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Engleski jezik i književnost – Mađarski jezik i književnost

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Overview of British English Dialects

Završni rad

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Abstract

Language is a complex term which cannot be easily explained. Every language is

an enormous database of information about people who speak a particular variety such as

their class, gender and age. Language research, as well as dialect research, is complicated

work and it takes years to completely learn and understand the topic. Language consists

of various so to say branches that divide it into separate subunits which help us to

understand it. According to Brook "those subunits are established divisions of linguistic

study i.e. vocabulary, syntax, semantics, pronunciation and word-formation." (Brook,

1963: 33) After having learned what is language, what are varieties and how many of

them exist in English one should see into the features of those dialects and learn to make

a distinction between the two types of the same language. Dialects vary from one another

in lexis, grammar and pronunciation which may cause a real trouble to a non-native

speaker of the language and even to a native speaker if he or she has a little knowledge

about dialects of his or her country. Therefore, it is essential to get to know the

differences.

Key words: language, dialect, variety

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Introduction

Language is an almost infinitely complex concept which cannot be explained easily or in short. According to a somewhat simplified view, every language is divided into dialects. 'Dialect' is a term used to denote varieties of a language that are separated along geographical, social and cultural lines. Further on, a language also exhibits a range of different styles, from the more formal to the most informal, including slang. Registers are functional varieties of a language, defined by topic, or profession. Finally, each individual speaks in a more or less unique way, and the variety of a language typical of an individual is referred to as 'idiolect. Languages can also be analyzed on the basis of gender, age and level of education of their speakers. One question arises. Where is the dividing line between a language and a dialect? This paper will look into the origins of the English language, in its regional varieties and features as well as try to make these terms a little more comprehensible.

1.1. What is language?

The simplest answer, albeit a rather vague one, would be that language is a means of communication. With it we communicate our thoughts and ideas. We control and convey who we are or who would we like to be as well as establish social connections. Our listener, on the basis of what he has heard, can come to a certain conclusion about the speaker. Everything that comes out of someone's mouth may be interpreted in several different ways depending on how we said it. For instance, *Let's have a pig's ear* compared to *Shall we go for an ale*. In these two cases, not only do we interpret the message behind the two utterances as an invitation to a drink, but we also read from them some of the background of the speaker: in the first case the speaker uses Cockney rhyming slang which tells us that he or she comes from the East End part of London while in the second case the speaker is an educated person and very likely has a higher social status.

Another, more complex answer would be that language is a communication system compiled out of signs and rules which guide you in your communication with others. It consists of grammatical rules, lexis, pronunciation as well as gestures. ¹

1.2. What is dialect?

It is hard to give one accurate definition of what a dialect is because there are many definitions and many people who do not agree with each other. The word dialect came into the English language somewhere in the sixteenth century. It has a Greek origin but it came into English through Latin and French. The word itself means "discourse, way of speaking" (Brook, 1963: 17). As G. L. Brook states, "it is convenient to keep the word dialect to refer to the speech of a group of people smaller than the group who share a common language." (1963: 17). OED's definition of the word dialect is that "a dialect is the form of a language that is spoken in one area with grammar, words and pronunciation that may be different from other forms of the same language" (OED, p.346). A general definition may be that a dialect is any variety of English which shows deviation from Standard English in linguistic features, more specific, in lexis, grammar and phonology. Furthermore, a variety of a language can be associated with geographical place and with a social group. Knowledge about language, vocabulary and pronunciation develops over the years. It is largely different whether the speaker is a child, an adolescent, or a grown up person. Also, being male or female reflects on the way of speaking as well as our working environment, our place of living, our social and educational background and the people who surround us.

It is common knowledge that all languages change over time. They are influenced by technological advancement and development. For example, in the last two decades, languages have been enriched with a whole range of technological expressions such as iPhone or iPod. These two gadgets had not existed twenty years ago and when they

¹ Noun, a movement of part of the body, especially a hand or the head, to express an idea or meaning (OED) http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/gesture accessed: September 8th, 2012

appeared they needed a term and a definition. English dialects are different from each other, but speakers within the English-speaking world can generally understand one another, although with some varieties it is not the case. For example, the dialect of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, known as Geordie, has a distinctive lexis and pronunciation which is not familiar or used in other parts of the country and gives a lot of trouble to outsiders.

