'effective, concise, and accessible'
— Edgar W. Schneider, *English World-Wide*

2nd Edition

Jan Svartvik and Geoffrey Leech

ENGLISH

One Tongue, Many Voices

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM
DAVID CRYSTAL

English

One Tongue, Many Voices

Second Edition

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Preface

This book began in 2000 when one of the authors – Jan Svartvik – presented to the other author – Geoffrey Leech – a copy of his book in Swedish *Engelska – öspråk, världsspråk, trendspråk*, which translates as 'English – island language, world language, trend language'. Geoffrey Leech, in spite of his severely restricted reading knowledge of Swedish, was impressed by the overall content, shape and appeal of the book, and was further impressed to learn that it had received the August Prize for the best non-fiction title published in Swedish in 1999. It seemed to both of us that the book would benefit a wider audience, and would indeed appeal to students and teachers of English as well as to other people throughout the world with an interest in the English language.

The Swedish publisher Norstedts Ordbok very kindly allowed us to adapt and develop our book from the original Swedish version. However, producing an international edition of the book was not easy. It was not just a matter of translating the Swedish into English. It was necessary to edit out some of the Scandinavian focus of the original (for example, the Vikings, understandably, had more than their fair share of the Swedish book). As we worked together on the English version, we had to take account of new developments and world-wide perspectives. In fact, we had to rethink and redraft the book from beginning to end. The result, we hope, is an up-to-date and wide-ranging historical and geographical survey of English, divided into three parts:

Part I: History of an Island Language (Chapters 2–4) covers how it evolved from its beginnings as a separate language.

Part II: The Spread of English Around the World (Chapters 5–9) tells the unprecedented story of the worldwide spread and diversification of a single language.

Part III: A Changing Language in Changing Times (Chapters 10–13) examines English as it is today, and speculates on its twenty-first century prospects as a global language.

Arguably, English has so many different incarnations in different parts of the world that it is no longer a single language, but some kind of plurality of languages. As the original title of the book did not translate easily into English, we chose a title that emphasized this mixture of unity and plurality that is the present-day English language: *English – One Tongue, Many Voices*.

We are especially grateful to Rikard Svartvik for his indispensable contribution to the book in the form of partial translation and historical comments.

We also owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Gunnel Tottie, who put at our disposal her breadth of knowledge, particularly on American English as compared with British English, and generously gave time to a thorough reading and insightful commentary on our drafts. More specific, but hardly less valued, were the comments of Susan Dray on Caribbean English, pidgins and creoles, Graeme Kennedy on New Zealand English, Vivian de Klerk on South African English, Ian Lancashire on Canadian English, Pam Peters on Australian English and Toshihiko Suzuki on Japanese. David Britain acted as the publisher's clearance reader, and we valued his expert and well-targeted comments. Julia Youst MacRae commented on some chapters from the point of view of a speaker of American English, and we appreciated being able to make use of her vivid comments on certain areas of usage – see particularly the quotations on pp. 157–8 and 216. We end with the conventional (but genuine) caveat that none of these friendly commentators can be held responsible for any errors in the book in its final form.

The work on this book has been a great pleasure and source of inspiration. Our professional lives have been devoted to the English language, and this represents our latest undertaking in a co-authorship habit that extends over a period of more than 30 years.

Jan Svartvik, Lund University, Sweden
Geoffrey Leech, Lancaster University, England

Preface to the Second Edition

As we were preparing for a second edition of this book, Geoffrey Leech suddenly died on 19 August 2014. It was a terrible blow, not only to his family, friends, colleagues and the world of linguistics at large but also to our joint project. Geoff was a long-time friend, colleague and co-author.

For the new edition we had planned to focus on updating the later chapters of the book. In this critical situation I called on our common friend David Crystal for help and, fortunately, he agreed to step in. As an eminent scholar and successful author in a wide variety of English linguistics areas he was of course the ideal choice for the task. His contribution has been to write a completely new chapter, Chapter 12, on Electronic English, as well as to suggest revisions of various parts of the overall text, including the updating of statistics relating to global English usage. Other changes between the first and second edition include trimming of some sections in the historical chapters and revision of Notes and Comments, for example by adding tips about web addresses that contain further relevant chapter material, such as sound recordings of varieties and dialects. The Pronunciation section now also offers information about how to type phonetic symbols.

I am grateful for having had the opportunity of working with both Geoff and Dave, happily recalling the early years of the 1960s when all three of us were Randolph Quirk's assistants at the Survey of English Usage, University College London.

Jan Svartvik

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Page 180: 'Sweet and Dandy' by Frederick 'Toots' Hibbert; of Toots and the Maytals, reproduced with permission, transcribed and annotated by Peter L. Patrick, *Jamaican Creole Texts*, on his website: http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~patrickp/JCtexts.html.

