4 More on structure: lexis and phonology

In this chapter we continue to provide an overview of characteristics of New Englishes, chiefly in the realm of lexis and phonetics and phonology.

4.1 THE VOCABULARY OF NEW ENGLISHES

This section provides a brief overview of the characteristic lexis of New Englishes, chiefly in Africa and Asia. In a sense there is little difference between vocabulary generation in individual New Englishes and metropolitan Englishes: the same processes that create new lexical items in the latter are reported in New Englishes. The interest lies more in the details. Metropolitan Englishes have long been receptive to new lexis based on the colonial experiences of the English abroad. Terms like the following now pass as international English, rather than that of a specific colonial variety:

- bandanna ‘large coloured handkerchief or neckerchief’ (from Hindi)
- amok ‘rushing in a frenzy’ (from Malay)
- tsetse ‘bloodsucking fly which transmits sleeping sickness’ (from Tswana)
- zombie ‘corpse revived by witchcraft’ (from Kimbunda)
- safari ‘expedition to hunt or observe animals’ (from Arabic via Swahili)
- serendipity ‘lucky and happy outcome’ (based on the Persian fairy-tale of the Three Princes of Serendip, an old Middle Eastern name for Sri Lanka)

The above examples count as borrowings and reflect a process of acquiring new knowledge or artefacts from other cultures. By contrast, the words to be characterised in this section are not as widely known. Some of them are specific to a particular country or region (e.g. akara
‘beancake’ in West Africa), or used in several territories without being fully international (e.g. *peon* ‘a messenger’ – in Ind Eng, Pak Eng, Sgp Eng and Mal Eng, based on a Portuguese term that stabilised in India). Furthermore, the term ‘borrowing’ for these terms is not entirely appropriate, since speakers have not been adopting a new word or acquiring a new concept. These items are therefore better characterised as ‘retentions’ from the ancestral languages of a territory.

Not surprisingly, vocabulary retentions in New Englishes tend to cluster in semantic fields pertaining to local customs and culture, including terms for food, clothing, music and dance. A selection of terms from different varieties is given below.

**Food terms:**

- *akara* ‘bean cake’ (Nig Eng)
- *koka sakora* ‘porridge without milk’ (Ghan Eng; from Akan and Hausa respectively)
- *ugali* ‘staple maize food’ (EAf Eng of Kenya and Tanzania)
- *posho* ‘staple maize food’ (EAf Eng of Uganda)
- *umqombothi* ‘thick home-brewed beer’ (BISAf Eng)
- *paneer* ‘cottage cheese pressed into small blocks’ (Ind and Pak Eng)
- *makan* ‘food’ (Sgp and Mal Eng)
- *haleem* ‘thick broth of meat and lentils or wheat’ (Pak and Ind Eng)

**Clothing:**

- *akwete* ‘a type of cloth’ (Nig Eng)
- *mitumba* ‘second-hand clothes’ (EAf Eng)
- *shalwar kameez* ‘baggy pants and long shirt’ (Ind and Pak Eng)

**Traditional medicine, music, customs etc:**

- *adowa* ‘Akan dance’ (Ghan Eng)
- *Asaman* ‘land of the dead’ (Ghan Eng, from Akan)
- *marimba* ‘African xylophone’ (BISAf Eng and Zimbabwean Eng)
- *bomoh* ‘medicine man’ (Mal Eng)
- *mela* ‘fair, festival’ (Ind Eng)

**Political terms:**

- *uhuru* ‘freedom, independence’ (EAf Eng)
- *nyayo* ‘following in footsteps of a great leader’ (E Afr Eng, especially of Kenya)\(^1\)

\(^1\) More especially, ex-president Arap Moi’s following in the ‘footsteps’ of Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya.
ujamaa ‘familyhood, African socialism’ (EAf Eng, especially of Tanzania)
lektota ‘assembly of people from a village or (now) a political meeting, especially of Black groups’ (BISAf Eng)
swaraj ‘self rule, independence’ (Ind Eng)
bumiputra ‘son of the soil, patriot’ (Mal Eng)

Sometimes entire registers retain key terms from the local languages. Our first example is from the ‘matrimonials’ section of the Hindustan Times (Dec. 2003) in which families place advertisements calling for prospective brides or grooms:

**Alliance invited**
from Handsome boy of high status, educated business class, Delhi based family for **27 yrs, 5 ft 3 inches Slim, Wheatish, Beautiful, Non Manglik Graduate girl, well established dress designer, running her own boutique** (Wishes to continue even after marriage). Belong to respected business family [xxx] residing in Delhi. Correspond with photograph & Horoscope.

**Caste No Bar**
To Box no. [xxxx]
Hindustan Times
New Delhi – 110 001

[Glosses: *wheatish* ‘colour of wheat, i.e. light brown rather than very dark or very fair in complexion’; *non-manglik* ‘not having Mars in the relevant part of one’s horoscope’; *boy* ‘young man’; *caste no bar* ‘caste considerations are not relevant’]²

The second example, taken from Kachru (1982c:362), concerns stock exchange reporting of grain prices in Ind Eng:

Urad and moong fell sharply in the grain market here today on stockists’ offerings. Rice, jowar and arhar also followed suit, but barley forged ahead. *(Times of India 23 July 1977)*

[Glosses: *urad* ‘black split lentils’; *moong* ‘small green lentils’; *jowar* ‘millet’; *arhar* ‘pale green/red lentils’]

The third example is from a newspaper article from Pakistan, illustrating the use of weights, measures and terms for intoxicants (Baumgardner and Kennedy 1994:184):

He said that Gujarat police recovered five maunds of charas, one kg heroin, 131 bottles of liquor, two maunds of lehan and raided

² Certain details have been omitted to ensure confidentiality.
distilleries from where five drunkards were arrested. (The News, Lahore, 10 Aug. 1991).