Any person will be faced with more or less difficulty when they hear a different dialect. The first obstacle is typically "unfamiliar vocabulary" (Brook, 1963:79). A speaker of a particular dialect may consider a certain word familiar and simple, using it in the every-day conversation, but his interlocutor, who speaks a different dialect, may not be familiar with the word and consequently, misunderstanding may arise.

The second obstacle is "the difficulty of identifying words which may be perfectly familiar" (Brook, 1963: 80). In other words, one may know all of the words he has heard but he may not understand the meaning of a whole. "For example one sentence is frequently used as an appeal for tobacco. It is pronounced without any pauses between the separate words. It may be transcribed as Azonyonyeonyonye? Which means "Have any of you any (tobacco) on you?" (Brook, 1963: 80).

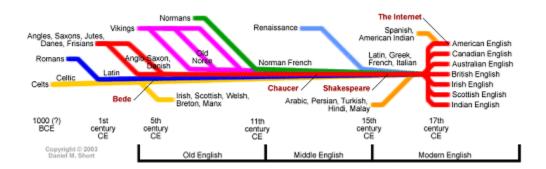
Furthermore, another aspect of a dialect is variation in pronunciation. As an example, Received Pronunciation or RP is an accent closest to Standard English, which derived from eighteenth and nineteenth century London aristocracy. "Received here is to be understood in its nineteenth-century sense of "accepted in the best society RP has remained the accent of those in the upper reaches of the social scale, as measured by education, income and profession, or title." (Hughes, Trudgill, 1979: 2) It is needless to say that RP brings a degree of prestige with it. If a person speaks in RP you ought to know that person comes from a wealthy family, has been brought up in private schools. "It has been estimated that only about three per cent of the English population speak RP" (Hughes, Trudgill, 1979: 3). Another thing to be mentioned is that RP does not give out the speaker's regional origin because it is free from regional accents. If a person has a form of regional accent it is not RP anymore.

1.3. What is accent?

An OED definition of accent would be "accent is a way of pronouncing the words of a language that shows which country or area a person comes from: a northern/Dublin/Indian accent" (2003, 6). Accent is just an element of a dialect. Basically it is the way someone pronounces words. Accent is the reason why we can tell apart people from different parts of a geographical territory. Knowing that more or less every school in the world teaches one of the two main varieties of English, Standard British or General American, one should take into consideration that accent is the sign of a person's cultural background. For instance, someone in Russia or Nigeria has been taught Standard variety of English in school but very often they cannot speak it without the influence of their mother tongue and pronunciation of their native language.

2. Origins of the English Language

In order to know the English language and its varieties one should know about the history of the language and its origins. In the picture below, one can observe a timeline of the languages that influenced the formation of the English language as we know it today.



² Fig. 1 Simplified timeline of developments in the English language

2.1. Pre-English Period

² http://www.thehistoryofenglish.com/history.html accessed: 20.06.2012.

Around 3000 B.C. in the Baltic area the Proto-Indo-European language was spoken. Around 1000 B.C., after many migrations, Celtic became the main branch of Indo-European in Europe including the British Isles. In 55 B.C. Romans began to raid the British Isles and after a few years occupied them and gave their new colony the name of "Britannia". That was the time of migration of Germanic peoples from Scandinavia. In the early fifth century the Roman Empire collapses and Germanic tribes continue to develop and adopt Christianity along the way. Around 410 A.D. first Germanic tribes arrive in England and in the upcoming years Anglo-Saxon settlement of Britain begins. Several tribes which occupied the British Isles, the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes, spoke West Germanic dialects which descended from Proto-Germanic and they all together have a distant relation to Latin. Celtic peoples were Christianized and pushed into the marginal areas of Britain i.e. Ireland, Scotland and Wales. By 600 A.D. inhabitants of Britain develop a distinct dialect of their mother tongue. ³

2.2. Old English

"Four main dialects of the period were: Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon and Kentish." (Brook, 1963: 40) The boundaries between these dialects were changing due to the intense political and war conditions; hence it is not possible to determine them correctly. "Very approximately we may say that Northumbrian included the dialects spoken north of the river Humber; Mercian was spoken in the Midlands between the Humber and the Thames; West Saxon was spoken south of the Thames in the ancient kingdom of Wessex; and Kentish was spoken in the South-East." (Brook, 1963: 40) At the end of the period, Wessex was the supreme region and most of the texts that survived are written in the West Saxon dialect such as Beowulf, a heroic poem dating from the eight century, written by an anonymous Anglo-Saxon poet. However, today's Standard English derived from a variety of the Mercian dialect.

