Global English as a Challenge
for Lexicography

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1. Introduction

The "Introduction" to the first volume (1888) of the *New*, later *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED)[1] contains a diagram devised by James Murray, which shows the composition of the vocabulary of English (Fig. 1). It is a good diagram; so good, in fact, that it was reprinted with only slight modifications in the 3rd edition of the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (SOED) in 1973 (Fig. 2).[2]
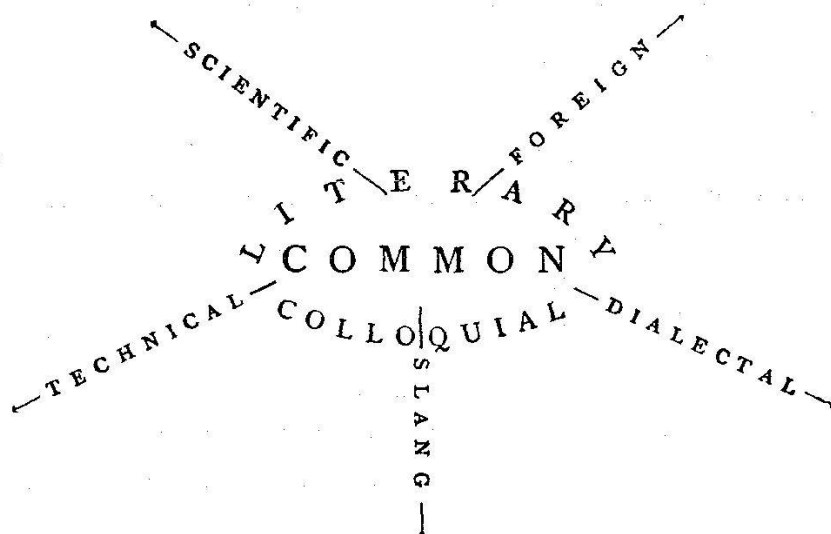

Fig. 1 OED (1888)

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[1] Full bibliographical details of all dictionaries consulted in connection with this paper are given in the references. Fig. 1 is reprinted from p. xvii of Vol. 1 of the OED (1888), Fig. 2 from p. x of Vol. 1 of the SOED (1973).

[2] In the 2nd edition of the OED (1989) Murray's introduction including the diagram is reprinted without any changes.
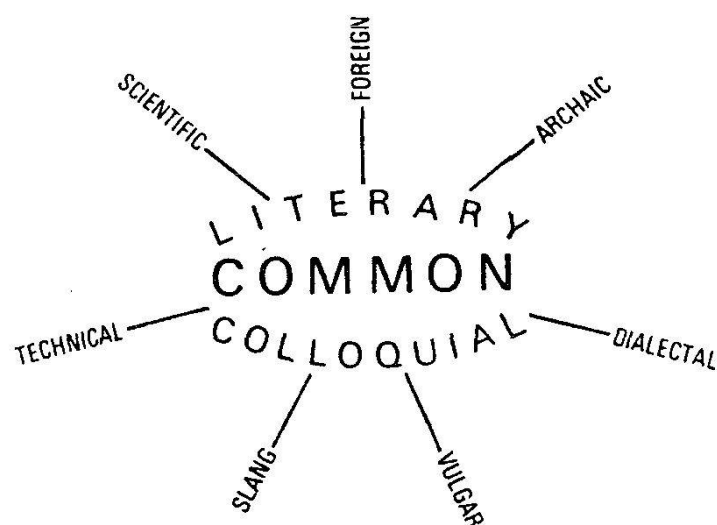
Fig. 2 SOED (1973)

According to this diagram, the vocabulary of English consists of a central part and a periphery. The central part is constituted by a vast "common" core which includes two sections of stylistically marked words labelled "literary" and "colloquial." Radiating from this common core are five (in the 3rd ed. of the SOED even seven) more specialised areas of the vocabulary: "scientific," "foreign" and "archaic" (SOED) radiating from the "literary" part of the common core, and "technical," "slang," "vulgar" (SOED) and "dialectal" from the "colloquial" one. Certain words from these more specialised areas may be so well-known that they also form part of the common core and will thus be included (but identified by appropriate usage labels) in a comprehensive general dictionary like the OED. Other words, however, remain confined to certain speech communities, to certain registers or situations and will only be listed in specialised dictionaries such as dictionaries of technical terminology, dialect dictionaries, slang dictionaries, and so on.

In its simplicity the diagram is ingenious and highlights some significant features of the English vocabulary surprisingly well. However, Murray's model – which could be called a register or stylistic varieties model – is that of a language with a single centre, which is (Standard) English English. Even though English had started to spread from England to the other parts of the British Isles in the Middle Ages and to other parts of the globe in the 17th century and even though, in the latter half of the 19th century, English was already spoken in nearly all areas in which it is common today, Murray appears to disregard this fact completely. The label "dialectal" could, of

course, be taken to mean not only words from the regional dialects of England, but from other "national" dialects such as Scottish, American or Australian English. However, the diagram is not explicit here and Murray's comments regarding "dialectal" words in the dictionary make it clear that he was thinking only of regional dialects:

> Down to the Fifteenth Century the language existed only in dialects, all of which had a literary standing: during this period, therefore, words and forms of all dialects are admitted on an equal footing into the Dictionary. Dialectal forms which occur since 1500 are not admitted, except when they continue the history of a word or sense once in general use, illustrate the history of a literary word, or have themselves a certain literary currency, as is the case with many modern Scottish words. It is true that the dialectal words are mostly genuine English, and that they are an essential part of the contents of a *Lexicon totius Anglicitatis*; but the work of collecting them has not yet been completed; and the want of any fixed written forms round which to group the variations, will require a method of treatment different from that applicable to the words of the literary language, which have an accepted uniform spelling and an approximately uniform pronunciation. (xviii)

