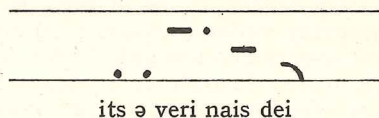


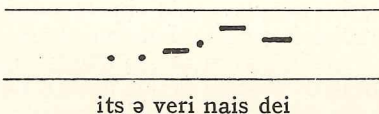
degree in Modern Languages, and despite all my admonishing, spoke recently of a "flotillar of motor launches" is probably beyond redemption.

Nowhere is the deficiency in Speech Education more manifest than in the realm of Intonation. There is only one traditional intonation common in public utterance in England; it is that which is known as the "clerical" intonation, although its use is by no means restricted to members of the clergy. It is the National Speech Anthem. It differs in all essentials from the intonation of the vernacular, and has very little in common with the intonations described by the authorities. It consists of a haphazard arrangement of tones, with little or no regard to their syntactic or emotive functions, and a studious avoidance of any rise or fall within the body of a syllable. Thus what in the vernacular is:



its ə veri nais dei

might become in this traditional intonation:



its ə veri nais dei

or any other fanciful arrangement. This is the Englishman's only resource, and he regards any departure from this as an unwarranted display of emotion, and consequently as a breach of good taste. When one considers the extraordinary richness and variety of the tones used in the daily speech of the Englishman, one can only attribute this prevalent distortion to a complete lack of understanding of the function of intonation. The wider aspects of this question are fully discussed elsewhere; here I need only say that nothing has been as effective in awakening the public to the importance of intonation as broadcasting; and that no section of the public has been more anxious to have intelligent guidance on the proper function of intonation in public utterance than the clergy.

Lastly, there is a word to be said about the nature of the criticism levelled at the decisions of the Advisory Committee on Spoken English, who are now mainly guided by its four specialist members who are, I am happy to say, all members of this Congress or of its organizing committee, Prof. DANIEL JONES, Prof. WYLD, Mr ORTON and myself.

First, there is the usual resentment at what is felt to be the Englishman's inalienable right to speak as he chooses. The Press, which has been instrumental in standardizing the visual language, is often completely unaware of the analogy between printing and broadcasting, and fails to see that anarchy in speech-broadcasting is as undesirable as anarchy in print-broadcasting.

Secondly, there is the criticism of the philologist, who complains that the Committee does not sufficiently respect traditionally established pronunciations. *Conduit* was first given as *ˈkɔndjuɪt* largely because

(a) I formed the view that many people in the habit of referring to Conduit Street use that pronunciation, and

(b) because the casing used by electrical engineers for enclosing cables and wires is usually referred to in that way.

This decision raised a violent discussion in *The Times*, in which one eminent man of letters referred to another as a "bumptious amateur". This word really caused a reconstruction of the Committee, and when it came up for reconsideration was promptly reverted to its older form *ˈkændɪt*.

It has recently been decided to call Marylebone *ˈmæɹəbən* despite the fact that there now remain but very few elderly people who use this form.

Personally I have very little philosophy left in this matter, despite the fact that I was brought into phonetics through the broad avenue of Philology (Romance). But when two or more variant pronunciations are available, it appears to me that ease of verbal communication is promoted if that variant is chosen in which the discrepancy between the visual and aural forms is least pronounced. Sometimes variants are not available.

Lastly, there is criticism of the doctrinaire kind, a good example of which will be found in Sir RICHARD PAGET's recent book, *This English*. Sir Richard wishes that the Committee would introduce more system into its deliberations, and impose upon the public pronunciations which, in his view, despite the fact that they may be non-existent, would make for uniformity.

Such are the observations upon a unique linguistic situation which I offer to the Congress, with an expression of the honour I feel in being invited to address it.

Note. For a fuller discussion of many of the points dealt with above see the author's *The Broadcast Word* (Kegan Paul, 1935).

