (care of the north face of the Eiger) and the skiing: the Tschuggen is one of the best high-speed carving tracks we know.

Extract 5 (Source: Bray 2000)

On the slopes by the Klein Matterhorn, it was even better – long, flattering stretches of dry powder reaching down to Plan Maison, above Cervinia, over the invisible frontier in Italy. We lunched off *capaletti* and *tagaliatelle ai funghi porcini* and skied down, no passports needed, enjoying the sunshine from the south and the enthusiasm of Italians up for Sunday from the Aosta Valley.

Extract 6 (Source: Brown 2006)

German-speaking Lucerne is a smooth, near-silent 50-minute train ride from the airport at Zürich.

[…]

The name (spelt Luzern in German) probably derives from the Celtic *lozzeria*, meaning "a settlement on marshy ground", but the town dates its origins from the mid-eighth century, when its Benedictine monastery is believed to have come under the control of the Alsatian Abbey of Murbach. Lucerne's ecclesiastical past keeps watch over the modern town from its many spires and bell-towers, and the verdigris-laden onion domes of the Jesuit Church, where several of this year's spiritually-inclined concerts will take place.

You might also try a little lip-smacking walnut schnapps. […]

Many venues will also warm guests with a Kaffee fertig: a coffee laced with schnapps.

All the forms quoted above, *pot au feu*, *mazot* huts, *Apfelstrudel*, *vin chaud*, schnapps, gluhwein, *capaletti*, *tagaliatelle ai funghi porcini*, Kaffee fertig (see also *"neiv"*, *"nev"* or *"naiv"*, in Extract 2), show considerable variation in the use of the scare quotes, italics, or no special marking for the non-English words and phrases. This seems to reflect the uncertainty of the texts' authors whether to treat these forms as foreign citations, loanwords, or fully assimilated English-language forms. Collectively, alongside overt comments about languages spoken in particular towns or areas (see Extract 6), they appear to add to the iconization of Switzerland as a foreign-language *and* multilingual tourist destination.

2.3. Safe linguascape – English

However, in our data, by far the most frequent language to represent interactions between tourists (writers) and local people is English. Whether English was the original language of the interaction, which is most likely,

or whether it is an unacknowledged translation is never clear. As has been mentioned, most features in our sample present the attractions of winter / skiing holidays, with only occasional mention of non-Alpine resorts. The Swiss people represented in these stories are quite limited in type, mostly (named or unnamed) tourism operators such as owners or managers of restaurants, hotels, skiing businesses, guides, and so on. One of them – a named 'igloo supervisor' – in Extract 7 below appears in dialogue with the author of the article:

Extract 7 (Source: Newson 2006)

'Now,' said Rahel Zürcher, the igloo supervisor, as she gave me my 8am cup of tea, 'do you want to catch the railway back down the mountain, or shall we go sledging?'

Of course, we took the less sensible option.

Other English-speaking Swiss (and foreign) people encountered in our data are other Swiss and international, always English-speaking tourists. In extract 8, the two tourists are a Swiss male skier and an Italian female train passenger. They are both 'othered' somewhat through the author's mild ridicule of their attire, taste and intellect. However, as they are members of the privileged 'leisure class' (Veblen [1912/1994], the damage of such prejudicial language, in our view, is relatively minor:

Extract 8, continuing from Extract 1 (Source: Kennedy 2002: 5)

'This is where the jet set come in', Gerhard told me.

Gerhard was a middle-aged gent decked out in one of those stretch-Lycra tracksuits that tends to accentuate every bulge in the human body (and that led me to wonder: why do the taciturn, uber-controlled Swiss go in for these cartoonish super-hero outfits?). As we stood there talking, a Gulfstream jet made its approach towards the nearby runway.

'It's probably Naomi Campbell,' Gerhard said, with a mischievous smile. 'It's only a 15-minute drive from the airport to St Moritz, so all the *beau monde* land here.'

'And how far is it by skis?' 'Another 13km.'

I paid the equivalent of three quid for a train ticket to Zuoz, and stood for most of the way back, gazing out at the terrain I'd covered earlier that day. By rail, the journey took 20 minutes. A seat finally opened up and I flopped into it – right next to a chic Italian woman in regulation electric-red parka and overpriced eyewear.

'You look happy,' she said.

'That's because I'm not skiing any more,' I said, then explained that it had taken me five unstinting hours to haul myself from Zuoz to St. Moritz.

> 'Five hours by skis?' she said, aghast. 'You must be insane. The train is so much faster.'
>
> 'Really?' I said.

The English spoken by the authors, hosts and other tourists in these and other extracts creates a sense of cosmopolitanism of Switzerland. The unproblematic use of English as a lingua franca indexes the tourists and hosts as international, globalized, well-educated and wealthy. Given that the newspapers in which these travelogues appear aim at elite, middle-class UK readership who arguably identify themselves with this sort of self-image, seems to lend support to this interpretation. The topics of the conversations and of the descriptive parts of many extracts are also frequently focused on 'global' topics such as 'designer' brands, royalty, 'celebrity', elite lifestyle. In Extract 8 above, this is achieved through the mention of the approaching Gulfstream jet, Naomi Campbell and St Moritz as an apparent magnet for 'the *beau monde*' in general. In other articles, readers are exposed to typical lists of available 'designer' shops located in various towns and resorts, e.g., 'Prada, Gucci, Louis Vuitton, Dolce & Gabbana and Bulgari are only the start of it' (Newsom 2003). These signifiers of extreme luxury lifestyle, 'iconic' media personality, and the crossing into French (in the predominantly Romansch/German speaking area) reinforce the status of Switzerland generally and St Moritz in particular as a glamorous and elite tourist destination.

English-speaking hosts and tourists are not the only resource used in these travelogues to create a sense of familiarity with Switzerland for the British readers. Continuing the recognizable trope of high-profile portrayal of the Swiss ski resorts, the authors repeatedly mention other 'celebrities' frequenting their slopes, exclusive hotels, bars, and discos such as British royals and an assorted list of mostly British and some 'international' celebrities: Prince Charles (and his family), the Duchess of York (with princesses Beatrice and Eugenie), George Clooney, Claudia Schiffer, and many others. As a sure sign of Switzerland being internationalized, albeit from a decidedly 'Anglo' perspective, references to the British presence in Switzerland past and present are common. For example, Extract 9 plays on a commonly acknowledged 'appropriation' of Switzerland by British tourists going back to the Victorian era:

Extract 9 (Source: Brown: 2006)

> It was the English who began the vogue for Swiss tourism, my guide Gabby tells me as we strike out on a bracing hike around the lake, and Lucerne's popularity snowballed after a long stay by Queen Victoria in 1868.

The strong presence and 'Anglicization' of Switzerland appears to continue today, not surprisingly drawing on the imagery of traditional British upper-class lifestyle:

Extract 10 (Source: Mills 2005)

> Other recent developments include the acquisition (six years ago) of the Hotel de la Paix by Stephen Purdew, the owner of the famous Champney's health spa chain. Purdew has spent over £1 million furnishing the hotel in English country style. He's named the rooms after counties, fitted tartan carpets and en suite whirlpool tubs. In typically tricky Champéry style, it's a corporate-bookings-only operation. The owner insists it is a labour of love rather than a serious business venture.

Overall, the newspapers create an image of a safe English linguascape through easy English conversations with locals and other English speakers, being surrounded by international, commercial signage and more localized but resolutely English linguistic landscape, e.g., "…The Pipe, a snowboarders' hang out, which advertises 'groovy music, chillin' sport videos and wild party nights'" (Bray 2000), and Anglo-themed hotels (see Extract 10). To invoke Gal and Irvine's (1995) terminology again, all of these metadiscursive representations ideologize language by recursively transposing the international status of English (and French) to represent Switzerland as cosmopolitan and globalized, and by erasing local languages from the scene creating a sense of Switzerland as a familiar winter holiday destination.

3. Conclusion

Tourism has become a key practice of our age and tourism discourses constitute one of the key ways of producing knowledge about places. In this chapter, we have explored the linguistic knowledge about Switzerland that is produced and reproduced in one such tourism discourse, British newspaper travelogues. We observed three aspects of the language make-up of Switzerland that were discussed in those travelogues: to begin with, the smallest national language, Romansch, received a disproportionate amount of attention. It is the high level of attention in itself that serves to exoticize Romansch and additionally Romansch is exoticized by being presented as an aspect of nature – linked to the seclusion and isolation of the disparate mountain valleys where it is spoken, linked to speakers as phenotypes ("a Latin-looking receptionist"), and linked to political units that may seem

exotic to the British reader (e.g., the Engadin as canton) or to historical events that demonstrate backwardness (e.g., the late date when women gained the right to vote). The larger national languages of Switzerland – German, French, Italian – are also exoticized but to a relatively lesser degree and through one linguistic practice only, namely the use of local terms for local cuisine, landmarks or cultural events – a practice that can be observed relative to Romansch, too, of course. All these practices serve to render Switzerland linguistically special, "exotic" and a place that is clearly marked as "not home". It is also noteworthy that the writers have completely failed to see any languages they did not expect to see, namely the various immigrant languages of Switzerland. Given the high number of immigrants working in the Swiss tourism sector, it is unlikely that this oversight is due to a lack of opportunity but rather to a lack of expectation of those languages. In the same way that "all the dialects of Romansh" were spoken in the hotel that the writer of Extract 2 visited, typical Swiss hotels would also have staff who are speakers of Croatian, Portuguese, Serbian, or Spanish (these are immigrant languages in which training materials for tourism workers are typically produced; see, e.g., http://www.quality-our-passion.ch).

We can thus observe standardization in our data relative to what counts as touristically legitimate languages of Switzerland: the official languages only – the travelogues do not in any way deviate from the official version of the Swiss linguistic landscape. Another aspect of standardization that can be observed in the travelogues is the normalization of English: by not identifying the language in which encounters between the writer and locals took place or identifying it as English, English is naturalized as the language of tourism to Switzerland, and, of course, beyond – Switzerland is hardly an exception in this regard. Tourism discourses are yet another discourse where the ubiquity of English is brought into existence.

In sum, tourism as a practice carries with it its own form of linguistic standardization: to begin with, it is official versions of what counts as a language and which languages are spoken where and by whom that become widespread knowledge through travelogues and other tourism genres. Second, English is naturalized as the international lingua franca spoken by "everyone" – everyone who matters to the tourist that is. What becomes normalized is the cliché on the one hand and the convenient on the other – two forms of "nothing" – forms devoid of specific content – that Ritzer (2007) sees as characteristic of cultural globalization. The languages of tourism – be they local languages or English – have been standardized to become non-languages, devoid of anything that makes them special.

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Chapter 16
The rules of "Denglish"

Elke Hentschel

1. Introduction

As early as in 1996, a colleague teaching computer sciences asked for my advice with regard to linguistic problems in her students' MA-theses. The problems in question were due to the integration of English terms into the otherwise German text, which led to a language mix often called "Denglish" (from *deutsch* 'German' and *English*). The result were sentences like the following:

(1) *Die einzelnen Steckplätze der* ***Backplane*** *müssen die Möglichkeit bieten, die* ***Daisy-Chain*** *durchzuschleifen, falls in den Steckplatz ein* ***Bus-slave-Modul*** *eingesetzt werden soll.*
'The individual slots of the back plane have to offer the possibility of looping through the daisy chain, if a bus slave module is to be inserted into the slot.'

(2) *Bei einer dritten Lösung, dem* ***Bus-Snooping*** *("Bus-Schnüffeln") oder* ***Bus-Watching*** *("Bus-Beobachtung"), beobachtet die* ***Cache****-Steuerung den* ***Bus*** *hinsichtlich der Speicherzugriffe anderer* ***Master.***
'In the third solution, that of bus snooping (German translation in brackets) or bus watching (German translation in brackets), the cache control watches the bus with regard to memory access by other masters.'

These examples show two different ways of dealing with the evolving problems: In example (1), the English expressions (highlighted) were integrated into the construction and treated like German words (which involves, among other things, the assignment of grammatical gender). The author of example (2), while basically using the same strategy, additionally gave a translation of the English expressions into German.

Sentence (1) contains three Anglicisms: *Backplane*, *Daisy-Chain* and *Bus-slave-Modul*.[1] The last example is the most interesting one insofar as it is a hybrid form: the last element is German (the corresponding English

word would have to be spelled *module*). As to *Bus*, the first part of this composition, the written form of the word happens to be identical in both languages. This leads to pronunciation problems when reading the compound aloud: should it be pronounced [bʌs sleɪv] as in the standard English pronunciation (cf. Jones 2006 s.v. *bus*), or [bʊs sleɪv], following the standard German pronunciation (cf. Mangold 2005, s.v. *Bus*)?

In example (2), the author tries to deal with the language mix problem by adding translations in brackets. It is, however, interesting to note that he does not do so with every English word in the sentence: while *bus-snooping* and *bus-watching* were considered worthy of a translation and thereby marked as foreign terms in need of explanation, this was not the case with *cache* (cf. *Cache-Steuerung*) and *master*. The author is obviously quite accustomed to them and treats them as if they were German words. What is more, he puts the translations into quotation marks, whereas the foreign terms themselves stay unmarked, and are adapted to the rules of German orthography by the use of capital letters.

The examples illustrate Anglicisms as a problem in computer sciences in German speaking countries, where countless English technical terms have to be translated or otherwise integrated into German. But computer sciences are by no means the only field where this kind of problem arises. Due to the growing internationality of sciences in general, Anglicisms can be found in almost every scientific field, from medical to nuclear physics (cf. e.g., Röhrenbeck 1988; Schmitt 1985). But not only there: indeed, they have become a part of everyday language. Teenage language (cf. e.g., Zifonun 2000), or "adspeak" (cf. e.g., Schütte 1996), just to name two out of many examples, are full of them (see also Pittner 2001 for further examples). The reason why the following survey focuses on examples taken from the area of every day computer usage is that in this field, German alternatives to the English expression are often hard to come by. Speakers do not use them in order to achieve a certain stylistic effect, but simply because it is difficult to find an adequate German expression.

The above examples illustrate several central problems that arise when English words are integrated into German: There are phonetic / phonological, morphological, syntactic and last but not least orthographic questions to be solved. In the following text, problems of the first kind – for instance the question of whether the first two syllables of *Bus-slave-Modul* should be pronounced [bʌs sleɪv] or [bʊs sleɪv] – shall not be dealt with. Neither shall syntactic issues like the adoption of English sentence patterns and government rules into German (e.g., the accusative construction *etwas erinnern* instead of prepositional *sich an etwas erinnern* under the influ-

ence of English *to remember something*). Instead, orthographic and morphological problems and their intersection shall be focused upon. Morphological problems have to be dealt with in any case – whether the items in questions are used in writing or in speaking. On the other hand, the orthographic solution chosen by the language users often gives insight into their unconscious analysis of a word.

Moreover, morphology and orthography, taken together, offer the best possible view on the development of new standards. In the given context, the term "standard" is not meant in the sense of prescriptive norms, which in most cases do not yet exist, but refers to naturally evolving rules. When users cannot look up a word in a dictionary or grammar book, they do not make random choices, but use the rules that they feel should be applied in the case given. These more or less spontaneous decisions are mirrored best by the language use on Internet pages.