Murray's model of the English language, then, is an unashamedly monocentric one. The English language, of course, was not monocentric even in Murray's days, but at the height of the British Empire and with America playing a – still – minor role in the world, he could afford to ignore this fact. The monocentric model of English persisted for a surprisingly long time, and it is only in the last ten or twenty years that new, de-centered or multi-centric models have begun to take its place. Many such models have been proposed (see McArthur 78-111), and I will use two of them (McArthur's and Görlach's, see overleaf) to highlight some points which are relevant for my argument.[3]

McArthur's and Görlach's models – which could be called national and regional varieties models – differ in details, but agree in their central idea: like Murray's model they have one centre, but while Murray's centre – by implication – is Standard English English, theirs is virtual, the site of those parts of the language that are common to all varieties of English world-wide. In concentric circles around this core we find, first the "continental" and national varieties (British: subdivided into English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh;

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[3] McArthur's model dates from 1987, Görlach's from 1988. Both are reprinted here from pp. 97 and 101 of McArthur, *The English Languages*.

North American: subdivided into American / US and Canadian etc.), then the regional varieties, and so on.[4]

The circle of World English
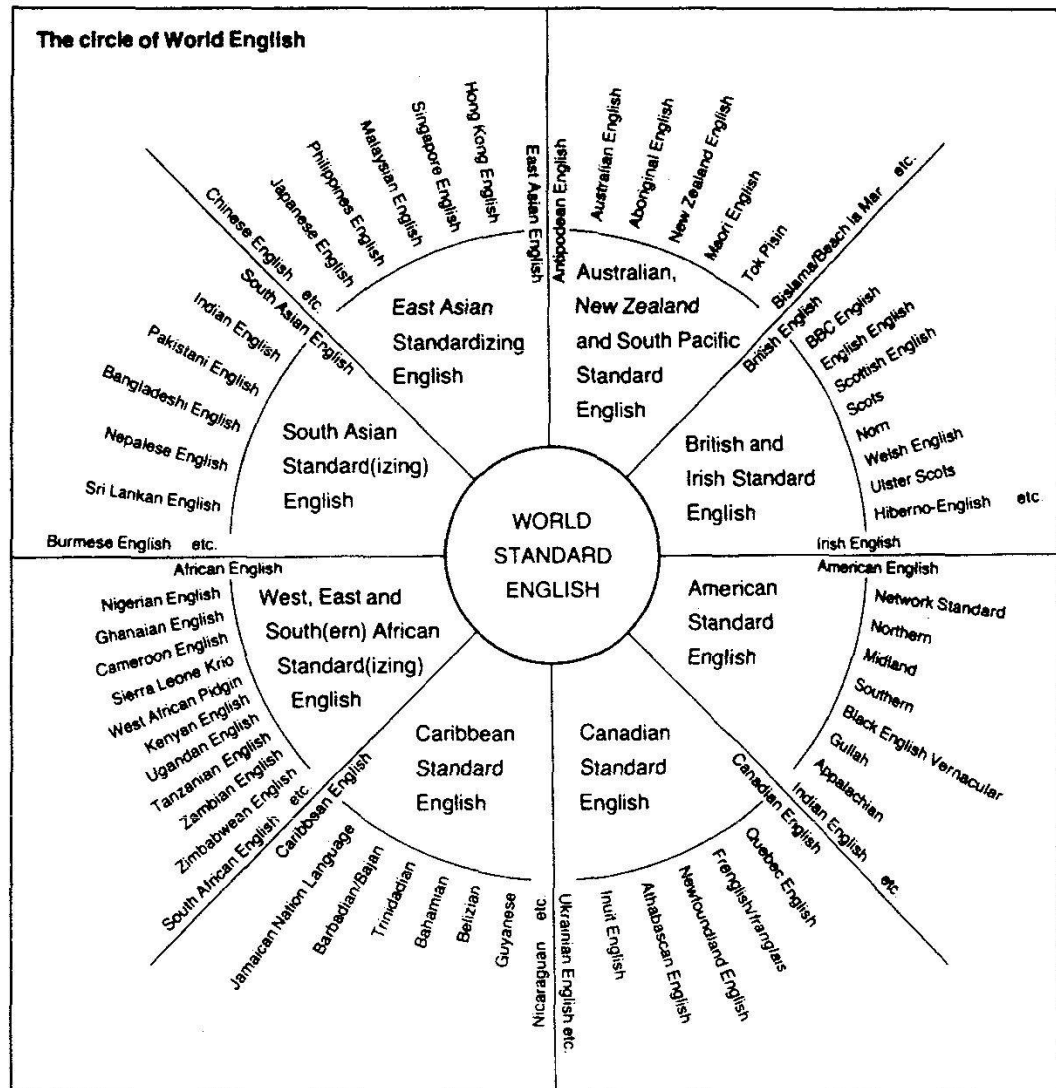
Fig. 3 McArthur's model