63. Prof. C. M. WISE (Louisiana): *A comparison of certain features of British and American pronunciation.*

As the Dialect Atlas of the United States and Canada proceeds towards completion, and when a similar Atlas of the British Isles is undertaken, comparisons of British and American speech can be illuminated by historical data. Sources of colonial groups, and their movements subsequent to reaching American shores, will then be better known. Comparative British and American linguistic study can then be more easily "vertical" or historical, as well as "horizontal" or contemporaneously descriptive. Meantime, this paper limits itself to descriptive commentaries chosen selectively as follows:

1. The comparison of the relative standing, in the two countries, of certain British and American pronunciations.

2. The discussion of certain shifts among members of a phoneme or among adjacent phonemes.

3. The discussion of certain phonemes whose boundaries are not congruent in England and America.

4. Commentary on some pseudo-phonetic devices of dialect writers.

5. Listing of some divergencies of British and American pronunciation, including certain ones suggesting topics not discussed herein.

Some preliminary definitions of terms are necessary, to wit:

British Received Standard—British speech as approximated by most educated Londoners.

Standard General American—the speech of most educated people in East Central, Central and Western United States and Canada (about 95 million inhabitants).

Standard Southern American—the speech of most educated people in the former confederate states (about 30 million inhabitants).

Standard Eastern American—the speech of most educated people in New England and in New York City (about 15 million inhabitants).

I. Relative Standings of Certain Pronunciations

(a) There is an interesting difference in the English and American pronunciations of words ending in the letters *-ile*. Years ago, during my first three-quarters of an hour in England, I remarked to a fellow-traveller that the soil of the country-side must be very *fertile*. He did not understand me. I deferentially changed *fɜ:tl* to *fɜ:tl̩*. In time he said, "It can't have been possible you meant *fɜ:tail*?" Now in the Standard General American Speech, *fɜ:tail*, and in the Standard Southern and Eastern American, *fɜ:tail* are considered very rustic and illiterate. Here is a case where rural American and educated British speech have concurred in using the same form, whereas educated American speech has adopted different forms.

In the same class are *reptile rɛptail* and *futile fjutail*, which are always pronounced *rɛptl̩* and *fjutl̩* by educated Americans. Many other words fall into this class. *Infantile ɪnfəntail* and *juvenile dʒuvənail*, however, appear to divide honours with *ɪnfəntl̩* and *dʒuvənl̩* in American speech, while the zoological *crocodile krakədail* and the statistical *quartile kwɔrtail*—*kwɔ:tail* and *percentile prɛntail*—*pɛsəntail* are definitely in the ranks of the *ail*-pronunciation.

(b) Certain words in *er* present a parallel situation. *Clerk* is *klɑ:k* in British Received Standard, *klɛ:k* in Standard General American and *klɪ:k* in Standard Eastern and Southern. American shows no variation from the use of some central vowels in this word, save in the very common proper name *Clark klark* or *klɑ:k* which does not suggest *clerk* to anyone whatever, except an etymologist, phonetician or other linguist. But in the very illiterate mountain dialect found in the Appalachians and Ozarks, *ɹɑr* and *ðɑr*, and in the negro speech of the Cotton Belt, *ɹɑr* and *ðɑr* for *where* and *there* preserve the vowel *ɑ* of the older English.

In the same category is the American word *derby*, designating either a series of horse races or what is called in England a bowler

hat, and invariably pronounced *dɜ:br̩* or *dɜ:br̩*. The word *Darby* *dɑ:br̩* or *dɑ:br̩* is well known in America as a proper name, or as describing the famous ram of balladry; but when pronounced with an *ɑ*, it is always spelled with an *a*.

II. Phonemic Shifts

(a) The sound of *a* as in *father* appears to have been peculiarly unstable in English. The excellent phonetic alphabet invented by BENJAMIN FRANKLIN seems to show that this sound was rather an *æ* in Philadelphia in the late seventeen-hundreds. It is regrettable that we do not have equally definite records of Virginia and London at the time, by which we might judge uniformity or difference. Certainly there is no uniformity now.

