

Journal of the Simplified Spelling Society, 1989/1. J10

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[*Journal of the Simplified Spelling Society, 10, 1989/1 p.2*]

The Society

Founded in 1908, the Simplified Spelling Society has included among its officers: Daniel Jones, Horace King, Gilbert Murray, William Temple, H G Wells, Sir James Pitman, A C Gimson and John Downing. Its aim is to "bring about a reform of the spelling of English in the interests of ease of learning and economy of writing". Its present officers are:

President: Donald G Scragg

Vice-Presidents: Professor David Abercrombie, W Reed, Lord Simon of Glaisdale

Chairman: Chris Jolly

Secretary: Laurence Fennelly

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The Journal

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[Chris Upward: see [Journals](#), [Newsletters](#), [Pamphlet](#), [Leaflets](#), [Media](#), [Book and Papers](#).]

1. Editorial Chris Upward

THIS ISSUE

Our first article in this issue, transcribed from Jean Hutchins' address to the Society last year, will go some way towards meeting an implied criticism of recent *Journals*, that they have become too academic and too far removed from the problems which English spelling causes children and teachers. *Wy dyslexics need simplifyd speling* is a vivid account of how dyslexics, perhaps the most vulnerable group of learners, cope, or all too often fail to cope, with a writing system that arose with no regard for the needs of the user at all. But what the article describes is not just the plight of a peculiarly disadvantaged group: although dyslexics have their special difficulties (e.g. writing *trun for turn*), their situation is greatly aggravated by the same anti-alphabetic features of written English that make literacy in English harder for everyone. Much of what dyslexics suffer is what we all suffer, only magnified many times over; and Jean Hutchins' article is a magnifying glass applied to the essential problems of TO.

Perhaps one of the reasons why English-speakers have traditionally struggled to learn other languages is that written English itself has been such a struggle for many — and then when they have approached French, its writing system too has merely confirmed to them that literacy is an arcane skill that most people cannot hope fully to master. Maybe the French writing system is, after English, the second most user-unfriendly of all those based on the Roman alphabet — but Susan Baddeley in her article shows how, historically, the French adopted a serious and rational view of their script, and progressively improved it from its much more haphazard earlier forms. In some ways the difficulties of French spelling are even more intractable than those of English — but the French do show us a more considered approach to the problem. The Society has much to learn from them, amongst other things about effective campaigning and organization.

Ronald Hofmann's article on representing the pronunciation of English, particularly for foreign learners who do not already know the pronunciation of words when they first meet them in writing (as native speakers usually do), suggests a refinement of the i.t.a. technique. One of the aims of the i.t.a. was not to depart so radically from the appearance of TO that learners found it hard to transfer when the time came; but while i.t.a. may have achieved that objective, its unfamiliar letters

seem to have fatally deterred non-converts from adopting the medium. Ronald Hofmann presents an ingenious system for largely overcoming that problem (and some other problems besides): texts in TO used by learners can be marked with diacritics to show which sound-value of the letters is required. This has the advantage that learners are immediately faced with the conventional spellings, while still having clear guidance as to how they should be read. This system does not of course help with the problems of writing — but perhaps if combined with John Henry Martin's IBM *Writing to Read* approach, it could lead to the development of the best Initial Teaching system yet.

The Editor's continuing analysis of dilemmas arising from the mechanical application of the rules of Cut Spelling raises questions that have to be faced by any spelling reform. One such question concerns the nature of ambiguity in English, whether from heterophones, heterographs or polysemy. The present distribution of these ambiguities is fairly random, while spelling reform implies de-randomizing it. Would it be a good thing to spell *two*, *too*, *to* identically, although phonetically (as opposed to phonemically) their pronunciation is normally distinct in any given context (*at ten to two too*)? Another question raised is whether it is desirable to reform the spelling of rare or archaic words: if the spelling of a word we do not normally meet is changed, might it not be hard to identify (e.g. is it worth respelling words such as *bourne*, *ere*?)

The excerpts from the government report *English for Ages 5 to 11* continue the saga of — the Society's submissions to the Kingman committee in 1987–88. The powers-that-be are beginning to look at English spelling — but so far without appearing to register its true nature.

PRESCRIPTIVISM

Among the often fruitless and endless arguments surrounding the problems of TO is the one concerning prescriptivism. Since TO is an inherently *impossible* system to master, so one line of argument goes, surely we would do better to stop trying to force learners to conform to its unreasonable conventions, in other words, to stop prescribing how words should be written. But that, it must be said, is to duck the issue.

We must of course sympathise with the view that part of the problem of illiteracy in TO is simply that we lay too much store by 'correct' spelling. Many successful people have been poor spellers, and no doubt many more potentially successful people have been prevented from fulfilling their potential by the opprobrium their misspellings have incurred. So, yes, we should be charitable to poor spellers, we should help them and not condemn them. But that is not an alternative to attacking the fundamental problem, the writing system itself, which is the root cause of their misspellings.

Nevertheless, 'correct' spelling is important because spelling is a means of communication, and failure to observe the conventions of communication reduces its efficiency. Human readers can be, and should be, tolerant of misspellings, however disturbing they find them, but non-human readers (i.e. computers) are less tolerant: a misspelt command will simply not be obeyed.

We should however note that tolerance of misspellings is only necessary in a system which people cannot master. We can tolerate *freind* for *friend*, because neither spelling conforms to any rational principle; neither spelling represents a proper use of the alphabet in which it is written. The only thing that *friend* has in its favour is convention. However, if *friend* were officially spelt *frend*, in accordance with its pronunciation, not even the most ardent anti-prescriptivist would advocate tolerance of misspellings such as *frond*, *frind*, *frond*, *frund*, any more than today the spelling *bit* could ever be tolerated for *but*, since such forms conflict with the basic alphabetic principle. As of course does *friend*.

2. Correspondence

Thirty years desining

From **Pwe Lin Lihg**, Ganzou, Jiangxi Province, China:-

Let me adres yu in our latle developd spech-sound English speling, a sistem jenerally widh no or a litl chanj tu text aperens, bart widh over-aul consistent mach tu prononsiatyon for wich hou-ever Niu Speling regretably mad drastic chanjes tu text aperens. And our sistem makes aul spelings to prononsiatyon and removs aul aberent speling paterns, not lik Cut Speling wich makes and removs onle mane.

English speling reform bi stajes wud eventyyalle be renderd fiutile bi dhe inevitabl fonetic inconsistensy arizing among dhe difrent stajes of dhe reform. Hare Lindgren hadn't taken dhis intu his consideration.