List of Abbreviations

AAVE	African American Vernacular English
AmE	American English
AustE	Australian English
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BrE	British English
eModE	Early Modern English
EE	Estuary English
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
EU	European Union
GA	General American (pronunciation)
ME	Middle English
MOOC	Massive Open Online Course
NZE	New Zealand English
OE	Old English
PresE	Present-day English
RP	Received Pronunciation
ScotE	Scottish English
UK	United Kingdom
US, USA	United States (of America)
WAPE	West African Pidgin English
WSE	World Standard English
WSSE	World Spoken Standard English

1
English: The Working Tongue of the Global Village

> English, no longer an English language, now grows from many roots.
>
> Salman Rushdie
> *The Times* (3 July 1982)

Ahead of his time, the Canadian writer Marshall McLuhan predicted that electronically connected media would eventually transform the world into a huge 'global village'. English has become the working tongue of that village.

It is a new feature in the history of languages and language learning that this demand for English comes largely from the grass roots, not from society's elite, as was the case with Latin forced down the throats of previous generations of school pupils, or as the English language itself was imposed in earlier times on speakers of many other languages. The most remarkable thing about English today is not that it is the mother tongue of over 370 million people, but that it is used as an additional language by so many more people all around the globe. Non-native speakers in fact hugely outnumber native speakers – probably a unique situation in language history. There are estimates suggesting that about a third of the world's population know, or think they know, some English. But, of course, sheer numbers mean little here – the expression 'know English' has plenty of latitude.

According to Ethnologue, a database maintained by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Dallas, Texas, there are today about 7,000 living languages in the world. Yet just five languages – Chinese, English, Spanish, Russian and Hindi – are spoken by more than half of the world's population. And English cannot claim the highest number of native speakers; Chinese has about three times as many. What gives English its special status is its unrivalled position as a means of international communication. Most other languages are primarily communicative channels within, rather than across, national borders. Today, English is big business and the most commonly taught foreign language all over the world.

So why this demand for English among language learners around the world? The reason is not that the language is easy, beautiful or superior in linguistic qualities. Most people who want to learn it do so because they need it to function in the world at large. Young people, finding it both practical and cool, are attracted by things they can do with English, such as listening to music, watching films and surfing the web. For scientists and scholars, English is a necessity for reaching out to colleagues around the globe, publishing results from their research and taking part in international conferences. For tourists, English is the most useful tool for getting around and communicating with people all over the world.

English is spoken in circles

The Indian-American scholar Braj Kachru has taught us to think of English, as used around the world, in the form of three concentric circles (see Figure 1.1). The Inner Circle represents a handful of countries where most of the inhabitants speak English as a first language. The Outer Circle includes a larger number of countries where English is a second, often official or semi-official language, but where most users of the language are not native speakers. Beyond the Inner and Outer Circles, English is learned and used as a foreign language in the huge Expanding Circle, which in fact includes every country in the world.

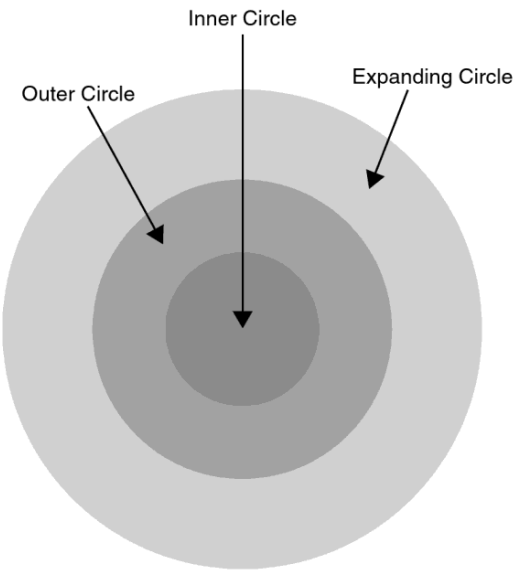

Figure 1.1 The three concentric circles of English worldwide

The Inner Circle

The Inner Circle includes, above all, three geographical blocs: the United States, Canada and the West Indies in the New World; the United Kingdom and Ireland in Europe; Australia, New Zealand and South Africa in the Southern Hemisphere. In these eight regions there are over 370 million people speaking English as a first language, and two out of three of them live in North America. Speaker estimates are always very approximate, because censuses typically do not distinguish clearly between levels of fluency in production and comprehension, or take account of such factors as bilingualism; and estimates increase greatly if they include all the creoles and pidgins that historically derive from English. But certain general trends are apparent in the data reported below, taken from censuses since the year 2000 or United Nations surveys.