This sound is most easily considered in words spelled with *ar* + consonant or final (but not preceded by *w*), as in *card* or *bar*. The Received Standard in England preserves the *ɑ* commendably, using the pronunciation *kɑ:d* and *bɑ:*. The Standard General American uses practically an identical vowel and pronounces *kɑ:d* and *bɑ:*. The Standard Southern speech holds to the *ɑ*, but the Southern Sub-standard speech raises the *ɑ* practically to cardinal *ɔ*, producing *kɔ:d* and *bɔ:*. The Standard Eastern speech may use *ɑ*, but is more likely to use a somewhat fronted *ɑ*, very like *a*, producing *kɑ:d* and *bɑ:*. Eastern Sub-standard speech will both front and raise the *ɑ*, practically to *æ*, producing *kæ:d* and *bæ:*. Summarizing these divergencies by applying them to a single word, we may pronounce the name of an American university roughly thus: British *hæ:vəd*, General American *hɑ:vəd*, Southern Standard *hɑ:vəd*, Southern Sub-standard *hɔ:vəd*, Eastern Standard *hɑ:vəd*, Eastern Sub-standard *hæ:vəd*.

(b) *ɔ* appears to be quite unstable. The General American holds an unmodified *ɔ* the most tenaciously. London *ɔ* is raised until it sounds very *o*-like to other ears, especially before *l*, as in *all ɔ:l*, *call kɔ:l*, *overhaul ɔvəhɔ:l* or *ɔvəhɔ:l*. Southern American Sub-standard speech raises *ɔ* also, but usually only after the utterance of the vowel is somewhat under way. In other words the *ɔ* is diphthongized to *ɔo*, as in *water wɔotə*, *walk wɔok*.

An interesting related phenomenon frequently shows itself when a Southerner is asked whether he pronounces the *l* in *walk*. He often replies that he does, and demonstrates—*wɔok*. He evidently thinks of his second diphthongal element, *o*, as *l*, and indeed it is very like *l*, as may be seen in the Cockney's substitution of *o* for *l* in *mɔok*.

(c) The vowel *o* ought to be very stable, its position being so definite and so visible. But of course it is not stable in English, save in some speech like the Scotch, where pure *o* is known. All the Standard American forms of speech and some British dialects use the diphthong *ou*, which has *o* in it, but with a strong off-glide, *u*. The so-called "New England" short *o*, a rural form, as in *stɔn* for *stone*, *hɔm* for *home*, *hɔl* for *whole*, and *ɔnl̩* for *only*, has an *o* in it,

but much centralized and perhaps lowered. The London educated *æ* as in *road* *ræud* and the Cockney *æ* as in *raød*, though thought of as containing *o*, do not in reality have *o* anywhere in the diphthongs.

(d) It is often commented of late that the London British *æ* in *man* *mæn*, *have* *hæv*, *banners* *bænəz*, *manners* *mænəz*, *majesty* *mædzəsti*, etc. is rapidly, and possibly irreclaimably, shifting toward *ɛ*—*mən*, *hev*, *bənəz*, *mənəz*, *mædzəsti*. In *hev*, *hez*, *hed* this shift has long characterized rural New England, and to a lesser extent rural General American speech, while in the American Sub-standard Southern, a different sort of raising, with tense glossal muscles, produces an *æ* still recognizable, but pinched and gagged—*hæ+d*, *hæ+t* for *had* and *hat*. In the single word *can't*, the raising process has gone so far in Sub-standard Southern as to carry the sound the unusual distance of two steps upward, where it is diphthongized, producing *kemt*.

(e) But it is in the case of *ɛ* itself that the Sub-standard Southern American has evolved the most persistent shifts: *tɪn* for *ten*, *mɪn* for *men*, *atɪmpt* for *attempt*; in other words, *ɪ* for *ɛ* whenever the succeeding sound is *n* or *m*. Only broad Irish of just the right vintage can equal this mutation.

