Exploring Dialect Variation in Englishes World-Wide

How to Prepare Students for Linguistic Diversity

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all materials are available on

www.melanie-roethlisberger.ch/presentations
Table of Contents

1. Motivations
2. Dialect variation
   a. Basic notions
   b. The historical perspective: The emergence of World Englishes
   c. Linguistic perspectives: Some differences
3. Teaching dialect variation
   a. (interactive) Tools
   b. The dialects project
Why am I here?

Some English speakers:
Why are you here?
English spoken around the globe

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Dialect variation

a. Basic notions
b. The historical perspective: The emergence of World Englishes
c. Linguistic perspectives: Morphosyntax
On language variation

- People talk differently, depending on
- where they come from
- whether e.g. they are educated or not
- the situation
Languages vs varieties/dialects

- Hard to distinguish
- Traditional criterion: mutual intelligibility
- But the difference is really a political one

*a shprakh iz a dialekt mit an armey un flot*

(Max Weinreich, 1894-1969, Jewish Linguist)
Why do languages change?

- (articulatory) **simplification**
  (e.g. of consonant clusters)
- **regularisation**
  (e.g. regularizing irregular verb forms)
- **social factors**
  (e.g. prestige)
- **language and dialect contact**
  contact engenders language change
Contact-induced change and borrowing

- Contact-induced change happens when a language such as English is exported to an environment where it is in contact with other languages, and when that language subsequently changes.

- One of the main linguistic consequences of contact is borrowing, or transfer.
Categorizing World Englishes: Labels

- **World Englishes**: the most encompassing label of all, denoting all or any of the varieties spoken around the world
- **New Englishes**: explicitly restricted to the newly grown second-language varieties especially in Africa and Asia
- **Postcolonial Englishes**: unites all the varieties which have shared origins in (mostly) British colonization activities
More labels

- **English as a Native Language (ENL)**: the language is spoken and handed down as the mother tongue of the majority of the population.

- **English as a Second Language (ESL)**: E has been strongly rooted for historical reasons and assumes important internal functions (often alongside indigenous languages), e.g. in education, the media, etc.

- **English as a Foreign Language (EFL)**: E is widely taught in the education system, and people strive to acquire it for its international usefulness, but it does not really have any internal functions (e.g. France, Belgium, Germany, …)
Kachru’s “Three Circles” Model

Expanding circle (EFL)

Outer circle (ESL)

Inner circle (ENL)
Schneider’s Dynamic model (Schneider 2007)

Emerging varieties of E have typically followed a fundamentally uniform evolutionary process.
5 developmental stages

1. **Foundation**: E is brought to a new territory, which leads to incipient bilingualism, the borrowing of toponyms, etc.

2. **Exonormative stabilization**: the politically dominant “mother country” determines the norms of linguistic behaviour

3. **Nativization**: ties with the country of origin are weakening, and bilingual speakers forge a new variety of E, shaped strongly by phonological and structural transfer

4. **Endonormative stabilization** implies that, after independence and inspired by the need for nation-building, a new linguistic norm is increasingly recognized

5. **Differentiation** may follow in the end, i.e. in a stable young nation, internal social group identities become more important and get reflected in the growth of dialectal differences
5 developmental stages

- Foundation
- Exonormative Stabilisation
- Nativisation
- Endonormative Stabilisation
- Differentiation

Singapore (SG) → Endonormative Stabilisation 
India (IND) → Nativisation → Exonormative Stabilisation → Differentiation → Singapore (SG)

East Africa (EA) 
Hong Kong (HK)
The emergence of World Englishes

Source: By Sulez raz - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=47648162
The race for colonies
British colonialization

- Originally trade was the most immediate goal
- Settlement and exploitation followed soon, first in North America then in the Caribbean
- Increasing settlement in North America and expansion in the Caribbean, a growing economic involvement in India, and the establishment of the earliest trading forts along the West African coast
Britain’s Imperial Century 1815-1914
Italian railroad workers in AUS

Source:
Convicts of Botany Bay (AUS)

Source: The Irish Examiner, https://media.central.ie/media/images/b/BotanyBay_large.jpg
Gold seekers in America

Early NZ settlers

GROUP OF EARLY SETTLERS (1841-42).


(Names not in order in which persons are sitting.)

Colonialization types

- Varying motivations for colonizing certain world regions at different points in time resulted in varying colonization types
- These, in turn, have produced specific communicative settings
- Strong connection between colonization patterns and linguistic ecologies which have resulted from them
- A useful classification goes back to Mufwene (2001):
  - Trade colonies
  - Exploitation colonies
  - Settlement colonies
  - Plantation colonies
English in settlement colonies

- Development of compromise variety \(\Rightarrow\) koinéization (e.g. New Zealand English)
- Language shift in indigenous group due to presence of dominant settlers
- Results in process of nativization \(\Rightarrow\) new varieties of English (e.g. Maori English)
On new dialect formation

- Contact between speakers of different dialects, can lead to:
  - Dialect mixture (i.e. koinézation, or
  - [Single dialect prevails (e.g. strong Cockney accent in AUS/NZ)]

- Factors that influence outcome of contact: size of community, density of social networks, etc.

