

Global English, local English and youth identities in England and Europe

By Jenny Cheshire

Introduction

The way we use our language reveals our sense of ‘who we are’ – our personal and social identities. We are many things though: we have multiple identities, so our language can be expected to be variable, in order to allow us to construct these different aspects of our identities as we speak. Furthermore, since language is intricately related to the social, political and cultural contexts in which we live, analysing current processes of continuity and change in language behaviour can provide us with insights into trajectories of continuity and change in social life generally. My focus here will be the language of young people, since older people are more likely to have reached ‘where they are going’ in life. In particular, my focus is on the English of young people: first on the English of monolingual speakers in England, and then on the English that is used by bilingual or multilingual speakers of English in continental Europe.

The Dialect Levelling Project

Some of the language changes currently taking place in urban centres in England can be seen from the results of our Dialect Levelling project (Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams 1999). This

Målbryting 5 (2001): 9–29

<https://doi.org/10.7557/17.4742>

CC BY 4.0

project, funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council, analysed the speech of 96 adolescents aged 14–15 in three towns. Two, Milton Keynes and Reading, are in south-east England, and one, Hull, is in the north-east.

Milton Keynes is Britain's fastest-growing new town. It was founded in 1967 and since then its population has more than quadrupled. Reading is an older, prosperous, established town approximately the same distance from London as Milton Keynes. It has considerable in-migration but, unlike Milton Keynes, it also has a stable local population. In contrast, in Hull there is more out-migration than in-migration: unemployment levels are high and the levels of educational achievement in the local schools are low.

Eight boys and eight girls were recorded in two schools in each of the three towns, in two contrasting areas corresponding roughly to 'working class' and 'middle class' areas. The recordings were of one-to-one 'ethnographic' interviews, mainly with Ann Williams and occasionally with Paul Kerswill. The young people were also recorded in pairs, in more spontaneous interactions with the fieldworker, as well as in group discussions between four to six speakers, guided by the fieldworker. Four working class elderly speakers (aged 70 or over) were also recorded in each town, for comparison. All the findings that I report here are based on this fieldwork. Fuller details of the project are given in Cheshire 1999, Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams 1999, and Williams and Kerswill 1999.

Williams and Kerswill 1999 present some complex patterns of continuity and change in some of the phonological features that they analysed. Their analysis of the PRICE vowel provides a good illustration of the points I want to make here. In the new town of Milton Keynes, where the young people's families came from outside the area and do not, on the whole, have local ties, there is

only a small overlap in the realisations of this vowel by the sixteen working class adolescents and the four elderly speakers (these elderly speakers were from Bletchley, the nearest town that pre-existed Milton Keynes). In Reading, on the other hand, where many of the young people are in close contact with older family members from the local area, there is continuity in the realisation of this vowel between the elderly speakers and the working class adolescents. Continuity is not absolute: the young people use the back and centralised variants of the vowel less frequently than the older speakers, but nevertheless there is overlap in the vowel realisations, and the predominant variant for all the working class speakers is a back, diphthongal [aɪ]. In Reading, then, the working class adolescents reveal their allegiance to the locality through the realisation of this vowel. In Hull the strength of local norms can be seen more strongly still: here the PRICE vowel preserves a complex allophonic patterning, with an [aɪ] diphthong before voiceless consonants (as in *bright* or *pipe*), and an [a:]monophthong before voiced consonants (as in *bride* or *five*). Thus the realisation of this vowel can be seen to signal the strength of the young people's local or regional identity in the three towns that we studied.

The strength of local linguistic norms in Hull can also be seen in the distribution of H in lexical words such as *house* or *hand*. In all three towns H-dropping is a feature of the traditional dialects and, as would be expected, the elderly speakers use initial [h] relatively rarely. In Reading and Milton Keynes, however, there is a surprisingly high use of initial [h] amongst the working class adolescents (Williams and Kerswill 1999:158). This is not the case in Hull however, where the frequency of occurrence of initial [h] was similar for both the adolescents and the elderly speakers. Williams and Kerswill suggest that this is because the young working class Hull speakers, who were living in a close-knit, territorially bounded estate, see the pronunciation of initial [h] as Southern and 'posh', and strive to avoid it (1999:157–8). The connotations of [h] pronunciation are not the same for the young

people in the southern towns of Milton Keynes and Reading, and their use of [h] varies accordingly.