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[4] McArthur's model has two rings around the central core, an inner one with the main standard or standardizing varieties, and an outer one with what he calls "subvarieties." Görlach's model, by contrast, has four rings: the innermost ring identifies national / regional standards, the other three subregional semi-standards, semi- / non-standards (dialects and ethnic Englishes [creoles]) and finally mixes and related languages (pidgins [creoles]). Both authors propose eight main varieties: British and Irish English, Canadian English, US English, Caribbean English, African English, South Asian English, (South) East Asian English, Antipodean English.
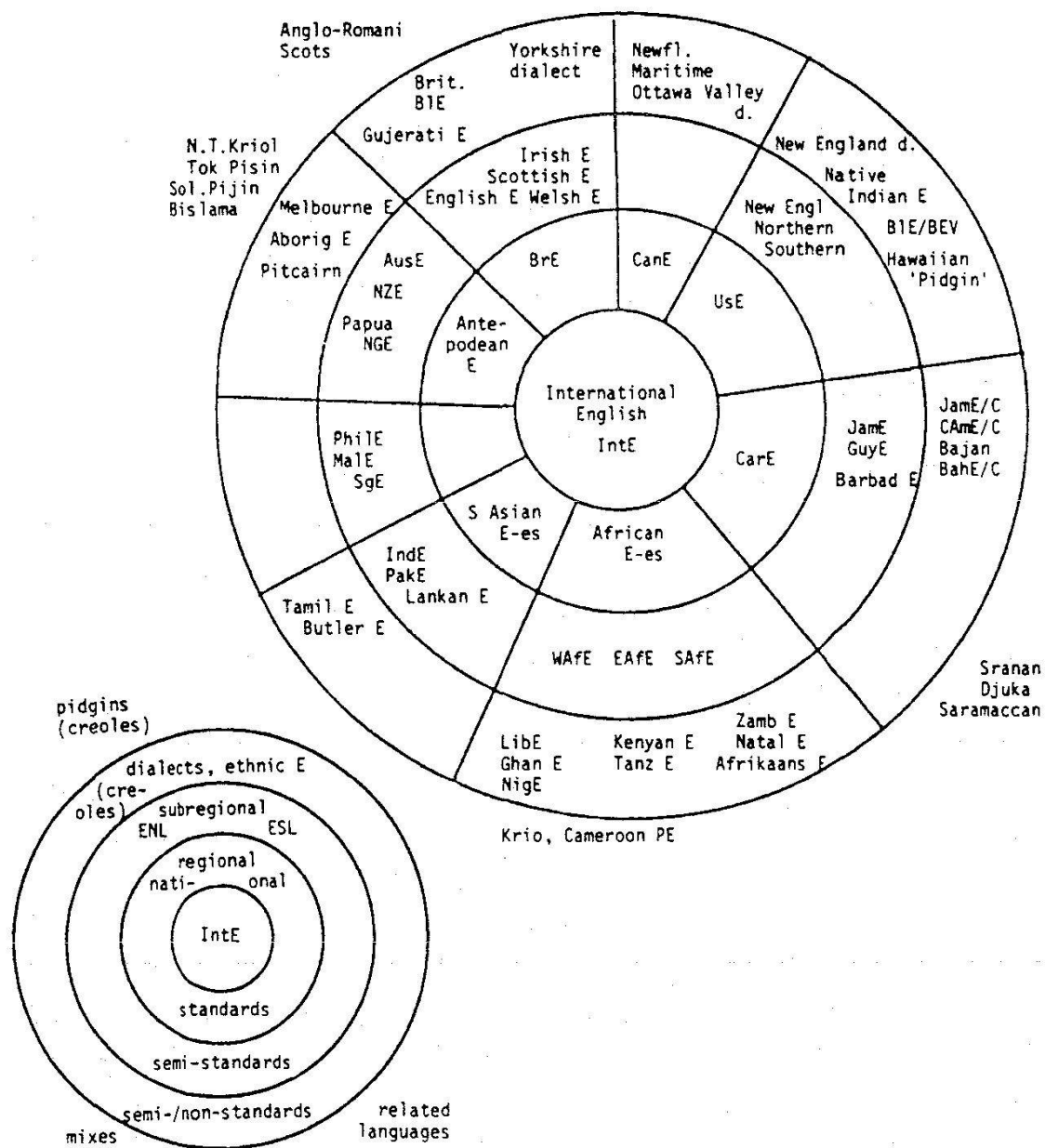
Fig. 4 Görlach's model

How can, how does lexicography react to this diversity? One solution, clear in theory and put into practice in a number of cases, is to distinguish between exclusive and inclusive dictionaries. The former list only the so-called nationalisms, that is those words and phrases which are limited to one particular speech community; they are published as dictionaries of Americanisms, Australianisms, South Africanisms and so on. The latter, the inclusive dictionaries, list all or a representative selection of the nationalisms used in the

speech community in question, plus the common core; in addition, such inclusive dictionaries may also list a series of "other" nationalisms, which will then be labelled as such. Dictionaries of both types have been published for a number of national varieties. The *Australian National Dictionary: A Dictionary of Australianisms on Historical Principles* (1988), for example, is an exclusive dictionary, while the *Macquarie Dictionary* (1981, 1991, 1997) is an inclusive dictionary, aimed primarily at Australian users. This last qualification is important from the point of view of marketing, but it also has consequences for the overall design of such a dictionary, above all for the so-called usage labels. Speakers of Australian English who use the *Macquarie* do not – or not urgently – need to be informed about the fact that certain words they find in the dictionary are either Australianisms or "common core" English words that are used in Australia. They need to know, however, that a particular word which is not part of their normal vocabulary is an Americanism, for example. The word *windscreen* 'the sheet of glass which forms the front window of a motor vehicle' is a common core word or a Briticism which is also used in Australia; it is thus listed in the *Macquarie* without a label. *Windshield*, however, is labelled "Chiefly US" (with a cross reference to *windscreen*).