On new dialect formation: the feature pool

I’m like …

I say …

I go …

This is me …

?
On new dialect formation

Contact can lead to complexification (additive) or simplification because of

– The regularization of irregularities (e.g. *helped* vs. *holp*; *kine* vs. *cows*)
– Increase in lexical and morphological transparency (e.g. *two times* vs. *twice*)
– Loss of redundancy (e.g. if more than one form signals gender/tense/etc.)

On the emergence of a New Zealand accent:

“There is not enough difference between the environments of the Englishman and the New Zealander to produce the existing difference in pronunciation. It should evidently be the teacher’s aim to stay the process, and if possible restore to the New Zealand speech the culture it has unfortunately lost. We must, therefore examine the faults one by one and enumerate the definite sounds of English that the colonial ear has failed to catch and reproduce.”

The rise of the USA

• The British Empire spread and established English as a global language

• In the 20th century the global role of English was further reinforced by the rise of Britain’s former colony, the United States of America, to the status of a global superpower

• With the Spanish-American War of 1898, the USA entered the world scene

• As the outcome of that war, Americans received authority over Puerto Rico (still a dependent territory), Guam, and the Philippines, ceded by Spain

• With this step America became a colonial power herself, and the intention was to turn the Philippines into a model colony – more or less (un)succesfully
The World Wars and after

• The United States entered both World Wars of the twentieth century after some years of conflict, and decided them victoriously.

• After the “Cold War,” the breakdown of the Soviet Union left the US as the world’s only remaining military and political superpower.

• Alongside that, America’s economy became the world’s largest one and the dollar the leading currency of all international business.

• These developments gave a fresh boost to the English language on the global scene.

• and has led to an “Americanization” of English.
Discussion

Do you think English is americanizing?
Post-independence developments

- Alleged “Americanization” notwithstanding, Britain and America are no longer the only “epicenters” of the language. English has become a pluricentric language.
- Australian and New Zealand English, for example, are largely linguistically independent.
- And they are internationally influential, especially in Asian countries.
- 2 competing trends: globalization and localization.
Globalization

• “International English” with common core of vocabulary, grammar rules, shared pronunciation conventions, etc.

• One major reason for the international appeal of English is certainly its usefulness, its association with prestige and power, and its role as a primary tool for socioeconomic advancement

• All of this require a “standard” form of speech (or text) production
Localization

- Nativization, indigenization, localization of English
- English has developed indigenous forms and grown local roots
- These local forms have been adopted by many speakers as symbols of regional identities
5 developmental stages

1. Foundation
2. Exonormative Stabilisation
3. Nativisation
4. Endonormative Stabilisation
5. Differentiation

Singapore (SG), India (IND), East Africa (EA), Hong Kong (HK)
Linguistic differences

• how do we know about structural differences between these varieties?

⇒ tools to explore
Teaching dialect variation

a. Tools
b. The Dialects project

• About 100 contributors
• Some 60 (groups of) varieties
• Almost exclusively nonstandard
• All spoken

• Main national varieties (e.g. NZE)
• Distinctive regional, ethnic, and social varieties (e.g. AAVE)
• Major contact varieties (pidgins and creoles, e.g. Tok Pisin)
• Major English as a Second Language varieties (e.g. ChcE)
• book version (see content: http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/36453?rskey=kZ80Gz&result=1)
• and interactive reference tool: http://www.varieties.mouton-content.com/
Main national varieties (e.g. NZE)
Distinctive regional, ethnic, and social varieties (e.g. AAVE)
Major contact varieties (pidgins and creoles, e.g. Tok Pisin)
Major English as a Second Language varieties (e.g. Chinese English)
reference tool: http://www.varieties.mouton-content.com/
The electronic World Atlas of variation in English

= eWAVE

- no audio
- grammar only
- but more features ($N = 235$) and varieties (76)
- state-of-the-art mapping
Welcome to eWAVE

by Kortmann, Bernd & Lunkenheimer, Kerstin

eWAVE was designed and compiled at the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS) and the English Department of the University of Freiburg, Germany, primarily between 2008 and 2011, when it was first released. The current release (eWAVE 2.0, November 2013) is a substantially updated and extended version. eWAVE is an interactive database on morphosyntactic variation in spontaneous spoken English mapping 235 features from a dozen domains of grammar in now 50 varieties of English (traditional dialects, high-contact mother-tongue Englishes, and indigenized second-language Englishes) and 26 English-based Pidgins and Creoles in eight Anglophone world regions (Africa, Asia, Australia, British Isles, Caribbean, North America, Pacific, and the South Atlantic; see here for a list). It was compiled from descriptive materials, naturalistic corpus data, and native speaker knowledge by a team of 83 contributors, all leading experts in their fields, directed by Bernd Kortmann and Kerstin Lunkenheimer. eWAVE is unique not only in its coverage and user-friendliness, but also in being an open access resource. As such it has the potential for serving both as a teaching tool in academic teaching around the world and as an indispensable research tool for specialists in many different fields of linguistics, including creolistics, dialectology, dialect syntax, language change, language typology, sociolinguistics, second language acquisition, and the study of World Englishes and learner Englishes.