[Glosses: maund ‘c37 kg'; charas ‘hemp'; lehan ‘raw materials for making liquor']

In order to work out the exact value of a maund the following information extracted from Baumgardner and Kennedy’s (1994) article ‘Measure for Measure’ is necessary:

Units of measurement in Pak Eng:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ruttee/ratti</td>
<td>‘a bean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masha/masa</td>
<td>‘a bean’ (≈ 8 ruttee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tola</td>
<td>12 masha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chattank</td>
<td>5 tola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pao</td>
<td>4 chattank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seer</td>
<td>4 pao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhari</td>
<td>5 seer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maund</td>
<td>8 dhari (≈ 37,324.2 kg)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Note: ruttee is used by goldsmiths; tola is used for spices and foods; maund for these as well as drugs, flour, wheat, red chilli and cotton. Maundage is a term for weight of such objects.]

Likewise, the numerals lakh ‘100,000’ and crore ‘10 million’ are extremely common in Pak and Ind Eng, forming an essential part of the numeral system. We now turn to new coinages whose roots come from English, but which are used in ways that are structurally, semantically or historically worthy of note. We repeat that these processes are not unique to New Englishes, but are rather commonly reported in the history of language change, even where contact is not involved. In terms of semantics, some words show a wider range of meanings than Std Eng. Thus kinship terms like father in sub-Saharan Africa take their meaning from the extended family system and refer to one’s biological father, as well as his brothers. Similarly mother may refer to one’s biological mother and her sisters. Brother may be extended to refer in some African societies to one’s male cousins, or to males from the same village as oneself. In both Africa and Asia the terms cousin-brother and cousin-sister are in common use, for which Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali (2004:58) give the following explanation:

Since the word ‘cousin’ does not contain a sex-denoting marker, where sex is important, it has to be indicated (rather awkwardly) in [Std Eng] by a phrase like ‘female cousin’. Most languages in India indicate sex in the word itself, and ‘cousin-brother’ is an attempt to do this in Eng.
This might not be the only motivation, and the semantics of cousin-brother and cousin-sister bear further investigation, in different territories. In traditional Zulu culture of South Africa umfowethu referred to one’s male siblings from one’s ‘father’ (in the broad sense identified above, i.e. one’s father’s brother’s sons as well); while umzala referred to a cross cousin (i.e. children of one’s father’s sister or mother’s brother). The latter also refers to offspring of one’s mother’s sister. This culture-bound distinction may well underlie the distinction between brother and cousin-brother in Zulu speakers’ English. Thus one’s father’s sons (in the broad sense of father) are one’s brothers; by contrast one’s father’s sister’s and mother’s sibling’s sons are one’s cousin-brothers. However, not all speakers make this conceptual distinction; some Zulu speakers follow a pattern similar to that of Ind Eng, where cousin-brother refers to any male cousin.

Kinship semantics of New Englishes can be even more intricate than this. Ind Eng has terms like a co-brother for ‘one’s wife’s sister’s husband’, and co-daughters-in-law, which is how women married to brothers sometimes refer to their relationship. In IndSAf Eng terms like cousin brother-in-law occur, though infrequently: the speaker was referring to the man who had married his cousin-sister.

In many varieties of African and Asian Eng aunty and uncle may be used to denote respect for an elder person, rather than a blood relationship. Where a blood relationship is involved speakers are more likely to retain the term from their local language, in addressing them. In referring to relatives in English still other neologisms might occur, such as big mother for ‘mother’s elder sister’, big father for ‘father’s elder brother’, etc. Such direct translations from another language are called calques or loan translations.

Staying with the concept of semantic widening, a pan-African example is the epithet sorry, which denotes general sympathy for another’s misfortune, rather than an admission of culpability. Huber and Dako (2004:863) give the example from Ghan Eng of a tour guide saying I’m sorry to tell you that the slaves were kept in a dungeon, even though the misfortune applies to a third party, rather than speaker or addressee.

The opposite, restriction of meaning, is less common. In IndSAf Eng raw has narrowed from ‘inexperienced, crude’ to just ‘crude, vulgar’; and fowl for older speakers refers to a domestic hen, rather than a generic category. Semantic shift in New Englishes often involves a subtle change of meaning compared to Std Eng, though the standard meaning may also be retained. A hotel in East Africa and parts of India may refer to a public place to eat, rather than necessarily a place to stay. There is no clash between the Std Eng meaning and the local
meaning, since the context clarifies which meaning is relevant. These meanings may be depicted in terms of semantic features as follows:

\[
\text{hotel}_1 = [\text{+ local}, \text{+ eating house}, \text{+} / \text{−} \text{ place to stay}] \\
\text{hotel}_2 = [\text{− local}, \text{+} / \text{−} \text{ eating house}, \text{+ place to stay}]
\]

Similar semantic shifts occur with words like *travel* ‘to be away’ (in Nig Eng; Bamgbose 1992a:152) and *stranger* ‘guest’ (in Sierra Leone Eng; Pemagbi 1989, cited by Gramley 2001:142).

Sometimes cultural restraints result in euphemisms such as the following: *late* (predicative and attributive adj.) ‘deceased’ (*My aunt is late*) in varieties of African and Asian English; *teasing* ‘harassing a girl’ (Ind and Pak Eng); and *interfere* ‘to molest’ (IndSAf Eng). Cultural traditions result in neologisms like *veg* versus *non-veg* in Ind Eng, with a reversal of markedness: vegetarian food is the unmarked norm; and *non-veg* (i.e. ‘meat’) the marked term.

Other characteristics of New Englishes pertain to stylistic choices. Several researchers have noted that New Englishes tend to use what count as formal terms of Std Eng where an L1 speaker might opt for a colloquial equivalent. For example Kachru (1983a:39) characterises Ind Eng as ‘bookish’ even in informal usage (1983:39), citing Goffin’s (1934) examples of *demise* for ‘death’ and *pain in one’s bosom* for ‘pain in one’s chest’. We may term this ‘register shift’, which clearly reflects the influence of written norms upon speech. Baskaran provides examples from Mal Eng like *furnish* where L1 speakers would prefer *provide* or *send*; or *witness* for *see*. It is not necessarily the case that New Englishes are being more formal when they use such terms; they appear so only to outsiders expecting metropolitan norms. Goffin (1934), cited by Kachru (1983a:39), notes a further tendency in Ind Eng towards polite diction and a moralistic tone. R. M. W. Dixon (personal communication, cited by Das Gupta 1986:740) observed that Ind Eng used the Romance verbs *inform*, *request* and *require* where native speakers use their Anglo-Saxon equivalents *tell*, *ask* and *need*. However, Ind Eng gives the Romance verbs many of the syntactic properties of the Anglo-Saxon equivalents: *Please inform him to come; Do you require to read this now?* Not all New Englishes have these characteristics; by contrast IndSAf Eng and Sgp Eng sound

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3 The feature [local] here refers to whether the establishment is typically frequented by locals or tourists. In semantic feature theory a feature with \(+/-\) is technically omitted from a feature list. However, it has been retained here, for clarity of presentation of the difference in meaning.
hyper-colloquial, even in contexts demanding a measure of formalese (see Mesthrie 1992a: 22).