It is all the more interesting, therefore, to find that in all three towns the adolescents have adopted some consonant pronunciations which are currently spreading rapidly through England, and that are assumed to originate in London and south-eastern England. These pronunciations are TH-fronting, or the merger of /θ/ with /f/ (in, for example, *thing*); the merger of /ð/ and /v/ in words such as *brother*; and T-glottaling – the use of a glottal stop rather than [t] – in intervocalic position (as in *letter*) and in word final position (as in *cut it out*). The elderly speakers do not use these features, but they *are* used by adolescents in all three towns, including Hull, by both the middle class groups and the working class groups – though more frequently by the young working class speakers. Despite their allegiance to local norms of pronunciation, then, the young Hull speakers are adopting these new features just as fully as the young people in Milton Keynes and Reading.

The explanation appears to lie, at least in part in affective factors (see Williams and Kerswill 1999:162). In all three towns the young people's linguistic identity was formed, in part, in opposition to the idea of "being posh". Even the middle class speakers whose speech would be considered by the working class group to be "posh" formed their linguistic identity in opposition to a group whom they in turn considered "posh" – the 'kids from the private schools', who 'sound as if they've had elocution lessons' (Kerswill and Williams 1997). Importantly, for the Hull adolescents 'posh' speech was London speech. This is a widespread view in northern areas of England: for example, in a previous study of language attitudes (Cheshire and Edwards 1991) we found that young people in Widnes, Lancashire associated "talking posh" with the south of England, particularly London, commenting, for example, "I dislike London accent. It sounds really posh" and "I dislike London accent because they are stuck up snobs" (op. cit.:232). Although sociolinguists stress that

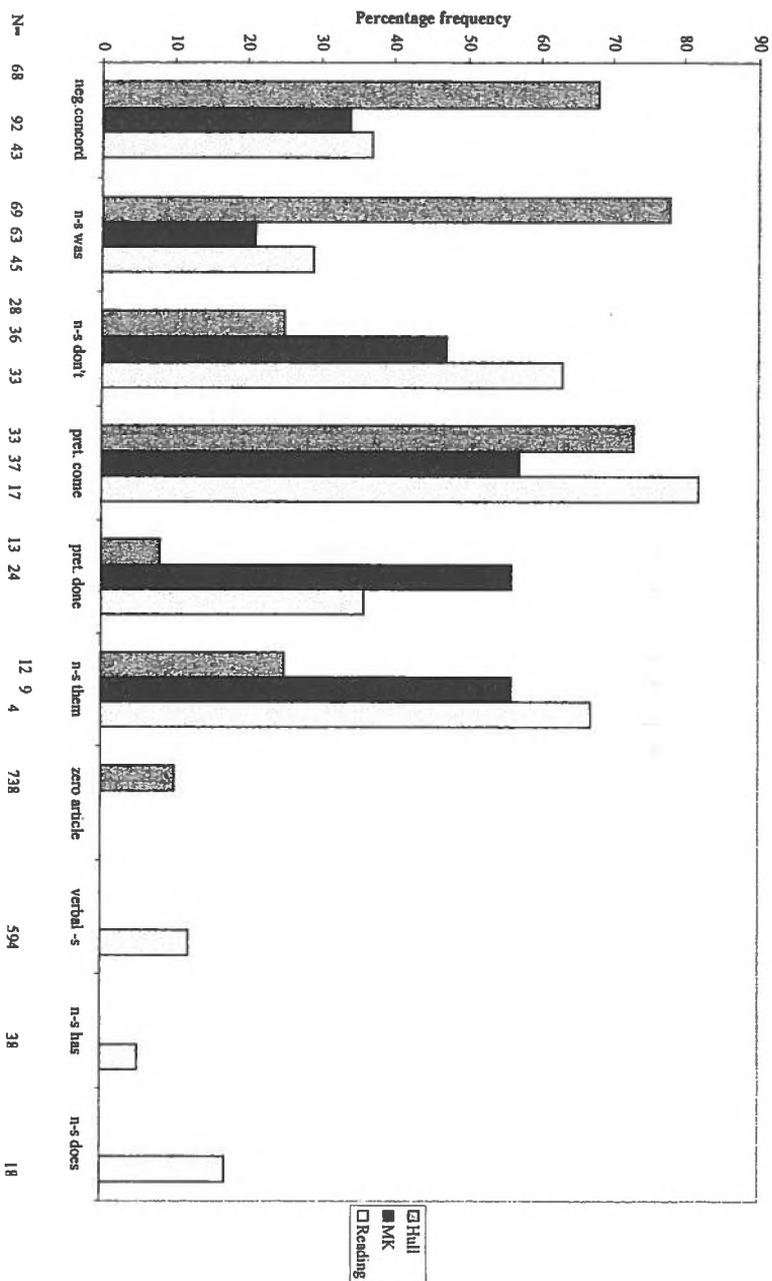
Received Pronunciation is a social accent, not tied to any region of Britain, for young people in the north of England there seems no doubt that it is associated with London. This presumably accounts for the Hull adolescents' avoidance of initial [h]. The innovating consonant features, on the other hand, which they have apparently been very happy to adopt, are also southern in origin, but are associated, we assume, with nonstandard southeastern varieties of English rather than with RP (Foulkes and Docherty 1999:11). They may also be associated with a general youth culture, which is not tied to a particular region. The increase in the number of TV and radio stations and programmes directed at young people have led to a widespread use of informal and nonstandard registers in the broadcast media, many of which emanate from London and the south (Williams and Kerswill (1999:162). This too, then, can be seen as an affective factor influencing the spread of features such as these. The result, in any event, is that the adolescents who took part in our research can reveal different aspects of their social identities through their pronunciation of English: these identities include allegiance to the local region, for the Reading and Hull adolescents, a class-based identity, and an identity with an overarching youth culture.