Aul dhe atanments, if ane, of our sistem can be fulle verifid in persenal discusyons, widhout wich yu wudn't anderstand dham. Wil I, nou over sevente and in il helth, hav ben sacrificing dhez thirte yers panstaking eforts in desining a fezible English speling sistem for Briten, wi has yur Sosite sarcrifisd a sentyyure's eforts widhout ane sabstunsyal achevment?

Specifications

From **Harvie Barnard**, Tacoma, ,Washington State, USA:-

A spelling system, to be rationally acceptable and not confusing, should conform as much as practicable to a simple set of specifications:

- 1 It should reflect the simplicity of the spoken language.
- 2 It should be closely related fonetically to the pronunciation of the spoken language.
- 3 It should be dependably regular, devoid of obvious inconsistencies.
- 4 A 1-to-1 sound-symbol relationship within the limitations of the alfabet is desirable; limiting letter combinations to digrafs when single symbols are not fonetically acceptable.
- 5 Silent letters should be avoided:
 - a) *one letter or digraf for each fone;*
 - b) *one sound for each symbol or digraf;*
 - c) *duplications should be avoided both for symbols and sounds;*
 - d) *no symbols should be eliminated needlessly, i.e. for sake of economy of either space, time or expense.*

Now that draconian reforms are rocking Britain's schools and colleges, and with a new administration taking over in the US, the time is ripe for change and corrections.

Dutch patterns

From **J Clausen**, Horsham, Sussex:-

The attempts in the past to simplify the written language have failed because the changes proposed have been too drastic all at once. Even your proposals at present for Cut Speling would seem to me again too drastic to get the nesenary suport. The arguments for Cut Speling I agree with are the increased simplisity and the consekwent reduction in computer and disc spase.

I should like to know how you are attempting to get this country to agree to your proposals to change spelling. There is actually no institution or body which can decide upon what a new spelling should be. The Oxford Dictionary for example is only a user compilation!

So are you proposing to start by persuading printers and newspapers?

From my experience with the Dutch spelling alterations, of which there have been about ten in the last 50 years, I would have thought that in the first phase we should change the obvious oddities, e.g. *philosophy: filosofy, received: recieved, frequent: frekwent*, this to be followed by cutting rule 3, e.g. doubled consonants simplified.

I would have thought that this could be the least controversial of the Cut Spelling proposals. It would set precedents and the more controversial proposal, cutting rule 1, could be introduced next.

Another area of my discontent with English spelling is the inconsistency of the <c>. In Dutch the <c> is replaced with a <k> where pronounced /k/. However I think that the opposite course of action is reworked in English: that is to replace <c> with <s>.

The to my mind most controversial cutting rule 2 I would introduce last.

The 1984 Resolutions

From **Stanley Gibbs**, Oadby, Leicester:-

As I was mainly responsible for the Society's Stage 1 Resolutions of 1984, may I offer a reply to Professor Gregersen? (*Journal* 88/3, p.11)

The 5-point Stage 1 Resolutions were intended to be a start leading to New Spelling. The intention was also to give the Society an official House Style which could readily be used when writing to outside bodies, and internally with our own SSS correspondence.

But to deal with Professor Gregersen's doubts:-

On balance the word *plough* was altered to *plou*. *Plow* would be acceptable although there might be confusion with *blow, flow, glow*.

The form *thurra* was another such decision taken. During my period over several years as the Society's Secretary I wrote *thurro*, having forgotten that the decision was for *thurra*.

I agree that the two forms <dh, th> show better scholarship. In 1972 I voted for their retention, but the Society voted heavily in favour of <th> for both sounds. Professor Citron advised me to "drop <dh> like a red-hot rivet".

Our Society's official Stage 1 accepts the 1972 Resolution.

The spelling *doh* lines up with *oh!* In music we have *doh, soh*. However, *doe* could very well replace *doh* if it were felt advisable to conform to New Spelling.

As for *cof, baut*, the pronunciation which might suggest *cawf* is nearly dead in Britain. New Spelling gives *kof, baut*; Dewey offers *cof, baut*.

To deal with words such as *ought, bought* etc: if Professor Gregersen will examine *New Spelling* (Ripman and Archer), p.13 iii states the following:

"To avoid, as far as possible, combinations of letters which are not already in use or more or less familiar".

I agree with this; *aut, baut, faut, fraut, raut* follow the rules and are more acceptable than *oht, boht* etc. The i.t.a. has adopted ligatured <au> into its system. I deny that SR <ough> is simply too complicated. I used SR <ough> in my secretarial capacity for four years without any problems.

In conclusion, I would make this plea: the 5-point Stage 1 has been accepted as the SSS's official House Style by the minuted Resolutions of 1984. Let us all resolve to use this House Style when writing to the *Journal*. Surely we can agree that this modest official House Style is the best that has already been devised?

American Changes

From **Ed Rondthaler**, American Literacy Council, New York:-

In answer to questions about the latest changes to *Simplified American Spelling* (see *Journal* 88/3, p30):

American attempts to reach a compromise close enough to 'one-to-one' so that it can be learned as readily as other languages, and yet close enough to TO so that those who ultimately will have to sanction its use will be able to read it without so much annoyance that they refuse support.

Terminal <-s> for plurals, possessives and 3rd person singular present tense is a consistency that can be reliably labeled a "*predictable* generality".

Since in speech we unfailingly differentiate by the use of context, why should we not do the same visually?

<cur> vs <cer> was a tough decision and our decision to retain <cur> may not be the best. It was not without reason however. Nowhere in TO is hard <c> followed by <er>. We had great trouble with such spellings as *cerent, cerb* etc. A better solution might be *kerent, kerl, kerb*, and we're certainly open on that point.

It is not your or my pronunciation that determines the prevailing pronunciation. It's the consensus of many dictionaries. The <i> in *hapily* and the <y> in *hapyest* are not pronounced the same. The <i> in TO *happiness, happiest* has more ee-sound than the <i> in *happily*.

The first syllable of *conggress* ends with the ng-sound, the second begins with hard <g>.

Conglomeret however breaks after the <n>.

Valerie Yule is right (*Journal* 88/3, p32) about the bulkyness of *depreeshyaeshun*. Our new spelling of a similar word is *abreeviaet*, better than *abreevyaet* — it straightens out the use of <y> as a vowel and as a consonant.

There ought to be something in Cut Spelling that we could use in *American*. For example: now that we have abandoned <ur> in favor of stressed <er>, it might be sensible to use <r> instead of unstressed <er>. But when we begin to make this change on a large scale we get into trouble with hundreds of words like TO *teeter/teetering*. CS *teetr* is OK, but CS *teetring* is not. *Teetring* has only 2 syllables and it should have 3. This sort of thing keeps popping up when adding suffixes after <dr, fr, gr, kr, pr, tr> etc. And in CS I find the TO word *consonants* translated into CS *consnnts* — a spelling that indicates only two syllables. No dictionary will agree with that.