eWAVE was partly designed and entirely programmed in collaboration with the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Leipzig), and is also hosted by the MPI. Since eWAVE is designed as an evolving interactive tool, we are planning to have regular updates. The most recent substantial update (November 2013) introduced two new datasets (Cape Flats English and Philippine English) as well as a number of updates to existing data points (see History), a host of new examples, and substantial changes to the user interface to fit in with the architecture of the MPI-EVA's other linguistic database projects – most notably APICS Online (the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online; Michaelis, Maurer, Haspelmath and Huber, eds. 2013).

In January 2013 De Gruyter Mouton published in print the Mouton World Atlas of Variation of English, which offers perspectivizing accounts of the data sets in eWAVE as well as large-scale comparisons and synopses across the individual variety types and Anglophone world regions. Read more here.

What eWAVE can do for you

eWAVE facilitates the investigation of global-scale patterns of morphosyntactic variation in English and helps answering questions like the following:

- Which features are most/least widespread across varieties of English worldwide?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Feature name</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
<th>Pervasiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>She/her used for inanimate referents</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>45% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>He/him used for inanimate referents</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>48% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Alternative forms/phrases for referential (non-dummy) it</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>64% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alternative forms/phrases for dummy it</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>55% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Generalized third person singular pronoun: subject pronouns</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>77% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Generalized third person singular pronoun: object pronouns</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>83% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Me instead of I in coordinate subjects</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>83% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Myself/meself instead of I in coordinate subjects</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>57% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Benefactive “personal dative” construction</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>62% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>No gender distinction in third person singular</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>71% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Regularized reflexives paradigm</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>69% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Object pronoun forms serving as base for first and/or second person reflexives</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>72% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Subject pronoun forms serving as base for reflexives</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>63% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>No number distinction in reflexives</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>67% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Absolute use of reflexives</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>54% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Emphatic reflexives with own</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>49% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Creation of possessive pronouns with prefix fi- +personal pronoun</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>70% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Subject pronoun forms as (modifying) possessive pronouns: first person singular</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>76% Pronouns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 1 She/her used for inanimate referents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A - feature is pervasive or obligatory</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B - feature is neither pervasive nor extremely rare</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C - feature exists, but is extremely rare</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D - attested absence of feature</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X - feature is not applicable (given the structural make-up of the variety/P/C)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? - no information on feature is available</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Feature area:**
- Pronouns, pronoun exchange, nominal gender

**Typical example:**
- She was burning good [about a house]

**Example source:**
Linguistic differences

- Compare Standard (British) English with the linguistic variants found in other varieties using eWAVE:
  - *me* instead of *I* in coordinated subject phrases
  - *she/her* or *he/him* used for inanimate referents
  - forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun other than *you*
  - insertion of *it* where Standard English favours zero
  - regularization of plural formation: extension of –s to StE irregular plurals
  - different count/mass distinction resulting in use of plural for StE singular
  - ...
Linguistic differences

• To be followed up by a discussion in the class, e.g.:
  – Do you think at some point this linguistic diversity leads to communicative misunderstandings?
  – Do you think it is a good thing to have so much variation?
  – Have you encountered diversity when traveling before where the Standard English you learnt in school was hindering communication?
The Dialects Project

3rd YEAR PROJECT ON DIALECTS AND BRITISH CULTURE
Description

- Students selected their own variety to do research on (in groups)
- Several tasks were given
  - read background material (provided)
  - fill in an exercise sheet (to guide reading)
  - write a diary
  - prepare a short presentation with an interactive part (e.g. quiz)
Tasks

• Read the pages 106 & 107 on English as “A World Language” (Crystal 2003)

• Check out the sources given below and familiarize yourself with your variety.

• Fill in exercise A with information about your variety’s origins

• Check out Youtube videos some of which are listed below and listen to your variety. In what ways does the speaker sound different from British English?

Example: NZE

New Zealand English:

- Wikipedia entries on New Zealand English and the history of NZ
- Pages 99, 354-55 in Crystal 2003
- Listen live to the radio on: http://www.radionz.co.nz/
- Youtube videos:
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u4kD_J2ZSsw
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ab_MLnr1Q4I
Exercise to be filled in (table to be completed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of variety</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In which country is the variety spoken?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which year (circa) was the country settled in?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Describe the contact with the native population from the time of the first settlement up until today.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give a brief summary of the history of that country from the time of the first settlement until today with a special focus on the different settler populations and contact between different speaker groups (non-English/English).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are typical characteristics of speakers of that variety?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Questions?

Comments?