The following analysis is based on empirical data collected in 2003 and then again three years later, in 2006, in order to illustrate the development in users' strategies over the last years. The orthographical and morphological integration of Anglicisms can be explored together by examining verbal participles. Here, in addition to the development of orthographical standards, the use of the participle marker *-ge-* leads to the necessity to apply German morphological rules to foreign words (cf. also Pittner 2001: 232) and mirrors the evolving morphological standards.

2. Some general observations on spelling and inflection

2.1. Spelling conventions

When it comes to spelling, one might be inclined to think that the central problem lies only in the question of whether to use the English spelling and thereby marking the word as foreign, or to integrate it into the German orthographic system and thereby adopting it more closely into the language (for integrational processes of this kind as mirrored by dictionaries, cf. e.g., Langner 1995; Lee 1996). However, things are far from being that simple. What we are dealing with can be illustrated by the following list of tokens taken from a voluminous corpus of Swiss German chat logfiles, most of them documenting local language varieties.[2] The forms in Table 1 all represent adaptations of the English verb *to chat* and the nouns *chat* and *chatter*.

Table 1. Adaptations of the English verb *to chat* and the nouns *chat* and *chatter*

ch@ttet(3rd sg)	chattä	cheten Chett
Chät	chätta	chetta
Chat	chättä	chette
Chat	chättät (3rd Sg)	chetu
chata	chatte	
chatä	chätte	gechattet (part)
chäta	chatten	gechatut (part)
chätä	chätten	gichatter (part)
chätät (part*)	chätter	gichattet (part)
chate	Chatter	gichattut (part)
chäte	chattest (2nd sg)	
chaten	chättet (3rd sg)	schatto
chäten	chättet (part)	Tchätt
Chater	chattet (2nd pl)	tschät
chätet (2nd pl)	chattet (3rd sg)	tschätä
chatet (part)	chattet (part)	Tschätt
chatet (3rd sg)	chatti (1st sg)	tschätte
chatisch (2nd sg)	chattisch (2nd sg)	Tschätter
chato	Chatto	tschättet (part)
chätö	Chattu	tschetä
Chäts (pl)	Chättu	Tschett
Chatt	chattut (3rd Sg)	tschettu
Chätt	Chatu	cheten Chett
Chatt	Chätu	chetta
chatta	chatusch (2nd Sg)	chette
ch@ttet(3rd sg)	chatut (3rd Sg)	chetu

*part = participle

It turns out that the adaptation of the spelling does not occur *in toto*, but undergoes several individual steps and shades. This can be seen all the more clearly in this case because many of the chatters used their regional dialect, which encouraged them to a greater amount of creativity in spelling and made the integration process more transparent. In principle, one can distinguish three elements:

– The affricate of the onset [tʃ] can be rendered either by *ch* (English) or by *tsch* (German spelling). *Sch* occurs only once and is therefore difficult to evaluate; it might well be a typing error.
– The nucleus vowel, pronounced [æ] in the original language, in German mostly rendered as [ɛ] or [e], can be spelled as *a*, *ä* or *e*. The choice might partly depend on the local pronunciation.

– The coda [t] can be rendered as *t* or *tt*. In both languages, the gemination can be used to mark the preceding vowel as short.

As a result, for the German infinitive alone, the following 12 combinations are possible (Table 2). The three forms marked with an asterisk, however, did not occur in the corpus.

Table 2. The possible orthographic realizations of *to chat* in German

chaten	*chatten*	**tschaten*	*tschatten*
chäten	*chätten*	**tschäten*	*tschätten*
cheten	*chetten*	**tscheten*	*tschetten*

Obviously, the simple dichotomy "original spelling" versus "adaptation into the German system" does not lead very far. It is the adaptation process itself that causes the problems and leads to inconsistencies. Should phonetic or phonological principles prevail? Should the shrinking phonological stock of standard German, where short [ɛ] is partly being replaced by [e], be taken as basis, or rather the richer inventory of the local varieties? And last but not least: how to integrate the morphological changes into the spelling, which invariably occur during the adaptation process?

Since it is clearly not possible to address all these questions in this paper, the focus shall in the following lie on the spelling of past participles. In the case of regular ("weak") verbs, their historically related forms are very similar in both languages and differ only in the last consonant: while English participles end in *-d*, their German counterparts end in *-t*. When an English verb is integrated into German, the participle will be formed by a prefixed *ge-* and a suffixed *-(e)t*, yielding forms like *ge[chat]et*.[3] Now the spelling of the coda is a simple dichotomic difference – it has either to be *d* or *t* –, easily investigated and used as a possible indicator of how the orthographic standardization of loanwords develops.

2.2. The inflection of verbal participles

The correct use of German verbs with prefixes depends on several factors, but the general rule is: If the prefix carries the word accent, it has to be separated from the stem for finite present and preterite forms, infinitives with *zu* and participles. In the latter cases, the morphemes *-ge-* (participle) and *-zu-* (infinitive) are infixed between the verbal prefix and the stem (cf. Hentschel and Weydt 2003: 53f.). Especially in the case of infinitives, the

rules are not always completely straightforward, so sometimes native speakers themselves are not sure which form to use (cf. Becker and Peschel 2003). With participles, however, there are but few cases of doubt, which is why they make good examples for the following analysis.

Verbal prefixes that can be separated normally belong to a class that simultaneously serve as prepositions.[4] If an English verb shows a similar structure, i.e., if it consists of a verbal stem with a prefixed preposition like in *to downgrade, undergo, upload* etc., the underlying structure is in most cases intuitionally transparent to German speakers; the languages are, after all, very closely related. Now if a verb with this kind of structure is adopted and completely integrated into German, it should show the same features as a German verb, which means that the treatment of the prefix should follow the rules of German grammar. The formation of the participle can therefore be seen as an indicator of the degree of the integration, which in this case always also means the growing standardization of its forms. Some of the correspondent forms have even found their way into the most recent edition of the German standard dictionary *Duden* – a dictionary originally meant for spelling, but used by many people as a kind of reference in all cases of doubt – where they are listed with separated participles (cf. Duden 2006 s.v. *downloaden*, *updaten*, *upgraden*). No problem, therefore – or is there?

3. Empirical findings

The following analysis will take into account empirical findings collected in February 2003, and in May and July 2006, when the use of certain verbal participles by German speaking Internet users were investigated. The verbs in questions were the German adaptations of *to forward, to upload/to download, to telnet, to update* and *to ftp* (the abbreviation stands for *file transfer protocol*). In both data collections, all possible variations of the past participles – which can be inflected for case, gender and number – were searched for, and the number of hits was recorded. It is true that this method can in some cases lead to double recording. However, since the same search machine (Google) was used, and the numbers found are not used absolutely, but only in relation to one another, this possible source of error lies well within the range of what is acceptable. The order in which the findings are presented in the following text mirrors the frequency of the forms investigated from least to most frequent.

3.1. File Transfer Protocol (ftp) as a German verb

Ftp was initially only the abbreviation for a transmission system on the Internet, the so-called file transfer protocol. The same abbreviation *ftp* (in lower case letters) is at the same time the command with which the protocol is called up. This led first to an English verb *to ftp,* and then to its German counterpart *ftpen* [ɛftepeʲən], both used to describe the process of transferring data by ftp. The protocol is not used by all Internet users, and therefore the frequency of *ftpen* and its participles is not very high. What is most interesting about it is the fact that the predominant majority of the users are very much aware of the unusualness of the derivational pattern. In 2003, 103 of 143 findings (72%) showed an explicit marking: either the form was hyphenated (*ftp-en*), or an apostrophe was used in order to mark the morpheme boundary (*ftp'en*). Even the majority of the 40 cases without marked morpheme boundary showed morpho-derivational awareness insofar as the abbreviation is spelled with capital letters (*FTPen*) or quotation marks are used for the derivated verb (*"ftpen"*). Only very few unmarked cases were recorded. In 2006, 425 of 695 findings (61%) were hyphenated or presented with an apostrophe. Among the other cases, the frequency of unmarked use had clearly grown to an approximate fourth. However, the upper case spelling *FTPen* was clearly still the majority.

The following examples show the use of the verb with hyphen, apostrophe, upper cases and/or quotation marks in context. They are presented with an English translation in single quotation marks, which is as idiomatic as possible. The verb in question is highlighted in bold:

(3a) *Warum sollte man zum* ***FTP-en*** *ein kryptisches CLI-Tool verwenden* (...)
'Why should one use a cryptic CLI tool in order to ftp'

(3b) *Es gab eine Anfrage, woher man PGP Software* ***ftp-en*** *koennte.*
'Someone asked from where one could ftp PGP software.'

(3c) *FTP Voyager macht* ***FTP'en*** *so einfach wie* (...)
'FTP Voyager makes ftp-ing as easy as …'

(3d) *Die Benutzer können ausschließlich über den Webbrowser* ***ftp'en.***
'The users can only ftp by using the web browser.'

(3e) *Will man also* "*von aussen*" *einen FTP auf sein Mathe-Account machen, sollte man merkur* ***an-ftp-en****.*

'So if one wants to make an ftp "from the outside" to one's mathematics' account, one should ftp to merkur.'

(3f) *Dateien zum* ***FTPen*** *sucht man am besten über PDLOOK des RZ der Saar-Uni.*
'It is best to search for files for ftp-ing with PDLOOK of the RZ of Saar University.'

(3g) *Um Dateien zu* "***FTPen***" *genügt meist ebenfalls der Webbrowser.*
'In order to "ftp" files, usually the web browser is sufficient, too.'

The infinitive forms that could be recorded were:

simple infinitives: ftp-en, FPT-en, "FTPen", ftp'en, FTP'en
nominalized infinitive: zum FTPen
infinitive with prefix: an-ftp-en

In 2003 there were only 4 cases of the participle to be found, all of them part of a perfect tense form and therefore without ending, with upper cases as marker: *geFTPt.* Example (3h) illustrates this usage:

(3h) *Hab mir mal das Handbuch* ***geFTPt.***
'Just ftp-ed the manual.'

In 2006, there were 17 cases of *geFTPt*, again all of them part of a perfect tense, and no attributive forms could be found. The majority showed upper case spelling, but there were three occurrences of *geftpt*, too. Hyphens and apostrophes were not used.

One most interesting case of a composition with an English verbal prefix (*up-*) plus the German affixes *ge-* and *-t* could be registered in 2003 as well as in 2006 as part of a passive construction. In this case, hyphenating was the manner of choice in order to mark the morpheme boundaries: *up-ge-ftp-t.* Example (3i) is a case in point:

(3i) *Diese Datei ist manchmal nicht vollständig* ***up-ge-ftp-t*** *worden* (...)
'This file sometimes has not been "ftp-ed up" completely …'

3.2. *Telnet(t)en*

The English verb *to telnet* is based on the identical Unix- or Linux-command *telnet* which leads to a certain type of connection between two computers on the Internet. The German verb offers a choice of spelling in the infinitive, where it can be found as *telneten* or *telnetten*. With around 200 (in 2002/3) respectively 640 (in 2006) recordings the verb occurs relatively rarely. As in the case of *ftp*, telnetting might be an activity used only by a minority of Internet users, and even with those, it tends to be replaced by the newer and more secure connection via *ssh* (*secure shell*).[5]

However, the results of three queries, the first one in November 2002, the second one in January 2003, and the third one in July 2006, are surprisingly consistent. In all cases, the spelling with double *t* and without any additional markers was clearly preferred by 73 to 74% of the users, and only a small minority of between 4 and 6% found it necessary to mark the morphological boundary between the English stem and the German infinitive affix. This might be due to the fact that the syllabic structure as well as the spelling of the word are completely compatible with the German linguistic system. Table 3 shows the findings in detail.

Table 3. The use of *to telnet* in German

recorded in	*telnetten*	*telneten*	*telnet-en*	*getelnetted*	*getelnettet*
2002	152 (73%)	44 (21%)	11 (5%)	0	0
2003	157 (74%)	47 (22%)	9 (4%)	1	1
2006	476 (74%)	129 (20%)	37 (6%)	2	12

The participle of this verb could theoretically be one of the following eight variants: *getelnet(t)et, getelnet(t)ed, telgenet(t)et* and *telgenet(t)ed*. In 2003, only two of them occurred, each of them used once: *getelnettet, getelnetted*. In 2006, there were 12 findings for *getelnettet* and 2 for *getelnetted* with the English spelling of the participle suffix. Again, *telgenet(t)et* and *telgenet(t)ed* did not occur. Obviously, German speakers do not accept *tel-* as a separable prefix, and the verb therefore cannot be split.

3.3. *Forwarden*

The English verb *to forward* has been transferred to German only in computer contexts, meaning the forwarding of e-mail. The infinitive *forwarden* yielded 2,510 findings in 2003, and as many as 77,900 in 2006. The verb

cannot yet be found in the standard German reference book *Duden* (2006). Since the first syllable *for* is phonetically identical with the German separable verbal prefix *vor*, there are two morphological as well as two spelling alternatives for the participle: *geforwardet, geforwarded, forgewardet* and *forgewarded*. The results of the two queries are shown in the following Tables 4 to 7. The percentages given refer to all forms found in the two investigations, i.e., 742 in 2003 and 35,750 in 2006. For illustration, you can find examples after every table.

Table 4. geforwardet

Year	findings	%
2003	381	51%
2006	16,600	44%

(4a) *Ein Port kann immer nur zu einem bestimmten Client* ***geforwardet*** *werden.*
'A port can only be forwarded to a specific client.'

Table 5. geforwarded

Year	findings	%
2003	329	44%
2006	17,500	46%

(4b) *(…) dass Mails an diese Adresse noch ein weiteres Mal* ***geforwarded*** *werden.*
'… that mails are forwarded one more time to this address.'

Table 6. forgewarded

Year	findings	%
2003	17	2%
2006	2,130	6%

(5a) (...) *User-Mails, die auf den Palmlounge POP3 Account* ***forgewarded*** *wurden* (...)
'… user mails that were forwarded to the Palmlounge POP3 Account …'

Table 7. forgewardet

Year	findings	%
2003	14	2%
2006	1,520	4%

(5b) (...) *weil* (...) *keine Mails* ***forgewardet*** *wurden.*
'... because no mails were forwarded.'

It is clear that the predominant majority of speakers do not consider *forwarden* a separable verb. A slightly growing minority of 10% (6% of them spelling it with -d and 4% with -t), however, insert the prefix of the participle between *for-* and *-ward*. Strangely enough, this strong integration into the German class of separable verbs does not automatically lead to a preference of the German spelling in the participle ending; on the contrary, it seems that these speakers even prefer the English spelling, which does not fit well with the German morphology. But since separated participles are but a small minority, the data cannot be interpreted too strongly.

The non-separating majority of users are not too sure about the spelling of the participle either. It is surprising to see that the German spelling that had been used in 51% of the non-separated verb forms in 2003, is only preferred by 44% of the users of this variety in 2006. Far from becoming better integrated, as one might have expected especially in view of the increasing frequency of its use, in terms of spelling, the form seems rather to have become slightly less integrated, and the evolving standard decreased.