For one who is literate in English the CS elisions may be OK. For the illiterate, however, so much iffyness is not helpful. It's just too slippery a system. And what about the <r/er> inconsistency in CS *numbr/numerus*? Or the 2 different pronunciations of <y> in *slytly*? Don't we have to address the matter of the long vowels? It's really our biggest problem.

Recognizing that the rule "If in doubt, cut it out*" solves some problems but creates others, I'm tempted by a rule that might read something like "If in doubt use <-er, -ent, -abl> etc — admitting that it could lead to the acceptance of both *doctor* and *docter, dolar and doler, penant and penent, posibl and posabl*, etc.

I've been inclined to feel that Ripman and Dewey were on the right track in the way they handled post-accent schwa before <l, m, n> as described on page 296. But if there's a better way with rules that apply consistently, we're certainly open. I get into trouble with *autm*, *autumpd* and things like that.

* (*The CS guideline is the opposite of this: "if in doubt, don't cut out!" —Ed.*)

Streamlining Wingfield

From **Robert Craig**, Weston-super-Mare, Avon:-

Ij cot cat Wingfield'z ijdiez wyr gud. But cei rizoltid in wyrdz ov ynakseptebel lengc, for ekzampel, *tsheindzh*. Mij verxen *txeinq/cxeinq* is nou longer can TO *change*. Olsou Ij cot cat ce jus ov konsenent simbelz az vauel simbelz had tu bi ruld out.

It hartenz mi tu sii ce digrii ov konsensus nau developing wicin ce sosijeti. Nou-wyn nau siimz tu kuestxen cat <k> (not <c>) xud stand for /k/. If wi wyr tu eplij cc lezikograferz rulz tu spelinz in leterz tu ce SSS qyrnel, cen *tu*, *du* wud be Haus Stijl for TO *to*, *do*.

Ce kontribuxenz from Cxijne ar gud. Ce ijdie ov juzing ce epostrofi tu mark stres siimz wyrck ekzamining.

It iz interesting cat ce konsenent sistem ov Nu Speling (klasikel vyrxen) iz standing yp, byt ce vauel sistem iz teiking a batering, wic kontinental (ie juniversal) modelz priferd.

Rigarding Harks' obqekxen tu hijfenz, ceir jus kud bi fyrcker ridusd bij rijting emfatik *re* seperetli, cys:- *re make*, *re evolve*, *re creation*, olsou *co operation*, *co exist*, *co axial* ets.

If hi iz going tu cxeinq nycing els, cen Bill Herbert wil hav tu put yp wic *wunce* racer can *wuns*. *Ku* for *queue* siimz e bit problematikel. *Keu* wud be beter, ie substituting <k> for <q> and noking of ce fijnel <e>.

I think we should at least try diakritiks. A useful symbol would be <ö> for short <u> as in *but*. This would allow <u> to be used in a more international way. You would then have to cut to *enöf*, *töf*, *tröbl*, *döbl*. I notice a new pronunciation of /ju:/ as in *use*, which would suggest <ü> as a symbol. Altho not intirely satisfactory in this context, diakritiks could be used to overkome Edgar Gregersen's objections to the ambiguities of Cut Spelling: *who* > hö (later hu), but *hoe* > ho; *to* > tö (later tu), *but toe* > to; *do* > dö (later du), but *doe*, *dough* (cf *donut*) > do (but *due* > dü); similarly *hovr* but *cövr*.

Australian role

From **Bill Herbert**, Kenmore, Queensland, Australia:-

We reluctantly agree that American should take precedence over English, but there are many reforms not in conflict. Australia does have a role: *hiccup* is commonly used; *plow*, *thru* and *tho* are acceptable. The Australian *Labor Party* is never spelt *Labour Party*.

There are many language schools teaching English speech. What an opportunity to introduce them to phonetic spelling — a short list, with further reforms foreshadowed such as more Cut Spelling (dropping silent letters), the <-ough, -augh, -igh> words; some of SR1; <f> for <ph>.

It is highly unlikely that any big reform, say 100 words, will be accepted as a first stage. So why not press for a small reform — glaring unphonetic words? There is nothing to lose.

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[Jean Hutchins: see [Journals](#), [Newsletters](#)]

3. Wy dyslexics need simplifyd speling

Jean Hutchins

Jean Hutchins chairs th Computer Sub-Comitee of th British Dyslexia Association (BDA), represents th BDA on th SSS comitee, and is a mernbr of th Cut Speling Working Group. She has many years of experience of teaching children with Specific Larning Difictis (SpLD), having workd for Local Education Authoritis for 17 years as both a class teachr and a remedial teachr, and currently is Corse Tutor for th Royal Society of Arts Diploma in SpLD at St Bartholomews Hospitl, London. This articl is an editd transcription of an adress she gave to th Simplified Speling Society on 13 febrry 1988, and is publishd in th experimentl Cut Speling systm; readrs ar invited to coment on its forms.

Th classic dyslexic

Som 10 years ago I had a privat pupil cald Tony. He was 12 years old, and aftr one lesn he said, "I do wish we cud spel words as we say them — but u'd be out of a job then, wudnt u?" I replyd, "Tony, I wudnt mind if it wer esir for u to read and rite." Now Tony had hy intelijnce, and aftr som 18 months of tuition he cud read quite satisfacrly, in th sense of being avraj for his aje tho stil undracheving. If reading had been th only problm, he wud no longr hav needd to keep coming to me. But as his *speling* difictis persistd, I had to go on teaching him. His fathr was also dyslexic — th problm dos very oftn run in famlis. Tony was a classic dyslexic. He was in fact a pupil in th scool wher I was a remedial teachr, and wher I taut him in a group of about 6 children. His fathr askd me to giv him extra help at home. He was a boy of hom th teachrs said in a tone of surprise, "Oh, is he remedial? To talk to him u wudnt think ther was anything rong with him." That is wy dyslexia is cald 'th hidn handicap': wen u look at these children and wen u talk to them, u normly notice nothing stranje.

A problm for al children

Gregory is six and a haf years old. His intelijnce quotient is about 110, rathr abov avraj. I hav been seing him for six months, and in that time I hav taut him th sounds of singl letrs, blending (how two or thre letrs togethr can sound) and th principl of ryming. We wer making progress, with me teaching him words like *red*, *fed*, *bed* — until he ofrd *said*, and I had to say, "Yes, that sounds th same, we'l do it othr time." I cudnt say, "That's rong", because he had aplyd th principl of ryming wich I had just been teaching him. So having lernt *red*, *bed*, he wil then hav th dificly of facing *dead*, *head* with an <a> in them. I comentd on this to his Hedmastr, ho said, "Oh, lots of children get that rong!" If lots of children do, that surely shows ther is al the mor reasn to do something about th way words ar spelt.