What about dictionaries, however, that are – implicitly or explicitly – intended to be dictionaries of global English, targeted at users world-wide? Dictionaries of this type will be my object of study in the central part of this paper. First, however, a note on terminology. John Algeo and Manfred Görlach have looked at the types of lexical variation found in Englishes worldwide and have suggested important categorial and terminological distinctions.[5] In the following I will give a brief summary of Algeo's 1989 paper "Americanisms, Briticisms, and the Standard: An Essay at Definition," introducing the terminology that will be used later on in the paper. In this paper Algeo looks at a number of definitions of the term *nationalism* and finds that these definitions make use of four different sets of criteria: (1) the *referential focus*, (2) the *type of distinction*, (3) the *geographical area*, and (4) the *standard of contrast*.

(1) Algeo uses the term *referential focus* to highlight the fact that nationalisms can be lexical, phonological, orthographic, grammatical, semantic or pragmatic. A word like *honor*, for example, is a phonological and orthographic Americanism, while *windshield* (just mentioned) is a lexical one.

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[5] Algeo's and Görlach's relevant publications are listed in the References.

2) Through *type of distinction*, his second criterion, Algeo tries to capture how the region in which a nationalism is used can be defined. Here he sets up several sub-categories: geographical area labels, diagnostic labels, statistical labels, associational labels, labels using the expression "peculiar to" and, finally, labels that specify the country of origin of the nationalism in question. Geographical area labels are labels such as "used in / by" or adjectives used without any further qualifications ("British," "American," "US"). These are the most general, least precise labels since – at least in theory – they do not specify whether such a word is used only in that particular variety or also in others. Diagnostic labels such as "characteristic of" or "typical of," by contrast, are somewhat more precise. Statistical labels make this greater precision explicit by indicating that a linguistic item is used more frequently in one variety than in another, with formulations such as "predominantly used by," "chiefly," "mainly." An associational label implies that "an association be made by the observers between the linguistic feature and the national variety" (148); the example given by Algeo is "currently attributed to." The last two labels are precise and unambiguous: definitions that use the expression "peculiar to" make it clear that a nationalism is used only in a particular area and nowhere else, while labels specifying the country of origin do just that, but nothing more: a word "originally from Australia" may belong to the common core and may have world-wide currency.

(3) *Geographical area*, Algeo's third criterion, may be defined with different degrees of precision.[6] A word may be said to be, for example, "(North) American English," "US English" or "Southern US English." Lack of precision (does "American English" mean North American or US English?) here may be deliberate (since the precise range of a term is not known) or it may be due to a desire for brevity.[7]

(4) Algeo's fourth and last criterion, the *standard of contrast*, refers to the fact that

> [a] given national variety may be contrasted with all other forms of English, as an overall pattern or a common core, or with another single national variety

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[6] Note that (3), geographical area, is not identical with the geographical area labels which form a subdivision of (2), type of distinction.

[7] Algeo points out that the geographical area covered by the term *Briticism* is especially fuzzy. According to the definitions of several dictionaries investigated by him "*Briticism* can be understood as denoting expressions used in [1] England, [2] England, Scotland, and Wales, [3] England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, [4] England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, [5] England, Scotland, Wales, and parts of the Commonwealth" (151).

from which it most needs to be differentiated (as American and British from each other). (155-6)

Taking into account all these points, Algeo then arrives at the following definition of the term *nationalism*:

> a linguistic feature (of pronunciation, spelling, grammar, meaning, or pragmatic use) that is unique to, occurs with greater frequency in, or is associated for whatever reason with a particular nation, in contrast to the usage of the same language in another nation, or that originated in the particular nation or denotes a referent limited to that nation. (156)

As this brief summary of Algeo's argument shows, nationalisms are not as straightforward as they might seem at first sight. They are a challenge for lexicography, and I will devote the central sections of this paper to a look at how Briticisms and Americanisms are represented in British and American dictionaries on the one hand and in the Australian *Macquarie Dictionary* on the other. This will lead to a clearer idea of the aims a truly global dictionary would have to fulfil.

2. Briticisms and Americanisms in British and American dictionaries

The aim of this section is to see how two types of explicit nationalisms, Briticisms and Americanisms, are represented in a series of English and American dictionaries. In particular I will look at the following two questions: How do general dictionaries of English differ in listing / not listing, identifying / not identifying nationalisms? And, when they do identify nationalisms, which of the labels described by Algeo do they actually use? The material to be presented here comes from a small study undertaken by a student in a seminar on English lexicography.[8] The words tested are 36 nouns, 18 Briticisms and 18 Americanisms. In each group of 18 nationalisms, 6 are semantic (homonymous words with very different senses in the two varieties), 6 are lexical (different words for one sense) and 6 are orthographical. The examples:

BrE	AmE
fag 'cigarette'	*fag* 'male homosexual'
flat 'a set of rooms for living in'	*flat* 'deflated tire'
pants 'underpants'	*pants* 'trousers'
pavement 'path at the side of a road'	*pavement* 'hard surface of a road'
rubber 'eraser'	*rubber* 'condom'
suspenders 'to hold up sock / stocking'	*suspenders* 'to hold up trousers'

advert	*band-aid* 'sticky plaster'
afters 'dessert'	*bobby-pin* 'flat hairpin'
bumf 'documents and official papers'	*fall*
graft 'hard work'	*ladybug*
ladybird	*movie*
loo 'toilet'	*talkie*

archaeology	*archeology*
colour	*color*
dialogue	*dialog*
kerb	*curb*
theatre	*theater*
gaol (BrE spelling variant of *jail*)	*catsup* (AmE spelling variant of *ketchup*)

The 36 words were then checked in a total of seven dictionaries, four British and three American ones. Deciding on a balanced sample was problematic since the lexicographical traditions in the two countries differ significantly. The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (ALD) and the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary* (COB) were chosen as representatives of learner's dictionaries. Their approximate American counterparts are college dictionaries like the *American Heritage Dictionary* (AHD) and the *Random House Dictionary* (RHD) even though their target audience are college students (i.e. native speakers) rather than foreign learners world-wide. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (W3) were chosen because they are England's and America's most comprehensive dictionaries. The *BBC English Dictionary* (BBC), finally, was added as a typically British dictionary since it might be argued that the learner's dictionaries and the OED, although British in origin, are intended for users throughout the world.

