Chapter 2

Types of English in Trends
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Living languages grow and change and the character of a dead language is, it becomes static and resists changes. English has constantly been growing, changing, assimilating and adjusting with the inclusion made into the content throughout ages and places. The English language has grown up in contact with many others, making it a hybrid language which can rapidly evolve to meet new cultural and communicative needs. The present chapter analysis the various states in the growth of English and also consequent types that emerge from the changes and also what characteristic patterns are there in the use of English by non-native speakers.

Any serious study of English in 21st century must start by examining how came to be in its current state and spoken by those who speak it. What factors have ensured the spread of English? What does this process tell us about the fate of languages in unique political and cultural contexts? In what domains of knowledge has English developed particular importance and how recently? (Graddol 5)

"English is remarkable for its diversity, its propensity to change and be changed. This has resulted in both a variety of forms of English, but also a diversity of cultural contexts within which English is used in daily life."

(5)

"The beauty of the English is that from the earliest time it has been able to incorporate and adapt words from other languages,” noted editor-in Chief Jeremy Butterfield. “Already, we probably can’t get through the day without using the several words derived from Indian languages. In the long run, we can expect Hinglish to influence English in many fields, in the same way that Latin and French have over several centuries.”

In English, the language diversity was extensive and many language boundaries crossed the borders of newly emerging states. Consequently, the English language was self-consciously
expanded and reconstructed to serve the purposes of a national language. National education systems, for example, plays a major role in determining which languages in the world are taught and learned. The constant evolution of this language makes it impossible for people to confine its characteristic within confined boundaries. It is flexible language always permitting space for hybridity.

The attempt to fix and 'ascertain' the English language, made in the 18th and 19th centuries, was never entirely successful: the language has continued to adapt itself swiftly to new circumstances and people.

It is a flexible language always permitting space for hybridity. English has always been an evolving language and language contact has been an important drier of change. First from Celtic and Latin, later from Scandinavian and Norman French, more recently from the many other languages spoken in the British colonies, the English language has borrowed freely. Some analysts see this hybridity and permeability of English as defining features allowing it to expand quickly into new domains and explaining in part its success as a world language.

One of the few certainties associated with the future of English is that it will continue to evolve, reflecting and constructing the changing roles and identities of its speakers.

Even in its infant stage English happily let itself to be cradled by the cuddling and caressing hands of outside influences. English is a Germanic language which belongs to the Indo-European languages. The question of the original home of the Indo-Europeans has been much debated, but nowadays most scholars agree that the original group of people that spoke Proto-Indo-European, the language which would later split into a number of branches, including the Germanic branch, lived somewhere between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea some 6000 years ago. Most scholars believe that this population then expanded/migrated eastward, westward and northward and thereby came to inhabit most of Europe and parts of Western Asia. We can learn about the earliest Indo-Europeans from aspects of their reconstructed vocabulary. Some words, for
example, describe an agricultural technology whose existence dates back to 5000 B.C. The Indo-European words for barley, wheat, flax, apples, cherries, grapes, vines, mead and beer and words for the various implements with which to cultivate, harvest and produce these products describe a way of life unknown in northern Europe until the third or second millennium B.C. Reconstructed vocabulary also tells us much about the climate and geography of the region where the Proto-Indo-Europeans lived. Such words include words meaning winter, snow, birch, beech, pine, wolf, salmon, bear, and otter, and seem to suggest a northerly, temperate climate (Mats Deutschmann).

![Proto-Indo-European Language Family Tree](figure2.1.png)

Figure 2.1: Indo-European Tree (Jack Lynch)

English itself has had three distinctive stages in its growth that generally it has been marked as Old English, Middle English and Modern English reflecting seven ages of English. This is an overview of the history of English, from its birth in fifteenth century to the present day.
According to chronological classification the Pre English period is c.AD 40. The history of the English language really started with the arrival of three Germanic tribes who invaded Britain during the 5th century AD. These tribes, the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes, crossed the North Sea from what today is Denmark and Northern Germany. At that time the inhabitants of Britain spoke a Celtic language. But most of the Celtic speakers were pushed west and north by the invaders - mainly into what is now Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The Angles came from "Englaland" [sic] and their language was called "Englisc" - from which the words "England" and "English" are derived.

The size of the British Isles often leads people to assume that the language spoken in its countries of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland is somewhat homogeneous and first time visitors are often surprised to find that they have difficulty in understanding the accents and dialects of certain regions. Even within the country of England alone there is great diversity of dialect both regionally and socially. Trudgill believes that for the majority of English people "where they are from" is very important to them. Accents are clues to where people were born and where they grew up. Although some people may change the way they speak during their lifetimes, most people "carry at least some trace" of their accent and dialect origins throughout their lives.

The origins of English are, for a language, surprisingly well documented. At the time of the Roman invasion c.55 BC, the indigenous languages of Britain were Celtic, of which there were two main branches (corresponding to modern Gaelic and Welsh). But the use of Latin rapidly declined in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The next in this order is the early old English period fixed between c.450- c.850. The English language developed after the Anglo-Saxon invasion c. 449 AD, when the roman left Britain and new settlers brought Germanic dialects from main land Europe. Latin was still an important written language because of the church and main Latin words were introduced into old English.
during this early period, but the language developed a new form: the first English literally text appeared in the epic Old English poem composed c. 750 by Boewulf.

"Gefeng þa be feaxe (nalas for fæhōe mearn)

Guð-Geata leod Grendles modor;

Brægd þa beadwe heard, þa he gebolgen wæs,

feorhgeniðlan, þæt heo on flet gebeah. (Boewulf, Gadroll 7)

What followed early old English was the Later Old English c.850-1100. This was time of invasion and settlement Scandinavia (The Vikings) and a time of language change. In the north of England dialects of English were extensively influenced by Scandinavian language.

After the three stages of pre English and old English we comes across Middle English (c.1100-1450). Educated people probably needed to be trilingual in French, Latin and English. Writers included Geoffrey Chaucer, whose language is beginning to look like modern English.

"And preie God save the King, that is the lord of this language, and alle that him faith berith and obeieth, everich in his degre, the mo re and the lasse. But considere wel that I ne uspur not to have founden this werk of my labour or my myn engyn." (Chaucer, Gadroll 7)

Middle English was succeeded by modern English which in turn had three distinctive phases. The first of it is the Early Modern English c.1450-1750. This period spans the renaissance, the Elizabethan era and Shakespeare. It is the period when the nation states of Europe took their modern form. The role of the church and Latin declined in England, Key institution of science such as the Royal Society, were established and, by the end of 17th century, theoreticians like Isaac Newton was writing his discoveries in English rather than Latin.
“A common writing; whereby two, although not understanding one the other language, yet by the helpe thereof may communike their minds one to other ... The harshness of the stile, I hope, will be corrected by the reader ingenuity. (Lodwick, Godroll 7)

Britain grew commercially and acquired overseas colonies, English was taken to the Americas (first colony at Jamestown, Virginia 1607) and India (first trading post at Surat 1614). With the rise of printing (first printed book in English, 1473) English acquired a stable typographic identity. Teaching English as a foreign languages began in the 16th century, first in Holland and France.

Modern English period is between c.1750-1950. At the time English has become a ‘National’ language. Many attempts were made to ‘standardize and fix’ the language with dictionaries and grammars (Johnson’s dictionary 1755, the Oxford English Dictionary 1858-1928). The industrial revolution triggered off a global restructuring of work and leisure which made English the international language of advertising and consumerism. The telegraph was patented in 1837, linking English-speaking communities around the world and establishing English as the major language for wire services. As Britain consolidated imperial power, English-medium education was introduced in many parts of the world. The first international series of English language teaching texts was published from Britain in 1938 and the world’s first TV commercial was broadcast in the US in 1941. English emerged as the most popular working language for transnational institutions.

The next in category is the Late Modern English c.1950. In the aftermath of World War II, the US became a global economic and cultural presence, making American English the dominant world variety. The first geostationary communication satellites were launched (Early Bird 1965) and the Internet was invented (US 1970s). A world market in audio-visual products was created and some opens such as Dallas circulated the globe. Worldwide English language TV channels began (CNN International launched 1989). Meanwhile, English has acquired new electronic forms as the fragment of a textual interaction from a north European reflector for Internet Relay
Chat shows. The story of English in the 20th century has been closely linked to the rise of the US as a superpower that has spread the English language alongside its economic, technological and cultural influence. It is rightly said that without political domination English Language could not have the universal.

Had Hitler won World War II and had the USA been reduced to a confederation of banana republics, we would probably today use German as a universal vehicular language, and Japanese electronic firms would advertise their products in Hong Kong airport duty-free shops (Zollfuirie Waren) in German. (Eco 331)

Apart from the political power, English has now come to represent progress. English and American-English seem to embody for men and women throughout the world - and particularly for the young - the 'feel' of hope, of material advance, of scientific and empirical procedures. (Steiner 469)

David Crystal (1997) estimates that 85% of international organizations now use English as one of their working languages, 49% use French and fewer than 10% use Arabic, Spanish or German.

It is also quite possible that some people will resist the popularity of English. As a delegate from Ireland once addressed the League of Nations many years ago, explaining his use of French "I can't speak my own language, and I'll be damned if I'll speak English." (Large 195)

Still the resistance by few scattered nations and individuals cannot wipe away English from the face of the world. As more countries have been rendered 'open' to global flows of finance, goods, knowledge and culture, so the influence of English has spread. The question remains whether English has become so entrenched in the world that a decline in the influence of the US would harm it. Or will other languages come to rival English in their global importance, pushing English aside much in the same way as Latin was abandoned as an international lingua franca
300 years ago. David Crystal along with many others feel that ‘Hinglish’ has the potentiality to do so.

350 million Indians speak "Hinglish" and it is soon to exceed the number of native English Speakers in Britain and the US. He further states the cause for this tremendous hike as being a collective-increasing popularity of "Bollywood" and Indian culture. (Crystal)

The English is so omnipresent; do all the people speak English? What about the rural Indians for example so the next generation question which arises is who speaks English. There are three types of English speakers in world today, each with a different relationship with the language. First-language (L1) Speakers are those for whom English is a first- and often only-language. These native speakers live, for the most part, in countries in which the dominant culture is based around English. These are native speakers from Australia, America and Britain. Second-language (L2) Speakers have English as a second or additional language, placing English in a repertoire of languages where each is used in different contexts. Speaker here might use a local form of English but may also be fluent in international varieties. The third group of English speakers are the growing number of people learning English as a foreign language (EFL). These three types of speakers emerged due to colonial expansions.

Each colonial process had different linguistic consequences. The first type created a diaspora of native speakers of English (US, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, with each settlement eventually establishing its own national variety of English. The second (India, West Africa, East Africa) made English an elite second language, frequently required for further education and government jobs. The linguistic consequences of third type were complex, including the creation of new hybrid varieties of English called creoles. Creoles have as their origin a pidgin- a reduced form of communication used between speakers of mutually unintelligible languages- which become extended in vocabulary and grammar as a result of being used as a mother tongue. Classification of Creole speakers is problematic. From a linguistic view, there is merit in regarding creoles as distinct languages. From a sociolinguistic view, it
may be better to regard Creole speakers as belonging to the English-speaking community, because of the emergence in several countries of a post-creole continuum: a range of language varieties from Standard English to fully fledged creole. Those who speak English alongside other languages will outnumber (first-language speakers) and increasingly, will decide the global future of the language.