Closely related to the seemingly bookish property of some Englishes is the preservation of forms that have become archaisms in metropoli-
tan Englishes. This characterisation also views things from the
perspectives of the metropolis: objectively speaking, it is the metropoli-
tan varieties that have innovated, whilst the New English may have
done nothing remarkable. Some of the ‘bookish’ examples cited above
(demise and bosom) also fall under this category of archaism. Several
examples are given in Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali (2004) like abode
for ‘home’, abscond for ‘flee, be missing’, furlong (an eighth of a mile,
now restricted to horse-racing in British Eng). Genuine archaisms (not
involving register shift) include stepney in Ind Eng for a spare wheel
(the term possibly originates from a street name in Glamorgan, Wales –
OED) and bogie for a railway coach or carriage (now unknown in the
UK, except as a technical railway term). Likewise the colonial term sta-
tion for a soldiers’ or civilians’ outpost refers to a place of work, even
a city or town in Ind Eng (Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali 2004) and WAF
Eng (Gramley 2001:135). The term tavern persists in BISAf Eng for ‘a
licensed informal drinking place’, whereas the word is slightly archaic
in L1 Englishes, including other South African varieties. McCormick
(2004:1003) notes that thrice occurs as a colloquial term in CFI Eng, not
restricted to literary texts or folk-tales as in Std Eng.

However, as living rather than fossilised systems, New Englishes gen-
erate new colloquialisms too. Neologisms in New Englishes can be very
expressive: bottom power ‘undue influence of females using sex’ (Alo
and Mesthrie 2004:826) and not on seat ‘not available in one’s office’
(Bamgbose 1971:44) are both from Nig Eng. In Mal Eng the adjective
accidented describes damage undergone by a car in an accident. The
pun between dent and accident is probably unintended.4 Numbers can
used in a humorous or cryptic sense:

number 10 ‘a person with a police record’ – i.e. referring to section
110 of Criminal Code procedure (Ind Eng; Hankin 1994).
item 13 ‘refreshment’ – i.e. an item not on a business agenda
(Ghan Eng; Huber 2004:864)

four twenty ‘a cheat, swindler’ (Sgp Eng; Pride 1982:160–2)
26 ‘member of hardened prison gang’ (BISAf Eng and CFI Eng).

Some neologisms pertain to time:

4 These are from two different sources: dent is of Germanic orgins (from dint ‘blow’),
accident from Romance sources (the Latin root cado: ‘to fall’).
next tomorrow ‘day after tomorrow’ (Nig Eng, calqued on Yoruba idiom)
last two weeks ‘two weeks’ ago’ (Ghan Eng; Huber and Dako 2004:865)
last of last week/month/year ‘the week/month/year before last’ (BlSAf Eng)
next two weeks ‘in two weeks’ time’ (Ghan Eng; Huber and Dako 2004:865)
next of next week/month/year ‘the week/month/year after next’ (BlSAf Eng)
last before week ‘the week before last’ (IndSAf Eng)

Alo and Mesthrie (2004:825) provide colloquial euphemisms from the semantic field of bribery and corruption in Nig Eng:

- X can deliver ‘fix/ rig an election’
- X understands ‘is ready to offer a bribe’
- an arrangement ‘preferential treatment/ special arrangement’
- to add sugar to the tea ‘to offer a bribe’

We do not mean to suggest that Nig Eng alone is prone to such anti-language: tea in fact is a widely known euphemism in East Africa; and all languages have their underworld euphemisms. Finally idioms and proverbs can express local wisdom:

- a crocodile in a loin cloth ‘a hypocrite’ (Ind Eng; Kachru 1983a:39)
- to want mutton curry and rice everyday ‘to have unrealistic expectations’ (IndSAf Eng)
- to take in ‘to become pregnant’ (Nig Eng; Bamgbose 1992a:156)

Manfred Görlach (1995) coined the term ‘heteronym’ for words pertaining to the same (or very similar) concepts in different territories in which a language is spoken. His primary interest was in the L1 varieties, with the primary division being between the UK and USA (petrol vs gasoline, etc.), and some interesting vacillation between other territories. For New Englishes research has still to be conducted on the status of heteronyms; whether, e.g., truck and lorry coexist (as they do in South Africa, because of British colonialism and subsequent American global influence). We note that in Ind Eng the preferred term is mobile phone (as in the UK), but New Englishes in South Africa (and L1 Eng there) favour the US-based term cellphone. The neologism handy occurs in Germany.

Finally, the grammatical form of lexical items has been commented on by many researchers. Reduplication has been noted as a common
feature of Asian and African varieties of English, on account of substrate tendencies. However, their functions are not identical in all varieties. Bokamba (1992:138–40) notes a common tendency in sub-Saharan African Eng to reduplicate adjectives to form adverbs: quick-quick ‘quickly’; small-small ‘in small doses’; slow-slow ‘slowly’. In Ghan Eng an adjective may be reduplicated to form a noun, as in red-red for ‘fried plantains and bean stew’ (Huber and Dako 2004:864). In Ind Eng, Kachru notes examples like different-different things and one-one piece. The semantics here is distributive, with a stylistic nuance of emphasis. Another type of reduplication applies to participles in Ind Eng, with the reduplicated participle standing for a whole clause, with the semantics [+ reason] and [+ excessive]. Thus Walking-walking we got tired ‘We got tired on account of walking too much.’ As outlined in Chapter 2, Mesthrie notes a constraint in IndSAf Eng for reduplicated adjectives, which do not occur with singular count nouns (apart from the distributive one-one). Thus I bought big-big apples, but not *I bought one big-big apple. This contrasts with the L1 English ‘comma intonation’ associated with forms like It’s been a long, long day. The constraint does not apply in Sgp Eng, as is clear from Wong’s (2004) careful description of reduplication of nominal modifiers (chiefly adjectives and numerals). His examples frequently show the collocation of reduplicated adjectives with the sg. noun one, as in the quiet quiet one (‘the very quiet person’), as well as with plurals funny funny things (‘things that are really funny’). Wong notes that in many of the examples the modifiers relate to visually striking or identifiable properties that speaker and addressee share as common knowledge. In other words there is a pragmatic (shared knowledge, salience) as well as semantic dimension (intensity, plurality, etc.) to this feature.