The expression of multiple identities is not limited to the adolescents' pronunciation of English. There are parallels in their morphosyntactic, syntactic and discourse features. For example, in the speech of the working class adolescents in Reading and Hull we find localised morphosyntactic features which also occur in the speech of the elderly. In Reading, nonstandard verbal *-s* and the related nonstandard *has* and *does* forms are used (e.g. *I wants to be a hairdresser; and you has to wear your blazer in the summer; they does a lot of knitting and stuff like that*). In Hull the zero article occurs (e.g. *there was this fellow beating this other fellow up near flats*) and a range of other features that do not occur in the southern towns. These include right dislocation (e.g. *he's got a real nice chest him*), a distinctive negative BE paradigm, with [ɪn?] as the

third singular present tense form (*she in? going out*, 'she isn't going out') and [a:ʔ] elsewhere in the present (*we [a:ʔ] going out*); and [wɒnʔ] as the preterite form for all persons. In addition, negative concord in Hull is organised differently from negative concord in the two southern towns. Negative forms never occur in tags such as *or anything* in *they don't know what they're doing or anything*, whereas in Reading and Milton Keynes *nothing* and *anything* can both occur in tags of this kind. A number of distinctive lexical forms are used by the Hull adolescents too, including *twatted* (e.g. *when I'm naughty I get twatted*) and *nowt*, 'nothing' and *owt*, 'anything'. For working class speakers, then, there is some continuity with older speakers in the morphosyntax and the vocabulary, just as there is with the realisation of some phonological features: through their use of these features the young speakers can show their sense of belonging to their part of the country.

In addition to the localised morphosyntactic and syntactic features, the working class adolescents in all three towns used some of the nonstandard features thought to be widespread in the urban centres of present-day Britain (Cheshire, Edwards and Whittle 1989). These include those shown in Figure 1: negative concord (e.g. *I like England..I'm happy with it.. we haven't got no diseases no nothing*), nonstandard *was* (e.g. *we just held the brake back and we was upside down all the way*), nonstandard *don't* (e.g. *she don't go out much during the week*), the preterite forms *come* and *done* (e.g. *What's your favourite food? – It used to be steak until the mad cow come about; and last night we done a bit of larking around*) and nonstandard *them* (e.g. *it's a bit scary when you're walking past all them druggies*). Each of these features awaits further, more detailed analysis: but as Figure 1 shows, these widespread forms are used more frequently by the working class adolescents than the localised forms in Reading (verbal *-s*, nonstandard *has* and *does*)

Figure 4. Percentage frequencies of nonstandard grammatical features



and Hull (the zero article). The middle class adolescents use these features only sporadically. Thus the young people also express their social class identities through their use of certain common core nonstandard grammatical features. As expected, there are no local grammatical features in the speech of the young people in the new town of Milton Keynes; but the working class adolescents use of the common core nonstandard features, and the division along class lines is as clear here as it is in the older, established towns.