English in future, as in the past, will be subject to three types of change. First, although different speakers communities or communicative domains may be affected differently, there will be changes to the language itself; certainly in pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, but also in the range of text types and genres which employ English. Second, there will be changes in status. English may acquire a different meaning and pattern of usage among non-native speakers or be used for a wider range of social functions. Third, English will be affected by quantitative changes, such as numbers of speaker, the proportion of the *Worlds Scientific Journals* published in English, or the extent to which the English language is used for computer-based communication. Among the three kinds of English speakers: those who speak it as a first language, those for whom it is a second or additional language and those who learn it as a foreign language native speakers may feel that the language ‘belong’ to them, but it will be those who speak English as a second or foreign language who will determine its world future.

![Figure 2.2](image)  
Figure 2.2: How the centre of gravity will shift towards L3 speakers at the start of twenty first century.

Languages do not change in one day. It is a slow and continuous process. Some kinds of change occur quickly and others slowly. Some kinds of change occur quickly, others slowly. For
example fashions in slang usage among native speakers, or the borrowing of words into another language, can develop in months, not years. But the shift which occurs when a community or family abandons one language and begins to use another as first language is usually intergenerational. Language shift often need three generations to take full effect. Individuals act as agents of change as do governments and institutions. Another reason of language change is it diffuse through social networks. It has often been observed that people who interact together on a regular basis, who have common loyalties and identity and who like each other, tend to use language in similar ways. The creation of new forms of social network or new patterns of social affiliation can also be expected to alter the way that speech communities are created and maintained.

Linguistic innovations, such as new pronunciations, tend to jump from one urban area to another, across rural areas and across national borders. The growth of large cities in Asia will bead too many kinds of social change, including new patterns of language use. Young people are important leaders of change. There has long been recognised a so-called ‘critical period’ in early life when children seem able to learn languages easily, But adolescence is perhaps an even more important stage, where young people make the transition to a social life which is largely directed by themselves, when they acquire new social networks and identities and feel the requirement for appropriate language styles. Apart from the vital contribution from the youth language change may also follow change in material circumstances. Language is often linked to particular social and cultural practices. For example Queen’s English is less used than American English because of material circumstances.

Social and geographical mobility is another factor that causes language change. People moving, whether as migrant labour to another country, or even within the same country (especially from rural areas to urban ones), take their language with them, but also learn the language used in the new home area. The more mobile a society, the more open it will be change. We see a clear example in Amitava Ghosh’s River of Smoke where the coasts of china
becomes a melting pot of languages and cultures. Language in contact with each causes change. Language contact has long been recognised as a major engine of change; a historical example is that of Danish and English which led to a major shift in the vocabulary and grammar of English. The increasing use of English in many parts of the world affects both local languages and English and is giving rise to new hybrid language varieties. Hinglish is also the best example of a hybrid language. It is observed that changes often occur first in informal and casual language. Since the majority of such language is spoken, change is rarely documented in the early stages.

The next factor for language changes is technology. Technological innovation may give rise to new modes of communication. The style of written text widely used in electronic mail, for example, seems to share characteristics of spoken language. Technology may also create new patterns of communication. Another factor of consideration is dynamics of L1, L2 and EFL. The EFL community is potentially the most volatile; major shifts in the number of people learning English around the world could occur quickly, within a decade as a result of changing public policy in developing countries or a change in public interest. It will be clear that the key drivers of linguistic change are both social and material in nature. Economic development, technological innovations, new social networks or demographics shifts are all likely to give rise to language change. Certain age groups also play a more important role in instigating and advancing change. The complex interaction between these factors means that it is perfectly possible that there will be widespread shifts in the way languages are used in the future. So it can be estimated that Hinglish which is born of such changes may establish itself as a leading tool of communication for a vast variety of speakers because the above mentioned factors facilitates the popularity of Hinglish.

Among the varieties of English we have the assimilation of languages such as United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Because many of the English speakers who originally inhabited Canada came from the US, there is little difference in the American and Canadian dialects of English. Similarly, Australian and New Zealand English have few
differences, except Australia was originally settled as a penal colony and New Zealand was not. New Zealanders were more attached to the Received Pronunciation of the upper class in England, so their dialect is considered closer to British English.

Cockney (and its Ryhming Slang) is an interesting dialect of English spoken in London’s east end. The initial h of words is dropped, glottal stops are used frequently and labiodentals are used in place of interdentals. The Rhyming Slang refers to a word by referring to two things, the last of which rhymes with what is being referred to. For examples, money is "bees and honey," gloves is "turtle doves," suit is "whistle and flute" and trouble is "Barney Rubble." Even more confusing, sometimes the second word (which rhymes with the word being referred to) is omitted, so that money is called just "bees." The linguistic assimilation of English was further supported by the colonial expansion of the British. British colonialism has spread English all over the world, and it still holds prestige in South Africa, India, and Singapore, among other nations. In South Africa, English became an official language, along with Afrikaans and 9 African languages, in the 1996 constitution. However, only 3% of the country’s 30 million people are native English speakers. Twenty percent are descendants of Dutch farmers who speak Afrikaans, and the rest are native Africans. Although the British won the Boer Wars of 1899-1901 against the Dutch farmers (the Boers), Britain still promised the Boers self-government under the Union of South Africa. By 1948, these Afrikaners won state elections and remained in power through the 1990’s. Apartheid (which segregated the Afrikaners and Africans) officially ended under Nelson Mandela’s reign, and although Afrikaans was the language used more often, the Africans wanted English as the official language, hence the compromise of 11 official languages.

Language, like a river flowing through the rich silt of other linguistic regions, carried many a practices and enriched itself into a swelling flood. India, one of former colonies of the British obtained political freedom in 1947 and the English language was supposed to be phased out by 1965. However, today English and Hindi are the official languages. Indian English is
characterized by treating mass nouns as count nouns, frequent use of the "isn't it?" tag, use of more compounds, and a different use of prepositions. In Singapore, Chinese, Malay and Indian languages have an impact on the form of English spoken. Everyone is taught English in the school system, but there are a few differences from British English as well. Mass nouns are treated as count nouns, "use to" means usually, and no articles are used before occupations. Creoles of English can be found on the coast of West Africa, China, and on islands of the Pacific and Caribbean (especially the West Indies.) Originally, these creoles were pidgins so that English-speaking traders could conduct business. Over time, they became the native languages of the children and evolved into creoles.

Figure 2.3: The branches of world English.

The changes that happened in English language did not affect certain varieties of English such as the Queen's English, the Cockney and other regional dialects. Queen's English refers to grammatically correct and coherent written expression in the English language. (Urban Dictionary)

The notion of "the Queen's English", as a standard accent, with the standard variety of the English language used in England that is given names such as "Standard English", "Received Pronunciation (RP)", or "BBC English". The study of RP is concerned exclusively with
pronunciation, while study of the standard language is also concerned with matters such as grammar, vocabulary and style. Standard English is sometimes referred as Oxford English (OD). And when we talk about Queen's English it refers to Received Pronunciation. The dogmatic and conservative prescriptive rules of this variety resisted easy assimilation with other languages.

Received Pronunciation, or RP for short, is the instantly recognisable accent often described as 'typically British'. Popular terms for this accent, such as 'The Queen’s English', 'Oxford English' or 'BBC English' are all a little misleading. The Queen, for instance, speaks an almost unique form of English, while the English we hear at Oxford University or on the BBC is no longer restricted to one type of accent.

"Although the BBC does not, and never did, impose pronunciations of its own on English words, the myth of BBC English dies hard. It owed its birth no doubt to the era before the Second World War, when all announcers...spoke...Received Pronunciation." (Miller, Sangster)

RP is an accent, not a dialect, since all RP speakers speak Standard English. In other words, they avoid non-standard grammatical constructions and localised vocabulary characteristic of regional dialects. RP is also regionally non-specific, that is it does not contain any clues about a speaker's geographic background. But it does reveal a great deal about their social and/or educational background.

RP is probably the most widely studied and most frequently described variety of spoken English in the world, yet recent estimates suggest only 2% of the UK population speak it. It has a negligible presence in Scotland and Northern Ireland and is arguably losing its prestige status in Wales. It should properly, therefore, be described as English, rather than a British accent. As well as being a living accent, RP is also a theoretical linguistic concept. It is the accent on which phonemic transcriptions in dictionaries are based, and it is widely used (in competition with
General American) for teaching English as a foreign language. RP is included here as a case study, not to imply it has greater merit than any other English accent, but because it provides us with an extremely familiar model against which comparisons with other accents may be made.

RP is a young accent in linguistic terms. It was not around, for example, when Dr Johnson wrote *A Dictionary of the English Language* in 1757. He chose not to include pronunciation suggestions as he felt there was little agreement even within educated society regarding 'recommended' forms. The phrase Received Pronunciation was coined in 1869 by the linguist, A J Ellis, but it only became a widely used term used to describe the accent of the social elite after the phonetician, Daniel Jones, adopted it for the second edition of the *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (1924). The definition of 'received' conveys its original meaning of 'accepted' or 'approved' — as in 'received wisdom'. We can trace the origins of RP back to the public schools and universities of nineteenth-century Britain — indeed Daniel Jones initially used the term Public School Pronunciation to describe this emerging, socially exclusive accent. Over the course of that century, members of the ruling and privileged classes increasingly attended boarding schools such as Winchester, Eton, Harrow and Rugby and graduated from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Their speech patterns - based loosely on the local accent of the south-east Midlands (roughly London, Oxford and Cambridge) — soon came to be associated with 'The Establishment' and therefore gained a unique status, particularly within the middle classes in London.

RP probably received its greatest impetus, however, when Lord Reith, the first General Manager of the BBC, adopted it in 1922 as a broadcasting standard - hence the origins of the term BBC English. Reith believed Standard English, spoken with an RP accent, would be the most widely understood variety of English, both here in the UK and overseas. He was also conscious that choosing a regional accent might run the risk of alienating some listeners. To a certain extent Reith’s decision was understandable, and his attitude only reflected the social climate at the time. But since RP was the preserve of the aristocracy and expensive public
schools, it represented only a very small social minority. This policy prevailed at the BBC for a considerable time and probably contributed to the sometimes negative perception of regional varieties of English.

A speaker who uses numerous very localised pronunciations is often described as having a 'broad' or 'strong' regional accent, while terms such as 'mild' or 'soft' are applied to speakers whose speech patterns are only subtly different from RP speakers. So, we might describe one speaker as having a broad Glaswegian accent and another as having a mild Scottish accent. Such terms are inadequate when applied to Received Pronunciation, although as with any variety of English, RP encompasses a wide variety of speakers and should not be confused with the notion of 'posh' speech. The various forms of RP can be roughly divided into three categories. Conservative RP refers to a very traditional variety particularly associated with older speakers and the aristocracy. Mainstream RP describes an accent that we might consider extremely neutral in terms of signals regarding age, occupation or lifestyle of the speaker. Contemporary RP refers to speakers using features typical of younger RP speakers. All, however, are united by the fact they do not use any pronunciation patterns that allow us to make assumptions about where they are from in the UK.