Groing awareness of th problm

I retumd to teaching in 1972, after having children, and then found the word *dyslexia* was being used in magazine articls and television programs, altho nobody localy cud explain it. In 1975 I visitd sevrl dyslexia centrs, including th Dyslexia Clinic at St Bartholomews Hospitl, th Dyslexia Institute, th Helen Arkell Dyslexia Centr, and Aston University, wher Margaret Newton was developing th Aston Index. Th teaching that intrestd me most was th multisensry method used at St Bartholomews, *Alpha to Omega*. [\[1\]](#)

In 1975 I was 40, I had been teaching for a long time, I had yung children of my own, and I had been a remedial teachr. But I did not no ther was a set of words like *was*, *wash*, *want*, *what*, *whatever*, *wand*, *swan* wher <a> has th sound of short <o>, nor that any children had to sit down and learn such lists. I new how to spel them, but I did not no, even tho I was a remedial teachr, that

for some children and some adults one had to organise those words in lists.

Dyslexia and adults

Since then there has been a lot of publicity about dyslexia and famous people who have this problem: Susan Hampshire the actress, Duncan Goodhew the swimmer, and the ex-government minister Michael Heseltine, who likes the reports he gets to be very concise and supported by visual aids. Another is Jackie Stewart the racing driver: he only found out when he took his son for help with his extreme difficulties; Jackie Stewart himself could presumably tell left from right! It is not uncommon for adults only to find out when their children are diagnosed that dyslexia was also the reason that they themselves had had difficulty at school, though their difficulties may have been less severe. It has been suggested that Leonardo da Vinci, Einstein and Rodin were dyslexics; and Winston Churchill did not do very well at school. A lot of people now say that they are dyslexic, although this may be a fashion that is being taken to extremes.

I have taught in Adult Literacy, and I think that a great many of the adults in that scheme were dyslexic, because their reading and spelling did not match what one knew about them and the jobs that they were doing: an electrician with the Gas Board, sent for promotion because his practical work was good, but unable to read the course notes; a man who wanted to be a fireman and passed all the exams except the dictation; a former baker of 15 years' standing who couldn't spell the word *bread* — we taught him but he forgot again in the summer holiday; a man who wanted to be a golf professional and couldn't pass the exams — he brought along his golfing manual for us to teach him; a Securicor guard, obviously very capable or he would have been unable to do his job; a man who travelled from Redhill to London every day to recording studios and whose spelling was appalling, though he was capable at his job; a self-employed plasterer; a man who drove for a frozen-food firm and housewives gave him the cheques to fill in! There was a hot-water fitter who actually thought that he was going mad because he couldn't understand why right words did not make sense to him — he knew he wasn't stupid, but his parents were Italian and they hadn't realized that he wasn't progressing at school; the book *Alpha to Omega* was a revelation to him — previously he had been trying to learn every single word separately, without understanding that they formed groups or were in any way connected with each other, which is something most of us learn in the normal process of becoming literate.

How dyslexics react

How does it feel to be dyslexic? There are people of low intelligence who are satisfied with their achievements and think they are doing very well, being unaware of their difficulties. Dyslexics do not get to be able to do better and are frustrated. Some of them try ten times harder than other people to achieve the same results. I had an enquiry a fortnight ago from the mother of a boy who had a place in a selective school; he had been there for six months and was having to work far harder than everybody else to keep up with what he was supposed to be doing, and he was clearly not going to continue to do so for the next six years.

Some give up and withdraw, or they develop behavior problems because they can't do the work. I was seeing a boy of seven and a half in the summer; he was intelligent, with a quotient of 120 or so, but he couldn't read or write a single word in a reading or spelling test, and the school put it down to behavior difficulties. Would anyone have behavior difficulties if they had been at school for two or three years and still couldn't read or write a word? Lack of intelligence was not the obstacle.

Dyslexics have very poor self-esteem. The BDA has a video made by the Department of Education and Science about specific learning difficulties — a cumbersome phrase within which we include dyslexia; and in the video they use the term 'backward ego', which is a very good word for dyslexics.

Defining dyslexia

I define dyslexia as 'a surprising, serious difficulty with literacy skills': surprising in view of what we know about the person. Literacy problems are unsurprising if there are extraneous factors.

We are consulted by parents with children of whom they are expecting too much, although such children may be slightly underachieving. With dyslexics we are talking about children whose difficulties are serious enough to interfere with their progress. A slight difficulty is not dyslexia. A common definition of dyslexia is: achievement in reading or spelling two years below what one would expect for the person's verbal intelligence level.

That is often not easy for parents to understand. Obviously a 2-year gap at the age of 12 for someone of average intelligence is manageable: the 12-year-old with reading age 10 can cope. But when 8-year-olds have a 2-year gap, with a reading and spelling age of 6, they are prevented from achieving anything. So at different ages, a 2-year gap has different implications.

Dyslexic characteristics

Usually dyslexics show certain characteristics, some of them well-known: difficulties of sequencing and direction, bizarre spelling, left/right confusion, etc. Some dyslexic children write as <d> because they forget the letter for the sound they hear, but others do not. The chief criterion is a discrepancy between what one would normally expect and what is actually achieved. Many 5- and 6-year-olds may spell *bed* as <d-e-b>, confusing and <d>; but that does not make them dyslexic. One only begins to suspect dyslexia if they have not outgrown the confusion by the time they are 7. If they are of very low intelligence, they may persist with that confusion beyond the age of 7.

There is a range of characteristics. Some dyslexics write the correct letters in the wrong order, showing sequencing difficulties; so they may write *turn* as <t-r-u-n>. Others represent the sounds in the right order, but with the wrong letters, perhaps writing *turn* as <t-e-r-n>, which after all represents the right sound.

Dyslexics have the opposite of a photographic memory. Some people claim to have a photographic memory, meaning that once they have seen something, it is fixed in their memory. But there is a sliding scale of photographic memory. Some people remember the visual appearance of words if they work very hard to do so. Others again have enormous difficulty, however many times they are shown the visual form of a word and however many times they practise writing it. Parents seem to want us to say that their child is either dyslexic or not dyslexic. But the situation is not so simple: there is a graduated scale, just as among people who are not dyslexic there are still great differences of visual memory and some have to work at it more than others.