(f) It is practically a rule that nearly all English speech tends to use diphthongs instead of pure vowels. Sub-standard Southern American often triphthongizes and double-diphthongizes, this multiplying of sounds being the major constituent of the Southern drawl—*hænd*, *hæənd*, *hæjənd*, *hærjənd* for *hand*. But the converse of diphthongizing—the “purifying” of diphthongs—takes place in this same Sub-standard Southern speech and in Cockney. In the Southern it is the diphthong *aɪ* which disentangles itself; in Cockney *aɪ* and *aʊ*. “*a* think so” is all too common for “*I* think so” in the Southern United States, and I have been much puzzled on occasion to hear a *blind* boy spoken of there as a *blond* boy. Educated Southern British appears to be considering the adoption of both un-diphthongizings, as I am hearing in *wæ:ls* for *wireless wæ:əls*, *gæ: Street* for *Gower gæwə Street*, the *pneumatic tæ:* for *tyre*, and the *tæ:* *Bridge* for *Tower tæwə Bridge*.

(g) It is surprising how one form of English will set limits for itself in pursuing a mutation, whereas another form will go beyond these limits. American English palatizes and affricates freely, using such pronunciations as *neɪtʃɹ*—*neɪtʃə* for *nature*, *lɪtərətʃɹ*—*lɪtərətʃə* for *literature*, *nætsərəl* for *natural*, *vədʒɹ*—*vɜ:dʒə* for *verdure*, and *ɛdʒukeɪt* for *educate*; but it stops short of *tʃub* for *tube* and *dʒuk* for *duke* as in some Sub-standard British.

(h) On the other hand, the nasalizing of vowels, which, aside from the Cockney “whine”, makes inroads but slowly in British speech, has proceeded almost unresisted in American speech, until American English is in a fair way of developing a complete equipment of nasal vowels, looking toward probably twice the number used in French.

(i) And again on the contrary, the glottal stop, which is commonly

used in American English only in the word *sentence* *sɛʔnts* and in a few other words with closely parallel phonetic context, is prominent in Sub-standard Scotch as a convenient plosive (e.g. *bəʔ* for *battle*), and in Cockney (e.g. *fʊʔbɔ:l* for *football*, *bɛʔŋ* for *bacon*) as an all-inclusive substitute for various sorts of stops.

III. Phonemes with Non-congruent Boundaries

Phoneme boundaries within a language tend to coincide. Even if a speaker does not speak all the variants of a phoneme, he has in his hearing vocabulary a certain extra number of forms which he automatically refers to the phoneme, and which he thus readily comprehends. But sometimes a speaker's phoneme boundary diverges so as to encroach on another phoneme for the hearer.

Outstanding among these non-congruent phonemes are the British and American *r* systems. Many of the varieties of *r* used in English are instantly recognized by all hearers as *r*'s, e.g. those in *ring*, *bring*, *string*, *try*, *dry*, *spry*, *bright*, General American *bɔ:d*, British *bɜ:d*, Sub-standard Southern American *bɜ:d*, Negro *bəd*, Bowery *bɔ:d*, General American *kɑ:d*, Eastern, Southern and British *fɑ:r*, *kɑ:d*, etc., including *r*'s vowel and semivowel, retroflex, voiceless and trilled.

Even the excrescent *r*'s of New England *law and order lɔr ənd ɔdə*, or British *Abyssinia and Italy æbəsɪnjər ənd ɪtəlɪ*, whether false links provoked by succeeding vowels, as above, or standing as the vestigial remains of such false liaisons in New England—*Hannah hænər*, *Maria mɛəriər* and in a contemporary London lady's *So vast a country as America sɔv vʌst ə kʌntre əz əmɛrɪkər*—while they may startle, still they do not deceive by seeming to be something else.

But the uvular *r*, either trilled or fricative, whether Northumbrian or Oxford, escapes the boundaries of the phoneme for most English speaking hearers, and does indeed seem to be something other than an *r*. It follows, then, that *cigarette sigəret*, *rubbers ɹɪbɜz*, *radiator ɹædɪətɹ* are heard by some as containing *l*—*sigələt*, *ɪɪbɜz*, *lədɪətəl*. In so hearing, the listeners have the support of MOLIÈRE, who ridiculed the *précieuse* court French of his day by representing their faddish uvulars as *l*'s. Others hear the uvular as *w*. Mrs ISRAEL ZANGWILL, speaking in America, seemed to many to say *wɔŋ* for *wrong* and *wɛdɪ* for *ready*. Here is a failure of phoneme boundaries to coincide.