Like any other accent, RP has also changed over the course of time. The voices we associate with early BBC broadcasts, for instance, now sound extremely old fashioned to most. Just as RP is constantly evolving, so our attitudes towards the accent are changing. For much of the twentieth century, RP represented the voice of education, authority, social status and economic power. The period immediately after the Second World War was a time when educational and social advancement suddenly became a possibility for many more people. Those who were able to take advantage of these opportunities — be it in terms of education or career — often felt under considerable pressure to conform linguistically and thus adopt the accent of the establishment or at least modify their speech towards RP norms. In recent years, however, as a result of continued social change, virtually every accent is represented in all walks of life to
which people aspire — sport, the arts, the media, business, even former strongholds of RP England, such as the City, Civil Service and academia. As a result, fewer younger speakers with regional accents consider it necessary to adapt their speech to the same extent. Indeed many commentators even suggest that younger RP speakers often go to great lengths to disguise their middle-class accent by incorporating regional features into their speech.

RP is closely associated with broadcasting in general and the BBC in particular. It is widely believed — even if it isn’t true — that the BBC traditionally employed as newsreaders and broadcasters only people who could speak RP. If you ask people to think of a person who might speak with a traditional RP accent, they’ll often think of an old-fashioned BBC announcer, addressing the nation on the Home Service.

If the phrase 'BBC English' were taken literally, it would just mean English as spoken on the BBC — which today would mean virtually every kind of English from all around the world. But this is not what it means at all. 'BBC English' is a popular term for a particular acrolect — that is, a prestigious form of speech. Other, similar terms include 'Oxford English', 'the Queen's English', 'Standard English' and, of course, R. P. Haran Rasalingam, posting on the Voices site, argues that "public school dialects, educated dialects and BBC dialects are dialects of status and power which is why people feel they should try to speak more like that rather than their own native dialect."

The dictionary definition of 'BBC English' is Standard English as maintained by BBC announcers. The key word here is 'maintained' — BBC announcers are seen as preserving the standard, and may even be held responsible for any perceived decline. (Sangster)

The next variety of English which resists changes is the Academic English. It is the language used by the educated and needed to succeed financially in society, conversational English refers to the common and familiar language that is used in everyday, ordinary situations. Academic language includes cognitive, linguistic, and social/psychological components. Scholars tend to
distinguish between academic and conversational English. Academic English refers to the language used by the educated and is needed to function at the university level and beyond. Conversational English is the language used in everyday, ordinary situations. Unfortunately, second language learners often fall into the conversational English usage category.

According to Scarcella, academic English is “needed to challenge the tenets of those in power who use it ... without knowledge of academic English, individuals may be excluded from participation in educated society and prevented from transforming it”.

Academic language not only includes several dimensions of knowledge, but it also emphasizes the context where learning takes place. Educators need to be aware of all these dynamics in order to teach effectively English language learners the necessary skills to succeed in life and become productive members of society. Those dimensions are: The Linguistic Dimension, the linguistic component includes the following areas: phonological, lexical, grammatical, sociolinguistics, and discourse. The Cognitive Dimension, cognition is also an important part of academic English. It includes knowledge, higher order thinking (critical literacy), cognitive, and metalinguistic strategies. It is important to point out that the development of academic English is not sequential, nor does it follow a predetermined pattern. It can happen during the early stages of child development or at the very end. It can occur at the same time as conversational English or it can develop on its own. The Sociocultural/Psychological Dimension, social and cultural norms, beliefs, values, attitudes, motivations, interests, behaviors, practices, and habits are involved in this dimension. They grow, take shape, and change in the larger social context where academic English happens.

Academic English and social English are not two separate languages. Academic English is more demanding and complex than social English. An ELL student with social English proficiency may not necessarily have the academic English proficiency. It is important for you, the teacher, to make this distinction. Academic English is the language necessary for success in
Cockney English is another variety of English which did not get much opportunity to go through the assimilatory processes of languages change. The term Cockney has both geographical and linguistic associations. Geographically and culturally, it often refers to working class Londoners, particularly those in the East End.

Due to the fact that London is both the political capital and the largest city within England, doesn't find it surprising that it's also the country's "linguistic center of gravity." Cockney represents the basilectal end of the London accent and can be considered the broadest form of London local accent. It traditionally refers only to specific regions and speakers within the city. While many Londoners may speak what is referred to as "Popular London" they do not necessarily speak Cockney. The popular Londoner accent can be distinguished from Cockney in a number of ways, and can also be found outside of the capital, unlike the true Cockney accent.

The term Cockney refers to both the accent as well as to those people who speak it. The etymology of Cockney has long been discussed and disputed. One explanation is that "Cockney" literally means cock's egg, a misshapen egg such as sometimes laid by young hens. It was originally used when referring to a weak townsman, opposed to the tougher countryman and by the 17th century the term, through banter, came to mean a Londoner. Today's natives of London, especially in its East End use the term with respect and pride - 'Cockney Pride'. Cockney is characterized by its own special vocabulary and usage, and traditionally by its own development of "rhyming slang." Rhyming slang is still part of the true Cockney culture even if it is sometimes used for effect.

London, the capital of England, is situated on the River Thames, approximately 50 miles north of the English Channel, in the south east section of the country. It is generally agreed, that to be a true Cockney, a person has to be born within hearing distance of the bells of St. Mary le Bow,
Cheapside, in the City of London. This traditional working-class accent of the region is also associated with other suburbs in the eastern section of the city such as the East End, Stepney, Hackney, Shoreditch Poplar and Bow.

The Cockney accent is generally considered one of the broadest of the British accents and is heavily stigmatized. It is considered to epitomize the working class accents of Londoners and in its more diluted form, of other areas. The area and its colorful characters and accents have often become the foundation for British "soap operas" and other television specials. Currently, the BBC is showing one of the most popular soaps set in this region; "East Enders" and the characters' accents and lives within this television program provide wonderful opportunities for observers of language and culture.

From London down the Thames and into Essex, Sussex, and even Kent, a new working and middle class dialect has evolved and is rapidly become "the" southern dialect. It combines some of the characteristics of Cockney with RP, but makes much less use of Cockney slang.

East Anglian is yet another regional variation of English. Linguistic East Anglia is a lot smaller than it was two hundred years ago, as the English of London and the Home Counties has encroached on the region; but East Anglian English is still spoken today in northeastern Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, except for the Fens of western Norfolk and northwestern Suffolk. This is, in essence, the area dominated by Norwich as the region's largest city. Until the industrial revolution, Norwich was the second (or third or fourth) largest urban centre in England, but these days it is well down the list. The English of the region is characterized by some distinctive grammatical features. The traditional East Anglian dialect had an interesting use of the word *do* as a conjunction meaning 'or' or 'otherwise':

- 'You better go to bed now, do you'll be tired in the morning'
- 'I hope that don't rain, do we shall have to go home'

And *time* was used in the sense of 'while':
Modern East Anglian English grammar still has a number of special characteristics which can be readily heard if we walk around the streets of Ipswich or Norwich. East Anglian speakers use *that* rather than *it*, though only where it is the subject of a verb: ‘that’s raining’, ‘that’s cold in here’, ‘I’ve got a new book—that’s on the table’. When it is the object of a verb *it* is still used: ‘I’ve already read it’.

They will also say ‘I’m now coming’, rather than ‘I’m just coming’, and will give instructions using forms such as:

- ‘Sit you down’; ‘Go you on’

And East Anglians also say:

- ‘He say’; ‘She go’; ‘That hurt’; ‘He like her very much—Oh, do he?’

East Anglian forms are likewise evident in manuscript and published literature. In correspondence, Admiral Lord Nelson, who came from north Norfolk, wrote of how ‘Captain Lambert have been very fortunate’, and ‘The Lady Parker have done a great deal of mischief around the island’. In his *Essex Ballads*, published in *Colchester* in 1895, the journalist and inventor, Charles Benham, wrote:

I loike to watch har in the Parson’s pew
A Sundays, me a-settin’ in the choir;
She *look* jest wholly be’tiful, she *do*.
That fairly *seem* to set my heart a-fire.

This very sensible verb system omits the *-s* which Standard English has in these forms—it is redundant, after all, communicating no meaning of any kind. One explanation for this streamlined system is that it came about as a result of the ‘invasion’ of Norwich and Colchester
in the sixteenth century by the 'The Strangers', thousands of Protestant refugees fleeing from religious persecution by the Spanish in the Low Countries. By 1600 these Dutch and French-speaking refugees formed an astonishingly high proportion—about 35%—of the population of Norwich. And of course third-person -s is well known to cause difficulties for foreign learners of English.

We have further varieties like east midlands, west midlands and Lancashire. The special feature of Lancashire dialects is that it is, spoken north and east of Liverpool, and has the southern habit of dropping r's. Scouse is the very distinctive Liverpool accent, a version of the Lancashire dialect that the Beatles made famous. The Yorkshire dialect is known for its sing-song quality, a little like Swedish, and retains its r's. The Northern dialect closely resembles the southern-most Scottish dialects. It retains many old Scandinavian words, such as bairn for child, and not only keeps its r's, but often rolls them. The most outstanding version is Geordie, the dialect of the Newcastle area.

The English used in Welsh is known as Welsh English. It is characterized by a sing-song quality and lightly rolled r's. It has been strongly influenced by the Welsh language, although it is increasingly influenced today by Standard English, due to the large number of English people vacationing and retiring there. In Scotland the varieties of dialects are more numerous than England! The variations do have a few things in common, though, besides a large particularly Scottish vocabulary. There are several "layers" of Scottish English. Most people today speak Standard English with little more than the changes just mentioned, plus a few particular words that they themselves view as normal English, such as to jag (to prick) and burn (brook). In rural areas, many older words and grammatical forms, as well as further phonetic variations, still survive, but are being rapidly replaced with more standard forms. But when a Scotsman (or woman) wants to show his pride in his heritage, he may resort to quite a few traditional variations in his speech. And finally, the many unique words: lass, bairn (child), kirk (church), big (build), bonny, greet (weep), ingle (household fire), aye (yes), hame (home)... As you can
see, Scottish English in its original glory is as near to being different language as one can get, rather than simply another dialect of English.

There are also several urban dialects, particularly in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The thick dialect of the working class of Edinburgh can be heard in the movie *Trainspotting*. In the Highlands, especially the Western Islands, English is often people's second language, the first being Scottish Gaelic. Highland English is pronounced in a lilting fashion with pure vowels. It is, actually, one of the prettiest varieties of English I have ever heard.

We also have Irish English. English was imposed upon the Irish, but they have made it their own and have contributed some of our finest literature. Irish English is strongly influenced by Irish Gaelic. The next major country to use English is Australia. Australian English is predominantly British English, and especially from the London area. R's are dropped after vowels, but are often inserted between two words ending and beginning with vowels. The vowels reflect a strong "Cockney" influence: The long a (/æ/) tends towards a long i (/ai/), so pay sounds like pie to an American ear. The long i (/ai/), in turn, tends towards oi, so cry sounds like croy. Ow sounds like it starts with a short a (/æ/). Other vowels are less dramatically shifted. Even some rhyming slang has survived into Australillian English: Butcher's means look (butcher's hook); hit and miss means piss; loaf means head (loaf of bread); Noah's ark means shark; Richard the third means turd, and so on. Like American English has absorbed numerous American Indian words, Australian English has absorbed many Aboriginal words:

- billibong -- watering hole
- coolabah -- a type of tree
- corroboree -- a ceremony
- nulla-nulla -- a club
- wallaby -- small kangaroo
- wombat -- a small marsupial
- woomera -- a weapon
Aborigine and colonialist myths blended easily, and there are a number of fearsome creatures. For example, the bunyip lives near bilibongs and eats children. Also living in bilibongs is the mindi, a hairy snake. A yowie is the Australian version of Sasquatch. And the min-min light is their version of a will-o-the-wisp. Many common words refer to the traditions of the bushman or bushie -- the early explorers and settlers of the outback (wilderness). You can find many of these in Australia's national song, Waltzing Matilda.