It is worth noting that this polarisation along class lines is occurring at a time when government educational policy in England and Wales is attempting to construct a uniform national linguistic identity by insisting, through the National Curriculum for English, on the use of standard English in both formal and informal styles of speech in schools. Our research suggests a trajectory whereby uniformity will indeed develop, but where there will be two kinds of uniformity in grammar, split along social class lines.

Our analysis of the new focus marker *like* (as in *and we were like rushing home and she was like shouting at me*) shows a parallel distribution to the consonant features that express allegiance to a generalised youth culture. This time, however, the origins of the new feature are thought to be in southern Californian 'valley speak' rather than in the south east of England (Dailey O'Cain 2000). Focus *like* and the related marker of reported speech and thought seems to be rapidly innovating globally, in urban centres throughout the English-speaking world (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999). Our analysis of this feature is not yet completed, but Table 1 gives an indication of its use by the adolescents in the three towns. The Table suggests that focus marker *like* is very widespread amongst both the working class and middle class groups in all three towns. An idea of the rapid spread of this feature can be obtained by comparing its frequency of occurrence in the speech of the young working class speakers in our Reading

Table 1. Frequency of *like* as focus marker

Group	No speakers analysed	No of words	no of <i>like</i>	no of words for I token of <i>like</i>
Hull w cl girls	8	16214	175	92.65
Hull w cl boys	8	17199	179	96.1
Total Hull w.cl	16	33413	354	94.4
Hull m.cl girls	4	23600	412	57.3
Hull m.cl boys	8	19302	264	73.1
Total Hull m.cl	12	42902	676	63.5
MK w cl girls	4	11447	92	124.4
MK w cl boys	0			
Total MK w.cl	4	11447	92	124.4
MK m.cl girls	8	24045	245	98.1
MK m.cl boys	8	27875	166	167.9
Total MK m.cl.16		51920	411	126.3
Rdg w cl girls	8	15012	98	153.2
Rdg w.cl boys	8	14274	135	105.7
Total Rdg w.cl	16	29286	233	125.7
Rdg m.cl Girls4	4	14675	88	166.8
Rdg m.cl boys	2	4379	31	141.3
Total Rdg m.cl	6	19054	119	160.1

data (where there is 1 token of *like* every 125.7 words) with its use by young working class speakers of the same age in my earlier Reading study (see Cheshire 1982). In the speech of one group of boys in the earlier study (the 'Orts Road' group) there was only 1 token of *like* in 8948 words. As I said, a more refined analysis is needed for this feature, but it is nevertheless interesting to note that it is used more frequently in Hull than in the other two towns, occurring once per 94.4 words in the working class group and once per 63.5 words in the speech of the middle class group. Again, then, the Hull adolescents can be seen to adopt this new feature just as enthusiastically as the adolescents in Reading and Milton Keynes. Despite their relative isolation, and the strength of their allegiance to local norms, belonging to the international youth culture seems to be an important part of their social, and therefore their linguistic, identity.

A 'youth language'?

We intend to systematically investigate the extent to which participation in this global youth culture by the young people who took part in our research is linked to their use of features such as *like* and the consonant pronunciations mentioned above. In the interviews there is evidence of a well-defined adolescent culture, which is manifested in the magazines that the young people read, in the music they listen to, their clothes and hairstyles, and their leisure time activities. This culture is a global one, not limited to the English-speaking world, though heavily influenced by it. It seems to be affecting the form of languages other than English, giving rise to what some writers have identified as a 'youth language' (see, for example, Androutsopoulos in press). For example, Sankoff et al (1997) document a new use of French *comme*, 'like', in ways that parallel the new uses of *like* as a focus marker and a marker of reported speech and thought in English. Example 1 illustrates both these functions of *comme*:

1. Ah oui on était comme un des seuls, on était peut-être cinq dans mon année qui parlaient les deux langues, puis c'était comme "wow!" tu sais (oh yeah we were like the only ones, there were about five of us in my year that spoke both languages so it was like "wow!" you know) (Sankoff et al 1997)

Example 2 shows a similarly new use of Norwegian *bare* to introduce reported speech; and example 3 shows German *so* with this function.