British dictionaries	American dictionaries
ALD, 5th ed. (1995)	AHD, 3rd ed. (1992)
COB (1994)	RHD (1968)
OED, 2nd ed. (1989)	W3 (1981)
BBC (1992)	

Table 1, below, reveals to what extent the dictionaries label the 36 nationalisms at all:[9]

Table 1

dict.	labels BrE	labels AmE	labels total	%[10]	%[11]
ALD	12	16	28	77.8	
COB	10	12	22	61.2	
OED	0	15	15	41.7	
BBC	0	10	10	27.8	
					52.1
AHD	8	0	8	22.3	
RHD	8	2	10	27.7	
W3	11	0	11	30.5	
					26.8
total	49	55	104		

Four clear tendencies can be observed. First, the British dictionaries investigated here generally provide more labels than American ones (the percentage of labelled words is 52.1% [60.2% without BBC] vs. 26.8%). Second, with the exception of ALD, COB and RHD the British dictionaries generally label only Americanisms, the American ones only Briticisms. This result clearly shows that for the editors of the British dictionaries Americanisms are seen as departures from an (unstated) British norm, and vice versa. Such departures are labelled (as not belonging to the common core), whereas words belonging to one's own variety are not labelled, even though they do

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[9] Only labels identifying nationalisms were taken into account; all other labels were disregarded.

[10] In this column percentages are given for each dictionary (100% = 36 items).

[11] The percentages in this column refer to the four British and three American dictionaries as a group.

not or may not belong to the common core of global English. Dictionaries originating from Britain and from the US are thus, in effect, largely dictionaries of British and of American English, even though their titles usually hide this limitation: neither the *Random House Dictionary of the English Language* nor *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, for example, indicate by their title that they are American dictionaries. Third, the two learner's dictionaries stand out from the rest in being more or less balanced in their labelling. They are published in Great Britain, but are consciously aimed at learners of English as a second or foreign language worldwide. With regard to the issue under investigation (Briticisms vs. Americanisms), they can be said to represent global English without a significant bias, although both seem to be a little more partial towards the British than the American norm: the test sample contains an equal number of 18 Briticisms and 18 Americanisms, but both the ALD and the COB label Briticisms slightly less frequently than Americanisms (ALD: 12 vs. 16; COB: 10 vs. 12). This result may be coincidental, but it may also be regarded as a slight trace of the British origin of the two dictionaries. Finally, from all three findings it follows that Americanisms in general are labelled more reliably than Briticisms: the four British dictionaries label the 18 Americanisms in 73.6% of all cases (53/72), while the three American dictionaries label the 18 Briticisms in only 50% of all cases (27/54); in all seven dictionaries taken together the Americanisms receive 55 labels, the Briticisms 49.

This study is, admittedly, based on a rather limited set of data, but the picture it represents is supported by the results of other, earlier investigations. In a study of, *inter alia*, the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* and the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* on the one hand and the *Oxford American Dictionary* on the other, Tottie found that the two dictionaries published in Britain are very careful in marking entries according to their origin, while the *Oxford American Dictionary* marks words of British origin only (313). Algeo also concludes that "[o]n the whole, British dictionaries do a better job of entering and identifying Americanisms, Briticisms, and other nationalisms than do American books" (142).

Having looked at whether or not British and American dictionaries label nationalisms, we will now study how they do it, using as a tool Algeo's set of (possible) defining features for what he calls *type of distinction*. Table 2 presents the findings for all seven dictionaries:

Table 2

type of distinction	BrE	AmE	total	%
geographical area	27	29	56	53.8
diagnostic	1	0	1	1
statistical	14	20	34	32.7
associational	0	0	0	0
using *peculiar (to)*	0	0	0	0
origin	5	0	5	4.8
(spelling)	8	0	8	7.7
total	55	49	104	100

Table 3 gives the same information, but broken down according to the individual dictionaries:

Table 3

dictionary	geog	diag	stat	orig	(spel)	total
ALD	19	0	9	0	0	28
COB	16	0	2	0	4	22
OED	6	1	3	5	0	15
BBC	6	0	0	0	4	10
AHD	1	0	7	0	0	8
RHD	4	0	6	0	0	10
W3	4	0	7	0	0	11
total	56	1	34	5	8	104

Algeo states that "[a]t their most general, the entries simply state that the focused features occur in the relevant geographical area" (147). Typical expressions used for this type of label are "used in / by," "as spoken in," "belonging to" and the use of a national adjective without any further specification in expressions like "US" or "Brit." Geographical labels like these are vague because they do not specify whether the word is used exclusively in one or the other variety or whether the difference is in the frequency of use. Such vagueness may be desirable, however, because it will often be rather

difficult to attain the level of precision Algeo envisages. As Table 3 shows, "geographical area" labels are by far the most frequent, constituting more than 50% of all labels (56 out of 104). The only other significant type is the one Algeo calls the statistical (34 out of 104; favoured by the American dictionaries); here the labels contain adverbs such as "chiefly," "especially" and "mainly," indicating that the word in question may have a certain currency in other parts of the English speaking world. A word, finally, on the label "origin," which is, typically, used only in the OED with its historical focus (5 examples): it is part of the etymological information generally given in that dictionary to indicate that a word originated in a particular area (example: *pants* meaning 'trousers': "orig. U.S.").