Dyslexics don't easily generalise

People who learn visually don't learn the spelling of every single English word individually; they learn a few and they generalise from them. But dyslexics do not do this: they do not generalise even from the words they do learn. Teachers who rely on the 'look-and-say' method do not realize that most children generalise in this way, without being taught to do so.

I will mention two examples from my own children of how learners generalise without anyone being aware of it.

My son is of below average intelligence and has a quotient of about 80. He learnt to read by the 'look-and-say' method, late but quite easily: I taught him, with permission from the teacher at school. When he was about 14 we went to France for a holiday. He didn't know any French, and he hadn't been taught any phonics at school; but he saw the word *soin* on a shop, and pronounced it to rhyme with join. Now I had never taught him, and nor would his school have done, that the digraph <oi> represents the vowel-sound in *join*; but he had made the generalisation. So I asked him what sound the digraph <aw> represented, and he thought of a word containing <aw>, and spoke the vowel concerned. Then I tried him with the digraph which I believe is the hardest, <ew>, and he knew that too.

Dyslexics find it extremely difficult to do that, and it is very hard to teach them to. Yet it is necessary. When they start school, children have a vocabulary of something between five and ten thousand words, and they cannot possibly learn the right form of all those words individually: they have to generalise.

My dautr is at university studying sycology. She is two years yungr than my son, and wen I was teaching him and she was ajed about 4, she askd, "Wher is my reading book?". Afr a few weeks she red th word *catch* independntly. I had not taut her any fonics; my sceme was to teach her as I had lernt to do at Colej, wich was to teach 60 syt words, and begin fonics afr that. (But if I used this method with dyslexics, they wud nevr lern any words at al.) So I askd my dautr, "How do u no that word is *catch*?" She ansrd, "Wel, that's *cat* and that's *ch*." She had pikd up th <ch> for herself from words like *chimney* and *church*, but we dont realize that children ar doing this most of th time.

So: dyslexics hav a very weak powr of fotografic memry, and a very weak powr of jenrlization.

Causes of dyslexia

Wat is th reasn for dyslexia? it lies somewhere in th brain, but it has to do with brain function, not brain damaj. Ther is nothing mesurabl; somthing gos rong with th processing of input, memry and output. Somtimes it is late developmnt, late maturing. At Aston University they thot that th two hemisferes of th brain wer too even, insted of one side of th brain being domnnt. Som said that th languaj side of th brain dos not develop in dyslexics as it dos in othr peple — wich is not to say that it develops rongly, but rathr just difrntly (it was Geschwind [\[2\]](#) ho said that ryt-braind peple hav a great deal to ofr). Ther is a sujestion now that in th layrs of th brain, as they ar formd befor birth, dyslexics hav slyt lumps or nodules wich othr peple do not hav. Since ther is obviusly som dificity with disecting dyslexics' brains, that idea has stil to be proven.

Tru dyslexia runs in famlis, it is heredity. But environmentl factrs also play a part: a parent ho dosnt read wil discouraj th child from reading. If th fathr dosnt read because he is dyslexic, and th son dosnt read eithr, is that heredity or environmnt? We think both. But unless brain-damaj at birth causes dyslexic caractristics, one always finds othr memrs of th famly ho ar also dyslexic. I hav testd thre dyslexic children ho ar cusns, but with difrnt parents, som of th parents being dyslexic too. I hav one famly wher fathr is dyslexic and hose thre children, two boys and a girl, ar too. Th famly also has 1-year-old twin boys — so wat must ther chances be of being dyslexic? Dyslexia is particulrly comn in twins, and it is four times mor comn in boys than in girls, so th chances must be very hy.

How many Dyslexic

How many dyslexics ther ar in th population is a very vexd question: it depends wher th line is drawn and ho is included. Estimats vary between 2% and 20%. If one is looking at dyslexics for reserch purposes, one wil exclude those of lo intelijnce, those with slyt brain damaj, those with agravating circmstnces in ther environmnt. But for th practicl purpose of teaching, they al hav to be included too.

I had a pupil hose father was scizofrenic and batrd both mothr and son. Th mothr divorced and remarrid. They moved to Wales, and th boy entrd a welsh-speaking scool — but then returnd to England and had furthr chanjes of scool. Th famly livd with in-laws for a wile. Th boys ys ar lyt-sensitiv and he sufers from migrain. Th scool attributed his poor litracy to al these agravating circmstnces. But th mothr is very dyslexic, th boys difictis wer those of a classic dyslexic, and he now atends a scool for Specific Lerning Difictis. Th scool is teaching him to read, but has acceptd that his poor spelng is cronic and that he wil nevr spel acuratly; but u can read evrything he rites because I hav taut him exlnt fonics. For reserch purposes this boy is not dyslexic, altho for practicl purposes he is. Those ho say that 2% of th population ar dyslexic will exclude him; but those ho estimate 10 or 15% include him.

Most peple concernd with dyslexia wud probbly say that 4% of th population hav very serius dyslexic difictis wich require specialist tuition, wile anothr 6% on th graduated scale of dificity wil eithr nevr be noticed, or work extra hard, or wil survive with very good teaching, or wil always undr-

achieve. The figure I am inclined to use is 10%. The 1981 Education Act spoke of 20% of children in schools with special educational needs at some point during their attendance at school. All the children I call dyslexic would be in that 20% of children with special educational needs. Sometimes the Education Authorities use the phrase 'Specific Learning Difficulties' instead of dyslexia, but it is too complicated for many children, so find the word 'dyslexia' more manageable.

How is dyslexia diagnosed?

The first test for dyslexia is whether there is a discrepancy between verbal intelligence and the reading and spelling age. One then looks at the areas of difficulty: is the child making typical dyslexic mistakes? Here are some examples.

This was written by a non-dyslexic 11-year-old of low ability, and contains what might be called 'ignorance mistakes'.

dogs

dogs are very fluffy the bark and they like to be used to have a dog but he had to be put to sleep because he bit my sister the dogs around our estate are not like my dog because there not the same breed they have not the same colour fur and they havent the same bawls the dogs around our estate are like or variations they have big furry ears and a small nose they havent got very many friends because they bite my dog was never let out of the house on her own because she was very noisy she was a very good and she was very like she was very young.

Next is one written by a high-ability 9-year-old dyslexic.

I am a zoo keeper one day I was fixing up the griller I kept him and when I came back he was gone so I went on the alarm the police came the zoo keeper came we went on a search for him we went to the bushes near the garden lead on to a bamboo plantation there was a lot of broken down bamboo we followed it and we saw give we set up a trap for him it was put him in a cage and took him far to the zoo and got him something to eat then he went to sleep

These spellings are good, and show that the child has thought hard about how to spell these words: *griller* for *gorilla*, *damdoo* and *banboo* for *bamboo*, *browcen* for *broken*. The child has listened to the sound and tried to represent it very carefully.