In light of this, it is of course most interesting to investigate if the spelling in *-ed* is only an interference from English, or if it is "meant" that way. In German pronunciation – which seems the most likely choice in view of the German prefix *ge-* – the otherwise phonological difference between /t/ and /d/ does not apply in the coda, since final stops are always voiceless. Both spellings would therefore represent [t]. In the position before a vowel in the following syllable, however, the distinction between the voiced and the voiceless consonant is clearly articulated. If spelling the participle with *-d* is only due to the habitual English spelling of the word and the fact that it does not mark a pronunciation difference in this position, it should cease to occur in the case of participles inflected for gender, number and case. Therefore, the occurrence of inflected variants of all four forms has been investigated. The results were as follows (Tables 8 to 10):

Table 8. geforwardet, inflected forms

	-en	*-e*	*-er*	*-es*	*-em*	sum
2003	53	61	6	13	0	133
2006	1,380	801	53	33	61	2,328

(6a) *Die Vergabe von* ***geforwardeten*** *Subdomains und Verlinkung erfolgt* (...)
'The distribution of forwarded subdomains and the linking occurs …'

(6b) *Die Anzeige schon anderweitig* ***geforwardeter*** *Nachrichten* (...)
'The indication of mails that have already been forwarded elsewhere …'

Table 9. geforwarded, inflected forms

	-en	*-e*	*-er*	*-es*	*-em*	sum
2003	2	1	1	0	0	4
2006	27	36	1	0	0	64

(7a) (...) *danke für die* ***geforwardede*** *Antwort.*
'... thanks for the forwarded answer.'

(7b) (...) *besonders wenn die* ***geforwardeden*** > *rauszulöschen sind.*
'... especially if the forwarded > have to be deleted.'

Table 10. forgewardet, inflected forms

	-en	*-e*	*-er*	*-es*	*-em*	sum
2003	0	1	0	0	0	1
2006	86	62	2	0	1	151

No findings of *forgewarded* in an inflected form could be recorded in either year. The summary of the findings is shown in Table 11:

Table 11. Summary of participles derived from *forwarden*

	inflected forms on *–t*	%	inflected forms on *-d*	%
2003	134	97%	4	3%
2006	2,479	97%	64	3%

Although the number of inflected forms is much smaller than that of forms without endings, the tendency is quite clear, and it remained unchanged over the years: If there was a morphological marking that influences the pronunciation of the word, 97% of the users preferred the German spelling.

3.4. *Upgraden*

Upgrading seems to be something the Internet users do more often than forwarding – or at least they use the verb referring to this process far more often: the Internet research resulted in 30,200 (2003) and 1,830,00 findings (2006) for the infinitive. It is therefore not surprising that this verb can also be found in the most recent edition of the *Duden* (Dudenredaktion 2006 s.v. *upgraden*), where its forms are given with *upgradet* (third person singular present) and *hat upgegradet* (third person singular perfect).[6]

As with *forwarden*, again it is the participle, its inflection and spelling that are of interest. The following findings could be recorded for participles without ending:

Table 12. Non-inflected participles of *upgraden*

	findings 2003	% 2003	findings 2006	% 2006
upgegradet:	809	45%	40,800	43%
upgegraded:	578	32%	25,900	28%
geupgradet:	277	15%	10,900	12%
geupgraded:	153	8%	16,500	18%
forms on *-t*, sum	1086	**60%**	51,700	**55%**
forms on *-d*, sum	731	40%	42,400	45%
-ge- inserted, sum	1387	**76%**	66700	**71%**
ge- prefixed, sum	430	24%	27400	29%

Although the German spelling prevails from the beginning, it cannot be said that it was strengthened over time – on the contrary, it even lost a little of its percentage. 45% of all users still prefered the English spelling. A similar phenomenon can be stated for the non-separated versus the separated, i.e., fully integrated forms: the latter also dropped slightly in use. Although the numbers *per se* are not significant, it is still astonishing to see that the verb has not become better integrated in the last three years.

As to the spelling, it is again interesting to see what happens when the participle is inflected for case and number. The research yielded the following findings:

Table 13. ***upge****gradet,* inflected forms

	-en	*-e*	*-er*	*-es*	*-em*	sum
2003	127	58	16	3	7	211
2006	3,190	4,470	657	1,210	150	9,677

(8a) (...) *die bei* ***upgegradeten*** *Systemen falsch war.*
'... that was wrong in the case of upgraded systems.'

(8b) *Ein '****upgegradeter****' Palm synct sich nur mit ebenfalls '****upgegradetem****' Desktop.*
'An upgraded Palm synchronizes only with a likewise upgraded desktop.'

Table 14. ***upge****grade****d****,* inflected forms

	-en	*-e*	*-er*	*-es*	*-em*	sum
2003	0	1	0	0	0	1
2006	114	63	22	0	0	199

(9a) (...) *mit voll* ***upgegradeden*** *Rittern* (...)
'... with fully upgraded knights ...'

(9b) (...) ***upgegradedes*** *Lichschwert* (...)
'... upgraded light sword ...'

Table 15. ***geup****grade****t****,* inflected forms

	-en	*-e*	*-er*	*-es*	*-em*	sum
2003	3	0	0	0	0	3
2006	587	880	46	85	24	1,622

(10a) *Jason's überraschende Rückkehr in der* ***geupgradeten*** *Super Duper* (...)
'Jason's surprising return in the upgraded Super Duper ...'

(10b) *Und dann soll dir ein einzelner* ***geupgradeter*** *Berserker im Vorbeigehen die komplette Army wegrölzen ? ! ! ?*
'And then a single upgraded berserk is to casually slag off your complete army?!!?'

Table 16. ***geup****graded,* inflected forms

	-en	*-e*	*-er*	*-es*	*-em*	sum
2003	0	0	0	0	0	0
2006	3	36	0	0	0	39

(11a) *... ist die* ***geupgradede*** *version dann auf der max cd?*
'... is the upgraded version to be found on the max cd?'

(11b) (...) *kommt die KI mit haufenweise* ***geupgradeden*** *Truppen daher.*
'... the AI comes along with heaps of upgraded troups.'

Table 17. Inflected participles of *upgraden*, summary

	inflected forms on *-t*	%	inflected forms on *-d*	%
2003	214	99.5%	1	0.5%
2006	11,299	98%	238	2%

These findings seem to sustain the hypothesis that spelling the participle with *-d* is but an interference from English orthography, which almost completely vanishes as soon as inflected forms are used, where this spelling is adverse to the pronunciation.

3.5. *Updaten*

Among the verbs investigated here, *updaten* with 58,100 (2003) respectively 2,510,000 (2006) occurrences of the infinitive is the next in frequency. Again, this verb has been adopted into the *Duden* (Dudenredaktion 2006 s.v. *updaten*), and as with *upgraden*, the forms are given only for the third person singular present and perfect, where the participle is rendered as *upgedatet*.

The language users themselves, however, were not so sure. The results presented in Table 18 are the numbers for participles without further inflection.

Table 18. Non-inflected participles of *updaten*

	findings 2003	% 2003	findings 2006	% 2006
upgedatet	24,000	52%	434,000	34%
upgedated	9,390	20%	248,000	19%
geupdatet	7,160	15%	288,000	22%
geupdated	5,740	12%	325,000	25%
forms on *-t*, sum	31,160	**67%**	722,000	**56%**
forms on *-d*, sum	15,130	33%	573,000	44%
-ge- inserted, sum	33,390	**72%**	682,000	**53%**
ge- prefixed, sum	12,900	28%	613,000	47%

It is surprising that the "Germanized" forms, be it the spelling of participles on *-t*, be it the insertion of the morpheme *-ge-*, did not become more frequent over the three years of the observation period, but on the contrary rather lost their dominance. Especially in the case of the separation, the percentage fell from as much as 72% in 2003 to a mere 53% in 2006.

Again, the inflected forms have been searched for and analyzed. Since *updaten* is more frequent than the verbs that have been dealt with so far, the number of inflected forms was far larger, too. Table 19 gives a summary of *upgedatet* and *upgedaded*, while Table 20 shows the findings for the prefixed forms *geupdatet* and *geupdated*.

Table 19. -ge- inserted (*upgedatet/d*), inflected

	inflected forms on *-t*	%	inflected forms on *-d*	%
2003	1,690	**99%**	20	1%
2006	105,430	**99%**	701	1%

(12a) *Überaus praktisch, so ein alljährlich* ***upgedateter*** *Berlin-Stadtplan.*
'Exceedingly practical, such a yearly updated city map of Berlin.'

(12b) *Die Version 6.0 wurde auf einem komplett* ***upgedatetem*** *OS aufgebaut.*
'Version 6.0 was built on a completely updated OS.'

(12c) *Tunes 3 mit 'smart playlists'* (...) *und natürlich* ***upgedateder*** *ipod.*
'Tunes 3 with 'smart playlists' … and of course an updated Ipod.'

(12d) *Vielleicht kann man da was mit nem* ***upgedatedem*** *Treiber fixen?*
'Maybe it can be fixed with an updated driver?'

Table 20. ge- as a prefix (*geupdatet/d*), inflected

	inflected forms on *-t*	%	inflected forms on *-d*	%
2003	451	**99%**	4	1%
2006	21,486	**97%**	634	3%

(13a) (...) *zur Übertragung neuer oder* ***geupdateter*** *Seiten* (...)
'... in order to transfer new or updated pages ...'

(13b) *Ein täglich* ***geupdatetes*** *Informationsportal* (...)
'A daily updated information portal ...'

(13c) (...) *mit der* ***geupdateden*** *Version* (...)
'... with the updated version ...'

(13d) (...) *mit* ***geupdatedem*** *Kernel* (...)
'... with an updated kernel ...'

Obviously, the use of the inflected form again interferes with the *-d-* spelling. This effect is altogether very strong, slightly more pronounced in the case of the Germanized morphology with infixed *-ge-* (*upgedatet/d*).[7]

3.6. *Uploaden* and *downloaden*

In 2003, there were 1,130,000, and in 2006, as many as 50,400,000 findings for the infinitive *downloaden*, while there were only 30,700 (2003) and 3,570,000 (2006) for *uploaden.* The difference in frequency mirrors, of course, the difference in use: people download something from the Internet more often than they upload. This fact seems to have influenced the editors of the *Duden*, too, where only *downloaden* is recorded (Dudenredaktion 2006: s.v. *downloaden*), which is treated in exactly the same way as *updaten* and *upgraden*. Although *uploaden*, as the figures from the Internet queries show, is much more frequent than *updaten* or *upgraden*, it has not yet found its way into the dictionary.

Since both verbs share the same stem *load*, the results of the two queries are pooled and presented in Tables 21a and 21b, which show the occurrences for participles without case/number-marking endings. Now this is certainly an astonishing result: instead of becoming more integrated, these verbs seem to become less so the more often they are used. In the case of *uploaden*, the usage of the participle with infixed *-ge-* dropped by 18 points from 97% to 79%, but still stayed in the majority. In the case of the more frequent *downloaden*, however, the frequency dropped from 68% to a mere 26%, while the prefixed version reached the astonishing value of 74%. As there were already more than 40,000 hits in 2003, and there were more than 800,000 in 2006, any errors due to too small a database can be ruled out. In addition to this, these findings are in line with the ones considered so far, where the number of cases was considerately smaller, as was the percentage loss of the Germanized forms; but the same tendency was visible there, too.

Table 21a. Non-inflected participles of *uploaden*

	findings **2003**	%	findings **2006**	%
upgeloadet	18,000	87%	128,000	61%
upgeloaded	2,080	10%	37,100	18%
geuploadet	418	2%	16,700	8%
geuploaded	301	1%	26,700	13%
Σ *-t*	18,418	**89%**	144,700	**69%**
Σ *-d*	2,381	11%	63,800	31%
Σ *-ge-*	20,080	**97%**	165,100	**79%**
Σ *ge-*	719	3%	43,400	21%

Table 21b. Non-inflected participles of *downloaden*

	findings **2003**	%	findings **2006**	%
downgeloadet	6,640	38%	17,900	3%
downgeloaded	5,240	30%	124,000	23%
gedownploadet	3,900	22%	255,000	47%
gedownloaded	1,710	10%	140,000	26%
Σ *-t*	10,540	**60%**	272,900	**51%**
Σ *-d*	6,950	40%	264,000	49%
Σ *-ge*	11,880	**68%**	141,900	26%
Σ *ge-*	5,610	32%	395,000	**74%**

As for the inflected forms of the participles, the following numbers could be established:

Table 22. -ge- inserted (*up**ge**loadet/d*; *down**ge**loadet/d*), inflected forms

	up				*down*			
	inflected forms on *-t*	%	inflected forms on *-d*	%	inflected forms on *-t*	%	inflected forms on *-d*	%
2003	1,047	**99%**	10	1%	1,903	**98%**	39	2%
2006	13,096	**99%**	191	1%	37,818	**99%**	559	1%

(14a) *Hier finden Sie auch Ihre **downgeloadeten** Spiele.*
'You'll also find your downloaded games here.'

(14b) (...) *wenn man mit dem **Downgeloadetem** nicht zufrieden ist?*
'... if one is not content with what has been downloaded?'

(14c) *Entpacken Sie das* ***downgeloadede*** *ZIP-Archiv* (...)
'Unzip your downloaded Zip archive…'

(14d) (...) *einen Computer mit* ***downgeloadeder*** *Software* (...)
'... a computer with downloaded software ...'

(14e) *Ein von Dritten* ***upgeloadetes*** *Sample* (...)
'A sample that has been uploaded by a third party ...'

(14f) (...) *nach jedem fertig* ***upgeloadetem*** *Bild ein Update* (...)
'... an update after every completely uploaded picture ...'

(14g) *Manche Daten, wie* ***upgeloadede*** *Images etc.* (...)
'Some data, such as uploaded images etc. ...'

(14h) (...) *auf der sich dann die* ***upgeloadeden*** *Dateien befinden* (...)
'... where the uploaded files can be found ...'

Table 23. ge- as prefix (*geuploadet/d*; *gedownloadet/d)*, inflected forms

	up				*down*			
	inflected forms on -*t*	%	inflected forms on -*d*	%	inflected forms on -*t*	%	inflected forms on -*d*	%
2003	64	**98%**	1	2%	628	**98%**	10	2%
2006	3,198	**99%**	30	1%	38,111	**97%**	1,048	3%

(15a) *Ein einmalig ebenfalls* ***gedownloadetes*** *Programm überprüft* (...).
'Another program, downloaded as well, controls ...'

(15b) (...) *Filesystem mit* ***gedownloadeten*** *PDF-Dateien* (...)
'... a file system of downloaded pdf files ...'

(15c) (...) *keinerlei Garantie für die hier* ***gedownloadede*** *Software!*
'... no guarantee whatsoever for the software downloaded from here!'

(15e) *Die hier* ***gedownloadeden*** *Referate und Hausaufgaben* (...).
'The presentations and homework downloaded from here ...'

(15d) (...) *auf jedes* ***geuploadete*** *Bild* (...)
'... on each uploaded picture ...'

(15e) (...) *bei der von diesem Modell* ***geuploadeten*** *Software* (...)
'... with the software uploaded by this model ...'

(15f) (…) *der von meiner Platte* ***geuploadeden*** *Files* (…)
'... of the files uploaded from my hard disk ... '

At least with regard to the orthography of inflected forms, a relatively stable standardization seems to have developed.

4. Conclusion: The (non-)emergence of new standards

Considered *in toto*, the data collected in this survey lead to the astonishing conclusion that the integrative process underlying the morphological and orthographical standardization of Anglicisms into German is much less straightforward than has been supposed so far (cf. e.g., Eisenberg 2001). The following tables 24–28 show a recapitulation of the findings for a total of 228,157 (2003) respectively as many as 4,804,165 (2006) past participles, inflected as well as uninflected ones. Only the results for *telnet(t)en* have been omitted, since there were only 16 participles found altogether, which cannot be considered a representative sample.