Kachru (1983a:202) cites another type of reduplication in Ind Eng, also known as the echo word construction, in which a lexical item (most commonly a noun) is repeated, with the first syllable changed. Thus acting-vacting denotes ‘acting and suchlike’ (e.g. acting, stage dancing and singing); petrol-vetrol denotes ‘petrol and other fuels’. Echo-word reduplication is a common feature which cuts across the language families of India (see Emeneau 1956). Its absorption into Ind Eng shows the process of indigenisation (i.e. making English structurally more like an indigenous language).

Hybridisation is in fact a general theme in New English lexical studies. Many scholars have pointed to the frequency of loan blends. These involve a combination of morphemes from English and a local language: goonda-tax ‘tax charged by criminals, extortion’ (Ind Eng); jollof-rice ‘West African risotto’ (Ghan Eng; Huber and Dako 2004:864).
Sometimes the combination is redundant in the sense that the two morphemes mean the same thing or have a hyponymous relation in that the (local) first term is a subset of the second: *challan-ticket* ‘travel ticket’ (*challan* = ‘ticket’) in Pak Eng (Mahboob 2004:1055); *nobat drums* in Mal Eng (*nobat* = ‘type of drum’ – Baskaran 2004:1082); *juju music* ‘a type of dance music’ in Nig Eng (Bamgbose 1992a:156). Scotton (1976) calls this a strategy of neutrality: forms from two languages are juxtaposed as a way of accommodating both languages (and cultures), rather than favouring one of them (see further Appel and Muysken 1987:127–33).

The majority of hybrid forms exemplified in New English studies are compounds. Compounding as a process involving English roots is noted as particularly frequent. Kachru described as ‘rank-reduction’ a process of turning NPs made of NP + PP in Std Eng into a compound noun in Ind Eng. That is, the general process reduces phrases to single words. Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali (2004) give examples from Ind Eng like *beer bottle* ‘a bottle of beer’ (not necessarily the ‘empties’) and *age-barred ‘barred by age’*. Baumgardner (1993:47) gives similar examples from Pak Eng: *perfume bottle* ‘bottle of perfume’; *matchbox* ‘a box of matches’; *to headcarry* ‘to carry on the head’; whilst *to airdash* ‘depart quickly by air’ has no exact or regular Std Eng equivalent lexeme. Mesthrie (1992a:109) gives examples from IndSAf Eng like *a cold-touch* ‘a touch of cold’, *top house* ‘house at the top’. BISAf Eng has the form *stop-nonsense* referring to a high wall to keep out noise from the neighbours (shortened from *stop-nonsense wall* ‘a wall to stop nonsense’).

Other lexico-grammatical neologisms noted by researchers include clipping of English words that would be unfamiliar outside a specific territory. Thus, *to barb* ‘to cut one’s hair’ (Nig Eng; Bamgbose 1992a:156); *a colo* ‘old, old-fashioned, from the colonial period’ (Ghan Eng; Huber and Dako 2004:864).

For a comprehensive and lively account of the vocabulary of World Englishes, the reader is referred to Gramley (2001).

### 4.2 PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

This aspect of New Englishes has been less researched than syntax, morphology and vocabulary. For this reason our geographical coverage will be slightly more limited than that of Chapters 2 and 3. Our synopsis will provide a general overview of the main phonological and phonetic characteristics of New Englishes in Africa and South and South-East Asia (henceforth *Africa–Asia*). The treatment is not
exhaustive; it is meant to give an indication of the range of phonetic variation in varieties for which such comparative information is available. This section draws upon individual descriptions of these varieties in *A Handbook of Varieties of English* (Vol. I, Schneider et al. 2004), and the synopsis provided in that handbook for Africa and South and South-East Asia by Mesthrie (2004:1099--110). The main sources from the handbook for the generalisations in this section are Finn (CFI Eng); Mesthrie (IndSAf Eng), van Rooy (BISAf Eng), Gut (Nig Eng), Huber (Ghan Eng), Simo Bobda (Cameroons (CAM) Eng), Schmied (EAF Eng), Gargesh (Ind Eng), Mahboob and Ahmar (Pak Eng), Wee (Sgp Eng), Tayao (Phl Eng) and Baskaran (Mal Eng).

The focus will inevitably fall on those characteristics that differ from varieties that are more or less accepted as a norm in international English: RP and ‘general American’ (however hard the latter may be to define). These varieties are chosen as a convenient means of comparison, as well as the fact that they do have some prestige in the former colonies, especially for newsreading style (rather than for colloquial speech, where they might be deemed inappropriate). RP is the model promulgated by the British in all territories covered in this section, except for the Philippines, which after Spanish domination came under the sway of the USA and *ergo* US Eng. The features identified in this section are unlikely to be used by all L2 speakers in a given territory at all times. Rather, the principles of variationist sociolinguistics apply: there is a degree of intra-speaker and stylistic variation. In particular the features cited are mainly found in mesolectal and basilectal speech; acrolectal speakers usually have accents that are somewhat closer to prestige TL norms.