In some countries there are different figures for total population and speakers of English as a first language. For some 38 million Americans the first language is Spanish – in fact, Hispanics have now replaced African Americans as the largest minority group of the United States. Canada is officially a bilingual country where almost a quarter of the population report French to be their mother tongue. In addition, native Americans and Canadians speak various indigenous languages. The Republic of Ireland has two official languages, Irish Gaelic and English, but only a small proportion of the population use Gaelic. In the United Kingdom, Welsh is an official language in Wales, spoken by about a fifth of the population, alongside English. Taking the United Kingdom and Ireland together, English is the first language of around 64 million inhabitants, with a steadily growing number of immigrants (especially from the European Union) who have a mother-tongue other than English. What many people find surprising is that neither in the United States nor the United Kingdom, the two countries that historically have had the major role in the spread of their language around the world, has English ever been formally declared the official language.

In the Southern Hemisphere, English is spoken as a first language by around 20 million Australians and New Zealanders. While this is a modest figure compared with the number of native speakers in North America and Europe, English is an important means of communication around the expansive Pacific basin. South Africa is a special case with 11 official languages, one of which is English. The number of speakers of English as a first language is less than 10 per cent, yet this total is comparable in size to those of Ireland and New Zealand, and in South Africa today English retains a dominant position: it is the main medium of instruction in higher education and the language most commonly used in Parliament and courts of law.

People who happen to be born in the Inner Circle of course enjoy a privilege since they learn, for free (more or less), to speak this global language as part

Countries in the Inner Circle		
Countries	**English as a first language**	**Population (2015 est)**
United States	260 million	321 million
United Kingdom	59 million	64 million
Canada	20 million	35 million
Australia	16 million	23 million
Caribbean	5 million	5 million
Ireland	4 million	4.5 million
New Zealand	4 million	4.5 million
South Africa	5 million	54 million
Totals	**373 million**	**511 million**

of the normal process of child language acquisition. This gives them a certain global reach and an advantage in many walks of life, whereas those who happen to be born into the Outer and Expanding Circles have to put years of time and effort into attaining an advanced level of mastery of the language. For obvious reasons, in English-speaking communities there is a widespread lack of enthusiasm for learning other languages. But life in this 'fast language lane' of native English speakers comes at a price. Having English as your only tongue means you lose the direct experience of feeling at home in other cultures and life-styles. You view the world through English-tinted glasses. The other side of this coin is that, among speakers of the world's other languages, there are fears that the pervasive influence of English will undermine their own cultural and linguistic identities.

The Outer Circle

In countries outside the Inner Circle, English has different societal functions, and it is therefore practical to place these countries in two different circles: the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. Yet there are linguists who argue that, today, a distinction between English as a second and a foreign language is not relevant. In their view, it doesn't really matter whether you learn English in, say, Nigeria (where it has official status) or Japan (where it hasn't). Recently, English linguistic influences have been penetrating further into countries like China, Mexico and Norway, for which it has always been a foreign tongue.

In the Outer Circle we mostly find people who live in former British colonies, such as Kenya and Tanzania in Africa, and India, Pakistan, Malaysia and Singapore in Asia. In many of these countries, English is an official language and widely used in administration, education and the media. India is a striking example of the spread and importance of English in the Outer Circle.

In this country, with more than a billion inhabitants and over 400 languages, English has held its position and is widely used in government administration, the law courts, secondary and higher education, the armed forces, the media, commerce and tourism. Estimates suggest that at least 10 per cent of the population – more than 125 million people – now make regular and fluent use of English as a second language. If more basic conversational abilities are included, the figure is probably two or three times this. Whichever total we accept – and such estimates are bound to be hazy – India is clearly among the leading English-using nations in the world.

However, as we shall see, the question of whether a country belongs to one circle or another – like the question of what makes a speaker a native speaker of English – is trickier than one may think.

The Expanding Circle

The Expanding Circle encompasses large parts of the world where English is learned as a foreign language because it is found useful, or indeed indispensable, for international contacts in such areas as industry, business, politics, diplomacy, education, research, technology, the Internet, sports, entertainment and tourism. Today there are hundreds of millions of people who, though not living in an English-speaking country, have acquired a good working knowledge of English. This circle now seems to be ever-expanding, strengthening the claims of English as the international language of today. Is this expansion of world English going to reach saturation point? Arguably, it is, and in the not-too-distant future, it will be appropriate to rename the 'Expanding Circle' the 'Expanded Circle'.

Do we need a world language?

In the history of the world up to now, there has never been a situation where one language could claim global currency. There have been languages, like Latin during the Roman Empire, that gained widespread international currency through military might or economic influence. But this was not a worldwide conquest: even in Roman times there were 'barbarian hordes' living beyond the empire, and there were vast tracts of the world that the Roman legions never reached. So why should we now think in terms of a world language? Is there any need for one?