Let us first consider the case of *forwarden.* As has already been stated above, the users prefer the German spelling and thereby mirror the assimilation of the word itself into the German language, whenever there is an inflectional ending to the participle. However, even if we take all participles together, the trend does not go in the direction of a better integration. On the contrary, it shows a growing use of the English spelling – even though, on the other hand, the morphological integration as mirrored by the use of *-ge-* as an infix shows a slight increase. Both changes should not be considered as significant *per se*, but taken together, we get the disturbing picture of a growing insecurity rather than the impression that the users take the use of these forms for granted.

Table 24. forwarden

	2003	%	2006	%
forms on *-t*, sum	532	**61%**	21209	**53%**
forms on *-d*, sum	347	39%	19,084	47%
-ge- inserted, sum	32	4%	3,801	9%
ge- prefixed, sum	847	**96%**	36,492	**91%**

Upgraden shows a somewhat similar picture, although in this case, the majority remained where it was three years before. However, instead of becoming more pronounced and thereby mirroring the more and more fre-

quent use of the forms as becoming a matter of course, the orthographic as well as the morphological integration again decreased by 4% and 7%. Again, this is not exactly what one would have expected.

Table 25. upgraden

	2003	%	2006	%
forms on *-t*, sum	1300	**64%**	62999	**60%**
forms on *-d*, sum	732	36%	42,638	40%
-ge- inserted, sum	1599	**79%**	76,576	**72%**
ge- prefixed, sum	433	21%	29,061	28%

In the case of *updaten*, the facts are even more against expectation. The morphological integration decreased distinctively (by 17%), and the orthographical one still shows a loss of 9%:

Table 26. updaten

	2003	%	2006	%
forms on *-t*, sum	33,301	**69%**	848,916	**60%**
forms on *-d*, sum	15,154	31%	574,335	40%
-ge- inserted, sum	35,100	**72%**	788,131	**55%**
ge- prefixed, sum	13,355	28%	635,120	45%

Finally, in 2006 the verbs *uploaden* and *downloaden* show as much as 40% less of morphological integration than they did in 2003, mirrored by a raise from a minority of 17% to a majority of 57% of the forms using the prefix. There is a smaller but with 17% still very noticeable decrease in terms of orthography, too.

Table 27. up/downloaden

	2003	%	2006	%
forms on *-t*, sum	32,600	**78%**	509,823	**61%**
forms on *-d*, sum	9,391	22%	329,628	39%
-ge- inserted, sum	34,959	**83%**	358,664	43%
ge- prefixed, sum	7,032	17%	480,787	**57%**

Although the tendencies to be observed were not identical with all verbal forms that have been collected, the overall tendency is quite clear, as summarized in Table 28:

Table 28. All verbs considered

	2003	%	2006	%	difference
forms on *-t*, sum	67,733	**73%**	1,442,947	**60%**	–13%
forms on *-d*, sum	25,624	27%	965,685	40%	+13%
-ge- inserted, sum	71,690	**77%**	1,227,172	**51%**	–26%
ge- prefixed, sum	21,667	23%	1,181,460	49%	+26%
sum of forms collected	93,357		2,408,632		+2480%

When inserting English verbs with accented prefixes similar to German ones into a German text, the tendency of the language users to treat the participle-forming element *-ge-* as an infix rather than a prefix did not start out equally strong with all verbs. However, in all cases the same development can be observed: with increasing frequency the integration of these forms, instead of becoming stronger, became distinctively weaker. The same, if somewhat less pronounced phenomenon can be observed with the orthographic findings. Again, the orthographical integration of the participle, expressing itself in the use of German *-t* instead of English *-d*, did not increase, but decrease with the growth of forms used. This decrease occurred notwithstanding the fact that some of the verbs in question (*downloaden, upgraden, updaten*) have found their way into the German reference book *Duden* (2006), where they are rendered as completely integrated (i.e., with infixed *-ge-* and spelled with *-t*). The fact that the orthographical de-integration is not stronger is only due to the fact that with inflected forms, the users tend to write the *-t-* they speak anyway (since, as has been mentioned before, German has no voiced stops in the coda), so the influence of the English role model, so to speak, is less pronounced in these cases.

These results are puzzling, to say the least. Standardization, or so it seems, can neither be foreseen nor does it follow the rule that increasing frequency leads to higher integration (and thereby standardization). Obviously, additional, so far unknown factors play an important role in the development of new standards for foreign and loan words.

Notes

1. The additional question of whether such compounds should be hyphenated – a question that also relates to the following examples *bus-snooping* and *bus-watching*, shall not be dealt with here. For a more detailed discussion of this point cf. Augst (1992).

2. I wish to thank Beat Siebenhaar for entrusting me with the data. For a more complete analysis of these, see Siebenhaar (2003).
3. In standard German, verbs with unseparable prefixes as well as those ending on *-ieren* do not take *ge-*. In Alemannian dialects like the ones in the Swiss examples given above, the prefix *ge-* may sometimes be omitted with other verbs, too (cf., e.g., Marti 1985: 132 for details).
4. This is why many linguists prefer the term "verb particle" in order to refer to them. The prefix *ein-* is, however, an exception to this rule, since it does not occur independently. This points to the fact that these morphemes are not as independent as they may seem at first sight, which is why the term "prefix" rather than "verb particle" is used in this article.
5. Again, the abbreviation is a Unix command. A search machine query in 2003 brought 18 findings for a German verb *ssh-en*, all of them morphologically marked by a hyphen. In July 2006, there were already 368 cases of unmarked use (*sshen*) along with 193 hyphenated forms or forms with an apostrophe (*ssh-en, ssh'en*).
6. The past tense is omitted, since it is rarely used in modern colloquial German; but according to the participle, it should probably rather be *gradete up* than *upgradete*.
7. One user showed two different formations of the participle within the same text (both of them spelled with *-t*), one directly following the other: *Zuerst aber noch zu den neuen und* ***geupdateten*** *Artikeln.* ***Upgedatet*** *sind* (...) Obviously, s/he could not decide which should be the standard form.

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Part III
Issues on politeness and impoliteness

Chapter 17
(Im)politeness in English as Lingua Franca discourse

Juliane House

1. Introduction

In his influential social model of politeness, Richard Watts has pointed to the importance in politeness research of also "offering ways of recognising when a linguistic utterance might be open to interpretation by interlocutors as '(im)polite'" (2003: 143). He has linked his notion of "politic behaviour", which participants construct as appropriate to an ongoing interaction, to Bourdieu's (1985) concept of "habitus", such that politic behaviour will be consistent with the disposition of the habitus in accordance with the relevant social context. In this paper I want to apply these seminal ideas to a context which has also been one of the many interests of Richard Watts (see Watts 2001): English as a lingua franca (ELF) as it is increasingly used in interactions between members of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

A very large part of international communication today is conducted in a lingua franca, and the majority of lingua franca interactions worldwide take place in English. Over the past decades, English has consistently grown in international importance and is now well established in areas such as politics, business negotiations, cultural and scientific events, and wherever members of smaller, "exotic", "less commonly taught" languages have occasion to talk to members of larger language communities, who see no reason to acquire and converse in the "smaller language". English is the language whose spread has been furthered by recent unprecedented developments in information and communication technologies, and by the recent economic developments towards globalisation and internationalisation. For example, although in business mergers an incoming company may not have its headquarters in an English-speaking country, as was the case for instance with Daimler-Chrysler, such joint ventures typically adopt English as their working language which, in turn, promotes a local need for English.

ELF interactions are interactions in English between members of two or more different language communities, for none of whom English is the mother tongue. Not only are such interactions already extremely frequent today, they will also increase exponentially in the future. Given this forecast, it seems necessary to examine such interactions more closely. In what follows I will report on three case studies which I have conducted in the past 15 years or so, which deal with ELF interactions. I will look at this work with the research question in mind of whether one can say with reasonable certainty that ELF speakers are – judged by a native English speaker norm – impolite speakers, i.e. whether and if so how ELF speakers construct (im)polite behaviour in interactions, i.e. behaviour that is not deemed to be appropriate in a given situation.

2. Three Case Studies of ELF talk

2.1. Case Study 1

The data for the first case study (see House 1999) is taken from a larger corpus of ELF data collected inside a PhD study by Agnes Lesznyak (2004) under my supervision. It was elicited during an international students' meeting in the Netherlands, in which a simulation was enacted inside the conference program. The task set to participants in this game was to arrive at a decision about which of the member states of the European union qualify on various criteria to take part in the third phase of the European Economic and Monetary Union. Participants included speakers of Dutch, Hungarian and German. The group discussion was taped and transcribed. The data is quasi-authentic and was elicited via participant observation. As reported by Lesnyak, and as can be gleaned from the tapes, participants appeared to forget quickly that a taped simulation was being enacted.

I analysed a 30-minute segment of this data using the categorial framework developed by Willis Edmondson and myself (e.g. Edmondson 1981; Edmondson and House 1981). The analysis was guided by the working hypothesis that misunderstandings in ELF communication are conceptual, i.e. derive from different culture-conditioned knowledge schemata. This would appear to be the premise hiding behind most studies of intercultural communication including much of my own work. However, this hypothesis was *not* confirmed. Instead, the most common communicative "disturbances" appeared to be simply inherent in the nature of group interaction,

and all minor local routine disruptions, which, interestingly, appear not to be perceived as problems, are allowed to stand. Compare extract (1):[1]

(1)
1 D2: Germany should be in (?) no question about that at the
2 D5: do we (?)
3 G: (vocalisations - trying to get the floor)
4 D1: we all agree
5 G: the
6 D4: yeah I
7 D5: but we have to talk about that like if you have a debt and it's (?) the right direction
8 D1: yeah yeah okay
9 H2: yeah but if you look at France for example it's the same phase that's the same phase
10 D1: okay but (?)
11 H2: because (?) so and it's just the question of time
12 D6: yeah but it's still (?)
13 D1: okay wait (?) maybe it's smart and (?) useful now to discuss if there is a trend towards the
14 D2: but there's (?) one direction of the debt
15 H2: no but
16 D1: no but in general (?) because you've also mentioned France
17 H2: but (?) we can also say of Germany that which is im more important that uh they should be in by any any means or or that their debt is a little bit over and shows the wrong di direction (0.2) we are to decide this I think so if we say that its its
18 D5: yeah but we
19 D6: although
20 D5: can we make a remark on it so we say Germany has to be in we have to be sure
21 D1: yeah so the main reason
22 D5: as long as it's getting up all the time

In extract (1) the interactants seem to be geared towards achieving a certain level of "normality" and consensus. If there are communicative inadequacies in the ELF interaction, these are certainly never foregrounded, but rather ignored. The talk is "robust", interactants heed the "let-it-pass" principle, to use Firth's (1996) terminology, and the repeated interruptions and non-sequiturs, e.g. in turn 12 to13, 15 to 16, or 19 to 20 do not lead to open conflict. However, we can see that interactants frequently engage in non-aligned, "parallel talk", they "play their own game", without seeming to register what their interlocutors are actually saying. There also seems to be

a lack of mutual orientation. Mutual orientation is, however, the most basic social alignment between speaker and hearer. Hence in this specimen of English as lingua franca interaction, hearers are not treated as true co-participants. Often participants seem to act neither as responders nor as repliers (in Goffman's (1976) sense), but only as initiators (cf. House [1996] for similar findings with German learners of English as a foreign language).

A further characteristic of this data is the interactants' failure to appropriately preface disaffiliative action. Interactants prefer to use raw negation, rejection and disagreement, undiplomatically shunning delay, mitigation and other strategic means of smoothing their negative reactions to their interlocutor's previous move. Interpersonally active gambits such as appealers or cajolers as well as discourse strategies such as pre-exchanges, disarmers, sweeteners, imposition minimizers (as defined in Edmondson and House 1981) are markedly absent from this ELF data. Instead, many turns are either devoid of any introductory lubricating element – such as receipts (*I see)*, starters (*well*), or represents (repeating a previous turn's wording): Turns are often simply prefaced with *and*, *but*, *no*, or *so*, *I think* or *I don't think*. The nakedness of the resulting turn initiations is particularly obvious in (2):

(2)	1	D1:	okay you were also discussing Austria because if we are uh measuring Germany with
	2	H3:	what about Italy
	3	D1:	so some criteria (?) for Austria (2sec)
	4	G:	but uh
	5	D4:	no I think it's good one that the I think it's a good reason she said
	6	D1:	no but
	7	D4:	that the no because Austria I uh I think there is not a real
	8	D1:	no no
	9	D4:	argument their argument it's just their their policy I think it's a good one
	10	D5:	but I don't think it's for Germany
	11	D2:	I I don't think we have to give reasons for sticking to the admission
	12	D1:	no I
	13	D5:	I think I think maybe a good point for Germany too because it's reconstructing Central and Eastern Europe
	14	H2:	yeah but
	15	D1:	no but Germany already
	16	D6:	we already mentioned that...

Can we now say that the features of ELF talk observed in (1) and (2) above (as well as other features discussed in House 1999) point to the interactants' lack of politeness? If we look upon politeness with Watts as a discursive concept, we would for instance need to take account of participants' management of turn taking. Here we can see that there is very little recognition of sensible points of transition and of the necessity of aligning one's behaviour as speaker with the behaviour of one's hearer, the result being an under-attuning of individual turns that leads to, or is the outcome of, a lack of mutual responsibility for the ongoing talk as a collective undertaking. Since recipient design in this data is remarkably "rough", we might reasonably expect conflict or mutual antagonism to be the outcome of exchanges such as the ones in data extracts (1) and (2), as no attempt is made to pre-empt or avoid conflict. However, as the interactants' behaviour is apparently heavily overlaid by the let-it-pass principle, open conflict is not allowed to break out. Given this successful conflict-avoidance behaviour, we might discard the impoliteness verdict and rather attempt to explain ELF interactants' behaviour with reference to the *English Native Norm Irrelevance Hypothesis*, which simply says that in the context of ELF communication, L2 (i.e. native English) linguaculture-specific linguistic behaviour is perceived to be interactionally and communicatively irrelevant. The let-it-pass principle becomes, therefore, both a hearer-oriented communicative strategy, and also a self-defensive mechanism. The irrelevance of L1 linguaculture-specific norms means, in a nutshell, that face is saved all round: it is thus less a sign of impolite behaviour but rather a strategy of politeness in the sense that the behaviour of these ELF speakers seem to be appropriate to this communicative situation characterised by a group of co-participants with widely differing linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

ELF interactants do not seem to seek to adjust to some real or imaginary L2 native speaker norms. Rather, they seem to simply act as individuals. Following Henri Tajfel's (1981) continuum of interpersonal and group identity, and his considerations of group influence and group stereotyping versus interpersonal and individual feelings and behaviour, I would posit for the ELF data a focus on interpersonal and in particular individual concerns rather than on group identity. However, this opposition is too simplistic: the group identity dimension is realised in the participants' willingness to allow other participants equal individual freedom – hence the "let it pass" phenomenon. Instead of acting as speakers of Hungarian, German, or Dutch learning and using English as a foreign language, interactants are individual ELF speakers united in something as vague, fluid and immate-

rial as the "community of ELF speakers", a sort of "intersociety", which is always constituted anew in any on-going talk. This community of ELF speakers can also be described as a "community of practice" (cf. House 2003) in the sense of Wenger (1998) and Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) – a very appropriate notion in that the constitution of a community of practice is governed by a joint purpose – to communicate efficiently in English as the agreed and chosen language of communication without, however, heeding or being constrained by English native norms.