To sum up: Algeo lists a considerable number of labels that might be used to make fine distinctions concerning the use of a word in different national varieties. In practice, however, mainly two of them are employed: the very general ("geographical area") and the one Algeo calls the "statistical" which – vaguely – indicates relative frequency of use. There are no significant differences between the various dictionaries, except that the American ones seem to favour the "statistical" type.

3. Briticisms and Americanisms in the *Macquarie Dictionary*

So far I have looked at Briticisms and Americanisms and the way they are represented in British and American dictionaries. Global English is much more than just an amalgam of British and American English, however, and in this section of this paper I want to turn to Australian English to illustrate one further problem of global English and lexicography. My material here comes from a 1998 Zurich M.A. thesis entitled "Americanisms and Briticisms in Australian English."[12] Its author, Tanja Künzli, looked at Australian English spelling on the one hand and lexis on the other in order to determine whether Australians orient themselves more towards a British or an American norm. I shall use a small section of her lexical material to highlight lexicographical problems. Künzli's first step was to set up a series of word pairs typical of BrE and AmE, respectively, with the help of Benson, Benson and Ilson's useful book *Lexicographic Description of English* (1986). By means of an ingenious questionnaire and an equally ingenious method of computing the results she then established the use of either or both of these

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[12] I am grateful to Tanja Künzli for allowing me to present and to use some of her material.

terms by her Australian interviewees (132 people interviewed by students at Macquarie University). In the questionnaire the word pairs were presented to the informants in the following way:

a hinged cover over the engine of a motor car
bonnet   (4) (3) (2) (1) (0)   *hood*   (4) (3) (2) (1) (0)
———   (4) (3) (2) (1) (0)   ———   (4) (3) (2) (1) (0)

The informants were thus given a paraphrase of the item in question ('a hinged cover over the engine of a motor car') plus two words, one of them a Briticism (*bonnet*), the other an Americanism (*hood*).[13] By ticking the appropriate boxes they could indicate that they used one term only and never the other [(4) – (0) or (0) – (4)], that they used one term more often than the other [(3) – (1) or (1) – (3)], that they used both terms with about equal frequency [(2) – (2)], or that they never used either term [(0) – (0)]. The informants could also add additional terms and, using the same system, indicate how frequently they used them relative to others. The values selected by the informants for each item [ranging from (4) to (0)] were then added up, resulting in group averages. In our example the 132 informants clearly preferred the BrE *bonnet* over AmE *hood*, the computed values being 3.32 versus 0.68.

A selection of the results is presented below, the examples chosen coming from the semantic domains "car parts" (Fig. 5), "types of cars" (Fig. 6), "driving" (Fig. 7) and "types and parts of roads" (Fig. 8).[14] The results are shown in the form of histograms and as tables. The value 4 on the vertical axis of the histograms means that a term is always used, the value 0 means that it is never used. Fig. 1, for example, shows that when faced with six word-pairs concerning car parts, the interviewees opted for the BrE term in four cases (*bonnet, boot, windscreen, number plate*), but the AmE term in two (*muffler, fender*).[15] Fig. 1 also shows that in five out of six cases the interviewees' preference was unequivocal (the preferred term having a value

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[13] In order not to encourage the informants to deliberately prefer one national variety over the other the sequence of the variants was varied; sometimes the BrE term was given first (as in the example shown here), sometimes the AmE one.

[14] The numbering of the figures is mine.

[15] This result, incidentally, is typical: Künzli's study shows clearly that Australian lexis in general owes more to British than to American English.

of between 3 and 4), while the results for *wing* and *fender* show that the informants were not happy with either.[16]
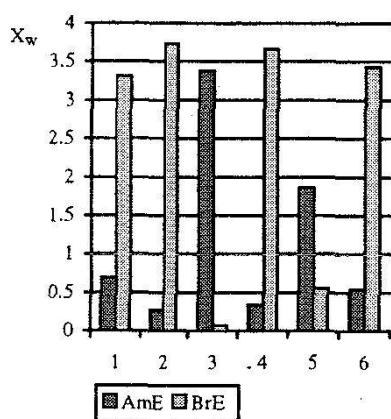
No.	AmE	Aw	BrE	Bw
1	hood	0.68	bonnet	3.32
2	trunk	0.27	boot	3.73
3	muffler	3.39	silencer	0.07
4	windshield	0.34	windscreen	3.66
5	fender	1.90	wing	0.57
6	license plate	0.54	number plate	3.43

Fig. 5 Car parts
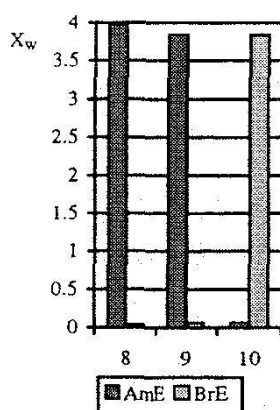
No.	AmE	Aw	BrE	Bw
8	station wagon	3.97	estate car	0.03
9	sedan	3.84	saloon car	0.06
10	house trailer	0.06	caravan	3.84

Fig. 6 Types of cars

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[16] Künzli comments that she would not include this pair (*wing / fender*) if she were to re-do her study, since modern cars no longer have prominent wings / fenders over their wheels and since some informants obviously knew neither the car part in question itself nor the word(s) for it.
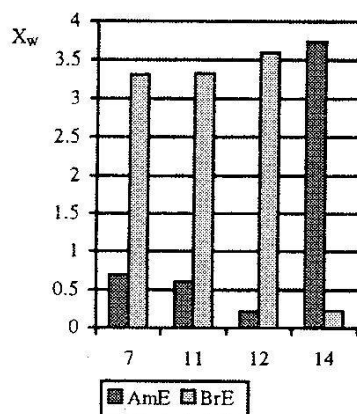
No.	AmE	Aw	BrE	Bw
7	driver's license	0.52	driving licence	3.44
11	parking lot	0.61	car park	3.84
12	gas station	0.21	petrol station	3.60
14	detour	3.74	diversion	0.22