The answer to such questions, above all in the globalized society we live in today, must be 'Yes'. To overcome the confusion of tongues, people have tried in the past to make up artificial international languages, such as Esperanto, Ido, Volapük, Novial, Interglossa and Interlingua. The most successful of these has been Esperanto, yet, despite the high hopes of previous generations that Esperanto would take over the world, artificial languages have met with little

success. It is true that the grammar of artificial languages has been planned to be regular and easy to learn and their vocabulary combines elements from different languages. Yet somehow, these advantages have not weighed against the built-in advantages of a natural language that already has a head start in the international language stakes. English already had this head start, and gradually extended its hegemony through the twentieth century.

As a bonus, a natural language also offers a cultural milieu and a rich canon of literature. In the case of English, this literary canon originates both in the Inner and Outer Circles, embracing not only William Shakespeare, Jane Austen, Ernest Hemingway, Patrick White and William Butler Yeats, but also Arundhati Roy, Wole Soyinka, Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o and Derek Walcott.

Why English?

English did not become a world language on its linguistic merits. The pronunciation of English words is irritatingly often at odds with their spelling, the vocabulary is enormous and the grammar less learner-friendly than is generally assumed. There are people who think it is much to be regretted that some other language, like Italian or Spanish with their pure vowel sounds and regular spellings, did not achieve the status of a global lingua franca. David Abercrombie, a well-known Scots phonetician with a keen interest in English teaching, once suggested that spoken Scottish English, not English English, should be used internationally because of its superior clarity. In fact, foreigners often find Scottish English with its clear *r's* easier to pronounce and understand than Southern British English with its *r's* either not pronounced (as in *girl*) or obscurely pronounced (as in *right*) – see pp. 125, 147. Also, with few diphthongs, Scottish vowels are similar to those widely heard throughout the world, including on the European Continent. But, as we shall see, the southern British English accent is changing, and is in any case dominated in terms of numbers by speakers of American English, who for the most part articulate those final *r*'s.

True, English grammar has few inflectional endings compared to languages like German, Latin or Russian, but its syntax is no less complex than that of other languages. A comprehensive grammar of English is definitely no shorter than, say, a grammar of French or German, as has been demonstrated by Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum's *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* with more than 1,800 pages. So it is totally wrong to suppose, as some native speakers actually do, that English has no grammar. The grammar of English not only exists, but has been subjected to more detailed study than that of any other language.

As everybody knows, the English word stock is vast. Any major dictionary of the English language has over 100,000 headwords, and the most comprehensive of them all, the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED),* defines a total of

over 600,000 word-forms. With its 20 volumes this lexical whopper occupies a great deal of shelf space but, fortunately, is now available in electronic form. Oxford University Press feels it unlikely that it will ever be printed but will probably appear only in electronic form. Yet, while all these words exist in the dictionary, no native English speaker knows them all. The average native speaker probably uses no more words than a speaker of any other major language.

So what made English the world language? Behind its success story there are two main factors: first, the expansion and influence of British colonial power – by the late nineteenth century the British Empire covered a considerable part of the earth's land surface, and subjects of the British monarch totalled nearly a quarter of the world's population; second, the status of the United States of America as the leading economic, military and scientific power of the twentieth century.

And there are yet other contributing factors. One is the increasing need for international communication as a result of modern technology: such innovations as the telephone, radio, television, jetliner transport and computers each introduced a step-change in the potential for international communication. Air traffic controllers all over the world use English when talking to pilots, whether Russian or Danish or Chinese, and whether at John F. Kennedy or Schiphol or Narita airport. And, of course, in information technology, American English is king.

Yet another factor: in countries or groups of countries where people have several or many different first languages, English may be the preferred lingua franca because it is felt to be neutral ground. In the global economy, many multinationals have adopted English as the workplace vernacular. Half of all Russian business is said to be conducted in English. In the European Union (EU), the practical 'working language' in communication across language barriers is usually English, often reluctantly adopted as the only language that is sufficiently widely used. Across the EU (excluding the British Isles), nine out of ten students choose to study English as a foreign language. English is said to permeate EU institutional activities and many areas of cultural and economic life more and more thoroughly. Today, it is hardly possible to pursue an international career without English. As a window on the world, English is looked upon as the best means to achieve economic, social and political success.