The *English Native Norm Irrelevance-Hypothesis* is directly connected with another explanatory hypothesis which is influenced by Emmanuel Levinas' (1961) theory of conversation, in particular his notion of the conversationalist as self-oriented speaker and its interpretation by Katarzyna Jaszolt (1996). According to Levinas, talk-in-interaction takes place not on the basis of a shared socio-cultural background, but rather directly from one individual to another. Interaction is interpreted as a relationship between conversational partners which is doubly dynamic and cannot be described using the metaphor of a dance, where one partner leads and the other one follows. Rather, interaction is a process in which each participant does his or her own dance, and meaning is created in between them. As an alternative to the dancing metaphor, communication can be seen as a self-centred affair, with the speaker leaving the hearer freedom of interpretation, the freedom to create assumptions. This "selfishness" in talk, which has been downplayed in mutuality-based theories of conversation (cf. e.g. Markova et al. 1995) seems to be particularly marked in ELF interaction, which is why I call the second explanatory hypothesis of ELF speakers' behaviour the *Self-Centred Hypothesis*. The self-centred behaviour displayed by ELF speakers can be interpreted as an attempt to save their own face and improve their own interactional performance. But despite this interactional behaviour, ELF speakers still seem to be engaged in successful relational work in that they manage to "create some form of common understanding among themselves" (Watts 2001: 255). Their behaviour is not perceived by co-participants as inappropriate, rather their focus on self can be seen as shared, strategically employed, and situationally appropriate politic behaviour.

2.2. Case Study 2

The second case study (House 2002) essentially confirms the results of the first one described above. The data for this study comes from an ongoing

study of ELF talk conducted at the University of Hamburg. Subjects in this 30 minute ELF interaction are four students at the University of Hamburg who were asked to interact on the basis of a trigger in the form of a text and also commented ex post facto on their own productions. They come from Germany, Korea, Indonesia and China.

The analysis of this data shows a phenomenon reminiscent of the "self-centredness" found in case study 1 above, which I have here called: *Pursuing one's own agenda*. It can be characterised as follows: three of the interactants, the three Asian participants, clearly pursue their own agenda throughout the 30 minute interaction. (Only the German speaker, Brit, differs markedly from this discourse behaviour in that she repeatedly tries to enter into an argumentative dialogue attempting to 'problematise' issues by inserting critical and doubting questions). The Asian participants' private agenda is highlighted by the re-occurrence of a limited number of key words (see below). This striving after one's own agenda makes the entire interaction resemble a set of parallel monologues rather than a dialogue – or rather a tetralogue – because each participant simply follows his or her individual macro-theme. The result of such self-oriented pursuance of one's personal theme is an under-attuning of individual turns, which leads to, or is the outcome of, a lack of demonstrated responsibility for the ongoing talk as a collective achievement. Whatever coherence is achieved in the discourse is only recognisable in the individual paths taken by each participant.

Data excerpt (3) exemplifies the 'monologic tracks' followed by the three Asian participants in the discourse. Many non-sequiturs that occur are due to the interactants' insistence to pull the talk, by hook or by crook, towards their particular pet topic. In data excerpt (3), we can see how Mauri's turns (for reasons of space I have selected only four of Mauri's responding moves here) all centre around the economic reason for the dominance of English, English being the most important global business language. Mauri's key word or leitmotif is 'business' (half of Mauri's 24 turns are devoted to this leitmotif):

(3)	Wei:	I think English is easy to learn than for example German or Chinese. (3 sec)
	Mauri:	Yes I think it is about the important meaning of the erm of the English language is is (2 sec) this is erm business language is very important but do you agree then that all the people of the world that they eh would speak English?

Wei: No they don't have problem like French French people I think erm (2 sec) in China student he likes speak learn English and European languages.

Mauri: They had to they have to they have to learn English because this is getting more and more important in business world so if you cannot speak English so you're lost.

Wei: They don't have tradition to learn sorry to learn German perhaps Japanese a little bit tradition (laughs) but not German

Mauri: Yes the importance of language meaning depends on business erm (2 sec) issues (2 sec) the more important the business issue the more you have to learn this language because all the people use this language if you cannot speak in this language you lost and you have to so I think it's begins erm of course with the colonialism I think too because the history of this development how the language in very early period

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Joy: Yes I think so and non-native norms because there are (2 sec) a lot of norms language norms and I think it's very difficult in reality to understand people from the other countries other culture backgrounds

Mauri: Also language erm (3 sec) the languages develop itselves so maybe if you don't stay in the countries so you cannot erm, you cannot erm (2 sec) get with this development I think so if you just use this language English as business language so it maybe you can survive you can make a deal you can make negotiation with economic partners but erm

The idiocratic type of coherence between speakers' turns documented in data excerpt (3) seems to be the result of speakers' (monomaniacally) following their very own agenda. This 'mental pre-occupation' is indexed linguistically as explained in what follows.

Participants hardly use any interactively and interpersonally active gambits, i.e. discourse markers and discourse particles. Especially indicative is the dearth of gambits surrounding turn change, although there are also markedly few turn-internal gambits – with one remarkable exception: *Represents*, a type of gambit used to repeat to oneself either a substantial part of, or the whole of, the previous move enacted by the interlocutor. The major functions of a *Represent* are, as its name suggests, to "re-present" the previous speaker's move in order to aid the present speaker's working memory in his comprehension and production processes, to provide textual

coherence, signal acceptance and uptake, request confirmation and indicate to alter that one does not intend to "steal" his turn. Here is an example of such a *Represent*:

(4)	Brit:	And if erm things like Nigerian English, Indian English which is a sort of variety in itself it should be respected
	Mauri:	Should be respected

Presumably in an attempt to make up for their failure to use gambits as conventional devices for lubricating turn changes (by using such turn-initial uptakers as *hmm*, *yes*, *well*, *I see* and *so on*) speakers resort to realising an abundance of utterance-initial conjunctions such as *and* and *but* that provide less interpersonal, propositional linkage between utterances, which is reminiscent of the findings in case study 1 above. Consider excerpt (5):

(5)	Joy:	And you mean that English (2 sec) is really getting important or taken for the education because the grammar is syntactical erm the grammar is very [easy]
	Wei:	[is ea]sy is very easy
	Brit:	But the pronunciation (2 sec) and also the relationship between what you read and what you write and what you pronounce so that is the problem
	Joy:	I don't know I don't know erm whether the English is very [easy].
	Brit:	[I don't] think so either. (all laughing) That is sort of propaganda to push English forward.
	Joy:	Yes I think so I think so
	Mauri:	And you feel it is very easy but it is not easy

Especially marked in this ELF talk is the interactants' idiosyncratic management of turn-taking which makes speakers' explicit accounting for their interlocutors' expectations and needs (i.e. the discourse's recipient design) become rather "rough" as there is little recognition on the part of ELF interactants of sensible points of transition from one speaker to the next speaker, and the necessity of aligning one's behaviour as speaker with the behaviour of one's hearer. In other words: interactants just start talking instead of waiting for the best point at which to "jump in" and bring forward their next argument. They appear not to be able to wait for and/or to project a suitable point of transitional relevance in the non-native language. Instead of assuming co-responsibility for the turn taking machinery by demonstrating linguistically that as current speaker one takes (verbally explicit) account of what one's interactant has just said or is expecting

from oneself at this point in the discourse, participants patently engage in 'their own thing' – oblivious of the co-text, so to speak, as we saw in excerpt (1) .

In sum, both the *English Native Norm Irrelevance Hypothesis* and the S*elf-oriented Hypothesis* suggested in case study 1 above seem to be confirmed in this study. For this sort of 'selfishness' in talk – which has been downplayed in many theories of conversation (from Grice's (1975) and Sperber and Wilson's (1995) overridingly influential Cooperative and Relevance Principles to Leech's (1983) many maxims), but which seems to be particularly marked in ELF interaction – a mutuality-negating theory of conversation such as Levinas' and Jaszcolt' views described above seems to be more adequate.

With regard to the question of whether and how ELF talk can be called (im)polite, we can only repeat the conclusion drawn from case study 1: Despite their essentially self-oriented behaviour, ELF speakers manage to establish an appropriate level of relational work, saving both their own and alter's face.

2.3. Case Study 3

The third case study is an examination of the behaviour of the gambit *you know* in ELF interaction (cf. House 2007). *You know* has been described in most of the literature as a basically interpersonal, intersubjective or other-oriented marker with a potential for signalling politeness. In my own study I hypothesised that *you know* would be used differently by ELF interactants: less interpersonally, more self-referenced, highlighting both formulation difficulties and coherence relations in speakers' own turns.

The data for this study consists of 13 informal ELF conversations between university students, age range 20–35, each consisting of 4 interactants with a great variety of different L1 backgrounds and an advanced competence in English. The interactions lasted approximately 30 minutes, amounting to a total of 6 1/2 hours of recorded talk. The conversations were triggered by a short provocative article. Participants were also subjected to retrospective interviews, where they were asked to listen to the recordings, examine the transcription, reflect on and comment on their use of *you know*.

The results of this study indicate that (1) *you know* occurs with much greater frequency in so-called "considered talk" phases than in phatic opening, closing and small talk phases; (2) the more fluent a speaker is, the

more he or she will make use of *you know* and (3) there is a surprisingly frequent co-occurrence of *you know* and the conjunctions *but, and, because*. When *you know* co-occurs with these conjunctions, it appears to act as a re-inforcing or focussing strategy making the connection expressed by the conjunctions more salient. *You know* is thus a highlighting, or focussing device, making more salient the adversative, causal and additive relations of the conjunctions *but, because,* and *and.*

Extract (6), in which participants discuss ELF in German universities is an example of *you know* co-occurring with *but* in the sense described above:

(6) H: No matter how many people speak in the university they some of them speak really well English **but you know** the real life it's different and you have to learn English
S: yes (ehm)(1s)
A: this institute where you're working at is this the only possibility to erm to learn English…

A closer look at how the conjunctions *but*, *because* and *and* function in their co-occurrence pattern with *you know* shows that these conjunctions most frequently signal "externally operating relations", i.e. those located in the phenomena that constitute the external context of what is being said (i.e. not the socio-communicative process that constitutes the speech event in the forms of interaction between speaker and hearer, which would be internal) (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 241–243). In Martin's (1992) approach such external relations are by and large oriented ideationally (referentially), whereas internal relations are oriented to genre in dialogic, interpersonal modes (cf. also the similar distinction by Redeker (1990) into ideational and pragmatic relations, where I would claim that the ELF users primarily opt for co-marking ideational relations with *you know*). My claim here is that in ELF talk *you know* in its catalyst functions for the conjunctions *but, and* and *because* tends to mark primarily ideational relations.

The fact that *you know* tends to co-occur with conjunctions that signal experiential relations rather than addressee-related ones can be interpreted as confirming my hypothesis that *you know* is used in ELF talk primarily as a device to highlight those relations signalled by the conjunctions *but, because* and *and*. Such a use is primarily speaker-centred: the speaker uses *you know* with a highlighting function (cf. Miller and Weinert 1998). In terms of the textual functions theme and rheme and given and new, as viewed in systemic-functional grammar, we might further hypothesise that

in the use of *you know* there is no relationship to anything "given" in the sense that there "is a point of contact with what you know" (Halliday 1970: 163). Rather there is a linkage with the "theme" in the sense of "this is the heading to what I am saying", *you know* is used as a coherence producing discourse marker, signalling adversative, causal and additive linkage relations. *You know* is used in ELF discourse as a booster or highlighter of discourse relations.

Further, I found that *you know* is also used on its own as a relational phrase, i.e. speakers use *you know* to indicate implicit conjunctive relations of addition (subcategorised as elaboration, extension, expansion in the Hallidayan sense), contrast, opposition, concession and as causal relations without the co-presence of the cue words *and, but* and *because*, such that the total co-occurrence of *you know* and coherence relations with or without overt cue phrase amounts to over 80% of all instances of *you know* in this ELF data!

Extract (7) is an example of the use of *you know* as a relational phrase with no co-presence of another relational phrase, i.e. *you know* alone signals a relation, in this case an adversative relation of contrast. Participants talk about body weight and superslim models.

(7) JY: we never I mean they never talked about or we never talked about how thin or skinny they were
AZ: hmm
JY: But somehow we still HAD girls who you know were suffering from anorexia or bulimia they got problems with their own bodies
AZ: hmm (very softly)
JY: It wasn't it wasn't that time I mean ..**you know** we didn't ha/have uhm those girls we didn't have these/those girls like you know who are HAILED …

But *you know* was also found to function in this ELF data as a coherence marker in a different sense: it is used whenever the speaker is momentarily "incoherent", when s/he hesitates, cannot find the right words, fumbles for the appropriate formulation, and tries to repair his or her misstep using *you know* as what Schourup (1985) has called an "evincive", i.e. a signal revealing the presence of his or her planning difficulties. In such cases, *you know* occurs in mid-utterance and also inside nominal, verbal and adverbial groups, acting at a more local, micro level. This fumbling use of *you know* also occurs with great frequency in this ELF data: some 53% of all occurrences of *you know*.

Taken together, these finding show that in ELF talk *you know* – despite the overt presence of *you* as either 2nd person singular or plural personal pronoun in this construction – does not seem to address any co-participant or even any group of participants, and no response from the addressees is expected or given. The original meaning of *you know* is clearly no longer virulent, *you know* is here primarily used to help speakers process and plan their own output, and to link spans of discourse. The marker *you know* in this ELF data has little to do with hearer deixis or a second person perspective, it has nothing to do with mutual engagement and an interpersonal perspective. *You know* is here no more and no less than a strategy where the only account a speaker takes of the listener would be when s/he engages in what Halliday has called "bullying the listener" (1970: 163) – i.e. presenting something on the surface as given when it is in fact new (Halliday 1967: 211).

The use of *you know* in this ELF data can also be explained as a case of de-grammaticalisation or as Watts (2003: 176) has called it as pragmaticalisation, i.e. the reverse process of grammaticalisation: the effect of pragmaticalisation being a bleaching of the propositional content of a linguistic expression to such an extent that it no longer functions as contributing to the truth value of a proposition but begins to function as a marker indicating "procedural meaning" in verbal interaction. Watts has called such pragmaticalised expression EPMs, expressions of proceduralised meaning – a characterisation which also fits well with my analysis of the function of *you know* as routine formula in this ELF data (cf. also Baumgarten and House [2007] for comparable findings with another EPM).

So *you know* seems to be used in ELF talk as an expression of proceduralised meaning – NOT predominantly to signal some joint activity, or to indicate incrementing common ground. It does not serve primarily as a marker of politeness, solidarity, camaraderie, explicating concern for alter's face wants and face needs. Rather, it seems to be the case that these ELF speakers, in the interests of procedural, discourse organisational purposes, use *you know* to monitor their own progression in discourse – a perfectly ordinary activity.

As in both case studies 1 and 2 discussed above, ELF speakers, who do not aim at native English competence, are too concerned with their own discourse production to be primarily interpersonally oriented. The *English Native Norm Irrelevance Hypothesis* and the *Self-Centred Hypothesis* are thus confirmed in this third case study as well.