4.2.1 Vowels

In describing the vowels across a range of New English varieties, the most convenient method is that which utilises Wells’ (1982) lexical sets. Wells devised a system which made it possible to compare sounds across English dialects without describing them as a deviation from a particular British (or American) standard; rather the vowels of English are labelled by a key monosyllabic word in which they occur in a wide number of varieties. Wells thus speaks of the KIT vowel rather than the vowel \[i\]. The KIT class comprises all words that have the same vowel as the word *kit* in a particular variety: e.g. the vowels in *bit, sit, big, trip,* and the first vowel in *bishop, rhythm, build,* etc., in many varieties of English. The qualification ‘many varieties of English’ is necessary since not all varieties of English are identical in the exact details of their lexical sets. Thus, whilst there is broad agreement of the affiliations
of the BATH set in RP and US English (with RP having [ɑː] and US English having [æː]), vase belongs to this set in RP but not in US English, where it is often pronounced [væɹ], and hence belongs to the lexical set FACE.

(a) **The short monophthongs:** New Englishes in Africa–Asia either retain the six-vowel system for short monophthongs or transform it into a five-vowel system. The latter is exemplified by almost all African L2 varieties (except educated varieties of Nig Eng). A six-vowel system for short vowels is found among CFI Eng, IndSAf Eng, the Asian varieties (Ind Eng, Pak Eng, Sgp Eng and Mal Eng; Phil Eng mesolect) and (with several structural changes) in southern Nig Eng. The five-vowel short monophthong system is in fact the core vowel system in its entirety for African varieties (except Nig Eng), since (a) schwa is marginal in these varieties and (b) length distinction between vowels is not a general feature. There are two subtypes of the five-vowel system for short vowels, depending on particular mergers:

Type 1, with merger of TRAP and STRUT is found in EAf Eng, Ghan Eng and some varieties of BISAf Eng. Type 2 showing merger of LOT and STRUT is found in Cam Eng and southern Nig Eng.

In CFI Eng (as in White SAf Eng) there is a chain shift amongst the front vowels, with each vowel moving one step higher compared to RP, and /ɪ/ becoming centralised (as [ɨ]). We now turn to the specific characteristics of each lexical set in Africa–Asia varieties. In Sgp Eng the DRESS and TRAP classes appear to have merged (to [ɛ]) (Brown
Wee (2004:1024) proposes that there may well be a crossover effect in terms of vowel height, with \([\varepsilon]\) for TRAP and \([\alpha]\) for DRESS. Further research is needed to confirm this crossover of a whole class rather than of individual and isolated words as sometimes happens in other varieties.

KIT
In CFL Eng and IndSAf Eng, KIT is ‘split’ into a subclass with \([i]\) (in velar and glottal contexts) and a subclass with a centralised vowel \([\iota]\) (in all other contexts). This rule is derived from a general rule of White SAf Eng. KIT may variably be realised as \([i]\) in CFL Eng, and all L2 African Englishes and in the South-East Asian varieties (Sgp Eng, Mal Eng, Phl Eng). In all African and South-East Asian New Englishes, the KIT vowel may also be lengthened in certain contexts (as with all potential long–short pairs, since length is non-contrastive).

DRESS
\([\varepsilon]\) is the main variant in CFL Eng, IndSAf Eng, EAf Eng, Cam Eng, Ind Eng and Pak Eng. \([\varepsilon]\) is the main variant in BlSAf Eng, Ghan Eng and Phl Eng. In southern Nig Eng there is free variation between \([\varepsilon]\) and \([\varepsilon]\). \([\alpha]\) occurs in Sgp Eng and Mal Eng; \([\alpha]\) is the usual variant in northern Nig Eng.

TRAP
A raised variant \([\varepsilon]\) occurs in CFL Eng, BlSAf Eng, Sgp Eng. The usual variant is \([\alpha]\) in Ind Eng, Pak Eng and Mal Eng. \([\alpha]\) is the usual realisation in Nig Eng, Ghan Eng and Cam Eng. \([\alpha]\) is reported in Phl Eng. In Sgp Eng TRAP and DRESS have merged or may well even cross over, as discussed above.

LOT
\([\varepsilon]\) is a major variant in CFL Eng, IndSAf Eng and southern Nig Eng. \([\varepsilon]\) is found in BlSAf Eng, Ghan Eng, Cam Eng, Ind Eng, Sgp Eng and Mal Eng. \([\varepsilon]\) is reported as a major variant in Ind Eng, Pak Eng and IndSAf Eng. \([\alpha]\) is the usual realisation in northern Nig Eng; \([\alpha]\) in Phl Eng.

STRUT
\([\varepsilon]\) occurs in Cam Eng, and southern Nig Eng. \([\alpha]\) occurs in IndSAf Eng, Ind Eng, Pak Eng and Phl Eng. \([\alpha]\) occurs in BlSAf Eng, CFL Eng, E Afr Eng and Ghan Eng. \([\alpha]\) is the usual variant in northern Nig Eng, Sgp Eng and Mal Eng.

FOOT
A (slightly) rounded \([\varepsilon]\) occurs in CFL Eng, IndSAf Eng, Nig Eng, Ind Eng, Pak Eng and as a variant in Ghan Eng. A short \([\varepsilon]\) is the usual
realisation in BISAf Eng, EAFr Eng, Ghan Eng, Cam Eng, Sgp Eng, Mal Eng, Phl Eng and as a variant in Pak Eng.

(b) The long monophthongs: In most New Englishes in Africa and South-East Asia vowel length is not distinctive. In the sets KIT – FLEECE; FOOT – GOOSE; LOT – THOUGHT the usual realisations are [i u ɔ]. There is some variation within these sets (described below), and even more variation in BATH and NURSE.

FLEECE

[i: ] occurs in CFE, IndSAf Eng, northern Nig Eng, Ind Eng, Pak Eng and occasionally in Ghan Eng and Mal Eng. [i ] is reported in BISAf Eng, EAFr Eng, southern Nig Eng, Ghan Eng, Cam Eng, Sgp Eng and Mal Eng. [i ] is reported as a lesser variant in Ind Eng. In Phl Eng there is no distinction between KIT and FLEECE: instead, under the influence of Philippine languages, there appears to be free variation, with a tendency towards [i: ] rather than [i ] or [i ].