The aim of this book is to explore this astonishing global phenomenon. The history of English as a separate language started about CE 500, when its ancestor was a collection of dialects spoken by marauding Germanic tribes who settled in the part of the British Isles nearest the European Continent. Over the next 500 years, this proto-English came to be spoken by less than half a million illiterate people. Compared with the prestigious Latin language, which

The avoidance of value judgements is important, too, in discussing the different kinds of English – the many *varieties* of the language, as they are called. We have inherited a tradition of such judgements: for example, in the assumptions that some kinds of grammar are 'correct' and others 'incorrect'; that standard language is somehow superior to non-standard dialects; that English as a mother-tongue is somehow superior to the English of non-native speakers. It would be foolish to lay much store by such traditional attitudes. It is worthwhile reminding ourselves that non-natives speakers of English in the world now outnumber native speakers by at least five to one. Further, it is quite possible, and is seriously argued today, that the future of English will be more determined by the majority of its users – those in the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle – than by the Inner Circle, the traditional heartland of English. We return to this discussion in our final chapter.

Part I
History of an Island Language

2
The First 500 Years

> Your Roman – Saxon – Danish – Norman English.
> Daniel Defoe, *The True-born Englishman* (1701)

We cannot understand what a language is until we know its history. More than for most subjects, history is the key to language, because the very fabric of a language – its vocabulary, grammar, orthography and pronunciation – is a living record of its past.

So in the light of history, how can we begin to explain how English came to be what it is in the twenty-first century? How did it come about that this language, once a tongue spoken by only a small number of people in a rather small island, has become the most powerful international language in the world's history? English is said to be a Germanic language, but why is it that more than half of its words are of Latin or Romance origin? Why do we sometimes have a wide choice of words to express more or less the same thing? And what is the cause of the apparently chaotic English spelling? In the next few chapters we turn to history to find the answer to these and other questions.

In a satire on eighteenth-century Englishmen's beliefs in national superiority, Daniel Defoe, probably best known as the creator of *Robinson Crusoe,* described his mother tongue as 'Roman – Saxon – Danish – Norman English'. To Defoe, English was but a mixture of the tongues spoken by different peoples who, in the course of history, had invaded what is present-day England. Although he was being sarcastic, he did have a point. Put simply, the making of English is a story of successive invasions. But this is, of course, not the whole story. English, like any other language, is rich and varied, but constantly changing – a tapestry with many strands. Yet we can point to some crucial events, such as the coming of Christianity or the Norman invasion, and study texts from these and other periods to find a pattern in the weave of the language.

languages – for example, the Romance family of languages, including French, Spanish and Italian – but they survived in the British Isles, and also in Brittany. On a rough estimate, Celtic languages are today spoken by less than a million people. In the British Isles, Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic have long been fighting a rearguard action against English. The most viable of these survivors is Welsh, with over half a million speakers in Wales, where the entire population also knows English. A revival movement is underway for Cornish (in Cornwall) and Manx (in the Isle of Man). In the Republic of Ireland, efforts are being made to sustain and revive Irish Gaelic and there is similar enthusiasm for the revival of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland, but these

What's in a name?

The northernmost province of the Roman Empire was called *Britannia* and its people *Britanni*, from which come the modern forms *Britain* and *British*. *Caledonia* was the Roman name for Scotland and, although outside the Empire, it was seen by the Romans as a sphere of their influence. *Hibernia,* the Roman name for present-day Ireland, was never part of the Roman Empire.

In 1707 the nation of Great Britain was formed by the Act of Union between England, Scotland and Wales. The *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland* was formed in 1921 when the *Irish Free State* – later named the *Republic of Ireland* – became a separate nation. *The United Kingdom* (or *UK* for short) includes the island of Great Britain, comprising England, Scotland and Wales and, in addition, Northern Ireland, occupying the north-east corner of the island of Ireland. Unofficially, the UK is often simply called Britain, and its people are called British. Following the political trend for devolution since the late twentieth century, giving Scotland its own Parliament and Wales its own Assembly, many people now prefer to call themselves Welsh or Scottish rather than British.

The British Isles is an unofficial but convenient geographical name. It refers to the two large islands of Great Britain and Ireland, together with several islands and island groups, such as the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands. Many Irish people consider the term *British Isles* a misnomer. For them, Ireland is not, nor should it be, in any sense 'British'.

The people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland are British citizens (see Figure 2.2). Not everybody likes the modern label *Briton* or *Britons*. Still, it is short and practical to use in headlines:

BRITONS FLOCK TO THE SEASIDE

Brit is informal and more freely used in the United States than the United Kingdom where it can be perceived as derogatory. In older American slang the British are called *Limeys*, a term originally applied to English sailors who were routinely supplied with limes to prevent scurvy. In Australian and New Zealand slang *Pom* and *Pommy* are common but can be offensive. It seems there is no neutral way of referring to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom!

their political freedom and were not troubled again by Roman legions for almost 100 years. It was later, in 43 CE, that Emperor Claudius ordered the invasion of Britain. Gradually the Roman legions moved their frontiers further north and west, bringing almost all of what is now England under Roman rule. During most of the period of occupation, the effective northern frontier was Hadrian's Wall (named after the Roman Emperor Hadrian 76–138 CE), stretching between the present-day northern English cities of Carlisle and Newcastle. Designated a World Heritage Site in 1987, the remains of Hadrian's Wall are also known as the Roman Wall.