- billy -- tin pot for making tea
- cooee -- call used in the outback
- dingo -- native dog
- jackeroo -- young station hand
- joey -- young kangaroo
- jumbuck -- sheep
- matilda -- backpack
- never-never -- the far outback
- squatter -- rancher
- station -- ranch
- swagman -- bushman or tramp
- tucker -- food

Colorful expressions also abound:

- Like a greasespot -- hot and sweaty
- Like a stunned mullet -- in a daze
- Like a dog's breakfast -- a mess
• Up a gumtree -- in trouble
• Mad as a gumtree full of galahs -- insane
• Happy as a bastard on Fathers' Day -- very happy
• Dry as a dead dingo's donger -- very dry indeed

Another characteristic of Australian English is abbreviated words, often ending in -y, -ic, or -o:

• aussie -- Australian
• chalky -- teacher
• chewie -- chewing gum
• chockie -- chocolate
• coldie -- a cold beer
• cossie -- swimming costume (swimsuit)
• footy -- football (Australian rules, of course)
• frenchie -- condom
• frostie -- a cold beer
• garbo -- garbage man
• lavvy -- lavatory
• lippie -- lipstick
• lollies -- sweets
• mossie -- mosquito
• mushies -- mushrooms
• oldies -- one's parents
• rellies -- one's relatives
• sammie -- sandwich
• sickie -- sick day
• smoko -- cigarette break
And, of course, there are those peculiarly Australian words and expressions, such as g'day (guhdoy to American ears), crikey, fair dinkum, no worries, Oz, Pavlova, and Vegemite!

New Zealand English is heard by Americans as "Ozzie Light." The characteristics of Australian English are there to some degree, but not as intensely. The effect for Americans is uncertainty as to whether the person is from England or Australia. One clue is that New Zealand English sound "flatter" (less modulated) than either Australian or British English and more like western American English.

South African English is close to RP but often with a Dutch influence. English as spoken by Afrikaaners is more clearly influenced by Dutch pronunciation. Just like Australian and American English, there are numerous words adopted from the surrounding African languages, especially for native species of animals and plants. As spoken by black South Africans for whom it is not their first language, it often reflects the pronunciation of their Bantu languages, with purer vowels.

Most scholars believe that English has always been our official language. Unfortunately, that has been true in fact, but not in law. (Pole 18)

The Founders of the United States of America were aware of the importance of language on nation-building. A nation's language was thought to be the essence of national culture. Hobbes wrote in 1651 that language was the major organizing principle of states and without it "there had been amongst men, neither Commonwealth, nor Society, nor Contract, nor Peace". (Hobbes 12)

"Language, in other words, is seen from the start as a potential element in constituting a political and cultural unity among the citizens of the new republic; or, if it goes wrong, a means of prescribing or perpetuating disorder." (Simpson 30)
Other countries were establishing language academies to use their languages as instruments for division and rule. The American Founders had different ideas, feeling that all persons should have an understanding of the same language. (Zall 2)

In 1780, John Adams wrote to the President of Congress, arguing that Americans should "force their language into general use." (Adams 24)

Having just fought a war against the English, however, the founders were reluctant to declare English their official language. American English derives from 17th century British English. Virginia and Massachusetts, the "original" colonies, were settled mostly by people from the south of England, especially London. The mid Atlantic area -- Pennsylvania in particular -- was settled by people from the north and west of England and by the Scots-Irish (descendents of Scottish people who settled in Northern Ireland). These sources resulted in three dialect areas -- northern, southern, and midland. Over time, further dialects would develop.

The Boston area and the Richmond and Charleston areas maintained strong commercial -- and cultural -- ties to England, and looked to London for guidance as to what was "class" and what was not. So, as the London dialect of the upper classes changed, so did the dialects of the upper class Americans in these areas. For example, in the late 1700's and early 1800's, r-dropping spread from London to much of southern England, and to places like Boston and Virginia. New Yorkers, who looked to Boston for the latest fashion trends, adopted it early, and in the south, it spread to wherever the plantation system was. On the other hand, in Pennsylvania, the Scots-Irish, and the Germans as well, kept their heavy r's.

On the other hand, vocabulary in America was much more open to change than back in the old country. From the Indians, we got the names for many North American animals and plants, and thousands of place names.

- abalone -- Costanoan aulun
- bayou -- Choctaw bayuk
- caribou -- Algonquian
- caucus -- Algonquian caucauasu 'counselor'
- hickory -- Algonquian pawcohiccora
- high muckamuck -- Chinook hiu muckamuck
- moccasin -- Natick mohkussin
- moose -- Natick moos
- opossum -- Powhatan aposoum
- papoose -- Algonquian papoos
- powwow -- Algonquian
- raccoon -- Algonquian arathkone
- sachem -- Narraganset sâchim
- squash -- Massachuset asko:o:tasquash
- squaw -- Massachuset squa
- toboggan -- Micmac toba:kan
- tomahawk -- Algonquian tamahaac
- totem -- Ojibwa ninto:te:m
- wampum -- Algonquian wampumpeage
- woodchuck -- Algonquian otchek

The slave trade brought many new words from the Caribbean:

- barbecue -- Carib barbricot
- caiman -- Carib acayuman
- canoe -- Caribbean
- guava -- Caribbean
- hammock -- Taino
- iguana -- Arawak iwana
- maize -- Carib mahiz
- papaya -- Carib
- savannah -- Taino zabana
- tobacco -- Arawak tzibatl

From the Indians of Mexico, we adopted many other words, some through Spanish and others directly:

- avocado -- Nahuatl ahuacatl
- chile, chili -- Nahuatl chilli
- coyote -- Nahuatl coyotl
- guacamole -- Nahuatl ahuaca-molli 'avocado sauce'
- mescal -- Nahuatl mexcalli
- mesquite -- Nahuatl mizquitl
- ocelot -- Nahuatl ocelotl
- peyote -- Nahuatl peyotl
- shack -- Nahuatl xacalli 'thatched cabin'
- tamale -- Nahuatl tamalli
- tomato -- Nahuatl tomatl

From slaves, we got another set of words, all the way from Africa:

- goober -- Bantu guba
- gumbo -- Bantu gombo 'okra'
- okra -- Ashante nkru
- yam -- Fulani nyami 'to eat'

Speaking of slaves, southern speech in particular was influenced by slave speech habits, which in turn were based in part on original African languages and in part on the creoles which spread from the African coast and the West Indies. When southerners say “I done lost it,” they
are using a slave creole construction. More willing immigrants added to other dialects. The Germans and the Irish had a huge impact on the colonies and early states. The dialects of central Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and the Dakotas were strongly influenced by the Germans, while the city dialects of the north were influenced by the Irish.

New York City became the door to the United States in the 1800’s, and we see the impact of other immigrants, such as Jews and Italians: words such as spaghetti, pasta, pizza, nosh, schlemiel, yenta; expressions such as wattsamatta and I should live so long. The absence of the th sounds in the original Dutch of NYC, as well as in Italian and Yiddish and the English dialect of the Irish, led to the distinctive dese and dose of New York -- only now starting to diminish. There is also a western dialect, which developed in the late 1800’s. It is literally a blend of all the dialects, although it is most influenced by the northern midland dialect. Although there are certainly differences between the dialects of, say, Seattle, San Francisco, Phoenix, and Denver, they are far less distinct than, for example, the differences between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh!

Out west, there were also the influences of non-English speaking people, notably the original Spanish speaking populations and the immigrant Chinese (mostly Cantonese). Although they did not influence pronunciation or syntax, they provided a huge number of words. In the domain of food alone, we find tacos, tamales, frijoles, and burritos, chow mein, lo mein, fu yung, and chop suey. Many words from Mexico were actually already adopted from Mexican Indian languages: tomato and coyote spring to mind.

The dialects of the United States (with approximate areas):

- Northern
  - Northern New England (Maine and New Hampshire)
  - Boston area (eastern Massachusetts, Rhode Island)
  - Northeastern (Connecticut, western Massachusetts, Vermont, upstate New York, lower Michigan, northern Illinois)
  - New York City area (including most of Long Island and northern New Jersey)
North central (upper Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas)

- Northern midland
  - Philadelphia area (inc. eastern Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, Delaware, and the Baltimore area)
  - Pittsburgh area (western Pennsylvania)
  - Ohio-Plains (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas...)

- Southern midland
  - Appalachia (western Virginia, West Virginia, eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee)
  - Arkansas-Oklahoma

- Southern
  - Virginia (eastern)
  - North Carolina (eastern)
  - South Carolina
  - Georgia-Florida
  - Mississippi-Gulf (including Alabama, Louisiana, eastern Texas, western Tennessee, western Kentucky)
  - West Texas

- Western (Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, California)

- Southern and south midland:
  - "drawl" [lengthening, fronting, and raising vowels]
  - /ai/ > /æ:/ in find, mind
  - /oi/ > /o/ in boil, oil
  - /u:/ > /yu:/ in due, Tuesday
  - au/ > /œu/ in out, doubt
  - /e/ > /ei/ in bed, head
• /e/ > /i/ in pen, ten
• greasy > greazy
• carry > tote
• dragged > drug
• you > you all, y'all

• Southern:
  • help, bulb, wolf > /hep/, /bœb/, /wuf/

• Southern vs south midland:
  • drop r’s -- strong, sometimes retroflex, r’s
  • wash: /waːʃ/ -- /wɔʃ/, /wɔrʃ/
  • think: /θɪŋk/ -- /θeɪŋk/
  • egg: /ɛɡ/ -- /eɪɡ/
  • moon: /mʊn/ -- /mʊːn/
  • snake doctor -- snake feeder
  • snap beans -- green beans
  • goobers -- peanuts

• Northern vs north midland:
  • fog, hog: /fæg/, /hæɡ/ -- /fog/, /hog/
  • roof: /rʊf/, /hʊf/ -- /ruːf/, /huːf/
  • cow, house: /kɔu/, /haus/ -- /kæʊ/, /hæʊs/
  • wash: /waːʃ/ -- /wɔʃ/, /wɔrʃ/
  • darning needle -- snake feeder
  • pail -- bucket
  • teeter-totter -- see-saw
  • fire-fly -- lightning-bug

• Eastern New England, Boston area, NYC area
  • drop r’s
• insert transitional r's, as in law'r'n awdah

• Eastern New England, Boston area, Virginia area
  • /æ/ frequently becomes /a/, e.g. in aunt, dance, glass
  • Mary-marry-merry (/eir/-/ær/-/er/) distinctions preserved only in r-less areas, rapidly disappearing from American speech

• NYC and north midland, and spreading rapidly
  • loss of voiceless w: which > /wic/
  • loss of voiceless y: human > /yum'n/

• A simplified way of differentiating the dialects is based on the words for two American favorites: the submarine sandwich and the soft drink:

• Submarine sandwich
  • New York: hero
  • Philadelphia: hoagy
  • Boston: grinder
  • Southern: poor-boy

• Soft drink
  • Boston: tonic
  • Northern and North Midland, east of the Susquehanna: soda
  • Northern and North Midland, west of the Susquehanna: pop
  • South and South Midland: cold drink

The old cities of the eastern US each have their own peculiarities. New York is famous for its addition of central off-glides: pier becomes /pi:'/, pair becomes /pe'/, poor becomes /po'/. The aw (/o/) sound is raised and has a central off-glide as well: ball and coffee approach /bu'l/ and /cu'fi:/! And her becomes /hər/! I live in south-central Pennsylvania, which is a great location for hearing various eastern accents. There are actually five in Pennsylvania: In the northern tier, near upstate New York, the accent is Northern. In Pittsburgh and the surrounding area they say
/stil/ and /mil/ instead of steel and meal. In the south, near West Virginia, you hear Appalachian, and people still say you'uns and refer to their grandparents as Mammaw and Pappy!. And, in the center of the state is what is called the Susquehanna accent, which is a variation on the Philadelphia area dialect, with a lot of German and Scots-Irish influences.