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³ http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~kemmer/Words/chron.html accessed: June 20th 2012

2.3. Middle English

According to S. Kemmer⁴ the Middle English period begins in c.1150 and lasts until the fifteenth century. The oldest manuscripts in Middle English date from around 1150 in a mixture of Anglo-Norman and Old English. There is an influence of Scandinavian and in the tenth century many Scandinavian words entered the language. Gradually, Latin was replaced with English in schools, except for Oxford and Cambridge. English became the language of the lower classes whereas the language of the court and church was Norman French. In 1204 began the Hundred Years' War between England and France and it had a significant impact on the development of English because the French became an enemy. In the years that followed, nobles started to feel more English than French and did not want to use French words anymore. Hence they started to educate their children in English. French became a foreign language. In 1205 the first book in English appeared and in 1258 the first royal proclamation was issued in English. In 1348 The Black Death broke out and killed the majority of people which resulted in the need for workers and since they were valued more, their language became more important as well. The Black Death caused the lower classes to move up to the middle class and their language became more highly valued.⁵ "it is interesting to see that, as early as the fourteenth century, there was intermixture of dialects as a result of the movement of population." (Brook, 1963: 58) In 1362 The Statue of Pleading replaced French with English as the language of law and it was used in Parliament for the first time; however records were still kept in Latin. "The London dialect, which was an East Midland dialect, was, for the first time, taken into consideration to be "Standard English" and the Midland dialect is the basis of the Standard English." 6

Sometime in 1400s begins the Great Vowel Shift or a change of sounds which affected the long vowels of English. In 1474 William Caxton established the first English printing press and published the first printed book in England. It was the beginning of

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⁴ http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~kemmer/Words/chron.html accessed: June 20th 2012

⁵ http://www.angelfire.com/la2/timeline/: accessed: July 20th 2012

⁶ http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~dringe/CorpStuff/Thesis/Dialects.html accessed: July 20th 2012

standardization of spelling. The main Middle English dialects are Northern, East Midland, West Midland, South-Eastern, and South-Western.



⁷ Fig. 2 Map of the main Middle English dialects

2.4. Modern English

"The Modern English period may be said to have begun during the fifteenth century, and one of its characteristics was the rise of Standard English as a medium of spoken and written communication in all parts of the country, although many regional dialects have continued to the present day to exist side by side with Standard English" (Brook, 1963: 79) The MnE period is divided into Early and Late MnE period. In the late fourteenth and in the beginning of fifteenth century the Great Vowel Shift was still in progress.

In 1604 Robert Cawdry published the first monolingual English dictionary, Table Alphabeticall. In 1702 *The Daily Courant*, the first daily newspapers in English were

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⁷ http://www.yorkshiredialect.com/megen.htm accessed: June 26th 2012

published in London. Several years later, The Union of English and Scottish Parliaments occurred and the legislature was transferred to London. Consequently English became the official written language. In the 1700s i.e. classical period, it became fashionable to borrow words from other languages and coin new words using the borrowed ones. So in the years to come, English flourished both in lexis and syntax as evident in the writings of Samuel Johnson, an English author and above all lexicographer. Furthermore, Jonathan Swift and some of his purist contemporaries were criticizing the degeneration of their language and wanted to purify it and cleanse it of loan-words. In 1755 Samuel Johnson published his dictionary, *A Dictionary of English Language*, which he hoped would help upgrade and polish the English language. In 1858 started the writing of the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) which was originally known as A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles (NED).