Fig. 7 Driving

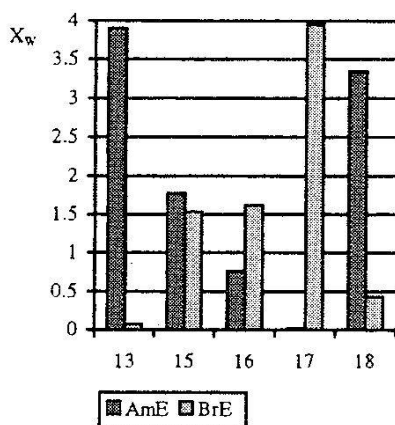| No.	AmE	Aw	BrE	Bw
13	median strip	3.90	central reservation	0.07
15	divided highway	1.77	dual carriageway	1.53
16	sidewalk	0.74	pavement	1.60
17	traffic circle	0.02	roundabout	3.95
18	overpass	3.34	flyover	0.43

Fig. 8 Types and parts of roads

Künzli did not link her results with what is listed in dictionaries, but her study obviously provides excellent source material for a comparison of linguistic reality with lexicographic practice. To make such a comparison I took her BrE and AmE terms from Figs. 5 to 8 (36 words in all) and checked them against the latest (1997) edition of the *Macquarie Dictionary*, Australia's most popular inclusive dictionary. In keeping with the general practice of inclusive dictionaries it lists the core vocabulary of global English together with the lexis which is peculiar to Australia. It makes use of a series of "national" labels ("Brit," "US," "India," "NZ"), which, however, does not include "Australian"; moreover, as a glance at a few sample pages shows, it

uses them very sparingly. From this we conclude that words current in, used in, or well-known in, Australia are not labelled (irrespective of whether they are actual Australianisms, other -isms which happen to be current in Australia, or global words). Nationalisms which are not felt to be part of Australian lexis, on the other hand, are labelled. The results are shown in Table 4. Words preferred by Tanja Künzli's 132 informants are underlined.

Table 4[17]

BrE	y/n[18]	label	AmE	y/n	label
bonnet	y		_hood_	y	
boot	y		_trunk_	y	US
silencer	y		_muffler_	y	
windscreen	y		_windshield_	y	Chiefly US
wing	y		_fender_[19]	y	US
number plate	y		_license plate_	n	
estate car	y	Brit	_station wagon_	y	
saloon car	y		_sedan_	y	
caravan	y		_house trailer_	n	
driving licence	n		_driver's license_	y	
car park	y		_parking lot_	y	Orig. US
petrol station	y		_gas station_	n	
diversion	y		_detour_	y	
central reservation	n		_median strip_	y	
dual carriageway	y		_divided highway_[20]	y (_divided road_)	
pavement	y		_sidewalk_	y	US
roundabout	y		_traffic circle_	y	US
flyover	y		_overpass_	y	

total:
BrE pref.: 10	16	1	AmE pref.: 8	15	6

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[17] In the table I have not taken into account cross-references and other terms mentioned. Two examples: _petrol station_ is listed, but instead of a definition there is a reference to the entry _service station_; _windscreen_ is listed and defined, but the reader is also given the information "Also, _Chiefly US, windshield._"

[18] y = yes (listed in the _Macquarie Dictionary_), n = no (not listed in the _Macquarie Dictionary_).

[19] _Fender_ is preferred over _wing_, but both terms have very low values (_wing_ 0.57, _fender_ 1.90).

[20] _Divided highway_ is preferred over _dual carriageway_, but the difference between them is minimal (_divided highway_ 1.77, _dual carriageway_ 1.53), and it may well be that both terms are equally current in Australia. Note that the _Macquarie_ lists the former term as _divided road._

I will first comment on the table itself, and then draw a number of conclusions relevant for the topic of this paper, global English and lexicography. In the table I have listed the BrE terms in the left-hand column, their AmE counterparts in the right-hand column. In the column y/n a "y" (for yes) indicates that the word is listed in the *Macquarie*, an "n" (for no) that it is not. Two BrE terms and three AmE ones are not listed (BrE *driving licence* and *central reservation* on the one hand, AmE *license plate, house trailer* and *gas station* on the other). In the next column all national labels accompanying the words in question are given. Here we see that the *Macquarie* labels only one Briticism (*estate car*), but six Americanisms (*trunk, windshield, fender, parking lot, sidewalk, traffic circle*). This imbalance can be explained in two ways. We saw earlier on that British and American dictionaries are better at labelling Americanisms than Briticisms. The *Macquarie* may just be another dictionary that shows this bias. On the other hand, the greater number of marked Americanisms may indicate that AusE leans more towards a British norm. This would mean that only those Briticisms are marked which are not (also) Australianisms. The bias in this case would not be one of lexicographic practice, but would be inherent in Australian English.