- /iːg/ > /ɪg/, as in the Philadelphia Eagles, pronounced /ɪg'lz/
- /iː/ often becomes /iː/, as in attitude and gratitude
- /eɪg/ > /eɡ/, so plague is pronounced /pleɡ/
- /ʌr/ > /ɔr/, so sure sounds the same as shore
- /aʊl/ > /aʊl/, e.g. owl
- /aʊr/ > /ɑr/, so our sounds like are
- mayor > /meɪər/
- /æ/ > /æ/, so Ann sounds like Ian
- very and ferry become /ˈvɛrɪ:/ and /ˈfɛrɪ:/
- /st/ > /ʃt/ at the beginning of words, so street is /ʃtrɪ:t/
- 1 is always "dark," that is, pronounced in the back of the throat

In the Lancaster area (part of the Susquehanna dialect), the Pennsylvania German influence is obvious in some of the words and sentence structure: they red up the room, outen the light, and throw the cow over the fence some hay. They say that the peanut butter is all, the road is slippy, and I read that wunst (once). A slide is a sliding board, sneakers are all Keds, vacuum cleaners are sweepers, little pieces are snibbles, and if you are looking a bit disheveled, you are furhuddled. And at any local restaurant, they will ask you: Can I get you coffee awhile?

Dialects typically vary in their status. In the colonial and revolutionary times, a Boston, New York, or Virginia accent marked you as a gentleman or lady. In the early part of the 1900's, the accent of suburban New York was tops: Listen to the recordings of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, for example. Unlike "General American" (the radio and television reporter's accent), FDR dropped his r's and drawled his vowels luxuriously.
General American is a rather innocuous blend of Northern and Northern Midland dialect, with none of the peculiar words or pronunciations of any particular area. Today, the Western dialect has established itself, via the entertainment industry, as equal. Even Southern and Southern Midland English, long scorned by Northerners, have re-established their status, especially after the presidencies of Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton.

Two dialects are still seen as being substandard by many Americans: Appalachian and Black English. Unlike other dialects, they have considerable grammatical differences that make them sound to the mainstream as simply horrible English. In Appalachia, for example, they say us’ns and you’ns. Both Appalachian dialect and Black English speakers often double negatives, double comparatives and superlatives (more bigger, most biggest, gooder, bestest), over-regularize the past tense (stoled or stealed), and over-regularize plurals (mouses, sheeps, childrens). Although the prejudice against people from Appalachia is real enough, the long tradition of prejudice against black Americans has been very difficult to eliminate, and that includes the disrespect accorded Black English. Despite some attempts to consider it another language (the Ebonics movement), it is in fact a variation on the Southern dialect, with input from Gullah and other slave creoles, plus the constant creation of slang, especially in northern urban areas (“the Ghetto”)

Immigrants from South-eastern England began arriving on the North American continent in the early 1600's. By the mid-1800's, 3.5 million immigrants left the British Isles for the United States. The American English language is characterized by archaisms (words that changed meaning in Britain, but remained in the colonies) and innovations in vocabulary (borrowing from the French and Spanish who were also settling in North America). Noah Webster was the most vocal about the need for an American national identity with regards to the American English language. He wrote an American spelling book, *The Blueback Speller*, in 1788 and changed several spellings from British English (colour became color, theatre became theater, etc.) In 1828, he published his famous *American Dictionary of the English Language*. 
Dialects in the United States resulted from different waves of immigration of speakers, contact with other languages, and the slaves trade, which has profound impact on African American English. A dialectal study was done in 1920 and the findings are published in the Linguistics Atlas of the U.S. and Canada. Canadian English is generally similar to northern and western American English.

Trinidadian English (TE) or Trinidad and Tobago Standard English is a dialect of English used in Trinidad and Tobago. TE co-exists with both non-standard varieties of English as well as other dialects, namely Trinidadian Creole in Trinidad and Tobagonian Creole in Tobago.

Trinidadian English was originally based on a standard of British English. Located in the Americas, TE now uses many Americanisms, including apartment and trunk (of a car). It is understandable by speakers of international Standard English, although it uses a number of terms that are unique to it (perhaps coming from Trinididian Creole), such as "to lime", meaning "to hang out". Speech in Trinidad (and, to some degree, in Tobago) may vary by location and circumstance and is often remarked for its so-called "sing-song" (i.e. a rising and falling inflection) intonation.

Pidgin English is a non-specific name used to refer to any of the many pidgin languages derived from English. Pidgins that are spoken as first languages become creoles. English-based pidgins that became stable contact languages, and which have some documentation, include the following:

- American Indian Pidgin English
- Chinese Pidgin English
- Hawaiian Pidgin English
- Japanese Bamboo English
- Japanese Pidgin English
- Korean Bamboo English
After going through a vast variety of English we reach just one step above Hinglish that is the English used in India. “Indian English” is usually used to describe the plethora of colloquial grammatical alterations made to the traditional English language. And then there is the “Indian Accent”, in which English is desecrated to synonymize with the tunes and expressions of the local masses. However, for ease of description I’ll be using “Indian English” to mean a hybrid of both types, because they often go in tandem.

Indian English or South Asian English comprises several dialects or varieties of English spoken primarily in the Indian subcontinent. These dialects evolved during and after the colonial rule of Britain in India. English is one of the official languages of India, with about three fifty million speakers according to the David Crystal, world famous linguist and less than a quarter of a million people speak English as their first language. With the exception of some families who communicate primarily in English, as well as members of the relatively small Anglo-Indian community numbering less than half a million, speakers of Indian English use it as a second or third language, after their indigenous Indian language(s), such as, Hindi, Bengali, Tamil,
Several idiomatic forms, derived from Indian literary and vernacular language, also have made their way into Indian English. Despite this diversity, there is general homogeneity in syntax and vocabulary among the varieties of Indian English.

Idioms and popular words/phrases

- **B.A. - fail** - someone who was admitted to college, took college classes, but did not pass the final examinations, as opposed to someone who did not go to college. 'Higher Secondary (fail)' and 'M.A. (fail)' are similar. (B.A stands for Bachelor of Arts, M.A for Master of Arts)
- **B.A. - pass** - used as the opposite to the above
- **Gone** for a six - to mean something got ruined. (Origins linked to game of Cricket)
- **Give an exam / a test** - To take an examination or a test. "Did you give your GRE yet?"
- **Eve teasing** - 'Verbal sexual harassment'
- **Convented** - 'A girl educated well in Christian convent-style school'
- **I got a firing/I was fired by him** - 'I got yelled at by him', though it means "I was dismissed (from employment) by him" in almost every other English variety.
- **Where are you put up?** Means 'where do you live'? Heard often in S.India.
- **Where do you stay?** Is the same as 'Where do you live?' or 'Where's your house? This is also used in Scottish, South African English.
- **Shift** - to move as in "I shifted my things from my old apartment to my new one".
- **I don't take meat/milk/etc** - 'I don't eat meat/ drink milk' etc
- **She is innocently divorced or divorced (innocent)**- part of matrimonial advertising terminology, it means the marriage was not consummated.
- **Wheatish complexion** - Seen in matrimonial ads. Means 'not dark skinned, tending toward light'.

- "What is [your] good name?" to mean "What is your full name?," where a questioner wants to know the person's formal or legal given name that may appear on a passport, as opposed to the pet name they would be called by close friends and family. It is a carryover from the Hindi expression "Shubh-naam" (literally meaning "auspicious name") or the Urdu "ism-e shariif" (meaning "noble name"), or in Bengali, bhalonaam (meaning quite literally "good name" or "proper name"). This is similar to the way Japanese refer to the other person's name with an honorific "O-" prefix, as in "O-namae" instead of the simple "namae" when referring to their own name.

- "Out of station" to mean "out of town". This phrase has its origins in the posting of army officers to particular 'stations' during the days of the East India Company.

- "Join duty" to mean "reporting to work for the first time". "Rejoin duty" is to come back to work after a vacation.

- "acting pricey": playing "hard to get"

- "Too good": intended to mean "very good", in place of "so" or "very". For example: This mobile is too good.

- "Order for food" instead of "order food", as in "Let's order for sandwiches".

- "Pass out" is meant to graduate, as in "I passed out of the university in 1995".

- "On the anvil" is used often in the Indian press to mean something is about to appear or happen. For example, a headline might read "New roads on the anvil".

- "Tight slap" to mean "hard slap".

- **Timepass** - 'Doing something for leisure but with no intention or target/satisfaction' For example, "How's the movie?" reply - "Just timepass man... nothing great about it".

- **Timewaste** - Something that is a waste of time. Presumably not even useful for leisure.

- **Dearness Allowance** - Payment given to employees to compensate for the effects of inflation.
• *Pindrop silence!* - Teachers in schools may say this to the kids, to get them to be quiet (It means to be quiet enough to hear a pin drop).

• *chargesheet:* n. formal charges filed in a court; v. to file charges against someone in court

• "*I won't give him a single pai*" to mean a "single cent". Pai is an Indian denomination of the anna, which in turn was one-sixteenth of one rupee/taka.

• *redressal:* n. redress, remedy, reparation

• "*Hill Station*" means mountain resort.

• "*Stepney*" refers to a spare tyre. The word is a genericized trademark originating from the Stepney Spare Motor Wheel, itself named after Stepney Street, in Llanelli, Wales. Stepney in Tamil Nadu is also used to refer to a mistress (spare wife).

• "*Specs*" means spectacles or glasses (as in colloquial UK English).

• "*Cent per cent*" means "100 per cent" as in "He got cent per cent in maths".

• "*Centum*" is also frequently used to refer to 100.

• "*Updation*" or "*upgradation*" from *update* or *upgrade* + suffix -*tion*

• *Get down* - to disembark, usually from a train. "Where are you getting down?"

• "*loose motion*" - means diarrhea

• "*Expire*" - To die, especially in reference to one's family member.

• "*Jobless*" - More often than not, used to describe when one is idle rather than unemployed.