2. Eg bare, e' det nokke i veien med deg" (I was like, is there something the matter with you?) (Andersen, in press).

3. Und ich so: "cool!" Und er so: "hä?" (and I like : "cool!" and he like: "what?") (Androutsopoulos, in press).

It is not yet clear whether these developments have occurred simultaneously in each language as loan translations from English, or whether they constitute an extension of what Carstensen (1986) termed 'EuroEnglish'. Equally, it is not clear whether these are really examples of a youth language, in which case they will presumably die out as the present-day young people get older, like the transitory vocabulary of youth slang; or whether they are examples of a more permanent language change, led by younger speakers of the language. In any event, these examples provide a useful bridge between the first part of this paper, in which I have discussed the expression of different aspects of young people's social identities through patterns of change and continuity in their English, and the second part, where I will now consider the extent to which young people in continental Europe use language to express their multiple identities, and the role that English plays in this.

English in Europe

Convery et al (1997) have investigated the extent to which young people in the new Europe have a sense of being European. They found some national differences among the 16–18 year old students who participated in their questionnaire survey: as Table 2 shows, the English students, followed by the French, stand out as different from the German, Italian, Dutch and Spanish respondents in that they say they do not feel particularly European.

Table 2. 'Do you think of yourself as being European?' From Convery et al (1997)

	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Only partly</i>	<i>Yes</i>
England	39.8	41.6	18.6
France	17.4	40.4	42.1
Germany	8.0	25.6	66.4
Italy	4.3	41.0	54.7
Netherlands	2.6	7.0	90.4
Spain	6.4	25.1	68.4

Language learning is thought to be a vital aspect of forming a European identity; it is enshrined as such in some of the European Union directives, and is one reason for the university Socrates and Erasmus programmes. However, Table 3, which is also from Convery et al's research, shows that feeling European is not necessarily connected to learning languages. Perhaps it is for the Dutch, who were learning three foreign languages and claimed to feel the most European, but the Spanish – the next highest group in self-confessed European identity – learn the lowest number of foreign languages (presumably because some of the language curriculum is taken up with learning the other languages of Spain).

Table 3. Percentage of pupils learning (or having learnt) FLs. From Convery et al (1997)

	One FL	Two FLs	Three FLs
England	38.1	57.5	4.4
France	0.6	73.3	26.1
Germany	0.8	75.6	23.6
Italy	26.4	51.4	12.1
Netherlands	0.9	1.7	97.4
Spain	88.9	11.1	0
Total	29.8	51.3	18.9

Nevertheless, with the exception of Spain the majority of young people who took part in the survey were learning at least two foreign languages. What Table 3 does not show, however, is that, importantly, the main language that is learnt is English. The teaching and learning of English increased dramatically during the second half of the twentieth century (see Dickson and Cumming 1996), in response to the growing use of English as an international language. This in turn was in large part related to the dominance of the USA politically and economically and, as we will see, is reflected in the role that English plays in the international youth culture.

The popularity of English as a foreign language in European schools means that young Europeans are now much better able to communicate with each other than their parents were. The research of Labrie and Quell (1997) shows this very clearly: when asked which language they would choose to speak to someone from a range of European countries, only a few members of the older age group (over 55) in Greece were able to speak to other Europeans – and then it was mainly only to the British, and only for those Greeks who knew some English. The older French could mainly speak only to people who knew French. There is a consistent pattern in all the European countries where the survey

was carried out: the younger age group in all the countries surveyed can speak to more people from more European countries than their parents can: but, of course, communication is through the medium of English.