3. Conclusion

Can we now conclude on the basis of the evidence of the results of the three case studies presented above that ELF interactants' behaviour can be judged as "impolite"? Following Watts ideas of politic behaviour and the importance of relational work (cf. also Locher and Watts 2005), one might say that given the linguistic capital available to ELF speakers for manipulation (Watts 2003: 160), they probably cannot help the type of self-oriented behaviour conforming to a new ELF norm which my analysis has revealed. But more than that: ELF speakers apparently engage in such interactional behaviour for their own and alter's benefit, to help their own production, to make the talk robust, to tolerantly let others' oddities pass. Clearly, such behaviour cannot be called inappropriate or impolite as it is shared by interactants, and does not lead to conflict and misunderstanding. The ELF data examined in the three case studies discussed in this paper show that ELF speakers' interactional behaviour proceeds within the framework of politic behaviour, with no adverse effect being noticed by participants.

Notes

1. D, G, H = Dutch, German, Hungarian native speaker respectively. (?) = difficult to identify, (0.5) = pause of 0.5 seconds

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Chapter 18
How to be impolite: Rating offensive strategies

Mercedes Viejobueno, Carol G. Preston and Dennis R. Preston

1. Introduction

Politeness theories (e.g., Lakoff 1973, 1989; Leech 1983; Brown and Levinson 1987 [1978]) have focused on how communicative strategies are used in "…establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of a social group […] during the ongoing process of interaction" (Watts 1992: 50). Set against this equilibrium is *impoliteness*, which Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann (2003: 1545) define as "the use of strategies that are designed to attack face and, thereby cause social conflict and disharmony", and Beebe (1995) gives the following definition of *rudeness*:

> Rudeness is defined as a face-threatening act (FTA) which violates a socially sanctioned norm of interaction for the social context in which it occurs. It is only rudeness if it receives insufficient redressive action to mitigate its force or, of course, if it does not occur in a context such as intimacy or emergency, that would negate the need for redressive action. Consequently, it causes antagonism, discomfort or conflict and results in some disruption of the social harmony. (Beebe 1995: 159)

Austin (1990: 279) argues that impoliteness is characterized by *face attack acts*, i.e., "communicative acts which are injurious to the hearer's positive or negative face, and are introduced in a situation which could have been avoided, but where their inclusion is perceived by the hearer to be intentional".

Others, however, show that such cooperative behavior is not always the norm and that impoliteness[1] is not unusual in everyday interaction. Speakers so frequently violate the putative social norm of politeness that one may ask if politeness in a positive sense is a norm at all. Kienpointner (1997: 251) points out that rudeness cannot be regarded as "the marked, abnormal and irrational counterpart of politeness". That impoliteness is a "universally occurring phenomenon" and that "systematic, rule-governed

rudeness is not absent in ordinary conversation" (1997: 256) suggest that a descriptive framework is necessary, but those that have been proposed are incomplete.

1.1. Problems with impoliteness models

Several models, taking Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]) as their point of departure, propose impoliteness *superstrategies*. All of them, however, consider positive and negative impoliteness on-record but fail to account for that distinction in off-record attacks, and none has shown convincingly how impoliteness superstrategies should be ordered with regard to degree of offense.

In particular, there are inconsistent claims in the literature about the offensiveness of off-record (i.e., *ironic* or *sarcastic*) strategies. Following Brown and Levinson's treatment of irony as a face-saving strategy, Dews and Winner (1995) and Dews, Kaplan and Winner (1995) claim that irony performs a muting function that results in less offense, but other studies (Colston 1997; Toplak and Katz 2000; Okamoto 2002; Huang 2004) report that irony is perceived as being more offensive.

1.2. Objectives of this study

The first goal of this work is to offer a taxonomy of impoliteness superstrategies that accounts for all categories of face attack. We suggest that such attacks can be oriented to either aspect of face when performed off-record. Most of the examples given in the literature involve such attacks oriented to the hearer's positive face, for example:

(1) You are so mature!! (Said to a person who has been behaving in a very childish way.)

But there are also examples of sarcastic attacks on negative face (Austin 1990: 289):

(2) No, no – go ahead. White carpet is boring and the red spots really improve it. (Where the carpet is new, and the hearer has just spilled red wine on it.)

We will distinguish attacks directed to the hearer's positive and negative face within the off-record impoliteness superstrategy. Following Culpeper

(1996) in using the term *sarcasm*[2] for off-record in general, we will use the term *positive sarcasm* to refer to an off-record attack on the hearer's positive face and *negative sarcasm* to refer to an off-record attack on the hearer's negative face. These impoliteness superstrategies are illustrated in Figure 1.

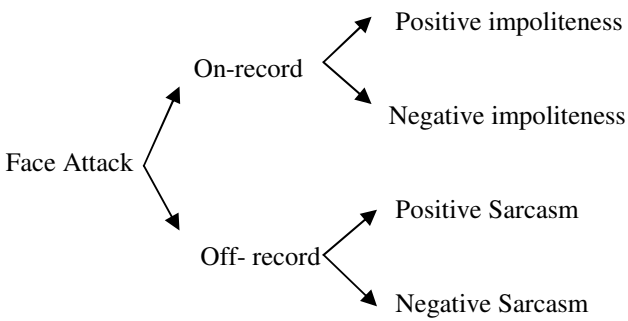

Figure 1. Superstrategies for performing a face attack

The second major goal of this work is to suggest how these different superstrategies should be ordered with respect to degree of offense. In doing so, we also hope to address the controversy about the function of sarcasm or off-record attacks.

Politeness theories have generally claimed that off-record strategies fulfill a face-saving function. According to Brown and Levinson, by doing a FTA off-record "…the actor leaves himself [sic] an 'out' by providing himself with a number of defensible interpretations; he cannot be held to have committed himself to just one particular interpretation of his act" (1987: 211). This face-saving function has been widely supported by other researchers. Barbe (1995: 10) argues that "... ironic criticism provides a means to save face for both the speaker and addressee, neither of whom has to acknowledge the possible criticism when challenged". Jorgensen (1996: 616) claims that sarcasm may be thought of as softening the threat to the hearer's face.

Dews and Winner (1995: 4) extend the idea of sarcasm as a face-saving strategy into the *tinge hypothesis*:[3] "The evaluative tone of the literal meaning of ironic utterances automatically colors (or tinges) the hearer's perception of the intended meaning". In the case of ironic insults (i.e., saying something positive to mean something negative), the positive literal meaning tinges and weakens the negative intended meaning (4), although other

studies have suggested that sarcasm is, in fact, harsher. We hope this study will shed some light on these differing interpretations.

Finally, by investigating two different cultural groups (in the United States and Argentina), we hope to contribute to an understanding of how some perceptions of impoliteness may be general and others specific, although we are aware of the limitations of that goal imposed by selecting only two largely European based groups.

2. Experimental design

We conducted a web-based experiment carried out in two stages, in which native speakers of American English and Argentine Spanish were asked about their perceptions of negative and positive face attacks done directly or indirectly (sarcastically). Since we were also interested in finding out if there is a relationship between the perception of a face attack and the degree of intimacy between the participants in a conversation, social distance was introduced as an independent variable.

2.1. The description task

The goal of this first task was to elicit descriptors from actual folk respondents to be used in the rating scales in the second part of the experiment. By doing so, we felt that the participants in the second task would rate the stimulus data using terms that they had intuitions about and that were part of the folk communities' ordinary means of evaluation (e.g., Preston 1999: 363). It is possible that some inconsistent results found in the literature about the degree of offense of on-record versus off-record superstrategies were due to judgments based on terms that the participants did not normally use to describe the situations presented to them.

Fifty-five native Spanish speakers in Argentina of various professional backgrounds and seventy-five native English speakers who were Michigan State University undergraduate students served as subjects for this first step. They were recruited through personal contacts in Argentina and through linguistics classes in the USA by the first author. The responses were given on a website version of the task. The questionnaire consisted of four conversations between two people, in each of which one person is the target of a face-attack by the other. This attack was directed towards the hearer's positive or negative face so that two of the four conversations

ended in positive face attacks, and the other two in negative ones. These attacks were done either on-record or off-record. Finally, the participants in the conversations were presented as being on either close or distant terms with one another, resulting in the following eight types:

Table 1. The eight conversation types used in the questionnaire

	Positive face attack		Negative face attack	
	Close relationship	Distant relationship	Close relationship	Distant relationship
Direct (on-record)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sarcastic (off-record)	✓	✓	✓	✓

Two versions of the questionnaire were constructed consisting of the same four situations but with the final comment changed. The stories that ended in a direct attack in one version of the questionnaire (e.g., *I can tell that you don't know anything about computers*) ended in an indirect one in the other (e.g., *I can tell that you really know a lot about computers*). Each participant read only one version of the questionnaire. Both versions were written in Spanish for the Argentine participants and in English for the American subjects; the latter is shown in Appendix A. The subjects were asked to describe in their own words how they perceived the final comment made by the speaker in each of the four conversations.

In selecting the relevant descriptors for the rating task for the second part of the experiment, we chose the ones most frequently mentioned, only those with three or more occurrences, and arranged them into semantically related groups and paired opposites. For example, in English, *angry*, *annoyed*, *mad*, and *irritated* were grouped together as *annoying* and paired with *not annoying*. Eventually, all those descriptors that did not belong to any group and that had fewer than five occurrences were ignored.

Eleven pairs of scales were obtained. Some were completely provided by the subjects (e.g., *friendly–unfriendly*), but for those where only one of the descriptors was found in the data, we supplied the opposite. Some terms used in the scales were derived from semantically related descriptors that referred to the comment rather than to the speaker (e.g., *annoying* was derived from *annoyed*), and others were slightly modified to avoid any ambiguity in meaning (e.g., *criticizing* was used instead of *critical*). The scales derived from the responses by the Spanish and American English speakers were very similar and are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Scales used in the rating task

	Spanish	**English**
1	Fastidioso – No fastidioso	Annoying – Not annoying
2	Sincero – Falso	Honest – Dishonest
3	Agresivo – No agresivo	Rude – Not rude
4	Amistoso – No amistoso	Friendly – Unfriendly
5	Irónico – No irónico	Sarcastic – Not sarcastic
6	Gracioso – Serio	Joking – Serious
7	Crítico – No crítico	Criticizing – Not criticizing
8	Cortés – Descortés	Polite – Impolite
9	Burlón – No burlón	Mocking – Not mocking
10	Amable – No amable	Nice – Not nice
11	Malicioso – No malicioso	Mean – Not mean

2.2. The rating task

Fifty-six Spanish speakers in Argentina of various professional backgrounds and sixty native English speaking American undergraduate students from Michigan State University participated in the second part of the study. Some had participated in the first part, and they were all again recruited from personal networks of the first author in Argentina and from linguistics classes at Michigan State University. This second task was also carried out on a website version. The same four stories used in the first part of the experiment were also used in this part of the experiment. Following each story the participants were presented with the eleven scales derived from the description task and were instructed to evaluate the final comment on a 5-point scale – e.g., 1 (very rude) to 5 (not at all rude) or 1 (very dishonest) to 5 (very honest). The English version of the questionnaire is given in Appendix B.

After performing a factor analysis and a series of ANOVAs with post-hoc Tukey tests on the data, the eleven scales were reduced to six variables in both English and Spanish. This was done according to the following criteria: first, the scales had to be insignificantly different from one another as indicated by Tukey post-hoc tests, and second, the non-significantly

different scales had to belong to the same factor group. The reduction resulted in the following variables:

English

Variable 1: *Dishonesty*, formed by scale 2[4]
Variable 2: *Jocularity*, formed by scale 6
Variable 3: *Rudeness*, formed by scales 1, 3, and 11
Variable 4: *Mockery*, formed by scales 5 and 9
Variable 5: *Impoliteness*, formed by scales 4, 8, and 10
Variable 6: *Criticism*, formed by scale 7

Spanish

Variable 1: *Falsedad* (dishonesty), formed by scales 2 and 6[5]
Variable 2: *Maldad* (maliciousness), formed by scale 11
Variable 3: *Burla* (mockery), formed by scales 5 and 9
Variable 4: *Agresividad* (rudeness), formed by scales 1 and 3
Variable 5: *Descortesía* (impoliteness), formed by scales 4, 8, and 10
Variable 6: *Crítica* (criticism), formed by scale 7

In Spanish, scales 2 and 6 fell together, but in English they were separate. Spanish speakers appear to think that something that is *serio* (serious) is also *sincero* (honest) and that something that is *falso* (dishonest) is also *gracioso* (joking), but it is difficult to explain this difference. Sarcasm is obviously untrue in the sense that what is said is the opposite of what is meant, and it is precisely because of this divergence between what is said and reality that such a comment is very likely to be considered as joking or not really meant. Thus, the scale *gracioso-serio* (joking-serious) seems to be taken by the Spanish speakers to refer to speaking literally or not. On the other hand, the fact that scales 2 and 6 remained different from each other in English could mean that English speakers interpreted joking more in the sense of teasing or of making fun.

A second difference between the two languages involves scale 11, (*mean–not mean*). This scale was included in English variable 3 with *rude–not rude* and *annoying–not annoying*, but formed its own variable in Spanish. It could be that the Spanish term *malicioso* has a much stronger negative connotation than *mean* has in English. Unfortunately, we cannot deal here extensively with the details of the translation equivalences in this task.

Finally, the *impolite–not impolite* and the *rude–not rude* scales in both languages remained significantly different from one another, a result sug-

gesting that conclusions about the impoliteness of utterances should not be taken as directly implying anything about their rudeness.

3. Analysis

After the six new variables were obtained, we selected *Rudeness–Agresividad*, *Impoliteness–Descortesía*, and *Criticism–Crítica* as the three most revealing of the general impoliteness that is the object of this study. We performed a series of ANOVAs for both the English and the Spanish data to determine if there was a significant difference in the perception of direct and indirect face attacks (which we shall refer to as *form* in what follows), of the face attacked (positive or negative), and of the familiarity relation between the interlocutors (close or distant).

3.1. English variables results

Rudeness: The perception of rudeness revealed significant interactions for form by face, ($F(1, 195) = 24.05$, $p<.0001$) and form by familiarity, ($F(1, 195) = 14.36$, $p<.0001$). As shown in Figure 2, only positive face attacks were perceived as more offensive when done directly.

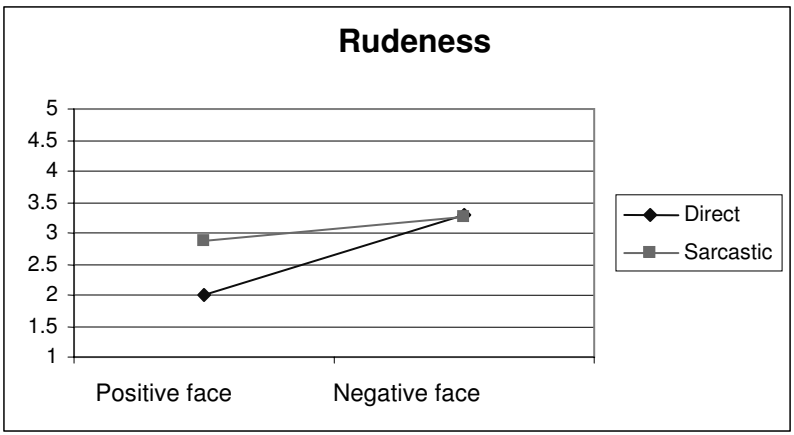

Figure 2. Variable 3: Rudeness (Form by Face; 1 = most and 5 = least rude)

Figure 3 shows in addition that direct face attacks were perceived as different, but only in distant social relationships, suggesting, perhaps, that people

do not expect to be attacked by someone they do not know well. Contrary to what other studies have concluded (Dews, Kaplan and Winner 1995), this result suggests that the perception of rudeness of a direct or sarcastic face attack depends in part on the social relation between the interlocutors.