Medical terms

• *Viral Fever:* influenza

• *Jaundice:* Acute Hepatitis. While standard medical terminology uses jaundice for a symptom (yellow discolouration of skin), in India the term is used to refer to the illness in which this symptom is most common.

• *Allopathy,* used by homeopaths for conventional medicine.
- Caesarean, is commonly used for Caesarean section
- madras eyes or some times "red eye" is used for pink eye

Food

- Brinjal: aubergines/eggplant
- Capsicum: called chili pepper, red or green pepper, or sweet pepper in the UK, capsicum in Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and India, bell pepper in the US, Canada, and the Bahamas; paprika in some other countries
- Curds: yogurt
- Sooji or Rava: semolina
- Pulses: pulses, eg lentils
- Karahi: wok
- Dal: lentils
- Sago: tapioca
- Ladyfinger: okra, bHindi

Addressing others

- Referring to elders, strangers or anyone meriting respect as "ji" (Hindi: जी used as a suffix) as in "Please call a taxi for Gupta-ji" (North, West and East India)
- Use of prefixes "Shree"/"Shri" (Devanagari: श्री meaning Mister) or "Shreemati"/"Shrimati" (Devanagari: श्रीमती meaning Ms/Mrs): Shri Ravindra Patel or Shreemati Das Gupta. "Shreemati"/"Shrimati" is used for married women. "Kumari" (Devanagari: कुमारी literally meaning a virgin) can be used for unmarried (as opposed to single) women or girls. "Sushri" (Devanagari: सुश्री a more recent addition and
appropriate translation of Ms where marital status cannot be determined or is unimportant)

- Analogous titles "Thiru" and "Thirumathi" are used in Tamil. The title "Tri" is used instead in old Telugu (hence the name "Tri-Pati").

- As with Shree/Shreemati, use of suffixes "Saahib/Sahab" (Mr) and "Begum" (Mrs)(Urdu) as in "Welcome to India, Smith-saahib" or "Begum Sahib would like some tea".

- Use of "Mr" and "Mrs" as common nouns for wife/husband. For example, "Jyoti's Mr stopped by yesterday" or "My Mrs is not feeling well" (this use of "Mrs." or "missus" is also used in the UK.

- Also toddler boys are referred as "Master". eg: Master Kumar.

- Use of "Ms" (also Mr, Mrs) with first name. For example, Swathi Ashok Kumar might be addressed as "Ms Swathi" instead of "Ms Kumar". This is the only possible correct usage in South India, especially in Tamil Nadu, where most people don't use a surname (in order to have caste neutral name).

- Use of the English words 'uncle' and 'aunty' as suffixes when addressing people such as distant relatives, neighbours, acquaintances, even total strangers (like shopkeepers) who are significantly older than oneself. E.g., "Hello, Swathi aunty!" In fact, in Indian culture, children or teenagers addressing their friends' parents as Mr Patel or Mrs Patel (etc.) is rare and may even be considered unacceptable or offensive (in the sense of referring to an elder person by name). A substitution of Sir/Ma'am, while common for addressing teachers/professors or any person in an official position would be considered too formal to address parents of friends or any other unrelated (but known) elder persons. On the contrary, if the person is related, he/she will usually be addressed with the name of the relation in the vernacular Indian language, even while conversing in English. For example, if a woman is one's mother's sister, she would not be addressed (by a Hindi speaker) as "auntie" but as Mausi (Hindi: मौसी) and by a
Kannada speaker as Chikkamma (Kannada: ಚಿಕ್ಕಂಮ್ಮ). It is interesting to observe that calling one's friends' parents aunty and uncle was also very common in Great Britain in the 1960s and 70s but is much rarer today.

- **Use of Respected Sir** while starting a formal letter instead of Dear Sir. Again, such letters are ended with non-standard greetings, such as "Yours respectfully", or "Yours obediently", rather than the standard "Yours sincerely/faithfully/truly".

- **Use of "Baba"** ('father' in some languages, but colloquially meaning 'buddy') while referring to any person, such as "No Baba, just try and understand, I cannot come today".

- **The phrase 'the concerned person'** is widely used in oral Indian English.

- **Sharma sir is not here** - same as Sharma-ji is not here, a respectful address. No knighthood suffix.

**Interjections and casual references**

- **Casual use of words** yaar (Hindi: यार meaning - friend, buddy, dude, man, mate), bhai (Hindi: भाई meaning - brother, bro) and bhaiyya (Hindi: भाईया meaning - elder brother) much as with the American English 'man' or 'dude', as in "Arey! C'mon, yaar! Don't be such a killjoy!", "Long time no see, bhai" or "Ay, bhaiyya! Over here!" Yaar is the equivalent of mate in Australian and British English. The word boss is also sometimes used in this way, among friends but also to male strangers, as in "How much to go to the train station, boss?", or "Good to see you, boss".

- **Use of interjections Arey!** (Hindi: अरे) and acchha! (Hindi: अच्छा) to express a wide range of emotions, usually positive though occasionally not, as in "Arey! What a good job you did!", "Accha, so that's your plan" or "Arey, what bad luck, yaar!"
• Use of the word "chal" (Hindi: चल - Imperative of the verb "to walk") to mean the interjection "Ok", as in "Chal, I gotta go now" at the end of a phone call

• Use of oof! or "oh fo!" (Hindi: उफ़्फ - an interjection in Hindi) to show distress or frustration, as in "Oof! The baby's crying again!"

• Use of "Wah" (Hindi: वाह) to express admiration, especially in musical settings, as in "Wah! Wah! You play the sitar so well!"

• Use of "just" and "simply" in a seemingly arbitrary manner in southern India. e.g. Q: "Why did you do it?" A: "Simply!" or "Just I was telling to [sic] him."

• Overuse of the word "Please" as an interjection, often over-stressing the vowel. This could stem from "please" being implied within the verb conjugation in Hindi, causing speakers to overcompensate for its absence in English.

Divergent usage

• Although not mainstream, the insertion of "as" in describing a designation, where it would be omitted in Standard English: "Mahatma Gandhi is called as the father of the nation". "Bangalore is termed as the Silicon Valley of India". "Yogurt is called as curd in Indian English". This is similar to the American English usage of the phrase, "different than", a form that would be considered erroneous, in Britain.

• Substitution of "one" in place of the indefinite article "a": "Let me tell you one story". This is because in Indian languages, the numeric word for one (e.g. Hindi एक ek) is also used as the indefinite article.

• "Kindly" used to mean "please": "Kindly disregard the previous message."

• "Paining" used when "hurting" would be more common in Standard American and British: "My head is paining."
• "Cover" to mean envelope or shopping bag in South India. For example, "Put the documents in a cover and post it", and "Put the vegetables in a separate cover." In Western India, especially Maharashtra, a shopping bag is called as a "Carry Bag".

• "Today morning" (afternoon, evening, etc.) instead of "this morning", as in "I met with him today morning." Similarly, "yesterday night" instead of "last night".

• The word "marriage" used to mean "wedding", as in "I am attending my cousin's marriage next month."

• Treatment of the phrase "I don't think so" as a unit, as in "I don't think so I can do that" instead of "I don't think I can do that".

• The word non-veg (short for non-vegetarian) is used to mean food which contains flesh of any mammal, fish, bird, shellfish, etc or eggs. Fish, seafood, and eggs are not treated as categories separate from "meat", especially when the question of vegetarianism is at issue (milk and its products are always considered vegetarian). E.g., "We are having non-veg today for dinner", whereas the native varieties of English would have: "We are having meat today for dinner". Also note that a non-veg joke is regarded as a joke with mature content.

• The word "mutton" is used to mean goat meat instead of sheep meat (and sometimes in a broader, euphemistic sense to mean any red meat, i.e., not poultry or fish).

• The word "hero" is used to mean a male protagonist in a story, especially in a motion picture. The protagonist need not have any specifically heroic characteristics. More significantly, "hero" is used to mean a movie actor who is often cast in the role of the protagonist. Thus, "Look at Vik; he looks like a hero", meaning "he is as handsome as a movie star."

• "Music director" is used to mean a music composer for movies.

• The word "dialogue" means "a line of dialogue" in a movie. ("That was a great dialogue!" means "That was a great line!") "Dialogues" is used to mean "screenplay".

In motion picture credits, the person who might in other countries is credited as the
A screenwriter in India is often credited with the term "dialogues". Note the usage of British spelling.

- The word "timing" is used to denote hours of operation or a scheduled time, such as "office timings" or "train timings", as opposed to the standard usage such as "The timing of his ball delivery is very good."

- The word "amount" is used to denote a sum of money, such as "Please refund the amount." or "The amount has been billed to your credit card."

- The word "damn" used as an intensifier, especially a negative one, far more frequently and with far more emphatic effect, than in other dialects of English, as in "That was a damn good meal."

- The word "elder" used as a comparative adjective in the sense of "older". For example, "I am elder to you", instead of "I am older than you."

- Use the word "only" where the word "just" would be used in other dialects. For example, "These people are like this only."

- The word "healthy" as a euphemism for fat people, in North India and in general as in "His build is on the healthy side" to refer to an overweight person.

- The word "dress" (noun) is used to refer to clothes for men, women, and children alike: "She bought a new dress for her son", whereas in international varieties of English a dress is a woman's outer clothing with a bodice and a skirt as a single garment. The usage of dress as clothes does exist in international varieties but only in very rare occasions and in relevant context., e.g. schooldress. Young girls in India invariably wear a dress, which is called a frock by the Indians.

- "Full Shirt" is used for "Full Sleeves" and "Half Shirt" for "Half Sleeves" or "Short Sleeves". Similarly full-pant means trousers and half-pant means shorts. (Telugu speakers may say "Half Hands" and "Full Hands" in a similar fashion).

- "Shirtings and suitings" used for the process of making such garments and also to refer to shops specializing in men's formal/business wear.
• "Bath" and "bathe" are also used interchangeably. In Telugu, there is no clear distinction between the words bath and shower.

• The use of "also" in place of "too" or "as well"; as in "I also need a blanket" instead of "I too need a blanket" or "He was late also" instead of "He was late as well"

• Intensifying adjectives by doubling them. This is a common feature of most Indian languages. For example: "She has curly-curly hair"; "You are showing your hairy-hairy legs"; "We went to different-different places in the city in search of a good hotel; "You will get used to the humidity slowly-slowly"; "Don't worry about small-small things" to mean very insignificant issues.

• Use of "reduce" to mean "lose weight" as in "I need to reduce!"

• Use of "this side" and "that side" instead of "here" and "there". "Bring it this side." "We went that side."

• Use of "engagement" to mean not just an agreement between two people to marry, but a formal, public ceremony (often accompanied by a party) where the engagement is formalized with a ring and/or other local rituals. Indians will not speak of a couple as being "engaged", until after the engagement ceremony has been performed. Similar to the use of term "marriage", a person may say "I am going to attend my cousin's engagement next month". Afterwards, the betrothed is referred to as one's "would-be" wife or husband. In this case, "would be" is used to mean "will be" in contrast with the standard and American and British connotation of "wants to be (but will not be)".

• "Gentry" is a generalized term for social class - not specifically 'high social class'. The use of 'good', 'bad', 'high' and 'low' prefixed to 'gentry' is common.