Next is an example of a dyslexic child's writing which is practically perfect, not because I had been able to teach her perfectly, but because she kept to safe and dull words which she knew she could spell. She therefore did not present as a dyslexic, but she had an IQ of 120, and at the age of 8 she should have

been riting much mor intresting things.

acat

There was a little cat who had two green eyes. She was all black and she had a mum and dad. She lived on a hill in a house. Her mother worried about her because he did not eat much any more.

One looks at handwriting and reading, but whatever other weaknesses one may succeed in helping dyslexics correct, spelling remains a difficulty. They may have difficulty with labeling, in recalling the names of things. So if they confuse the words *left* and *right*, they may be confusing not the two directions, but rather the words that are applicable in a given case. That also causes them problems in Mathematics.

Difficulty with sequencing causes dyslexics problems with the alphabet and therefore with the dictionary. Of course, if they cannot spell a word, they often cannot find it in the dictionary: it is no use looking up *city* under <s>. One cannot say to dyslexic children, "Look in the dictionary": even if they found the right word, they would not always have a good enough visual memory to recognize it. They may find it hard to just recite the days of the week or the months of the year, never mind spelling them; similarly with telling the time, following directions, and with short-term memory. They may come up to ask the teacher something, but by the time they get there, they have forgotten what they were going to ask: their question has not gone into long-term memory.

Remediation

One cannot assume that dyslexics will learn anything that other children pick up more easily. What is needed is a structured, multisensory program, according to the child's specific needs: seeing a word, saying it, hearing it and writing it, so that all the senses contribute to the learning. Sometimes the dyslexic child will have a much better auditory ability than visual ability. One pupil, when trying to write a word, says the sounds out loud, and will pick up his mistakes from hearing what he says, rather than from what he actually writes and sees.

The program has to be progressive and build up, always referring back and building on what has been done before. Teachers may concentrate on words containing <aw> one day, but it will be little use if they do not point out how the same sound is spelt in *or*, a word the pupil has met before. A program like this will teach the most common spelling of the sound, as in *or*, early on; and then when one reaches the other spellings for that vowel, <aw, au> etc, one has to make the link and point out that the pupil has already learnt another way of spelling it. When pupils are taught most spellings in school by list after list of words, the different spellings previously learnt for the correspondences currently under discussion are never related.

Dyslexics are all different, which makes the condition particularly hard to understand. If parents have read Susan Hampshire's biography, [\[3\]](#) they may falsely conclude that their child is not dyslexic because he/she shows different problems. One boy is struggling to sort out *bed* and *head* and *red/read*, and there are dyslexics at university, even post-graduate research students, who have had to work far harder than other students to get that far: the problem stretches right across the ability range. It cannot be cured, it does not disappear; one can remediate, one can improve, one can inspire self-confidence, one can teach strategies, one can pick out the weaknesses that matter most; but the basic problem will always persist in spelling.

Readability paramount

A university student in a letter home made some mistakes which would be fairly typical of dyslexics and which show he has not got a good visual memory for what words look like, although what he writes is quite readable. So he writes:

Beetles thieves teddys registared havn't que busses

for TO

Beatles thieves teddies registered haven't queue buses

(these wud hav been helpd by Cut Speling), and these othrs:

luckerly sleepinging cheep ju ditsu werse hay

for TO

luckily sleeping cheap jujitsu worse hey

I hav one pupil now hose mistakes I do not corect, provided th spelings ar readbl. I only intrvene wen they ar incomprehensbl. In fact many recognisebl mispelings wud be solvd if th ritng systm as a hole wer sirnplifyd.

A Mathematics teachr once said, "Maths has to be exact, but English can be aproximat — as long as it's readbl." Wen he said that, som 6 or 7 years ago, I was very anoyd; but now I accept it — tho he was rong about th Mathematics, since they now teach estimation! Ther ar a great many mistakes in ritn english wich dont matr because u can undrstand wat is ment and react apropriatly; but one has to bothr about th things that cant be red at al.

Th British Dyslexia Association

Th umbrella orgnization in th UK is th British Dyslexia Association. Th Dyslexia Institute at Staines is one corprat membr, and ther ar now quite a numbr of dyslexia centrs, such as th Helen Arkell Dyslexia Centr, al afiliated to th BDA. I work for th South East Surrey Dyslexia Association, wich is one of 3 Dyslexia Associations within Surrey, an LEA area. Altogethr ther ar about 60 afiliated local asociations, and som scools ar corprat membrs.

POINTS BASED IN DISCUSSION

1 Nomenclatur Th term 'dyslexia' is frownd on in som quartrs, and it is strictly speaking naroe in meaning than th frase 'Specific Lerning Difictis'. Howevr in practice it is th same children we ar concemd with. Many othr terms hav also been tryd, such as 'Specific Reading Difictis'.

2 Problms of vision It has been sujestd that th root cause of dyslexia rnyt be purely visul, but in fact this is merely one of th posbl extraneous factrs wich can afect a child's ability to lern to read and rite. Obviusly, if a child's ys dont perceve corectly, or if they ar sensitiv to wite lyt, or ther ys do not coordinate proprly, any of these problms is going to intrfere with th aquisition of litracy skills, and can agravate th particulr problms of dyslexia.

3 Use of computers We find computers ar exlnt in teaching dyslexics.

4 Simplifyd speling systms Systms hav been sujestd for using simplifyd speling to teach dyslexics, but th systms too esily disagree with each othr. So Max Gibb wil use <ah> for th sound of *are*, wile anothr wil use <ar>. But if ther is no agreemnt, we shant make any progress in that direction.

5 Effect of teaching methods on dyslexics Th methods used in scools for teaching non-dyslexic children can afect th kind of problms that dyslexic children hav. Those ho hav been taut by th fonic method and hav lernt to work out th sounds of words ar likely to represent th pronunciation corectly, altho they may use th rong letrs (e.g. *tern for turn*). On th othr hand, a teachr using th 'look-and-say' may emphasize th apearance of *turn*, but th dyslexic child is then likely to rite <t-r-u-n>, with th corect letrs but th rong ordr. Th 'look-and-say' method deprives th dyslexic child of the audirty dimension, wich can in fact be of great asistnce. Simplifyd speling wud help a lot.

6 Dyslexia in othr languajs? Quite a numbr of cuntris ar aware of th problm of dyslexia: ther is a European Dyslexia Association, LD organizations in th USA, Australia and elsewhere and we hav just had th first *Intrnational Dyslexia Confrnce*. Howevr, th mor regulr th ritng systm of th languaj, th less serius th problm.