It is vital for Europeans to learn each other's languages, rather than for everyone to learn a single lingua franca; yet it is important to note that, like it or not, the presence of English does mean that young Europeans are able to speak to each other, and this will surely give rise to a sense of being European. More relevant to the topic of this paper, however, is the question of whether the presence of English in Europe allows young people to express multiple identities. Is there a pan-European youth identity, expressed, perhaps, with the help of English, like the pan-England youth identity expressed through such features as focus marker *like* and [t] glottaling? I mentioned earlier that affective factors are thought to be important in the spread of these features. Affective factors concerning language are important for the future of the European Union also: Convery et al (1997) argue that:

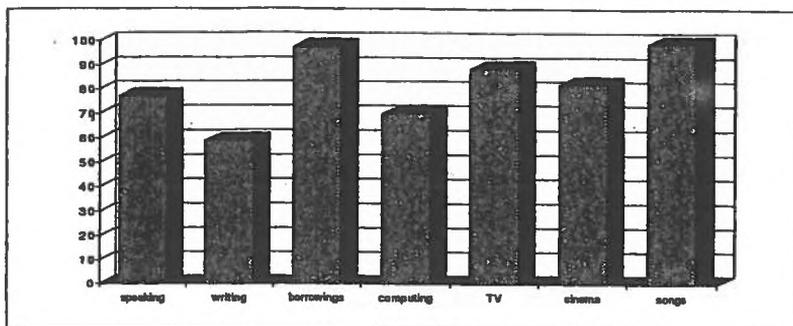
the long-term success of the European Union and indeed of Europe as a unified whole will depend on present and future younger generations making an emotional as well as rational response to the notion of being European (Convery et al 1997:1).

Can English, then, be used to express 'emotional' aspects of young people's social identities? It is clear that young people do use English for some activities specifically associated with emotional reactions: one only has to look at the graffiti in any urban centre in Europe. In Germany English is used in youth magazines as a source for new compounds denoting concepts that can be assumed to have emotive connotations. These compounds are both hybrid (half German and half English), and wholly English. Androutsopoulos (in press) gives examples from young people's magazines which include *Horrorfan*, *Metallfan*, *Soundfreak*,

Drogenfreak, Computer freak, Telefon junkie, Love junkie, Computerfunkie. Berns (1988: 45) claims that the English used in popular publications for young people creates "solidarity among speakers and readers by emphasising the shared basis of familiar, although foreign language elements, thus creating an anti-language which distinguishes 'us' from 'them'". Preisler (1999) makes a similar argument with reference to the use of English by young people in Denmark. He further claims that using English, or a codeswitched variety of English and Danish, is a subcultural practice which embodies a clear value system.

Further evidence of the emotive associations of English comes from Switzerland. Cordey 1997 documented some of the English phrases used as formulae by young speakers of Swiss German dialects: these include *Hi! Cool!* and *shit!* Her larger study of 220 high school students in Fribourg, Switzerland, asked whether they used English in any contexts outside school. Figure 2 shows the results of her questionnaire survey.

Figure 2. Situations in which students may use English (overall percentages). From Cordey (1997).

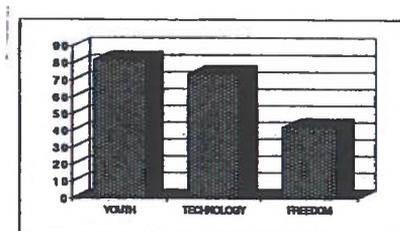


The use of English in 'writing' was in letters to English-speaking friends or penfriends; 'speaking' and 'borrowing', however, was not. An example of 'borrowing' is shown in example 4, from a basketball game recorded in Fribourg. The basketball players were French speakers, consciously using English phrases during their game because, in the words of one of them afterwards 'c'est cool!'.

4. Let's go les gars..on y va...Pierre tu joues playmaker..d'accord moi je vais guard...eh..look at the ball quand tu coupes... t'arrives a smasher toi? no problem...je score d'ou tu veux..j'ai réussi a facer avec une no-look pass..it's showtime in LA..come on...va au panier avec un power move...OK give me the ball it's money time

Particularly clear insight into the connotations that English may have for young Europeans is given from the responses that Cordey received to her question "what does the English language represent to you, especially when used in advertisements?" In Switzerland, as in many European countries, English is used extensively in advertising and symbolises a range of meanings (see Cheshire and Moser 1994). Figure 3 shows that 'youth' figured prominently among the most frequent answers that Cordey received to this question.