Figure 3. Variable 3: Rudeness (Form by Familiarity; 1 = most and 5 = least rude)

Impoliteness: As shown in Figure 4, there was a significant three-way interaction in the perception of impoliteness, ($F(1, 65) = 12.52$, $p<0.0008$), depending on to whom and to which face the attack is directed. The difference between making an attack directly or sarcastically was significant only when oriented to the hearer's positive face. No such difference was found for the negative attacks, implying again that form alone does not generate different perceptions of the offensiveness of the comment.

In the positive face attacks, however, direct comments were rated as more impolite than sarcastic ones, but this difference was strongest in the distant relationships. The lack of familiarity between the speaker and the hearer clearly contributes to the difference in perception of the impoliteness of the two types. The direct attack is perceived as very impolite, whereas the sarcastic one is not perceived as so impolite.

Criticism: Finally, criticism ratings also yielded a significant three-way interaction of form, face and familiarity, ($F(1, 65) =19.85$; $p<0.0001$). Figure 5 shows that direct comments were rated as more criticizing than sarcastic ones, but only for positive face attacks in distant relationships. This difference was not significant in any of the other situations. As with the impoliteness ratings, the interaction of positive face and distant relation

here resulted in the greatest difference between direct and sarcastic face attacks.

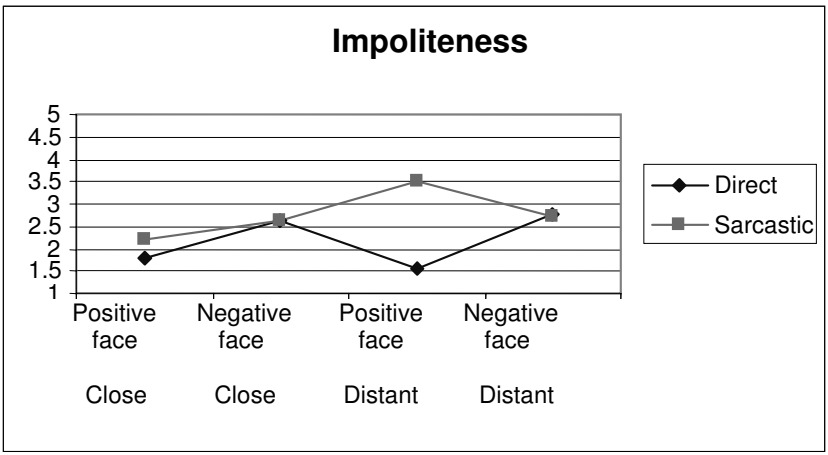

Figure 4. Variable 5: Impoliteness (Form by Face by Familiarity; 1 = most and 5 = least impolite)

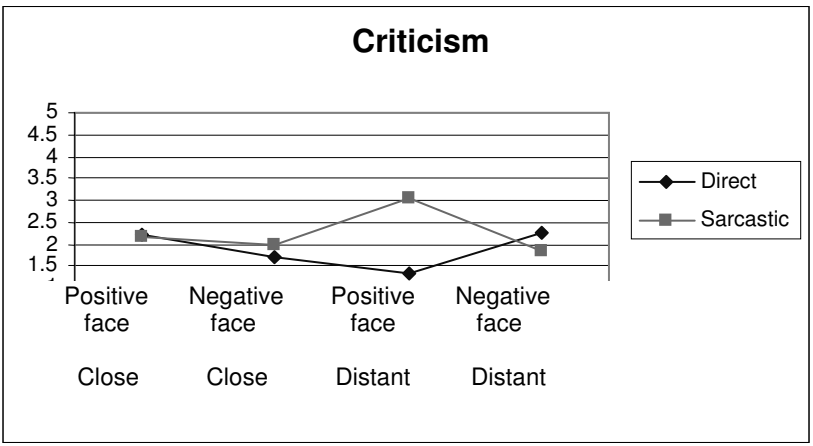

Figure 5. Variable 6: Criticism (Form by Face by Familiarity; 1 = most and 5 = least criticizing)

In summary, the perception of direct and sarcastic face attacks is always dependent on the face being attacked, the familiarity of the person being attacked or, in most cases, an interaction of face and familiarity.

3.2. Spanish variables results

Maldad (Maliciousness): There were significant main effects for face, ($F(1, 180) = 62.68$, $p<0.0001$) and familiarity, ($F(1, 180) = 11.41$, $p<0.0009$) in the perception of the maliciousness of face attacks. The main effect of face occurred because positive face attacks (M = 2.8067) were rated as more malicious than negative ones (M = 4.0158). The main effect of familiarity occurred because attacks in distant relations (M = 3.1534) were rated as more malicious than those in close ones (M = 3.6691). Though no interactions were found, the results continue to support the conclusions reached above about the role of positive face and distant relationships in the perception of the offense of a face attack.

There was, however, no main effect for form. Direct and sarcastic face attacks were not significantly different with respect to malice. This could be due to the strong negative connotation that we have already noted for the word *malicioso* in Spanish. Because there was no effect for form, this variable will not be discussed in further detail.

Agresividad (Rudeness): A significant three-way interaction resulted for *agresividad*, ($F(1, 60) = 6.09$, $p>0.0165$), as shown in Figure 6. Direct face attacks were perceived as ruder than sarcastic ones in all situations except for negative face attacks in distant relations. Once again, however, form was most dramatic for positive face attacks in distant relationships.

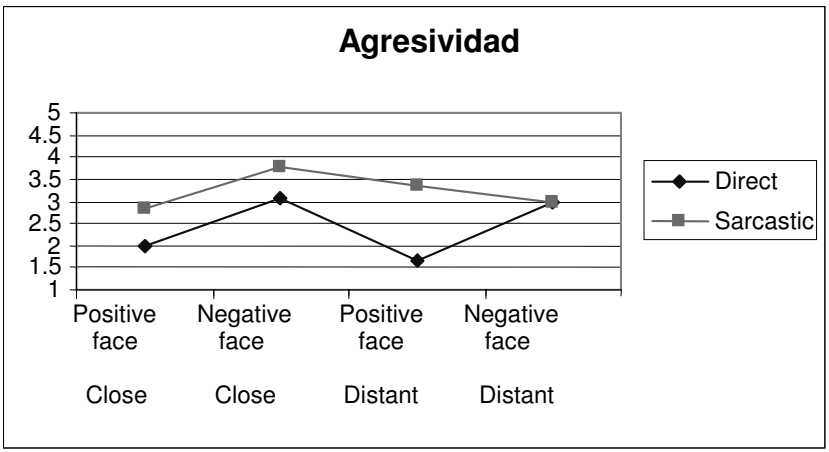

Figure 6. Variable 4: Agresividad (Rudeness) (Form by Face by Familiarity; 1 = most and 5 = least rude)

Descortesía (Impoliteness): Figure 7 also shows a significant three-way interaction for the perception of impoliteness, ($F(1, 60) = 7.83$, $p<0.0069$). Direct face attacks were rated as significantly more impolite than sarcastic ones, but only for positive face attacks in distant relationships. None of the other situations yielded significant differences. This result strongly supports the conclusions reached above about the greater effect that a positive face attack in a distant relation has in the perception of the impoliteness and rudeness of the two types.

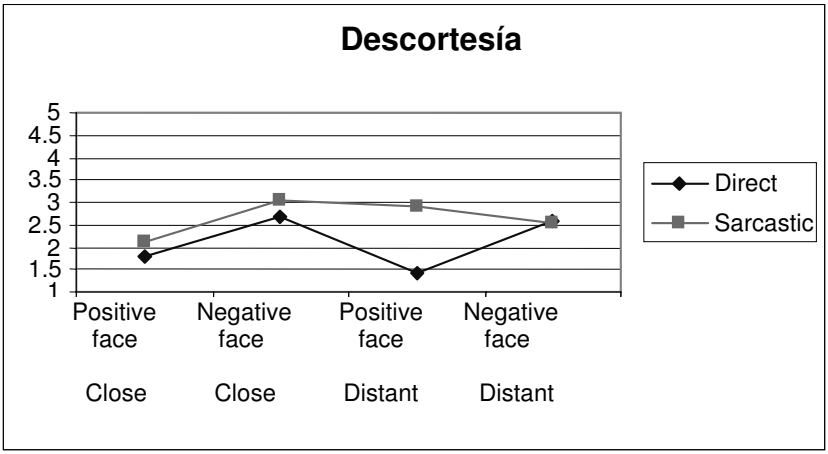

Figure 7. Variable 5: Descortesía (Impoliteness) (Form by Face by Familiarity; 1 = most and 5 = least impolite)

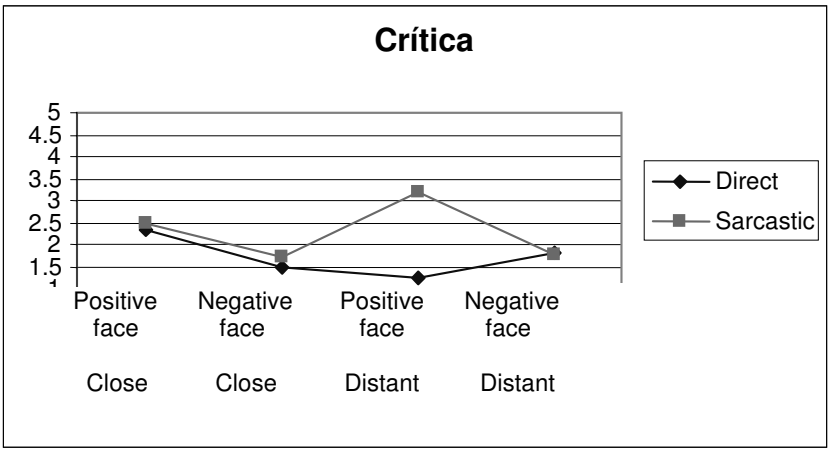

Figure 8. Variable 6: Crítica (Criticism) (Form by Face by Familiarity; 1 = most and 5 = least criticizing)

Crítica (Criticism): Finally, the degree of criticism of direct and sarcastic face attacks also revealed a significant interaction between form, face and familiarity, ($F(1, 60) = 7.86$, $p<0.0068$), as shown in Figure 8, but the only situation that showed a difference between the two types of criticism was a positive face attack in a distant relationship.

4. Ranking of the superstrategies in English and Spanish

One of the main goals of this experiment was to obtain a ranking of the different impoliteness superstrategies with regard to degree of offense. This was done by ranking the least square means of the four different superstrategies using a least significant difference test.

The results show that all three variables – *rudeness*, *impoliteness*, and *criticism* – were ranked differently in the two social distance relations. These results emphasize the important effect that social distance has on the perception of offense of a criticism.

4.1. Ranking of the superstrategies for English

Tables 3 through 5 show these rankings for English. The order of the superstrategies in a close relation was the same for the *rudeness* and *impoliteness* variables, although *impoliteness* was rated harsher in every case, suggesting that some subtle difference between the two exists. The ranking for the *criticism* variable in a close relation, however, was quite different. The *rudeness* and *impoliteness* attacks to positive face were ranked as more offensive than attacks to negative face, but the ranking for *criticism* resulted in the opposite order. Attacks to negative face were ranked as more criticizing than attacks to positive face.

This difference could be due to the fact that *rudeness* and *impoliteness* are more emotional and relate to how the hearer perceives the comment, while *criticism* seems to be mainly related to content or action. Since the attacks on negative face used in the questionnaire involve the speakers criticizing the hearers for not doing something they were supposed to do according to some rule or norm of behavior (e.g., smoking where not allowed, littering in a national park), the degree of criticism conveyed by this type was perhaps perceived as greater than if the speakers were criticizing the hearers for something they did not like or merely disapproved of.

For a distant relation, on the other hand, the order of the superstrategies was identical for the *criticism* and *impoliteness* variables. However, the ranking for *rudeness* was a little different. It is not clear what causes that different ranking, but it was still a direct attack on positive face that was rated as most offensive of all attacks.

Table 3. Ranking of superstrategies for Rudeness
1.00 = most (lighter shading) and 5.00 = least (darker shading) impolite; means in the same column shaded the same are not significantly different (Tukey post-hoc)

Close Mean	**Superstrategy**	**Distant** Mean
2.39	Positive face–on record	2.24
2.86	Positive face–off record	2.89
3.04	Negative face–on record	3.08
3.05	Negative face–off record	3.26

Table 4. Ranking of superstrategies for Impoliteness
1.00 = most (lighter shading) and 5.00 = least (darker shading) impolite; means in the same column shaded the same are not significantly different (Tukey post-hoc)

Close Mean	**Superstrategy**	**Distant** Mean
1.80	Positive face–on record	1.54
2.20	Positive face–off record	3.53
2.62	Negative face–on record	2.75
2.62	Negative face–off record	2.71

Table 5. Ranking of superstrategies for Criticism
1.00 = most (lighter shading) and 5.00 = least (darker shading) impolite; means in the same column shaded the same are not significantly different (Tukey post-hoc)

Close Mean	**Superstrategy**	**Distant** Mean
2.21	Positive face–on record	1.34
2.18	Positive face–off record	3.07
1.68	Negative face–on record	2.24
2.00	Negative face–off record	1.82

4.2. Ranking of the superstrategies for Spanish

Tables 6 through 8 show the rankings for Spanish:

Table 6. Ranking of superstrategies for Agresividad (Rudeness)
1.00 = most (lighter shading) and 5.00 = least (darker shading) impolite; means in the same column shaded the same are not significantly different (Tukey post-hoc)

Close Mean	**Superstrategy**	**Distant** Mean
1.98	Positive face–on record	1.64
2.84	Positive face–off record	3.375
3.09	Negative face–on record	2.96
3.77	Negative face–off record	2.96

Table 7. Ranking of superstrategies for Descortesía (Impoliteness)
1.00 = most (lighter shading) and 5.00 = least (darker shading) impolite; means in the same column shaded the same are not significantly different (Tukey post-hoc)

Close Mean	**Superstrategy**	**Distant** Mean
1.79	Positive face–on record	1.42
2.10	Positive face–off record	2.92
2.68	Negative face–on record	2.56
3.02	Negative face–off record	2.53

Table 8. Ranking of superstrategies for Crítica (Criticism)
1.00 = most (lighter shading) and 5.00 = least (darker shading) impolite; means in the same column shaded the same are not significantly different (Tukey post-hoc)

Close Mean	**Superstrategy**	**Distant** Mean
2.32	Positive face–on record	1.24
2.47	Positive face–off record	3.18
1.50	Negative face–on record	1.82
1.71	Negative face–off record	1.76

The results for the Spanish variables also show a ranking for *crítica* in close relationships that was very different for the rankings for *agresividad* and *descortesía*. It appears that the same conclusion reached about *criticism* in English applies to Spanish too.

In distant relationships, however, all three rankings show the same order of the superstrategies. This result provides strong evidence that this is how the different impoliteness superstrategies should be ordered according to their degree of offense for a distant relationship.

5. General discussion

The results reported here have shown that the perception of direct and sarcastic offenses strongly depends on the face that is being attacked, the social distance between the interlocutors, or the interaction between these two factors. The presence of significant interactions for all the variables that relate to the offensiveness of the comments in both English and Spanish suggests that earlier claims that sarcasm is less harsh were not completely accurate since they are not based on a simultaneous consideration of face and degree of familiarity.