The Romans brought a wide range of innovations to their British province, changing its landscape for ever. Roman roads still criss-cross the landscape of England. But, even though Britannia was under Roman rule for nearly 400 years, the Roman occupation left hardly any lasting linguistic legacy. This is because the English language has its roots in the next invasion, beginning in the fifth century, when Germanic tribes settled in the country. Unlike the Romans, they stayed for good and, in due course, they were to call their language *English*.

Ships are sighted with English in embryo on board

Like other parts of the Empire, Roman Britain had long been subject to attacks from external enemies or 'barbarians' and, by the early fifth century, Roman legions were withdrawn to fight in other parts of the Empire while Britannia was left to defend herself. According to later sources, in this desperate situation one of the Celtic leaders enlisted the help of Germanic peoples who lived just across the North Sea on the European mainland. It is reported that these semi-pirates expelled the enemies of the Britons, but then turned their weapons against their hosts. Once settled, the newcomers supposedly invited other continental tribesmen, who arrived with swords at the ready.

This story rings true. Befriending one band of enemies to ward off another was an old Roman tactic that the Britons no doubt adopted. But we will probably never know exactly what happened. It is clear, though, that from the middle of the fifth century and for the next 100 years or so waves of migrating tribes from beyond the North Sea brought their Germanic dialects to Britain. These tribes are traditionally identified as Angles, Saxons and Jutes. Archaeology confirms that objects found in English graves are comparable to those from what is now north Germany and the southern half of the Danish peninsula. To this list of tribes we should add Frisians who, to this day, speak the continental language considered to be closest to English. Still, there is no need to be concerned about the exact ethnic mix of these new settlers: more important for us were the immense future consequences.

There was no sense of national identity among all these tribes, but they spoke neighbouring Germanic dialects and were most likely able to communicate with each other. For centuries there was no collective name for the Germanic peoples who settled in Britain. The term **Anglo-Saxon** is often (as in this book) used to denote anything connected with English soil – language, people, culture – before the Norman Conquest. But this is a late reconstruction, a convenient but vague label, used in contradistinction to **Old Saxons** who remained on the continent.

Very few old Celtic words survived the invasions to leave their imprint on modern English. The main survivors were the names of places and rivers. Place-names, such as *Dover, Cardiff, Carlisle, Glasgow* and *London,* and river-names, such as the *Avon,* the *Clyde,* the *Severn* and the *Thames,* all have some distant Celtic link. This scarce linguistic evidence has been used in support of the idea that all Celts were driven out or killed. Most scholars, however, agree that the word 'genocide' is out of place here, and that 'ethnic cleansing' may have been more applicable. There was, after all, no love lost between rival tribes of Celts and Anglo-Saxons. Many of the Celtic-speaking Britons retreated into the more remote and rugged regions that we now know as Cornwall, Wales, Cumbria and the Scottish borders. Some of the Britons even emigrated across the Channel to Armorica, as reflected in its present-day name, Brittany, but the bulk of the British population probably continued to live meagrely under Germanic rule and to speak their own language. Though atrocities did occur, there can hardly have been a mass expulsion. The use of Celtic names by Anglo-Saxon nobles (such as Cædwalla, king of Wessex) suggest that at least some level of social interaction existed. A more likely scenario is that the Britons, losing their Roman affiliation, gradually became absorbed into the Germanic population and eventually gave up their own language.

Old English (as we call the language of the Anglo-Saxons) was not very hospitable to foreign loans, which make up less than 5 per cent of the recorded Old English words. But the traditionally held view that the Celtic languages made virtually no impact on the language spoken by the Anglo-Saxons has been questioned. All Indo-European language families, Celtic being one of them, share similarities, and where people intermingle it is realistic to consider multiple origins of words or of other language features. Bilingualism is a recurrent theme in the history of the English language. It existed not only at the time of the Germanic settlements but also later at the time of the Scandinavian and Norman conquests. If these later invasions had not taken place, the English language today might have sounded not unlike Frisian, the European language most similar to English. A few examples of the similarities between Modern English and other related languages (all are Germanic languages, except Welsh) are shown in the panel.