GOOSE

There is symmetry with the FLEECE vowel in all varieties. Thus [u: ] occurs in all the varieties that use [i: ]; and [u ] in all the varieties that use [i ]. The noticeably centralised and unrounded equivalent [u: ] that occurs in L1 Englishes of the USA, UK and South Africa is not generally reported for New Englishes. In Phl Eng there appears to be free variation between [u: ] and [u ] or [υ ], with a tendency towards [u: ].

THOUGHT


NURSE

There is immense variation in the realisation of the NURSE vowel:

[ɔ: ] in the non-rhotic varieties, CFI Eng, IndSAf Eng and in the rhotic Ind Eng, and as an occasional variant in Ghan Eng;
[a: ] in northern Nig Eng and as a lesser alternative in Ind Eng;
[e ] in BISAf Eng, southern Nig Eng, Ghan Eng, in the rhotic Phl Eng; and as a lesser alternative in Cam Eng;
[a ] in EAFr Eng and as a lesser alternative in Nig Eng;
[a ] in Pak Eng (rhotic) and as a lesser alternative in Ind Eng;
[ə ] in Cam Eng;
[ɔ ] in Sgp Eng, Mal Eng and as a lesser alternative in Ind Eng;
BATH
The usual values are as follows:

[ɑː] in IndSAf Eng, Ind Eng, Pak Eng, and as an alternative in CFIL Eng;
[a] in EAfr Eng, southern Nig Eng, Ghan Eng and Cam Eng;
[œ] in Sgp Eng, Mal Eng, Phl Eng and as an alternative in CFIL Eng;
[œi] in BISAF Eng;
[œː] in northern Nig Eng and as a lesser alternative in Ghan Eng;
[œ] or [œ] as the main variant in CFIL Eng.

(c) Diphthongs: FACE

[eɪ] occurs in IndSAf Eng, Pak Eng and as a lesser alternative in BISAF Eng, Ghan Eng and Mal Eng;
[eɪ] or slightly lower or backed equivalents of the nucleus occur in CFIL Eng and BISAF Eng;
[e] occurs in EAfr Eng, Nig Eng, Ghan Eng, Cam Eng, Sgp Eng, Mal Eng and Phl Eng;
[eː] occurs in Ind Eng and Pak Eng;
[eɪ] occurs as a lesser variant in Ghan Eng.

PRICE

[aɪ] occurs in IndSAf Eng, Nig Eng, Ind Eng and Pak Eng;
[aɪ] occurs in EAfr Eng and Phl Eng;
[aɪ] occurs in BISAF Eng;
[aɪ] occurs in Ghan Eng, Cam Eng, Sgp Eng, Mal Eng and as an alternative form in Nig Eng and CFIL Eng;
[i] occurs in CFIL Eng;
[a] occurs as a lesser alternative in Ghan Eng.

MOUTH

[au] occurs in CFIL Eng (before voiced segments), EAfr Eng, Nig Eng, Ghan Eng, Cam Eng, Ind Eng and Pak Eng. Nuclei with [u] or [a] are reported in IndSAf Eng and Phl Eng. The glide element [u], rather than [ø], is reported in Sgp Eng and Mal Eng. [au] in CFIL Eng (before voiceless segments); [øʊ] in BISAF Eng.

Monophthongal qualities are also reported: [ø] as an alternative in BISAF Eng; and [a] as a lesser alternative in Ghan Eng.

CHOICE

[œɪ] occurs in CFIL Eng, IndSAf Eng, BISAF Eng, Nig Eng, Ind Eng and Pak Eng.
[ɔɪ] occurs in Ghan Eng, Cam Eng, Ind Eng, Sgp Eng and Mal Eng;
[ɔl] occurs in EAfr Eng and Phl Eng;

**GOAT**

[ɔ] occurs in EAf Eng, southern Nig Eng, Ghan Eng, Cam Eng, Sgp Eng, Mal Eng and Phl Eng;
[ɔ] is reported for BlSAf Eng;
[ɔː] occurs in northern Nig Eng, Ind Eng, Pak Eng and as a lesser alternative in Mal Eng;
[ʊu] occurs in IndSAf Eng and as a lesser alternative in Ghan Eng;
[ɑʊ] occurs in BlSAf Eng;
[əʊ] is reported in Pak Eng;

Lowered and fronted nuclei also occur in [ɐu] or [ɐʊ] in CFI Eng.

**SQUARE**

[e] occurs in CFI Eng, IndSAf Eng and Ind Eng;
[e] occurs as a variant in Ind Eng;
[ɛ] occurs in BISAf Eng, Ghan Eng, Cam Eng and as a lesser alternative in Mal Eng;
[æ] occurs in Sgp Eng and Mal Eng;
[ɛ] is reported for Phl Eng;
[ɛa] or [ɛa] occur in Ghan Eng and Nig Eng;
[ia] occurs in southern Nig Eng and [ɛa] or [ɔi] in Pak Eng.

**NEAR**

The diphthongal realisations are as follows:

[ɪə] in Ind Eng and Pak Eng;
[ɪɑ] in Sgp Eng and Mal Eng;
[ɪɛ] in Ghan Eng and Cam Eng, and as [ɪɛ] in IndSAf Eng;
[ɪv] in CFI Eng;
[ɪa] in EAfr Eng;
[ɪa] as a lesser alternative in Ghan Eng.

Monophthongal [ɛ] is reported in BlSAf Eng, and, as a lesser alternative, [iː] in Mal Eng.

**CURE**

There is a great array of variation here, and the lexical set has to be studied in greater depth to ascertain whether all words associated with this set in RP, say, are treated uniformly. It would be safer to treat the following summary as referring to the word _cure_; rather than the whole set for CURE. Among the diphthongal realisations (which are usually preceded by [j]) are the following:
[uə] in Pak Eng;
[ʊə] in CFl Eng;
[ʊɑ] in EAfr Eng;
[ua] in Nig Eng;
[ʊɛ] or [ʊɔ] in Ghan Eng.

Monophthongal values (preceded by [j]) are reported in the following:

[ɔː] in IndSAf Eng;
[o] in BISAf Eng;
[ɔ] in Cam Eng, Sgp Eng, Mal Eng and as a lesser alternative in Ghan Eng;
[u] in Phl Eng (with postvocalic /r/).