7 I.t.a. for dyslexics Altho th Initial Teaching Alfabet is a very regulr systm, th chanjeover to Traditionl Orthografy (TO) wud rase special problms for dyslexics. I taut in a Junior Scool hose Infants Scool took up i.t.a., and I was th remedial teachr in th Junior Scool, wher it was my job to take th children ho had not completed th i.t.a. sceme thru to th end of it. I wud hav a group of perhaps 10, and it was absolutely marvelous: they wer al reading. Howevr ther was one thing that I did not discovr. In those days, I taut reading and not speling, as ther was no time for speling. As far as th childrens reading was concernd, they transferd to TO butifuly; but I do not no wethr th transfer was equally successful for ther speling. And that is wat woris me about i.t.a. for dyslexics: they hav imense dificity in grasping one systm, so how wud they cope with chanjng to a difrnt systm? I fear that altho i.t.a. has many advantajs, if dyslexics once lernt it, they wud nevr stop speling in th i.t.a. way, and that myt not be acceptbl: probbly they wud later hav teachrs who wud say th i.t.a. spelings wer rong.

Another advantaj of i.t.a. was that it was taut methodicly and delibratly, and teachrs actuly considrd wat they wer teaching and how they wer teaching it. One of th reasns for its success was that th teachrs considrd th method of teaching and did not expect th children to pik it up by osmosis. Howevr John Downings experimnts showd that even wen any such difrnce in method and atitude of th teachr was alowd for, th i.t.a. medium stil proved itself superir. But one must hav reservations for dyslexics if it wer felt to be unacceptbl for them to continu to use i.t.a. for th rest of ther lives.

8 Wat spelings wud most benefit dyslexics? One myt also considr th reverse problm: that if dyslexics wer taut to rite in a fuly regulrized, fonemic speling systm, th result myt be reasnblly acceptbl, because at least othr peple wud be able to interpret wat th dyslexics had ritn; problms howevr wud be mor likely with reading, because th dyslexics wud stil hav to be able to read text that was ritn in non-simplifd speung by othr peple.

Wethr this problm arose wud depend on th simplifd speling used. If dyslexics cud initialy be taut by using multisensry methods both to read and to rite a simplifd speling systm that was visuly very similr to TO, then reading TO shud not be too difict for them. So, for instnce, dyslexics shud find it esy enuf to read TO *aggravate* if they hav lernt the simplifd form *agravate*, and they shud be able to read *friend* if they hav lernt th simplifd form *frend*, in exactly th same way as most peple dont notice many of th speling mistakes that ar constntly being made al around them. So providing th simplifd systm that th dyslexics were taut was not too drasticyly difrnt from TO, ther shud be no grounds for concern.

9 Dyslexia and Cut Speling If dyslexics wer therfor taut Cut Speling (CS), wich just omits th misleading redundnt letrs from TO, they probbly wudnt even notice th difrnce between CS and TO. On th othr hand, it wud be confusing for them if letrs wer actuly chanjed, as for instnce if they wer taut always to rite <j> for soft <g>, but stil had to be able to read soft <g> in TO: if they wer taut th form *juj*, they wud be defeatd by *judge*.

I hav shown th leaflets about CS to many peple, with very varying responses. Th parents of th dyslexics hom I teach heved a sy of relief and said, "Wat a good idea". Take th CS sentnce, "Hav som mor": that is exactly how dyslexics rite. It is tru that they natrly tend to rite *som* as *sum*, but they wud find it esir to lern to rite *som* (wich wud enable them to read TO *some*) than to lern th ful TO form. It is a question of how much misleading information dyslexics can cope with, and *som* contains less misleading information than *some*, wile not looking drasticyly difrnt.

References

[1] Bevé Hornsby & Frula Shear *Alpha to Omega*, Heinemann, 1975.

[2] N Geschwind, remark made on TV.

[3] Susan Hampshire *Susan's Story*, Sidgwick & Jackson, 1981.

Also recommended is:

T R Miles *Understanding Dyslexia*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1974 ('Teach Yourself' edition, 1978).

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[Susan Baddeley: see [Journals](#)]

4. Spelling Reform in France: Past, Present and ... Future?

Susan Baddeley

Susan Baddeley studied French and Russian and is now working for the HESO (Histoire et Structure de l'Orthographe Française) research team at the CNRS in Paris. The team's major research project, nearing completion, is a Historical Spelling Dictionary of the French language, which analyses the development of written French through 11 dictionaries since the 16th century. Details of current trends in the spelling reform movement in France can be found in her article in [Journal 88/1](#), Item 11, and further developments in France will be reported in future issues. The following article arises from the talk she gave to the Society on 24 September 1988.

Abstract

The current debate on spelling reform in France is not new. Ever since the 16th century, French grammarians, writers and printers have tried to find ways of improving the national writing system. What is new, however, is the fact that, in the past, many reforms actually succeeded, whereas nowadays spelling reform schemes are most often looked upon as unrealistic and doomed to failure. How much does modern French owe to the efforts of spelling reformers, and how were successful reforms brought about? The answers to these questions, outlined in the following short historical perspective, should prove instructive to all those concerned with future reforms, in France and elsewhere.

Introduction

The question of spelling reform is probably as old as spelling itself. At all events, it is certainly not a new issue, and in France just as in England all sorts of reform schemes have come and gone in the past. These have ranged from out-and-out phonetic schemes (sometimes with completely new alphabets), through simplifications or regularisations of the existing system, to just the cutting-out of a few anomalies. Most of them did not come to much, but a few managed to 'catch on' and leave their mark on modern French usage, and indeed they have become such an essential part of it that today hardly anyone would think that at one time they had been new, and that people could have written differently.

1. The lessons of the past

The history of spelling reform in France is an extremely rich and eventful one, and can be very instructive for all those who are involved with its present structure and with the possibility of reforming it. Of course, some people may say, "Why bother with the history of spelling? What we want to know is how it works *today*. All the problems we have with today's spelling come from people being too attached to the past". The answer to this is that the past history of spelling gives us important insights into the ways in which written languages develop. It shows us that spelling *has* changed, and therefore that it *can* change and that there is no reason why it should not continue to do so. Secondly it shows us *how* these different changes came about, how the written language has reacted at different times to technical changes (such as printing), to changes in the language and to social changes in reading and writing habits, and how writers, printers, lexicographers and official institutions have set about the task of implementing reforms. Finally, it shows us what sorts of reforms have been successful in the past, and why they have succeeded. This knowledge can be extremely useful when planning future reforms.