• "Graduation" used exclusively to mean completion of a bachelor's degree: "I did my graduation at Presidency College" ("I earned my bachelor's degree at Presidency College"), whereas in the United States it refers to completion of Highschool, Master's or PhD as well.
• "Metro" to mean large city (i.e. 'metros such as Delhi and Chennai'). This is a shortening of the term Metropolis. This can be confusing for Europeans, who tend to use the word to describe underground urban rail networks. However, following the popularity of the Delhi Metro, the word Metro now tends to be used to describe both the metropolis and the underground rail network.

• Use of the word "shift" to indicate "move" (oneself with belongings to a different house or city), as in "When are you shifting?" (Instead of "When are you moving?").

• Use of "blood pressure" or "BP" to refer particularly to high blood pressure, as in "I have BP!" to mean "I have high BP or hypertension".

• Use of the word "small" to mean "a small amount of" as in "some small smoke came out of my radiator".

• The word "shit" is generally not considered to be offensive.

Words unique to (i.e. not generally well-known outside South Asia) and/or popular in India include those in the following by no means exhaustive list:

• batchmate or batch-mate (Not classmate, but a schoolmate of the same grade)

• "Eggitarian" for a person who eats vegetarian food, milk and eggs but not meat.

• Compass box for a box holding mathematical instruments like compasses, divider, scale, protractor etc. Also widely referred to as a "geometry box".

• Cousin-brother (male first cousin) & cousin-sister (female first cousin); used conversely is one's own brother/sister (of one's parent, as opposed to uncle or aunt; English brother/sister): most Indians live in extended families and many do not differentiate even nominally between cousins and direct siblings.

• foot overbridge (bridge meant for pedestrians)

• flyover (overpass or an over-bridge over a section of road or train tracks)

• Funda (fundamentals) as in "I can't understand the funda behind this chemistry formula."
• **Intel** (intelligence) is used by the media mostly when describing about an intelligence team or bureau

• **Godown** (warehouse)

• **Godman** somewhat pejorative word for a person who claims to be divine or who claims to have supernatural powers

• **Gully** to mean a narrow lane or alley (from the Hindi word "gali" meaning the same).

• **Himalayan blunder** (grave mistake)

• **Long-cut** (The "opposite" of short-cut, in other words, taking the longest route).

• **Mugging** or **mugging up** (studying hard or memorising, and having nothing to do with street crime, what the word would mean in British/American English).

• **Nose-screw** (woman's nose-ring)

• **Prepone** (The "opposite" of postpone, that is to change a meeting to be earlier). Many dictionaries have added this word.

• **Tiffin box** for lunch box. The word is also commonly used to mean a between-meal snack.

• **Co-brother** indicates relationship between two men who married sisters, as in "He is my co-brother"

• **Co-in-laws** indicate relationship between two sets of parents whose son and daughter are married, as in "Our co-in-laws live in Delhi."

• **Vote-bank** is a term commonly used during the elections in India, implying a particular bloc or community of people inclined to cast their votes for a political party that can be best promise to deliver policies, favouring them.

Words which are considered archaic in some varieties of English, but are still in use in Indian English:

• **Curd**, where **yoghurt** would be more common in British/American English.

• **Dicky/dickey** the boot/trunk of a car¹ or rarely, to refer to someone's rear.
• *Into* to mean "multiplied by", as in 2 into 2 = 4, rather than 2 times 2 = 4, this is more common in other varieties of English. The use of *into* dates back to the fifteenth century, when it had been common in British English.

• Use of the phrases *like nothing* or *like anything* to express intensity. For example, "These people will cheat you like anything". Such usage was part of colloquial English language in seventeenth century Britain and America.

• Ragging for hazing (US).

• *In tension* for being concerned or nervous. Phrased another way, "He is taking too much tension". Found in eighteenth century British English.

• Use of *thrice*, meaning "three times", is common in Indian English.

• Use of *double* and *triple* for numbers occurring twice or three times in succession, especially for a phone number. For example, a phone number 2233344 would be pronounced as double two, triple three, double four.

• Use of "the same" instead of "it", as in "I heard that you have written a document on .... Could you send me the same?"

• Word pairs "up to" and "in spite" compounded to "upto" and "inspite" respectively.

**Grammar**

The role of English within the complex multilingual society of India is far from straightforward: it is used across the country, but it may be a speaker's first, second, or third language, and the grammar and phraseology may mimic that of the speaker's Indian language. While Indian speakers of English use idioms peculiar to their homeland, often literal translations of words and phrases from their native languages, only standard British English is considered grammatically correct.
Grammar quirks

- The progressive tense in stative verbs: *I am understanding it. She is knowing the answer*. Also, *"I am working at XYZ Company"* instead of *"I work at XYZ Company"*. This is an influence of traditional Hindi grammar; it is more common in northern states.

- The pluperfect tense used in verbs where International English speakers would use the simple past. *I had gone for I went*.

- Use of *would* instead of *will* as in *"I would be going to New York this weekend"*.

- Use of *do the needful* as in *"do whatever needs to be done"*

- Anglicisation of Indian words especially in Chennai by adding "ify" to a local Tamil word, usually humorously and not used in general speech.

- Idiomatic English for quantification in use of preposition "of", as in *"There is so much of happiness in being honest"*.

- Use of "*open*" and "*close*" instead of switch/turn on/off, as in "*Open the air conditioner*" instead of "*Turn on the air conditioner*", and "*Open your shirt*" for "*Take off your shirt*". This construction is also found in Quebec English and also among Arab speakers of English etc.

- Use of "*off*" and "*on*" as verbs rather than adjectives, as in "*On the light*" instead of "*Turn on the light*" or "*Off the fan*" instead of "*Switch off the fan*".

- Use of "*y'all*" for "*you all*" or "*all of you*", as used in Southern American English, especially by Anglo-Indians. However, unlike Southern American usage, it is only used as a subject or object in a sentence, never to address a group of people.

- Swapping around the meanings of "*slow*" and "*soft*" as in *"I shall speak slower for you"* meaning *"I will speak softly"* and *"Make the fan softer"* to mean *"Make the fan go slower"*. This is because of influence from Indian languages. In Telugu, for example, the word 'melliga' can refer to either slow or quiet, and in Hindi "Dheere" or Urdu "Ahista" can mean both slowly or softly.
• Creation of rhyming double-words (rhyming reduplication) to denote generality of idea or act, a 'totality' of the word's denotation, as in "No more ice-cream-fice-cream for you!", "Let's go have some chai-vai (tea, 'tea and stuff')" or "There's a lot of this fighting-witing going on in the neighborhood". (Prevalent mainly in Hindi- and Punjabi-speaking states.)

• Use of the word "since" instead of "for" in conjunction with periods of time, as in "I have been working since four years" instead of "I have been working for four years" or "I have been working since four years ago". This usage is more common among speakers of North Indian languages such as Hindi where the words for both "since" and "for" are the same.

• Use of "Can you drop me?" and "We will drop her first" instead of "Can you drop me off?" and "We will drop her off first"

• Omission of the definite article: e.g. "Let's go to city" instead of "Let's go to the city"

• Use of "told" instead of "said". An example would be "Ravi told he is going home" instead of "Ravi said that he is going home" or "Ravi told me he is going home". This feature is more prevalent in South India.

• Usage of "to" instead of "than" following comparative adjectives. For example, "I am older to you" instead of "I am older than you".

• Use of 'could be able to' or 'can you able to' to indicate 'could' or 'can' respectively. For example, 'I could be able to log in to the website' or 'Can you able to access the website'.

Phonology

Indian accents vary greatly. Some Indians speak English with an accent very close to a Standard British (Received Pronunciation) accent; others lean toward a more 'vernacular', native-tinted, accent for their English speech.
Vowels

In general, Indian English has fewer peculiarities in its vowel sounds than the consonants, especially as spoken by native speakers of languages like Hindi, which in fact has a vowel phonology very similar to that of English. Among the distinctive features of the vowel-sounds employed by some Indian English speakers are:

- Many Indian languages (with the exception of Western Hindi and Punjabi) do not natively possess a separate phoneme /æ/ (as in <trap>). Thus, many speakers do not differentiate between the vowel sounds /e/ (as in "dress") and /æ/ (as in <trap>), except in cases where a minimal pair such as <bed>/<bad> exists in the vocabulary of the speaker. Such a speaker might pronounce "tax" like the first syllable of "Texas". Speakers of Southern languages and Sinhalese, which do differentiate /e/ and /æ/, do not have difficulty making this distinction.

- Chiefly in Punjab and Haryana states, the short [e] becomes lengthened and higher to long [eː], making <pen> sound like <paenn>.

- When a long vowel is followed by "r", speakers of Indian English usually use a monophthong, instead of the diphthong used for many such words in many other accents. Thus "fear" is pronounced [fɪr] instead of [fɪə]

- Indian English often uses strong vowels where other accents would have unstressed syllables or words. Thus "cottage" may be pronounced [knɔtɪdʒ] rather than [knɔtədʒ]. A word such as "was" in the phrase "I was going" will be pronounced [wɔz] or [wɔs] in Indian English: in most other accents it would receive the unstressed realization [wɔz]. Another example is that many Indian English speakers often pronounce <the> as /ðiː/, irrespective of whether the definite article comes before a vowel or a consonant, or whether it is stressed or not. In native varieties of English, <the> is pronounced as [ðə] when it is unstressed and lies before a consonant, and as [ðiː] when it is before a vowel or when stressed even before a consonant.
• Continuing the above point, the indefinite article <a> is often pronounced by many Indian English speakers as [e:], irrespective of whether it is stressed or unstressed. In native varieties of English, <a> is pronounced as [ə] when unstressed and as [er] when stressed.

• The RP vowels /ʌ/, /ɒ/ and /ɔː/ might be realized as /ɑ/ in Indian English. Bengalis often pronounce all these vowels as a, including the <e>-colored versions of these vowels. Thus, <firm> may be pronounced the same as [farm].

• General Indian English realizes /eɪ/ (as in <face>) and /ou/ (as in <goat>) as long monophthongs [e:], [o:].

• Many Indian English speakers do not make a clear distinction between /ɔ/ and /ɔː/. (See cot-caught merger.)

• Unlike British, but like General American English, some Indian speakers don't pronounce the rounded /ɔ/ or /ɔː/, and substitute /a/ instead. This makes <not> sound as [nat]. The phoneme /ɔː/, if used, is only semi-rounded at the lips.

• Words such as <class>, <staff> and <last> would be pronounced with a back <a> as in British English but unlike American English, i.e., [kla:s], [sta:f] and [la:st] rather than American [klæ:s], [stæ:f] and [læ:st].

• Most Indians have the Trap-bath split of Received Pronunciation. Those who don't are usually influenced by American accents; not using the trap-bath split is often popularly construed as trying to copy an American accent.

Consonants

Among the most distinctive features of consonants in Indian English are:

• Most pronunciations of Indian English rhotic, but many speakers with higher education are non-rhotic.

• Standard Hindi and most other vernaculars (except, at least, Bengali) do not differentiate between /v/ (voiced labiodental fricative) and /w/ (voiced labiovelar.
approximant). Instead, many Indians use a frictionless labio-dental approximant [o] for words with either sound, possibly in free variation with [v] and/or [w]. So wet and vet are homophones.