How do the results of Künzli's usage survey tally with the information to be found in the *Macquarie*? When, according to the survey, only one word of a pair is used in AusE we would expect the other to be listed and labelled or not to be listed at all. Examples are *boot* (preferred, listed) vs. *trunk* (dispreferred, listed and labelled) and *number plate* (preferred, listed) vs. *license plate* (dispreferred, unlisted). Quite frequently, however, we find both words listed and unlabelled, although the Künzli survey indicates that only one of them is current in Australia. Examples: *bonnet* (preferred, listed) vs. *hood* (dispreferred, listed) and *diversion* (dispreferred, listed) vs. *detour* (preferred, listed). Occasionally, the Künzli survey and the *Macquarie* contradict each other, an example being BrE *driving licence* which is the preferred AusE term according to the survey, but which is not listed in the *Macquarie* (which lists AmE *driver's license* instead). Such discrepancies need to be looked into, but they do not affect the general principle, which is that of the inclusive dictionaries discussed earlier on and which could be formulated as follows: Do not label those words which are used in the nation or speech community where and for which the dictionary in question is produced; label the other words.

This principle works well for inclusive dictionaries with a national bias, but what about dictionaries that attempt to be truly global? To check this I

looked up the 36 words just discussed in the 6th edition of the ALD (2000). Nearly all words are listed,[21] and all the listed ones are marked as either Briticisms and Americanisms. Not a single one, however, is marked as – also – an Australianism, although, as we have just seen, about half of them would qualify as such because of their currency in Australia.[22] The ALD is thus a balanced global dictionary with regard to BrE and AmE, but like the more limited inclusive dictionaries it neglects a variety like AusE (and presumably all other "lesser" varieties).

4. Conclusions

What are the conclusions to be drawn from this look at global English as a challenge for lexicography?

English as a global, de-centered or multicentric language, demands at least three different types of dictionaries: exclusive, inclusive and global ones. To repeat: exclusive dictionaries (which I have not discussed in this paper) are dictionaries of a particular variety that list only those words and expressions that are peculiar to it. From the point of view of a global English lexicography they are both desirable and relatively unproblematic. Inclusive dictionaries, by contrast, list the common lexis of global English together with the exclusive lexis of – usually – one variety. Words which are common in that variety are usually not marked, while other words are marked as nationalisms. Thus an inclusive British dictionary will take the common core and the specifically British vocabulary for granted, but will give labels to Americanisms, Australianisms and so on. Explicitly or implicitly most dictionaries are of this inclusive type. There is a clear difference between British and American dictionaries, however. British dictionaries generally provide more geographical labels and occasionally mark Briticisms, while American dictionaries use geographical labels far more sparingly and hardly ever mark Americanisms. The British lexicographical tradition thus shows at least a certain awareness of the fact that British (or English) English is one among many other varieties, that (global) English is a multicentric language. The American tradition, by contrast, (still) treats English as a monocentric language, the large centre of which is American English. It does not label (in

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[21] The only word not listed is *house trailer*.

[22] Only relatively few words which are typical of or even restricted to Australia are marked as Australianisms in the ALD, examples being *barbie* 'barbecue' ("BrE, AustralE, informal") or *pommy* 'a British person' ("AustralE, NZE, informal, often disapproving").

fact, does not recognise) Americanisms and pays little (if any) attention to Briticisms. Since Americanisms are better represented in British dictionaries than Briticisms are in American ones, Americanisms are generally better known and more prominent than Briticisms. What about the third type of dictionary, the global dictionary? Such a dictionary would treat (and mark) all varieties equally and it would note that certain nationalisms are current in more than one speech area, that – to repeat an example – the Briticism *windscreen* is current in BrE as well as AusE, while the Americanism *windshield* is peculiar to North-American English. We have seen that the only dictionaries that attempt to be global in this way are the British learner's dictionaries, which aim at a world-wide market of learners of English as a second or foreign language. The American college dictionaries like AHD and RHD are similar in scope, but their target audiences are native speakers of American English rather than learners worldwide. Learner's dictionaries, as we have seen, are successful as dictionaries of British and American English, but they give significantly less coverage to other varieties such as Australian or Canadian English. The world of the learner's dictionaries, therefore, is a bi- and not truly multicentric one.

What, then, would a truly global dictionary look like? The first challenge is to establish the national differentiation of English lexis more comprehensively and precisely than is done today. Means to this end are the incorporation of "local," exclusive dictionaries (as practised by Oxford University Press), the use of very large corpora (as practised explicitly by Longman and by Collins Cobuild), usage panels (like the one responsible for the AHD) and perhaps also surveys like the one undertaken by Tanja Künzli. How could this information be systematised and presented clearly? In the paper I have summarised above Algeo points out the multi-faceted nature of nationalisms, the many aspects that could, and perhaps should be taken into account. In practice, however, we find only two or three types of labels, the simple "geographical" (US), the "statistical" (chiefly US) and the one that indicates the "origin" of a term (originally US). A more elaborate system is conceivable but has not, to my knowledge, been tried out. In the distant future one can envisage a "varieties dictionary of English" that, like the recently published *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999) might focus on regional, stylistic and other differences of use. Like the *Longman Grammar* such a dictionary would have to develop new ways of indicating the use of variants across national dialects, styles, and so on. The editors would also have to decide whether their dictionary should cover only the native varieties of English or also the many second-language varieties spo-

ken in countries that range from Antigua and Barbuda in the Caribbean to Zambia in Africa. The former type of dictionary would be a large, but feasible undertaking, the latter is theoretically conceivable, but would pose enormous practical problems. Could such a dictionary be published in book form, would a publisher want to take it on and would there be a market for it? I suspect that the answer to all three questions – at the moment at least – is no, and that the world is served sufficiently well by two types of dictionaries that exist, substantial inclusive dictionaries of the major national varieties on the one hand and learner's dictionaries that systematically list Briticisms and Americanisms on the other. Practical considerations like these, however, should not deflect our attention away from the fact that there is as yet no truly global dictionary and that global English remains a challenge for lexicography.

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