With the discovery of a New Land, America, English got its chance to become the major language in the whole world and by the nineteenth century the new variety of English called American English fully developed on the basis of the dialect of Mid-Atlantic States. Furthermore, in 1788 the British penal colony was established in Australia and consequently English became the standard language of the country. Also, English was established in South Africa, India, Singapore and other British colonies and every one of those countries over the time developed their own, local variety which became standard or one of standard languages. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there came to a significant development of science and technology which caused the need for new, technical vocabulary which had not existed before. Also, there was a communications revolution which caused the spreading of a few major languages of the world at the expense of other, smaller languages. These world languages i.e. English, begin to control the world and the peoples. In order to survive in today's society one is simply forced to use English, German or French. In the twentieth century, after the two World Wars, USA gained political, economic and military supremacy over other nations. It had luck of being outside of military zone so that its economy and environment did not get ruined. Being one of the most powerful countries in the world, its language grew. Within a few centuries, English has gone from an island tongue to a world language. ⁸

3. British Dialects

After defining the language and looking into the history of English it is time to present the dialects which are spoken in the area of Britain. It should be recognized that the boundaries of different dialects can be rather vague and hard to establish. All of the dialects are mutually intelligible and people living in the neighbouring areas can easily understand each other while a Northerner may not understand easily a Southerner and vice versa.

3.1. Standard English

Many people regard Standard British English as *the* English, which is completely wrong. Standard British English is in fact only a variety of the English language i.e a dialect. However, it is the most important variety of English, being the main variety spoken, written, taught in schools in the English speaking countries as well as a variety taught to foreign learners of the language. ⁹ People speaking Standard English are considered referred as educated people. It is a minority dialect, "spoken by perhaps 12-15% of the population. About 7-12% of standard English speakers speak it with a regional accent." Below are a few examples of grammatical differences between Standard British English and non-standard speech.

Standard English	Non-standard dialects
I did it	I done it

⁸ http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~kemmer/Words/chron.html July 20th 2012

⁹ http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/dick/SEtrudgill.htm accessed: September 8th 2012

¹⁰ http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/dick/SEtrudgill.htm accessed: September 8th 2012

A man that I know	A man what I know
He doesn't want any	He doesn't want none
She isn't coming	She ain't coming
We saw him	We seen him

Table 1. A few illustrative examples of grammatical differences between standard and nonstandard English

The Standard British English itself is subject to a certain amount of variation such as regional and that of age e.g. Speakers of standard English in the south of England tend to use contracted negatives of the type: I haven't got it vs. I've not got it. There are regional differences in which participle forms are used after verbs such as need and want. In Southern England one would say I want it washed/ it needs washing; in nothern England and in some part of the Midlands one would say I want it washing; while in Scotland one would say It needs washed. (Hughes, Trudgill, 1979: 20,21)

3.2.Cockney

Cockney originated in the East End o0f London which puts it into a "southern accent". (Hughes, Trudgill, 1979:39) It shares many features with some other dialects of that region. According to Trudgill, some of the characteristics of Cockney speech are glottal stop which is extremely common, /h/ is almost always absent, the distinction between /e/ and /f/ is variably lost e.g. *thin* /fin/, /e/ and /f/ are both present and distinguish between *put* and *putt* and /f/ is realized as [f] or as a diphthong [f], e.g. f and f and f are both present and distinguish between the existence of "Cockney Rhyming Slang", a coded language invented in the nineteenth century in order to speak freely in front of the police who would not understand. It uses a phrase that rhymes with a word, instead of the word itself — thus 'stairs' becomes 'apples and pears', 'phone' becomes 'dog and bone'.

.3.3. Estuary English – Brighton

According to Rosewarne, Estuary accent, which derived from London English, is similar to General American. It is spoken in the area around the estuary of the river Thames and it is a mixture of Received Pronunciation and London speech.¹¹

"It is a variety of modified regional speech. It is a mixture of non-regional and local south-eastern English pronunciation and intonation. If one imagines a continuum with RP and London speech at either end, "Estuary English" speakers are to be found grouped in the middle ground. " ¹²

Characteristics of Estuary English are following: glottal stopping of 't' but not very often; l-vocalization where /l/ is replaced by a vowel or a semivowel; pronunciation of the letter /r/ with no retroflection which reminds us to General American speech.