Another point of divergence occurs at the boundary point occupied by linking *r*. Englishmen are sometimes caricatured as pronouncing *America* with a *d*—*əmədɪkə*, as if the word had somehow a relation to *medicate*. And the British rendering of the proper name *Perry* as *pɛrɪ* conveys to American ears a mention of *Peddie*, a New England boys' school. A few American dialect writers have “caught on” to this phonetic bit and represent the British rendition of *American* as *Ameddican*. Conversely, British hearers find the American *t*- and *d*-phonemes encroaching on British *r*-phoneme at the point occupied by the linking *r*. American intervocalic *t* and *d* are in rapid speech both lenis and unaspirated. They are so weakened and obscure that

it is nearly impossible to say whether they are voiced or voiceless. In other words, they practically coincide acoustically with the weak and obscure British one-tap trill, and so are confused with it. Some British dialect writers have very cleverly taken advantage of these phonetic phenomena and are found spelling the American use of the slang phrase "I gotta go", "I gorra go". To a British reader this represents the American pronunciation accurately, but it is vastly puzzling to the American reader, who, unless phonetically trained, will understand that the Englishman thinks the American says "I garə go".

This interlacing of British and American phonemes produces a whole set of anomalous homonyms. I set down a few:

Englishman says	American hears
<i>Perry</i>	<i>Peddie</i> or <i>petty</i>
<i>berry</i>	<i>Betty</i>
<i>carry</i>	<i>caddie</i> or <i>catty</i>
<i>Larry</i>	<i>laddie</i>
<i>Jerry</i>	<i>jetty</i>

Of course, the table above can be reversed. Indeed, I am of the opinion that the Englishman will misunderstand the American more often than vice versa.

American says	Englishman hears
<i>Peddie</i> or <i>petty</i>	<i>Perry</i>
<i>Betty</i>	<i>berry</i>
<i>caddie</i> or <i>catty</i>	<i>carry</i>
<i>laddie</i>	<i>Larry</i>
<i>jetty</i>	<i>Jerry</i>

IV. Pseudo-Phonetic Devices

I made mention a moment since of the American's puzzling at seeing his *gotta* (i.e. *got to*) interpreted as *gorra*. As a matter of fact, there is a general misunderstanding of many writers, since they cannot use a phonetic alphabet, and must rely, instead, on pseudo-phonetic spelling. British dialect writers are accustomed, for instance, to use the letter *r* as a lengthening symbol. Examples are the Cockney *off* ɔ:ɹf represented as *orf*, 'alf ɑ:ɹf as *arf*, *laugh* la:ɹf as *larf*, etc. This is all well enough for the Southern British reader, and for the Eastern and Southern American. But the Scotchman, the Irishman and the general American, who pronounce all *r*'s, are woefully misled into thinking that Cockneys say ɔ:ɹf, ɑ:ɹf, la:ɹf, ɑ:ɹsk, etc. HILAIRE BELLOC, in his amiably satiric novel *But Soft, We Are Observed!* spells a word of his caricatured Lord Delisport *torkin*. I assume that here again a drawled *tɔ:ɹkɪn* for *talking* is intended; but a good, round majority in the English-speaking world will think Lord Delisport said *tɔ:ɹkən*. Incidentally, *h* as a lengthening sign is much more nearly universally understood than *r*. Mr BELLOC's *abaht* for *about* will hardly be misapprehended anywhere, whereas if he had spelled it *abart*, to match his *arsk* for *ask*, it would most certainly have been pronounced ɔ:bart by quite too many people.

V. Some Lists of Comparative Pronunciations

The following tabulation summarizes some of the points covered in this paper, and lists various others otherwise untouched herein.