(d) Unstressed vowels:

HAPPY
The variants are as follows:

[i:] in IndSAf Eng, and as lesser alternatives in CFl Eng and Ind Eng;
[iˑ] in CFl Eng;
[i] in Ghan Eng, Cam Eng, Sgp Eng and Mal Eng;
[i] in BISAf Eng, EAfr Eng, Ind Eng, Pak Eng, Phl Eng and as a lesser alternative in Ghan Eng;
[iː] in Nig Eng.

LETTER
The variants are as follows:

[ɔ] in white SAf Eng, CFl Eng, Ind Eng (plus postvocalic /r/), Sgp Eng and Mal Eng;
[ɛː] in IndSAf Eng;
[ɛ] in Phl Eng (with postvocalic /r/);
[a] in EAfr Eng, Ghan Eng and Cam Eng;
[ʊɪ] in BISAf Eng;
[ʌ] in Pak Eng.

COMMA
The variants are as follows:

[ɑ] in CFl Eng, Sgp Eng and Mal Eng;
[e] as a variant in CFl Eng;
[a] in Nig Eng, Ghan Eng, Cam Eng and Ind Eng;
[ɑ] in IndSAf Eng and Phl Eng;
[ɪ] in BISAf Eng;
[ʌ] in Pak Eng and as a lesser alternative in Mal Eng.
HORSES
The variants are as follows:

[a] in IndSAf Eng, Ind Eng, Sgp Eng, Mal Eng and as a lesser alternative in CFL Eng;
[v] in CFL Eng;
[i:] in BISAf Eng;

[i] as an alternative in Ind Eng;

[i] in Pak Eng;
[e] in Phl Eng.

4.2.2 Consonants
The lexical set mnemonic is not necessary for description of consonants. Instead we use the convention of capital letters standing for particular consonants (except for problematic cases like TH which will be designated by the usual phonetic symbols /θ/ and /ð/):

(a) Stops: P, T, K may be unaspirated in CFL Eng and IndSAf Eng (variably) and very commonly in Ind Eng, Pak Eng, Sgp Eng and Phl Eng. No such deaspiration is reported in the African varieties researched. T, D are retroflexed in Ind Eng and Pak Eng, and occasionally in IndSAf Eng. Glottalising of syllable-final T is reported for Ghan Eng. Final stops have glottalised variants in Mal Eng. P is realised as [p], [f] or [Φ] and B as [b] or [v] in northern Nig Eng. T is realised as [ts] in some Ghan Eng varieties.

(b) Fricatives: The most striking feature among fricatives is that all New Englishes varieties treat /θ/ and /ð/ as something other than an interdental fricative. /θ δ/ are realised similarly as a pair as follows:

Dental stops [t d] in CFL Eng (variably) and regularly in IndSAf Eng, Pak Eng;
An aspirated dental stop [tʰ] occurs widely in Ind Eng, but its voiced counterpart [d] is not usually aspirated;
Alveolar stops [t d] in EAf Eng, Ghan Eng, Sgp Eng, Mal Eng, Phl Eng;
Variably as [t d] for /θ/ and [d d] for /ð/ in BISAf Eng and Ghan Eng;
Affricate realisations [tθ] and [dð] are reported as lesser variants in Ghan Eng.

/θ/ is realised as [f] word-finally in some words in EAf Eng, Ghan Eng and Sgp Eng.
In EAfr Eng /θ/ and /ð/ may be realised as [t s f] and [d z v] respectively. Other changes to fricatives are less widespread:

Velar fricatives [x] and [ɣ] occur in CFI Eng (as in White SAf Eng), mainly in borrowings, place names, proper names, etc.

H may be voiced in CFI Eng, BlSAf Eng, IndSAf Eng, Ind Eng, Pak Eng; it may also be murmured in the last three varieties. H may also be dropped in IndSAf Eng, Ind Eng and Mal Eng, especially by Tamil speakers in these areas. In Ind Eng it may be dropped in initial position with tonal adjustments, amongst Panjabi speakers. H may be substituted by [j] in CFI Eng or by [ŋ] or [w] amongst Tamil speakers of IndSAf Eng, Ind Eng and Mal Eng. It may be dropped before [ŋ] in Cam Eng (e.g. in human). Hypercorrection may also occur in those varieties that drop H, with sporadic forms like hout for ‘out’.

F occurs as an approximant in CFI Eng, IndSAf Eng and Ind Eng. In northern Nig Eng, F is realised as [f], [p] or [φ]; for many speakers of Ind Eng as [ph]; and in basilectal Phl Eng as [p].

V has the following realisations:

an approximant [v] in IndSAf Eng and Ind Eng;
[v] or [f] in northern Nig Eng;
[bh] amongst Bengali speakers of Ind Eng;
[b] in basilectal Phl Eng;
[v] or [w] in Ind Eng and amongst Tamil speakers of Mal Eng.

/s əz/ have the following realisations:

[s z] variably in CFI Eng, BlSAf Eng, EAf Eng and Ind Eng;
[tʃ dʒ] in Ghan Eng.

In addition /ʃ/ may occur as [z] occasionally in CFI Eng, Cam Eng and (in final position) in Mal Eng. It may occur as [s] occasionally in CFI Eng and Ghan Eng.

Z occurs as [dʒ] occasionally in Ind Eng and amongst Malay and Chinese speakers of Mal Eng.

(c) Affricates: /tʃ dʒ/ have the following realisations:

[s z] in EAf Eng;
[tʃ dʒ] in Ghan Eng;
[ts ds] in Phl Eng;

In addition /tʃ/ is realised as [ʃ] in BlSAf Eng, EAf Eng and occasionally in Cam Eng. /dʒ/ is realised as [ʒ] in CFI Eng, BlSAf Eng, EAf Eng and among Yoruba speakers of Nig Eng.
(d) **Nasals:** N is retroflexed before [t] and [d] in IndSAf Eng, Ind Eng and Pak Eng. Epenthetic [n] occurs before consonants in EAf Eng. Vowels are nasalised before final nasals, with subsequent loss of the nasal consonant in CFl Eng and Ghan Eng. The progressive suffix -ing is realised as [n] in Ghan Eng.