3.3.East Anglia – Norwich

East Anglian English is spoken in Essexs, Norfolk and Suffolk. The speech is ascribed to the southern group of dialects. One of the things distinguishing the East Anglian speech is the use of the word *do* as a conjunction *or/otherwise* as well as the use of the word *time* meaning *while*. ¹³According to Trudgill, the speakers of this dialect lose /j/ almost after all consonants for example *humorous*. Words like *moon* and *boot* have the same vowel as *moan* and *boat*, /u:/, which makes those words homonyms. The glottal stop represents /t/ between vowels and also accompanies /p/, /t/, and /k/ e.g. *city*. (Hughes, Trudgill, 1979, 45)

3.5. West Country – Bristol

West Country starts about fifty miles West of London and extends to the Welsh border. This paper will look into the features of Bristolian speech. According to Trudgill, /h/ is

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¹¹ http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/rosew.htm accessed: August 22nd 2012

¹² http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/case-studies/geordie/ accessed: August 22nd 2012

¹³ http://www.oed.com/public/eastanglianenglish accessed: August 22nd 2012

unpredictably absent, there is no /æ / - /ɑ:/ contrast, and /æ/ is realized as [a], there is post-vocalic /r/ which is quite retroflex in quality, that is, with the tip of the tongue bending back towards the hard palate. The equivalents to the RP diphtongs /ɪə/, /eə/, and /ʊə/ are /ɪr/,/er/,and /ʊr/. There is a distinction between pairs like *put* and *putt*. The vowel of *putt*, however, is [ə], and it seems that, unlike in RP, there are not two distinct phonemes /ə/ and /ʌ/, the contrast between /ə/ and /f/ is sometimes lost, the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ are rather wide and –ing is pronounced as /ɪ n/, or sometimes may be / ɪŋk/. (Hughes, Trudgill, 1979:47.)

3.6. West Midlands English

According to Trudgill, West Midlands English is special in that /h/ is usually absent, /h/ is usually absent, there are few glottal stops, /ai/ is [ɔi], /ai/ is [ɔi], /ai/ is [ɔi], /æ/ is found in words such as *dance* and *daft*, pairs of words like *put* and *putt* are not distinct, /v/ being the vowel in both, and the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ are wide, being realized as [æɪ] and [Λ v]. (Hughes, Trudgill, 1979: 54,55)

3.7. Northern England English or Scouse

Scouse dialect is a dialect spoken in Liverpool. Some of the features of the dialect, as presented in Trudgill's *Introduction to Social and Regional Varieties of British English* are non-rhoticity, except in some rural areas. Infrequency of glottal stops, there is no contrast between pairs of words like *put* and *putt* both being /pot/, there is no /n/ vowel, /p, t, k/ are heavily aspirated or even affricated e.g. *can't* [kx a:nt], *back* [bakx], /h/ is usually absent, but is sometimes present e.g. *him and her*, /æ / occurs in words like *hat*, *dance*, *daft* etc. which in RP have /a:/ (1979: 61, 62)

3.8. Yorkshire – Bradford

Bradford is situated in west Yorkshire in Northern England. Trudgill puts it into northern group of dialects because of the similar characteristics. In Bradford speech /b, d,

g/ become /p, t, k/ when they immediately precede a voiceless consonant, thus *Bradford* is pronounced /brætfəd/. Furthermore, words like *dance* and *daft* have /æ/. For some Yorkshire speakers /æ/ and /ɑ:/ are differentiated only by length. For them the vowels are [a] and [a:], *Pam* and *Palm* being [pam] and [pa:m]. There is no distinction between pairs of words like *put* and *putt*, both having /v/. /ei/ is either a narrow diphthong or a monophthong [e:], e.g. *plate* and *mate* and /ou/ is also a narrow diphthong or a monophthong, [o:], e.g. *boat* and *nose*. /h/ is generally absent and *make* and *take* are pronounced /m gk/ and /t gk/. (1979:57,58)

3.9. Newcastle- Geordie

The speech of Newcastle is to be found in the areas around the River Tyne. Trudgill reports that the speech is recognizable by non-rhoticity, /ai/ being [ɛɪ], -ing being /ɪn/, presence of /h/, /ei/ and /ou/ may be either monophthongs, [e:] and [e:] or opening diphthongs, [ɪe] and [uo] and as in other northern English accents, pairs of words like *put* and *putt*, are not distinguished, /v/ occurring in both. (1979: 65,66)