5.1. The offense variables in English

All three English variables that relate to the degree of offense of a face attack yielded significant interactions: *rudeness* resulted in two-way interactions of form and face and form and familiarity, while *impoliteness* and *criticism* yielded significant interactions of form, face and familiarity.

Notice first that no difference was found between a direct and a sarcastic face attack for any of the three variables when the attack was oriented to the hearer's negative face. This holds true regardless of the social distance between the interlocutors.

We suspect that the lack of difference derives from the nature of negative face attacks, since they involve less emotion than ones on positive face. Criticism oriented to positive face offends sensibilities and feelings by expressing dislike and disapproval, but attacks on negative face interfere only with the hearer's freedom of action and can be considered less emotional or perhaps taken less personally. Furthermore, while attacks on positive face include attacks on a person's beliefs, intelligence, body features, personal habits, etc., i.e., things that are hard if not impossible to change, attacks on negative face, i.e., attempts to impose on the hearer's freedom of action, can be resisted, perhaps even ignored. Hence, the way in which a negative face attack is framed (directly or sarcastically) does not make a difference in the degree of offense conveyed.

Contrarily, positive face seems to play an important role in the different perception of the offense of the two form types. Its contribution to the interactions found for *impoliteness* is also reflected in the interaction of form and face found for *rudeness*. A direct attack is perceived as ruder than a sarcastic one only when attacking the hearer's positive face. This is even truer in a distant relation than in a close one, as can be seen from the interaction for *impoliteness* in Figure 4 and for *rudeness* in Figure 3.

These results suggest that greater social distance between the participants in the conversation increases the perception of rudeness and impoliteness of a direct attack. Because one feels that a person one is not closely related to has no right to criticize, a direct attack sounds very rude.

The interaction of positive face and distant relation also seems to have an effect on the perception of sarcasm. For the variables of *impoliteness* and *criticism*, a sarcastic comment in a positive face attack in a distant relation was rated as less offensive than in all the other situations.

Again we suggest that this is due to the lack of shared knowledge between the participants, resulting in the ambiguity of the sarcasm. Several researchers (Gibbs 1986; Kreuz and Glucksberg 1989; Dews and Winner 1995; Jorgensen 1996) have stressed the importance of common knowledge in the interpretation of sarcastic irony (and irony in general). In order to understand sarcastic utterances, the speaker and the hearer must share knowledge about the situation and the speaker's evaluation of it.

The findings here also show that in a close relationship, where the true intention of the sarcasm is more readily understood, there is no difference in the degree of *criticism* conveyed by a direct or a sarcastic face attack and only a very small difference in the degree of *impoliteness* and *rudeness*.

In general terms, the results for the three variables suggest that the social distance between participants influences the perception of the degree of offense of a face attack. These findings contradict the results in Dews and Winner (1995) which showed that there was no effect for familiarity in the degree of offense conveyed by the two types.

Finally, it is worth noticing that for all three variables the most dramatic difference was found for a positive face attack in a distant relation. It is this interaction that contributes to the different perception of the face attacks by either intensifying the *rudeness* and *impoliteness* of a direct comment or by reducing the degree of offense of a sarcastic comment.

5.2. The offense variables in Spanish

In Spanish, the variables also resulted in several three-way interactions of form, face and familiarity. Similar to the *impoliteness* and *criticism* variables in English, *descortesía* and *crítica* did not show a difference between the two form types for negative face attacks. Hence, the same conclusions reached about negative face above also account for the Spanish data.

Though in English a direct comment was rated as more impolite than a sarcastic one for a positive face attack in a close relation, there was no difference between the two types of face attack for this same situation in Spanish, matching the *criticism* ratings. It was, however, again a positive face attack in a distant relation that produced the most dramatic difference between the two form types of face attacks. For *criticism* ratings, the difference between the direct and the sarcastic attacks resulted from the relatively smaller degree of offense that a sarcastic attack triggered in this situation. This result is similar to the English *criticism* ratings and can also be explained by the failure to correctly interpret the sarcastic tone of the comment due to the lack of shared knowledge between the interlocutors.

Descortesía (impoliteness) and *agresividad* (rudeness) ratings also showed an effect of face: a direct attack on positive face was rated as more impolite and ruder than a direct attack on negative face. But again, it is in a distant relationship that a direct attack is rated as the most impolite. Thus, for Spanish too, the social distance between the participants in the conversation is a determining factor in the perception of offense.

At this point it should be noted again that the different results obtained for *impoliteness* and *rudeness* are especially intriguing since the two concepts seem to be very closely related.

As shown above, the offense variables ratings were very similar in both languages. There is an effect of face in the perception of *rudeness* and *impoliteness* of a direct attack. A direct attack is more offensive when attacking positive face than when directed at negative face. But, most importantly, there seems to be a key effect given by the interaction of positive face and distant relationship that contributes to the highly different perception in the degree of offense conveyed by direct and sarcastic attacks.

6. The function of ironic criticism

To return to the controversy concerning the function of sarcastic irony, the findings here appear to be more in line with those reported by Dews and

Winner (1995) and Dews, Kaplan and Winner (1995): whenever a difference between the two types was found, sarcasm was perceived as less offensive. However, the fact that all the offense variables showed at least one situation where there was no difference in the degree of offense between the two types casts some doubt on the off-record and face-saving nature of sarcasm and the validity of the tinge hypothesis.

Sarcasm has generally been considered an off-record strategy because it allows more than one possible interpretation, but, in our study, only when it is oriented to the hearer's positive face in a distant relation does it allow more than one interpretation. In all other situations, sarcasm appears to have only one possible interpretation, as the *impoliteness* and *criticism* ratings show. Thus, the on-record or off-record nature of sarcasm seems to depend on the face that is being attacked and the social distance between the participants.

The differences between the two types of face attack found for the *rudeness* ratings cannot, then, be attributed to the availability of more than one interpretation. If this were the case, there should also have been more differences in the *impoliteness* and *criticism* ratings. It is unlikely that a sarcastic comment will be ambiguous only when considering its *rudeness* but not as regards its *impoliteness* or *criticism*.

Though the findings presented in this study may appear to support the tinge hypothesis (whenever a difference was found between the two types, a sarcastic attack was perceived as less rude, less impolite, and less criticizing than a direct attack), we have shown that this is not really the case. The tinge hypothesis cannot account for the different results obtained for the three offense variables. Thus, we have argued that the less impolite and criticizing perception of sarcasm for a positive face attack in a distant relation results from the ambiguity that sarcasm has in those situations.

7. General ranking of impoliteness strategies

The results for the rankings of the superstrategies for the three variables have shown that two rankings are needed: one if the relation between the participants is close and another if the relation is distant. The ranking for *criticism* in a close relationship was also different from the ones obtained for the other two variables in both languages. This difference was explained in terms of the association of *criticism* with content.

Interestingly, the rankings for *impoliteness* and *rudeness* in a close relationship were also very similar in English and Spanish. And, the rankings

for a distant relationship were identical in all three variables within and across languages with the exception of the ranking for *rudeness* in English, which was only a little different.

This great similarity between the different rankings across languages raises the possibility that the order of the impoliteness superstrategies with respect to degree of offense has some chance of being universal. However, this is a claim that we do not want to make at this point but prefer to encourage future investigation of.

The general rankings of the superstrategies with respect to degree of offense in both social distance relations are presented in Table 9.

Table 9. General ranking of impoliteness superstrategies

	Close Superstrategy	**Distant Superstrategy**
1	Positive face–on record	Positive face–on record
2	Positive face–off record	Negative face–off record
3	Negative face–on record	Negative face–on record
4	Negative face–off record	Positive face–off record

Note: the strategies are ranked in order of decreasing offensiveness so that (1) represents the most offensive of all strategies and (4) the least offensive.

Both rankings show that a direct attack on positive face is the most offensive of all the superstrategies. The main difference between the two rankings is that while a positive face attack is always more offensive than a negative one in a close relation, a sarcastic attack to positive face is ranked as the least offensive of all attacks in a distant relation. We believe that this difference is a result of the hearer's failure to understand the ironic tone and the intended meaning of the utterance.

8. Conclusions

This study was principally designed to determine the degree of offense of different impoliteness superstrategies within the framework of a more comprehensive taxonomy. By doing this, we also hoped to contribute to resolving the controversy in the literature about the muting or intensifying function of sarcasm compared to direct, literal face attacks.

Our results confirm that consideration of face type and social distance is a more adequate approach in looking at the relative degrees of offense of direct and sarcastic attacks. Since the variables that related to the degree of

offense of the face attack resulted in significant interactions, one conclusion to be drawn is that the degree of offense of directness and sarcasm depends on the face to which the attack is oriented and the familiarity relation between the participants. This means that no general conclusions can be reached about whether sarcasm mutes or intensifies the degree of offense of a face attack unless both face and familiarity are looked at.

The findings in this study have also cast doubt on the validity of the tinge hypothesis, at least as far as sarcastic utterances are concerned. However, there seem to be some other forms of irony that dilute the degree of offense. There is no doubt that future research would benefit from identifying what these are. Another question that requires further research is what may be causing the different results obtained for *rudeness* and *impoliteness* ratings. Moreover, it would also be interesting to see if positive face and distant relationships also have a significant effect on the perception of offense of the different superstrategies in other languages and cultures, especially in East Asian cultures where the notion of negative face plays such an important role in people's lives (Gu 1990; Matsumoto 1988; Okamoto 2002). Finally, a great deal of further cross-linguistic research will be required to test the universality of the ranking of the impoliteness superstrategies presented here.

APPENDIX A

Description task (English)

Instructions

Below you will find four brief stories describing a situation between two participants. Each situation ends with a comment or remark made by one of the participants and directed towards the other participant. Please describe with words, phrases and/or short sentences this last comment or remark in the space provided below. For example, if you think the comment is friendly, simply write "friendly"; if you think that it shows that the speaker is in a good mood, write "the speaker is in a good mood."

Friendly. The speaker is in a good mood.

Situation 1

Robert has just bought a new computer. After installing it and putting it to work, he realizes that there is one program that is not responding. Since he doesn't know how to solve this problem, he calls his friend Mike. Mike is constantly bragging

that he knows everything about computers. Mike tries to solve the problem but cannot do it. So, Robert says to him:
"I can tell that you really know a lot about computers!!"
"I can tell that you don't know anything about computers!!"

Situation 2
Mary and Julie are good friends. For their summer vacation, they went camping for a week in the Glacier National Park. At the entrance of the park there was a notice reminding them that littering was not allowed. While they were hiking on the trails, Mary threw her empty bottle of water in the bushes. Julie, who was watching Mary, said to her:
"You have no respect for the environment!!"
"You have such great respect for the environment!!"

Situation 3
John and Steven are coworkers. They have just started to share an office. In the company building, smoking is not allowed. Steven, however, who is a chain-smoker, opens the window in their office and lights a cigarette. John sees this and says to him:
"I see you are the kind of person who follows the rules"
"I see you are not the kind of person who follows the rules"

Situation 4
Liz and Laura were assigned to work on a project by their professor. It's the first semester of school and they don't know each other well. Liz is a dedicated student and wants to do well on the project. Laura is not as good a student as Liz but she understands the material better. They decide to each research a part of the assignment and meet after one week to discuss what they have done. When Laura reads Liz's part, she thinks it is terrible and says:
"You did a very bad job!!"
"You really did a great job!!"

APPENDIX B

Rating task (English)
Instructions
Below you will find four brief stories describing a situation between two participants. Each situation ends with a comment or remark made by one of the participants and directed towards the other participant.
Please use the 1 to 5 scales given below each situation to rate how you would interpret the remark made by the speaker.
An example is given below for your reference.

If you consider the remark to be very interesting, select 1.
If you consider the remark to be somewhat interesting, select 2.
If you consider the remark to be neither interesting nor boring, select 3.
If you consider the remark to be somewhat boring, select 4.
If you consider the remark to be very boring, select 5.

Interesting	O	O	O	O	O	Boring
	1	2	3	4	5	

The situations are as in Appendix A.

Notes

1. Both *impoliteness* and *rudeness* are used in the literature. For the sake of parallelism with the politeness literature, we adopt the term *impoliteness* throughout to refer to this general type of verbal behavior, although we will use both terms later to refer to specific variables found in this study.
2. Though sarcasm is not the only indirect way to attack a person's face (other indirect uses of language that attack the interlocutor include understatement, hyperbole, and rhetorical questions), sarcasm is probably the most common. Therefore, we use that term to refer to the off-record strategy.
3. Dews and Winner (1995) claim that the tinge hypothesis is able to accommodate not only ironic criticism but also the opposite, i.e., ironic compliment, the surface-criticism-plus-underlying-compliment form of verbal irony. We comment here only on their arguments for off-record attacks.
4. These scales are the ones used in the rating task in English and are shown in Table 2.
5. These scales are the ones used in the rating task in Spanish and are shown in Table 2.

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DENNIS R. PRESTON is University Distinguished Professor of English at Michigan State University. He is former President of the American Dialect Society and Director of the Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America. His work focuses on sociolinguistics, dialectology, and variation in second language acquisition; recently he has been particularly concerned

with folk beliefs about and attitudes towards language, the subject of a 2000 book *Folk Linguistics* with Nancy Niedzielski (Mouton de Gruyter). He recently shared an excellent meal with Richard Watts in Costa Mesa, CA at the annual meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics.

CAROL G. PRESTON is a former teacher, teacher trainer, and administrator in English as a second language and bilingual education (Spanish-English) in public schools and at community college and university levels. She is now engaged in editorial work in linguistics. She recently shared the worst Italian meal she ever ate with Richard Watts as they listened to the great bell of Rovereto during the International Pragmatics Association meeting in Riva del Garda, where, in contrast, excellent food was served.

DANIEL SCHREIER taught and lectured in Switzerland, New Zealand, Germany and in the USA, and he currently holds a Chair of English Linguistics at the University of Zurich, Switzerland. His research interests include sociolinguistics, dialectology, language variation and change and contact linguistics. He is author of *Isolation and Language Change* (2003) and *Consonant Change in English Worldwide: Synchrony Meets Diachrony* (2005, both published with Palgrave Macmillan), *St Helenian English: Origins, Evolution and Variation* (2007, Benjamins), and co-author (with Karen Lavarello-Schreier) of *Tristan da Cunha: History People Language* (2003, Battlebridge).

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PETER TRUDGILL was born, at roughly the same time as Dick Watts, in Norwich, England, not much more than 100kms from Dick's childhood home. Peter Trudgill taught at the Universities of Reading and Essex in England, before working in Switzerland at the Universities of Lausanne and Fribourg between 1992 and 2005. He is currently Professor Emeritus of English Linguistics at Fribourg; Honorary Professor of Sociolinguistics at the University of East Anglia, Norwich; Adjunct Professor of Sociolinguistics at the University of Agder, Kristiansand, Norway; and Adjunct Professor in the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology at La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia. He is known for his work in sociolinguistics, but was recently described as a "theoretical dialectogist", a description he finds appropriate. His publications include *Sociolinguistics: an Introduction to Language and Society; Dialects in Contact;* and *New Dialect Formation: the Inevitability of Colonial Englishes.*

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KATIE WALES is a Research Professor of English, University of Sheffield. She has formerly held Chairs in English Language at Royal Holloway University of London and the University of Sheffield. Her many publications and research interests range widely over English language and stylistics from Old English to the present day. Like Dick Watts, she has a passionate interest in British folk-songs and ballads, especially from the North-East of England.

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