- Because of the previous characteristic many Indians pronounce words such as <flower> as [flaː(r)] instead of [flauə(r)], and <our> as [aː(r)] instead of [auə(r)].

- The voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, /k/ are always unaspirated in Indian English, whereas in RP, General American and most other English accents they are aspirated in word-initial or stressed syllables. Thus "pin" is pronounced [pin] in Indian English but [pʰɪn] in most other accents. In native Indian languages (except Tamil), the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated plosives is phonemic, and the English stops are equated with the unaspirated rather than the aspirated phonemes of the local languages. The same is true of the voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/.

- The alveolar stops English /d/, /t/ are often retroflex [d], [t], especially in the South of India. In Indian languages there are two entirely distinct sets of coronal plosives: one dental and the other retroflex. To the Indian ears, the English alveolar plosives sound more retroflex than dental. In the Devanagari script of Hindi, all alveolar plosives of English are transcribed as their retroflex counterparts. One good reason for this is that unlike most other native Indian languages, Hindi does not have true retroflex plosives. The so-called retroflexes in Hindi are actually articulated as apical post-alveolar plosives, sometimes even with a tendency to come down to the alveolar region. So a Hindi speaker normally cannot distinguish the difference between their own apical post-alveolar plosives and English's alveolar plosives. However, languages such as Tamil have true retroflex plosives, wherein the articulation is done with the tongue curved upwards and backwards at the roof of the mouth. This also causes (in parts of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh) the /s/ preceding alveolar /t/ to allophonically change to [ʃ] (<stop> /stop/ → /ʃ[ap]/). Mostly in south India, some speakers
allophonically further change the voiced retroflex plosive to voiced retroflex flap, and the nasal /n/ to a nasalized retroflex flap.

- Many Indians speaking English lack the voiced postalveolar fricative (/ʒ/), the same as their native languages. Typically, /z/ or /dʒ/ is substituted, e.g. *treasure /tre.zər/, and in the south Indian variants, with /ʃ/ as in *ʃh"lore>, e.g. *treasure /tre.ʃər/.

- All major native languages of India lack the dental fricatives (/θ/ and /ð/; spelled with *th*). Usually, the aspirated voiceless dental plosive [θ] is substituted for /θ/ and the unaspirated voiced dental plosive [d], or possibly the aspirated version [dʰ]. is substituted for /ð/. For example, "thin" would be realized as [θin] instead of /θin/.

- South Indians tend to curl the tongue (retroflex accentuation) more for /l/ and /n/.

- Most Indian languages (except Urdu variety) lack the voiced alveolar fricative /z/. While they do have its nearest equivalent: the unvoiced /s/, strangely, it is not used in substitution. Instead, /z/ is substituted with the voiced palatal affricate (or postalveolar) /dʒ/, just as with a Korean accent. This makes words such as *zero* and *rosy* sound as [dʒi:ro] and [ro:dʒi:]. This replacement is equally true for Persian and Arabic loanwords into Hindi. The probable reason is the confusion created by the use of the Devanagari grapheme <अ> (for /dʒ/) with a dot beneath it to represent the loaned /z/ (as <अ>). This is common among people without formal English education.

- Many Indians with lower exposure to English also may pronounce /f/ as aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive [pʰ]. Again note that in Hindi (devanagari) the loaned /f/ from Persian and Arabic is written by putting a dot beneath the grapheme for native [pʰ] < फ>: <फ>. This substitution is rarer than that for [z], and in fact in many Hindi-speaking areas /f/ is replacing /pʰ/ even in its native words.
• Inability to pronounce certain (especially word-initial) consonant clusters by people of rural backgrounds. This is usually dealt with by epenthesis. e.g., school /is.ku:l/, similar to Spanish.

• Sometimes, Indian speakers interchange /s/ and /z/, especially when plurals are being formed. Whereas in international varieties of English, [s] is used for pluralization of a word ending in a voiceless consonant, [z] for that ending in a voiced consonant or vowel, and [iz] for that ending in a sibilant.

• Again, in dialects like Bhojpuri, all instances of /ʃ/ are spoken like [s], a phenomenon which is also apparent in their English. Exactly the opposite is seen for many Bengalis.

• In case of the postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ /dʒ/, native languages like Hindi have corresponding affricates articulated from the palatal region, rather than postalveolar, and they have more of a stop component than fricative; this is reflected in their English.

• While retaining /ŋ/ in the final position, Indian speakers usually include the [g] after it. Hence /riŋ.ɪŋ/ → /riŋ.ɡɪŋ/ (ringing).

• Syllabic /l/, /m/ and /n/ are usually replaced by the VC clusters /l/, /m/ and /n/ (as in button /bu.ˈtʌn/), or if a high vowel proceeds, by [l] (as in little /liˈtiːl/). Syllable nuclei in words with the spelling er (a schwa in RP and an r-colored schwa in GA) are also replaced VC clusters. e.g., meter, /miˈtər/ → /mi.ˈtər/.

• Indian English uses clear [l] in all instances like Irish English whereas other varieties use clear [l] in syllable-initial positions and dark [l] (velarized-L) in coda and syllabic positions.
A number of distinctive features of Indian English are due to "the vagaries of English spelling". Most Indian languages have a very phonetic pronunciation with respect to their script, and unlike English, the spelling of a word is a highly reliable guide to its modern pronunciation.

- In words where the digraph <gh> represents a voiced velar plosive (/g/) in other accents, some Indian English speakers supply a murmured version [gʰ], for example <ghost> [ɡʰoːst]. No other accent of English admits this voiced aspiration.

- Similarly, the digraph <wh> may be aspirated as [vʰ] or [wʰ], resulting in realizations such as <which> [vʰɪtʃ], found in no other English accent (except in certain parts of Scotland).

- In unstressed syllables, native English varieties will mostly use the schwa while Indian English would use the spelling vowel, making <sanity> sound as [sæ.ni.ti] instead of [sæ.na.ti]. Similarly, <above> and <ago> can be heard as [e.bəv] and [e.go] instead of [ə.bəv] and [ə.go].

- English words ending in grapheme <a> almost always have the <a> being pronounced as schwa /a/ in native varieties (exceptions include words such as <spa>). But in Indian English, the ending <a> is pronounced as the long open central unrounded vowel /aː/ (as in <spa>) instead of schwa. So, <India> is pronounced as /m.ɪnd.a/ instead of /m.də.ɪnd.a/, and <sofa> as /soː.fə/ instead of /soʊ.fə/.

- The word "of" is usually pronounced with a /f/ instead of a /v/ as in most other accents.

- Use of [d] instead of [t] for the "-ed" ending of the past tense after voiceless consonants, for example "developed" may be [dɛvləpd] instead of RP /dɛvləpt/.[13]

- Use of [s] instead of [z] for the "-s" ending of the plural after voiced consonants, for example <dogs> may be [dəʊz] instead of [dɒgz].
- Pronunciation of <house> as [hauz] in both the noun and the verb, instead of [haus] as noun and [hauz] as verb.

- The digraph <tz> is pronounced as [tz] or [t̚dʒ] instead of [ts] (voicing may be assimilated in the stop too), making <Switzerland> sound like [svit.zər.lænd] instead of [swit.səl.lænd].

- In RP, /r/ occurs only before a vowel. But many speakers of Indian English use /r/ in almost all positions in words as dictated by the spellings. The allophone used is a mild trill or a tap. Indian speakers do not typically use the retroflex approximant /r/ for <r>, which is common for American English speakers.

- All consonants are distinctly doubled (lengthened) in General Indian English wherever the spelling suggests so. e.g., <drilling> /drɪl.ɪŋ/.

- <Here> is pronounced as [hɪə(r)] (like in <hair> and <hare>) instead of [hɪə(r)].

- English pronunciation of the grapheme <i> varies from [ɪ] to [aɪ] depending upon the dialect or accent. Indian English will invariably use the British dialect for it. Thus, <tensile> would be pronounced as [tɛnsɪl] like the British, rather than [tɛnsɪl] like the American; <anti> would be pronounced as [ænti] like the British, rather than [ænti] like American.

Supra-segmental features

Any of the native varieties of English produce unique stresses on the language. English is a stress-timed language, and both syllable stress and word stress, where only certain words in a sentence or phrase are stressed, are important features of Received Pronunciation. Indian native languages are actually syllable-timed languages, like Latin and French. Indian-English speakers usually speak with a syllabic rhythm. Further, in some Indian languages, stress is associated with a low pitch, whereas in most English dialects, stressed syllables are generally pronounced with a higher pitch. Thus, when Indian speakers speak, they appear to put the stress accents at the wrong syllables, or accentuate all the syllables of a long English word.
“I’m against the term Indianized English,” says Pingali Sailaja, a linguist who teaches English at the University of Hyderabad. The phrase Pingali prefers is Indian English, a term she has used as the title of the book she penned on the subject. “A certain attitude comes through when you say Indianized English — that Indian English is somehow a substandard variety not equal to British or American English. But we should stop thinking of it as a substandard variety and think of it as a variety comparable to other varieties of English. Pingali explains that when the British came to India back in the 1600s, Portuguese was the dominant language being used to impart Western and Christian education. “Slowly this was taken away by the British and replaced with English,” she says. “Indian English developed because when languages interact inevitably things are going to change. When Indians use English the will inevitably use it their way.” According to Pingali, Indian English is its own variety, identifiable by distinct structural properties related to sounds, words and sentences. Indian English is a catch-all phrase for the dialects or varieties of English spoken widely in India and the Indian subcontinent in general. The dialect is also known as South Asian English. Due to British colonialism that saw an English-speaking presence in India for over two hundred years, a distinctly South Asian brand of English was born. Variations in the pronunciation of several phonemes are affected by the regional tongues across the subcontinent, the greatest distinction being that between South India and Sri Lanka on the one hand and the north of the subcontinent (including Pakistan, North India and Bangladesh) on the other. Several idiomatic forms crossing over from Indian literary and vernacular language also have made their way into the English of the masses. In spite of India's diversity, however, there is indeed a general homogeneity in syntax and vocabulary that can be found among speakers across South Asia. It will be found that excellent English bearing less regional grammatical peculiarities is spoken in upper-class families (commonly referred to, in India, as 'Westernised'), though even among them hints of a uniquely Indian flavor (particularly in a so-called 'Indianised' British accent) are typically retained. (Wikipedia)

This chapter has so far categorized the types of English in trends. Through comparisons of the variety types we can understand that any variety of language which has the wider circulation,
larger speakers are greater communicative purposes will gain popularity. The number of users of variety of languages is a determining factor. To which effect we can conclude that the future of Hinglish looks amazing. It has under circulation not only in the spoken form but also in the written form. It is gaining more acceptable and the fact in evident by observing the number of literacy text, using Hinglish are given prestigious awards. The following chapter will discuss the use of Hinglish in literature. The distinct evolution of regional variations in contemporary usage has led to terms such as Hinglish (Hindi + English), Manglish (Malayalam + English), Kanglish (Kannada + English), Telgish (Telugu + English), Tanglish (Tamil + English), and Minglish (Marathi + English). Hinglish and other variations are popular in the field of advertising. In this context, the aim of reaching a large cross-section of society is fulfilled by such double-coding. Many words borrowed from Indian languages find their way into the ostensibly-English media.


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