(e) **Liquids:** The rhotic varieties in Africa–Asia are Ind Eng, Pak Eng and Phl Eng. There is [r ~ l] alternation in EAf Eng, Ghan Eng and some SAf varieties; the details often depend on speakers’ home languages. R is regularly realised as [l] amongst Chinese speakers of Mal Eng. Linking [r] is absent in Ghan Eng and Cam Eng, and is rare to non-existent in varieties of SAf Eng. L-vocalisation is reported in Ghan Eng and is in fact common in other varieties of English in Africa. Dark [t] is very common in CFl Eng; whereas light [l] prevails in Ind Eng and amongst older speakers of IndSAf Eng.

(f) **Glides and approximants:** [h] occurs in place of [j] or [w] in CFl Eng (and other varieties of Afrikaans-influenced Eng in South Africa). W is replaced by [hw] in wh-words in Ghan Eng. Clusters of [tj] and [dj] occur as [tʃ dȝ] occasionally in IndSAf Eng and other varieties of South African Eng: thus Chusday for ‘Tuesday’. There is dropping of [j] (yod-dropping) in Nig Eng, Ghan Eng and Cam Eng. W and V occur interchangeably in Ind Eng (occasionally) and rarely in IndSAf Eng.

### 4.2.3 Common phonological processes

Two processes are very commonly reported. Final devoicing of obstruents occurs in CFl Eng, BlSAf Eng, Nig Eng, Ghan Eng, Cam Eng, Sgp Eng and Mal Eng. Consonant-cluster reduction is reported to varying degrees in CFI Eng, BlSAf Eng, Ghan Eng, Ind Eng, Pak Eng, Sgp Eng, Mal Eng and Phl Eng. Clusters can, of course, be broken up in several ways. One way is to drop one of the consonants in the cluster. In Cam Eng (Simo Bobda 2004:895) plosives like /d, p, k/ are prone to deletion if they are the final consonant in a cluster; as in *past, missed, cold, end, grasp, jump, task, dust*, which may all occur without the final plosive. Such deletion is more likely if the next word begins with a consonant. Another way to break up clusters is via vowel insertion (or epenthesis). Tayao (2004:1055) gives examples from basilectal Phl Eng: [ku-lut] for *cloth*, [di-ris] for *dress* and [ta-rap] for *trap*. Some varieties break up initial clusters with s + consonant, via insertion of a vowel in initial position. Basilectal Phl Eng has [is-tat] for *start*, [is-ta-rat] for *strut* and
[is-kuwir] for square. Similarly, Ind Eng has variants like [isiːptʃ] for speech and [iskuːl] for school.

4.2.4 Stress, tone and intonation

Assuming a continuum between syllable timing and stress timing, the number of New English varieties which exhibit tendencies towards syllable timing is impressive: IndSAf Eng, BLSAf Eng, EAF Eng, Nig Eng, Ghan Eng, Ind Eng, Pak Eng, Sgp Eng, Mal Eng and Phl Eng. For these varieties vowel reduction is not as common as in RP and in some of them [ə] is rare, or more a feature of fast and connected speech, rather than of citation forms. On the other hand some of these varieties are reported to avoid syllabic consonants, in favour of schwa plus consonant: Ind Eng, Sgp Eng, Mal Eng and Phl Eng. All varieties that were cited in connection with syllable timing also display stress shifts in individual words or sets of words, in relation to RP norms. These are often shifts to the right (e.g. real 'ise rather than RP 'realise); though some words in some varieties exhibit shifts to the left (e.g. from penultimate to antepenultimate syllables as in Cam Eng a 'dolescence, rather than RP ado 'lescence). Most of these varieties do not use stress to differentiate between pairs like 'absent (adj.) versus ab 'sent (verb).

As far as intonation is concerned most varieties report a smaller range of intonational contours compared to RP. Whilst this area is one that needs closer attention, claims for the ff varieties will illustrate this general claim:

- **CFI Eng**: great use of rising intonation in statements (Finn 2004:978);
- **BLSAf Eng**: tone and information units are shorter than in RP (van Rooy 2004:951);
- **Nig Eng**: sentence stress is rarely used for contrast. Given information is rarely de-accented (Gut 2004: 825–6);
- **Mal Eng**: less change of intonation (or pitch direction) occurs in sentences compared to RP (Baskaran 2004:1044).

Some African varieties like Nig Eng and Ghan Eng make occasional use of lexical and grammatical tone, and report an interaction between stress and tone: Nig Eng, Ghan Eng.

It is clear from this synopsis that the L2 varieties of English in Africa and Asia share a large number of phonological similarities. Particularly striking are the use of a five-vowel system, plus diphthongs in many varieties; the tendency towards syllable timing; and the non-fricative realisations of /θ/ and /ð/. In the interests of fidelity to the descriptions in *A Handbook of Varieties of English* (Schneider et al., 2004),
minute differences between vowels were retained in this summary, rather than attempting to ‘normalise’ some transcriptions (e.g. [a] versus [ä] versus [œ]), in the hope of uncovering further broad phonological similarities. This synopsis must therefore be taken as a starting, rather than end, point of the study of the systemic phonological similarities, as well as of the phonetic differences within those overall similarities amongst New Englishes.

4.3 CONCLUSION

Our focus in this chapter has continued to be mostly at a descriptive level in identifying recurring features of New English vocabulary and phonetics. This focus is a prelude to understanding significant aspects of variation, since vocabulary is a close reflection of the cultural context while phonetics and phonology are closely tied to issues of identity. New Englishes thus show indigenisation, as identified in Chapter 1.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Differentiate between ‘borrowing’ and ‘retention’ in the sense maintained in this chapter.
2. Differentiate between ‘retention and ‘archaism’ as used in this chapter.
3. Define the term ‘heteronym’ and give some examples other than those in this chapter.
4. Review the treatment of vowel length in the different New English varieties.
5. Review the treatment of /θ/ and /ð/ in the different New English varieties.

Further reading
All works mentioned here are fully referenced in the bibliography.