	Standard General American	Standard Southern American	Standard Eastern American	British Received Standard
<i>pass</i>	pæs	pæs	pæs, pas, pas	pas
<i>dance</i>	dænts	dænts	dænts, dants, dants	dans
<i>can't</i>	kænt	kænt	kænt, kant, kant	kant
<i>man</i>	mæn	mæn	mæn	mæn, mæ+n
<i>water</i>	wətə	wətə, watə	wətə	wotə
<i>watch</i>	watʃ	watʃ	watʃ, wɔtʃ	wɔtʃ
<i>note</i>	nout	nout	noot	noot, nɔt
<i>cord</i>	kɔ:d	kɔ:əd	kɔ:d	kɔ:d
<i>court</i>	kɔ:rt	koət	koət, kɔət	kɔ:t, kɔət
<i>bove</i>	boʊ	boə	boə	bɔ:
<i>not</i>	nət	nət	nət, nɔt	nɔt
<i>was</i>	wəz	wəz	wəz, wɔz	wɔz
<i>news</i>	nju:z, nuz	nju:z	nju:z	nju:z
<i>assume</i>	əsum	əsum	əsum, əsjum	əsjum
<i>boxes</i>	baksəz	baksɪz	baksɪz, bɔksɪz	bɔksɪz
<i>Alice</i>	ælis	ælis	ælis	ælis
<i>careless</i>	kærləs, kɛrləs	kæəlis	kæəlis	kæəlis
<i>ability</i>	əbɪləti	əbɪləti	əbɪləti	əbɪləti
<i>lily</i>	lɪli	lɪli	lɪli	lɪli
<i>which</i>	wɪtʃ	wɪtʃ, wɪtʃ	wɪtʃ, wɪtʃ	wɪtʃ
<i>heard</i>	hɜ:d	hɜ:d	hɜ:d	hɜ:d
<i>murmur</i>	mɜ:mɜ	mɜ:mə	mɜ:mə	mɜ:mə
<i>card</i>	kɑ:d	kɑ:d	kɑ:d	kɑ:d
<i>very</i>	vɛri	vɛri	vɛri, vɛri	vɛri
<i>far away</i>	fɑ: əweɪ	fɑ: əweɪ, fɑ: əweɪ	fɑ: əweɪ, fɑ: əweɪ	fɑ: əweɪ
<i>more</i>	mɔ:ə	mɔ:ə	mɔ:ə, mɔ:ə	mɔ:, mɔ:ə
<i>laboratory</i>	læbɔ:ɹi, tuɔ:ri	læbɔ:ɹi, tuɔ:ri	læbrɔi, tuɔ:ri, læbrɔ:ri	læ'buɔ:ɹɪ, læbrɔ:ri
<i>dictionary</i>	'dɪkʃən, ɛri	'dɪkʃən, ɛri	'dɪkʃən, ɛri, 'dɪkʃənri	'dɪkʃənri
<i>thirteen</i>	θɜ:ti:n	θɜ:ti:n	θɜ:ti:n, θɜ:tin	θɜ:tin
<i>been</i>	bɪn	bɪn	bɪn	bɪn
<i>ate</i>	ɛt	ɛt	ɛt	ɛt
<i>either</i>	iðə	iðə	iðə, aɪðə	aɪðə
<i>Berkeley</i>	bɜ:kli	bɜ:kli	bɜ:kli	bɜ:kli
<i>much</i>	mʌtʃ	mʌtʃ	mʌtʃ	mʌtʃ
<i>fall</i>	fɔ:l	fɔ:l, fɔ:ɪ	fɔ:l	fɔ:l
<i>reptile</i>	reptl̩	reptl̩	reptl̩	reptail

64. Mrs JANE DORSEY ZIMMERMAN (New York): *Representative radio pronunciation in America.*

The radio and talking pictures have been in some measure responsible for the increased interest and attention that has been focused on the subject of American-English speech during the past few years, by making listeners conscious of variations in speech that had never before been brought to their attention.

Not only has the radio served in its general broadcasts as a laboratory for the observation of speech patterns, but it has offered programmes which have been devoted to that subject specifically. Under