English	Frisian	German	Swedish	Danish	Welsh
boat	boat	Boot	båt	båd	bad
cat	kat	Katz	katt	kat	cath
cow	ko	Kuh	ko	ko	buwch
dream	dream	Traum	dröm	drøm	breuddwyd
green	grien	grun	grön	grøn	glas
house	hus	Haus	hus	hus	tŷ
lamb	lam	Lamm	lamm	lam	oen
mother	mem	Mutter	moder	moder	mam
ox	okse	Ochs	oxe	okse	ych
sheep	skiep	Schaf	får	får	dafad
three	trije	drei	tre	tre	tri, tair

Christianity in the Isles

Christianity was introduced into Britain in Roman times and, by the third century, British bishops were regularly attending Church Councils. The Germanic tribes, however, worshipped their own gods, whose names, incidentally, survive in *Tuesday (from* Norse god Tyr*), Wednesday (*Odin, Wodan*), Thursday* (Thor) and *Friday (Frigg)*. After the Germanic invasions, the Christian faith was kept up only in Celtic areas such as present-day Cornwall and Wales. From Celtic Britain it was introduced, in the fifth century, into Ireland where it developed in cultural and artistic isolation for nearly 200 years. From this Celtic Church, Christianity was carried to the island of Iona on the west coast of Scotland and, later, to the northern English kingdom of Northumbria (see Figure 2.3).

In 596 Pope Gregory I sent a group of missionaries, headed by a monk named Augustine, to the former Roman province of Britannia with instructions to convert the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. The kingdom of Kent, nearest to the continent, was swiftly converted and Augustine became the first Archbishop of Canterbury. Since then, Canterbury has remained the ecclesiastical capital of England.

However, the missionaries from the south did not have it all their own way. The mission that came from Iona to the Northumbrians (the Anglo-Saxons living north of the River Humber) brought the Irish strain of Christianity, rich in a tradition that inspired the wonderful artistry of the Lindisfarne Gospels (dating from *ca.* 700), a richly illuminated holy book that can be seen in the British Library today. Not long after its conversion, the north of England in the early eighth century became a hive of Christian culture and scholarship whose influence spread far and wide into continental Europe. Apart from the Lindisfarne Gospels, two remarkable monuments of that 'Northumbrian School' are the Anglo-Saxon monk and historian Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* a feat of historical scholarship unrivalled at the time, and the Ruthwell Cross, a stone cross,


image
not
available

round the north of Scotland via the Shetlands and the Orkneys and southwards to the Isle of Man, Ireland and north-west England. For three generations after the raids began, the bands of Vikings arrived mostly as separate and small-scale undertakings, not as royal expeditions or large invasions. There were at least three phases of Viking activities, stretching over some 250 years: sporadic raids, permanent colonization and political supremacy (see map, p. 24).

In the first phase, from the late eighth century, the attacks were basically hit-and-run affairs, as in the case of the Lindisfarne raid, but from 835 raids became more intense. For three decades the attacks came almost yearly with pillaging of the very heartland of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

In the second phase, from 865 to 896, casual plundering gave way to permanent colonization. Until the mid-tenth century there was no unified English monarchy, but in the mid-ninth century there were still four recognizable Anglo-Saxon kingdoms: East Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria and Wessex (see Figure 2.3). By the early 870s only the kingdom of Wessex (roughly corresponding to present-day England south of the Thames but excluding Kent and Cornwall) remained intact. In Wessex the opposition was better organized than in the other kingdoms. King Alfred of Wessex succeeded to the throne at the time of acute danger from Danish invasion but, through a mixture of military success, tactful diplomacy and good luck, he managed to roll back the Danish tide. Before Alfred died in 899, he reached an agreement with the Viking leader Guthrum to confine the Danes to the north and east of a diagonal line stretching roughly from London to Chester, an area later known as the *Danelaw,* where Danish customs prevailed in contrast to the areas of Anglo-Saxon law to the south and west. Guthrum agreed to leave Wessex alone and even accepted Christian baptism, taking the English name of Athelstan – a truly humbling fate for a Viking chieftain (see Figure 2.4).

King Alfred the Great

King Alfred is the only English monarch ever to be given the title 'Great'. Not only did he stem the Viking invasions but he laid the ground for a re-conquest so that his heirs eventually became kings of England. The West Saxon monarchs who succeeded him gradually took over the Danelaw, paving the way for the unification of all England towards the end of the tenth century. Under King Edgar, the country enjoyed two decades of peace up to the 970s.

Alfred longed to improve the education of his people and set up what today might be called 'a crash programme in education'. He started a court school and invited scholars from abroad, arranged for the translation of Latin texts into English and employed learned churchmen to strengthen royal authority and establish a system of law. He and his team of scholars were the founding fathers of English prose. If it had not been for Alfred, the history of the English language might have taken quite a different turn – the standard language of Great Britain might actually have been a Scandinavian tongue.

p. 231

Other examples of new kinds of text are given in David Crystal 'O brave new world, that has such corpora in it!' New trends and traditions on the Internet plenary paper to ICAME 32, 'Trends and Traditions in English Corpus Linguistics', Oslo, June 2011, available at www.davidcrystal.com.