3.10. South Wales – Pontypridd

The speech of this region is heavily influenced by the Welsh language. Up until the eighteenth century the vast majority of the population of Wales spoke Welsh, although many had regular contact with English. By the twentieth century Welsh language was no longer widely spoken in Wales due to the new educational system which imposed English. Despite that in rural areas people were encouraged to speak their native tongue. Wales is divided to northern and southern part.. Southern Welsh dialect is strongly influenced by the English spoken in neighbouring areas of England and northern Welsh is

similar to the variety spoken on the Merseyside. Since the two languages share a long history, they have blended into a distinctive variety of English language. 14

The features of Welsh speech include the absence of /h/, /ou/ is narrow and may even be a monophthong [o:], there is no post-vocalic /r/, except in the speech of some native speakers of Welsh, there is no a $/\Lambda$ - /9 contrast e.g. the word putt has /9, while put is pronounced with /v/. Words like city and seedy have /i:/ as the final vowel and in words like tune, few, used, we find /ru/ rather than /ju:/ (1979: 51,52)

Scottish English 3.11.

The term Scottish English refers to the English spoken in the area of Scotland. Note that it is different from Scots, a language derived from Northumbrian Old English. Up until 18th century English language had no place in Scotland. In the beginning of the century English was intorduced as the language of religion, education and government which made it socially prestigios. 15 Received Pronunciation, the most prestigious accent in England is insignificant in Scotland. The most prestigious Scottish English has a lot of Scottish characteristics such as recognizable rhotic pronunciation.

In some less prestigious accents of Scottish English you may encounter the following characteristics as written in Trudgil's Accents and Dialects: /ɪ/ and /u/ may be central [ə] and [U], /u/ may often occur when RP has /au:/ for example house may be /hus/ and it is often written hoose in Scottish dialect literature, Some words may sound identical such as socks and soaks, not and note. Words which are usually pronounced with /o/ like home, bone, stone, no in many regional Scottish accents have /e/. In many Scottish accents many words such as arm, after, grass may have $\langle \varepsilon \rangle$ rather than $\langle a \rangle$, the

¹⁴ http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/find-out-more/wales/ Accessed: August 25th 2012

¹⁵ http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/find-out-more/scotland/: Accessed: August 26th 2012

glottal stop is a frequent realization of /t/, /h/ is present and –ing is /ɪn/ (Hughes, Trudgill, 1979: 71)

3.12. Northern Ireland - Belfast

In 1609 began the process of settlement of Ulster. At that time the area was Gaelic-speaking and showed a great resistance to English colonisation. In the early seventeenth century, Irish lands were given to British settlers who brought English language with them. The development of Northern Irish English was influenced by Scots, Irish Gaelic, seventeenth century English and Hiberno-English spoken in the Republic of Ireland. All of the influences make this particular variety a very distinctive hybrid of the language. ¹⁶

In the northern part of Northern Ireland speech is quite similar to that of Scotland because a large number of settlers who came to Ulster came from Scotland. In the southern part speech derived from West Midland and Southwest English. Belfast combines the two kinds and makes a completely different picture. Features of the Belfast English as Trudgill presents, are post-vocalic /r/ which is realized as retroflex, frictionless continuant [1] and it is similar to word-initial /r/ in RP. The vowel system is similar to that of Scottish accents. Vowels are short before /p,t,k,č/ and long before other consonants or when final. In Belfast speech the actual realization of a vowel may vary considerably according to the sound which follows it. For example, /a/ in *daft* has a realization not very different from /ɑ:/ in RP, while in *bag* it may be [e] rather than /a/. In some rural areas, /j/ may be found after /k/ and /g/ before front vowels in words like *car*, [kja1]. (Hughes, Trudgill 1979: 77,78)

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 $^{^{16} - \}underline{\text{http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/find-out-more/northern-ireland/}} \ \ \text{Accessed: August } 25^{\text{th}} \ 2012$

Conclusion

This paper looked into the language and its varieties. In the first part we have seen that language is a way to communicate with other people, a means of expressing ideas and thoughts. We learned that it is divided into dialects or which are basically a different pieces of the same pie. As seen, they all have their own qualities and characteristics which connect them or divide them but all of them together form a unity. The look into the beginnings of the formation of the language showed us that all of the varieties that exist today actually emerged from one source and over the time developed into different forms of one language.

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