Figure 3. Overall percentages of students associating English with youth; technology and freedom. From Cordey (1997).



Interestingly, the Swiss government appears to recognise this association, for during the late 1990s it made use of English in its campaign to discourage driving under the influence of drink or drugs: large posters by the roadsides showed images of an empty road, with the words 'NO DRINKS – NO DRUGS – NO PROBLEMS'.

Our analysis of English in advertisements in French-speaking Switzerland (Cheshire and Moser 1994) led us to argue that in Switzerland English has lost (or partly lost) its association with an English-speaking country. We argued that the extensive use of English to advertise the most stereotypically Swiss products to Swiss consumers showed English being used to symbolise a harmonious Swiss national identity: English, we said, is used so extensively throughout the world now that it can serve as an 'open reservoir' for symbolic meanings. It is no longer necessarily tied to an association with a specific English-speaking country. The growing body of research on English in Europe suggests that for young people English can symbolise the international youth culture. This may mean that it is associated to some extent with the USA, but this youth culture is so multi-faceted that it is unlikely to be only the USA (and the association with the USA will in fact be with a range of American subcultures). Nationality is in any case not the main issue: the main point is that English is free to symbolise an international youth culture in the same way that [t] glottaling or theta fronting in England have been divorced from an association with London and can now symbolize a pan-regional youth culture within Britain.

Concluding remarks

One of the many facets of globalisation is that there is now an international youth culture, driven partly – some would say mainly – by consumerism and mass markets. Young people can symbolise their allegiance to this culture through their choices about what they eat, drink and wear and, equally, through their language. This does not mean that they lose their national or

regional identities, or any other identities that are important to them. As we have seen, young people in Europe are learning English at school, but they are adapting it and incorporating it into their own languages by borrowings and codes switching, as in the example from the basket ball game in Switzerland, and using it in their leisure time activities. They do this in much the same way that young people in England are making an emotional response to the consonant features originating in London, or the Californian features they hear in the broadcast media. Global identities, it seems, are additive; and European adolescents can still express these aspects of their identity through their own first language. Indeed, they can express national (and other) identities through the variety of English that they speak, as Graddol (1998: 27) points out: "Germans will want to sound like Germans when they speak English, not like Britons or Americans". As with new *like* and the London-based consonant pronunciations, the question of what will happen as the young people get older remains. Presumably when they reach middle age they will no longer see themselves as members of the international youth culture: if nothing else, however, in Europe more adults will be able to talk to each other than ever before.

This may sound like an argument for using English as a European lingua franca, but I do not intend to argue this. It is right to be concerned about the possible domination of English as a lingua franca in Europe – and, indeed, elsewhere, and it is right to insist on a policy of encouraging language learning. Learning a language is also learning a culture, and the citizens of Europe will surely benefit from knowing more about each other's national and regional languages and cultures, and the cultural diversity that exists within each nation state. But we may as well accept that although there are many valuable and important reasons for learning other European languages, it is not necessary to do so in order to feel European. The research of Convery et al (1997) has shown that this is not the case. Furthermore, I have argued here that it is possible to express different aspects of our identities

using any language, or any features of a variety of a language, because given the appropriate set of cultural contexts a language, or a language feature, can become separated from an association with its native speakers.

In any case, the concept of the native speaker is part of a nationalist and monolingual discourse. In my opinion it is better to deconstruct the term, as Rampton (1995) does, and decompose it into the simple distinction between 'expertise' (skill, proficiency, ability to operate with a language) and 'allegiance' (identification with a language, with the values, meanings and identities that it stands for); see Rampton (*op. cit.*:340). Expertise in a language can be acquired: it is not necessarily a skill that one is born with. Expertise in English is being acquired very rapidly by huge numbers of people around the world including, of course Europe. Allegiance to a language can go hand in hand with allegiance to a nation, by inheritance – this would be the case of the traditional native speaker – but it can also be allegiance by choice. This is the aim of traditional ways of teaching foreign languages such as French or German in Britain, where the language is taught along with the literature and the culture of the countries where it is spoken. But allegiance can be to other things as well, which may come with the language not by inheritance but by affiliation: in the case of English this can be to the international youth culture, as we have seen, or – sometimes – to a specific country, as in Swiss advertisements. I have argued that there are parallels within English, where London-based features are becoming separated from an association with London. It is not yet clear whether similar developments are occurring within other languages, such as Norwegian: but research on the language of young Norwegians seems well on course to providing some answers.