Chapter 13: English into the Future

Three publications have been particularly valuable sources for this chapter: David Crystal, *English as a Global Language*; David Graddol, *The Future of English?*; Tom McArthur, *The English Languages*. These books are identified below simply as Crystal, Graddol and McArthur.

p. 237

Tom McArthur has explored the 'Latin analogy' (pp. 180–96).

p. 238

The quotation from Henry Sweet is from his *Handbook of Phonetics* (p. 196) (see Crystal, p. 176). Burchfield's view on the disintegration of global English was reported by Randolph Quirk, who also drew attention to the comparable prediction by Henry Sweet (in Randolph Quirk, *Grammatical & Lexical Variance in English* (pp. 5–6). The quotation 'a lively and useful corpse' is from McArthur (p. 185).

p. 239

The plummeting cost of transatlantic telephone calls is depicted by a graph in Graddol (p. 31).

p. 240

The term 'multiglossia' is used by Crystal (p. xi), whereas the term 'polyglossia' is mentioned (in the entry for *diglossia*) in Tom McArthur's *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* (p. 313). The estimated incidence of bilingualism is from Crystal (p. 17). On the circle of world English, see Tom McArthur (p. 97). Manfred Görlach has a similar diagram in *Studies in the History of the English Language* (see McArthur, p. 101).

p. 242

The quotations on WSSE are from Crystal (pp. 185–6). 'Accommodation' is a familiar term in sociolinguistics; the concept was developed by Howard Giles and Philip Smith in 'Accommodation theory: optimal levels of convergence'.

p. 243

For Crystal's four principles and his statement that English was 'in the right place at the right time', see Crystal (pp. xiii, 14). Claims on the numbers of Chinese speakers and learners of English came from Reuter's UK Report on-line, 9 December 2004 and from *Newsweek,* 7 March 2005. Graddol's report 'The Future of English' was published at the British Council's 'Going Global Conference in International Education' in Edinburgh on 8 December 2004.

p. 244

The quotation is from Tom McArthur in 'World English, Euro-English, Nordic English?' (p. 55). In *The English Languages,* McArthur surveys the role of English in the countries of the world, and comes to the conclusion that 'in the territories listed' English is 'significant for one or more reasons'. In some cases, the role of English is official, in others it is not (pp. 47–8). The following sections ('Business and Commerce', 'Education', etc.) are largely based on Graddol (pp. 28–49).

p. 245

On the 'decorative' use of English, see John Dougill, 'English as a decorative language'; also McArthur, *Oxford Guide to World English* (pp. 368–9). On the scientific role of English, see Hikomaro Sano, 'The world's lingua franca of science'.

p. 246

The prediction about the bilingual Dutch is in Tom McArthur, 'World English, Euro-English, Nordic English?' (p. 58).

p. 248

The quotation about the infiltration of English in EU institutional activities is from Alan Forrest, 'The Politics of Language in the European Union' (pp. 314, 318–19).

p. 249

The phrase 'an offshore European language' is from Tom McArthur, 'World English, Euro-English, Nordic English?' (p. 55). The language rights quotation came from the 'Basic Principles' of the 'Draft Charter on Fundamental Rights in the EU: EU Citizenship and Language Rights and Obligations of the Citizen', Brussels, 2000. Other assessments of the present and future standing of English in Europe are to be found in Robert Phillipson, *English-Only Europe? Challenging Language Policy,* and Jennifer Jenkins, Marko Modiano and Barbara Seidlhofer, 'EuroEnglish'. For different takes on Mid-Atlantic English in Europe, see Marko Modiano, 'The emergence of Mid-Atlantic English in the European Union' and Gunnel Melchers, '"Fair ladies, dancing queens" – A study of Mid-Atlantic accents'. For the study and promotion of ELF, see Jennifer Jenkins, 'ELF at the gate: the position of English as a lingua franca'. Barbara Seidlhofer wrote 'Closing a conceptual gap: the case for a description of English as a lingua franca'. She is working on the Vienna-Oxford corpus of ELF (www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/corpus_description). Anna Mauranen, who wrote 'The Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in International Settings', is working on the ELFA project. The corpus was completed in 2008 and its development work is ongoing (www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/elfacorpus.html).

p. 250

The concept of Nuclear English is developed in 'International communication and the concept of Nuclear English', a chapter in Randolph Quirk, *Style and Communication in the English Language* (pp. 37–53).

pp. 251–2

The proposition that 'the native speaker is dead' is discussed by P. Bhaskaran Nayar in 'Variants and varieties of English: Dialectology or linguistic politics?'. On the