References

- Andersen, Gisle. In press *They gave us these yeah, and they like wanna see like how we talk and all that*. The use of like and other pragmatic markers in London teenage speech. *Icame*
- Androutopoulos, Jannis K. In press. Grammaticalization in young people's language: the case of German. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*.
- Berns, Margie 1988. The cultural and linguistic context of English in West Germany. *World Englishes* 7: 37–49.
- A.R. Bex and R.J. Watts (eds.) 1999. *Standard English: The Widening Debate*. London: Routledge.
- Carstensen, B, 1986. Euro-English. In Kastovsky, D. and Szwedek, A. (eds.) *Linguistics across historical and geographical boundaries* (Mouton).
- Cheshire, Jenny 1982. *Variation in an English dialect: a sociolinguistic study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- Cheshire, Jenny 1999 Taming the vernacular: some repercussions for the study of syntactic variation and spoken grammar. *Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa* 8: 59–80.
- Cheshire, Jenny and Edwards, Viv 1991. Schoolchildren as sociolinguistic researchers. *Linguistics and Education* 3: 225–249.
- Cheshire, Jenny, Edwards, Viv and Whittle, P. 1989. A survey of British dialect Grammar. *English Worldwide* 10:185–225.
- Cheshire, Jenny, Kerswill, Paul and Williams, Ann 1999. *The role of adolescents in dialect levelling*. Final report to ESRC on project no. R000236180. Cheshire, Jenny and Moser, Lise-Marie. 1994. English as a cultural symbol: the case of advertisements in French-speaking Switzerland. Europe. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 15 (6): 451–469.
- Convery, Anne, Evans, Michael, Green, Simon, Macaro, Ernesto and Mellor, Janet 1997. An investigative study into pupils' perceptions of Europe. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 18 (1): 1–16.
- Cordey, Anne. 1997 *The English language in Swiss advertisements*. Mémoire de licence, Department of English, Université de Fribourg Suisse.
- Dailey-O'Cain, Jennifer 2000. The sociolinguistic distribution of and attitudes toward focuser like and quotative like. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4: 60–80.

- Dickson, P. and Cumming, A. 1996. *Profiles of Language Education in 25 Countries*. Slough: National Foundation for Educational Research.
- Foulkes, Paul and Docherty, Gerard (eds.) 1999. *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London :Arnold.
- Graddol, David 1997. *The Future of English?* London: British Council.
- Graddol, D. 1998. Will English be enough? In A. Moys (ed.)
- Kerswill, Paul and Williams, Ann 1997. Investigating social and linguistic identity in three British Schools. In U.-B. Kotsinas, A.-B. Stenström and A.-M. Malin (eds.) *Ungdomsspråk i Norden. Föredrag från ett forskarsymposium*. Series: MINS. No. 43. Stockholm: University of Stockholm, Department of Nordic Languages and Literature, 159–176.
- Labrie, Normand and Quell, Carsten 1997. Your language, my language or English? The potential language choice in communication among nationals of the European Union. *World Englishes* 16 (1): 3–26.
- Moys, A. (ed.) *Where are we going with Languages?* London: Nuffield Foundation.
- Preisler, Bent 1999 Functions and forms of English in a European FL country. In Bex and Watts (eds.), pp. 239–267.
- Rampton, Ben 1995. *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. Harlow: Longman.
- Sankoff, Gillian, Thibault, Pierrette, Nagy, Naomi, Blondeau, Hélène, Fonollosa, Marie-Odile and Gagnon, Lucie 1997. Variation in the use of discourse markers in a language contact situation. *Language Variation and Change* 9 (2): 191–218.
- Tagliamonte, Sali and Hudson, Rachel 1999. *Be like et al* beyond America: The quotative system in British and Canadian youth. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3:147–172.
- Williams, A. and Kerswill, P. 1999. Dialect levelling: change and continuity in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull. In P. Foulkes and G. Docherty (eds), pp. 141–162.