2. Spelling change

First of all, historical studies show that the spelling of French (like that of all well-established written languages) has changed considerably over the years. This is not something that is immediately obvious to everybody: many people seem to think that spelling is something sacrosanct and untouchable, that it cannot be changed because it has "always been like that", and has a kind of antique value to it: it should be respected because of its age. Of course this idea is completely false, and if you can prove that today's spelling is the result of changes, many of them brought about as deliberate reforms (at least in French), and that change and reform are necessary processes in any written language, you have already won half the battle. In our *Historical Spelling Dictionary*, for example, over 55% of the words which make up our corpus (based on the Académie Française's dictionary of 1694) have changed graphically in some way (and many of them have changed in several ways) since the 16th century. The following short text, taken from Jean Molinet's *Le Romant de la Rose* (1500), is first given in its original form, and then in modern spelling, with words which differ from 16th century forms (not including abbreviations) in italics; it thus gives a rough idea of the extent and nature of these changes.

1550 Nagueres que vng florētīn fut tāt abuse de la beaulte dune damoyselle q pour paruenir a fin de son emprise il luy offrit tout ce q demāder luy plairoit se possible estoit den recouurer. La damoyselle voulant esprouuer se la bouche & le cueur estoiēt dung accord luy demanda les deux yeulx de son chief. Le florētīn sās auoir regard a la difformite de son vyaire arracha les yeulx de sa face & et les luy enuoya en vne boiste.

1989 *Naguère qu'un Florentin fut tant abusé de la beauté d'une demoiselle que, pour parvenir à fin de son emprise, il lui offrit tout ce que demander lui plairait, si possible était d'en recouurer. La demoiselle, voulant éprouver si la bouche et le coeur étaient d'un accord, lui demanda les deux yeux de son chef. Le Florentin, sans avoir regard à la difformité de son viaire, arracha les yeux de sa face & les lui envoya en une boîte.*

Many of these changes are similar to those that are to be found in English: abbreviations written out in full, different use of <u> and <v> (and <i> and <j>), use of the apostrophe, <y> replaced by <i>, mute letters cut out, different use of punctuation and capitals. Others are characteristic of French in particular: spellings that reflect changes in pronunciation (*damoyselle: demoiselle, chief: chef*), introduction of accents, etc., and of course there are many more changes which are not illustrated in this short text. In our *Dictionary* we have identified 149 different types of modification in spelling since the 16th century (and we have tried to keep our criteria for classification to a minimum).

3 'Natural' change versus reform

A distinction should be made between changes which can almost be said to be 'natural' (although any change in spelling is the result of a decision made by someone or other), and those which have been brought about as the result of a conscious plan and will to reform. 'Natural' changes tend to be slower, and their effect less regular than those brought about by controlled reforms.

A good illustration of the first type of change is abbreviations. As far as I know, there was never any particular campaign to get rid of abbreviations, and most of them seem to have 'died a natural death' in French printed texts by the end of the 16th century. Their disappearance from prints (they continued to be used in manuscripts) is due partly to *technological* changes involved in the shift from script to print: abbreviations were useful to scribes who wanted to write quickly and save on parchment, whereas the printers used paper (which was cheaper), they had other ways of justifying their lines, and they were not prepared to use spelling forms which could only be

understood by a happy few (otherwise their books would not sell). Another reason is a *social* change in reading habits: the ability to read abbreviations (and the old orthography in general) depended very strongly on knowledge of Latin, which was becoming more and more scarce in the new types of reading public the printers were catering for.

However the 'natural' change was very slow, as becomes obvious when we compare it to other changes which were brought about consciously as reforms, and a good example of this second type of spelling change is the introduction of accents. The system of accents in French today was introduced in stages, but the first set of accents and auxiliary signs, which had a mainly distinctive function, appeared around 1530, and by 1550 (only 20 years later) they were in use practically everywhere.

The need for these particular reforms was outlined for the first time in several theoretical works [1] around 1530, and they were implemented by a small group of Parisian humanists, scholar-printers and typesetters. The accents were first used in works by the popular poet Clément Marot (who also had a hand in devising the system of accents, which were particularly useful for improving the reading of verse) and in a poetic work by the king's sister, Marguerite of Navarre, which gave a stamp of approval to the whole scheme. It should also be pointed out that most of the people involved in these first reforms were also linked with the Protestant Reformation, and the Protestant Bibles of the time were quick to adopt the new forms, which made written French accessible to a wider reading public. Although the printers had difficulty with the new signs at first, their use in the later part of the 16th century was remarkably regular.

That century also saw the first truly phonetic orthographies, devised by humanists such as Meigret, Peletier du Mans and Ramus. However, these reformers had considerable difficulty in getting their works printed, and only a very small proportion of the reformed spellings they recommended were adopted, [2] although some of Meigret's ideas were popularised by Ronsard and other poets.

4. Institutionalised reforms

The interest in reform lasted until the 17th century, during which there was a very strong movement in favour of modernised spelling (in competition with other movements which favoured the more traditional, etymologically-based spelling on the one hand, and phonetic spelling on the other). The famous quarrel between the 'ancients' and the 'moderns' also had its repercussions in the spelling debate. Modernised spelling was recommended (and used) by a large number of influential grammarians, writers and lexicographers, and it is likely that this tendency would have won the day if the Académie Française had not decided (after a great deal of discussion and pressures from the powers-that-be) to adopt the traditional type of spelling "which distinguishes men of learning from the ignorant and from simple women". However, in its first edition (1694) it did cut out a lot of superfluous elements, and for several words gave both the 'traditional' and the 'new' spellings.

The Académie dictionaries in the 18th century carried on the reforms, continued to cut out superfluous letters, regularised the written grammatical and lexical morphology of the language, and introduced a new set of phonological (rather than distinctive) accents, the grave and the circumflex accents in particular: the 1740 Académie dictionary modernised the spellings of about 36% of the words from the previous edition, and the bulk of these reforms consisted of replacing the old mute <s> by an accent (*eslever*: *élever*, *goust*: *goût*, etc).

French had become a prestige language, and its remaining so depended upon its being regular and relatively easy to learn. However, success in carrying out reforms still depended on the same factors as in the 16th century: limited but well-defined aims, exhaustive theoretical groundwork,

and close collaboration between printers, writers and grammarians to bring them into use.

5. Spelling in the modern state

Paradoxically, although the French state after the Revolution had more power, in principle, to impose reforms, spelling was changed less in the 19th century than it had been before: the 1835 Académie dictionary changed the spellings of only 2% of the entries from the previous edition, and the 1878 edition just over 1%. As the use of the written language became more widespread, it also became harder to change. In pre-revolutionary times spelling had been freer, and the existence of different tendencies had been generally accepted (people could change their spelling as they changed their handwriting, a means of expression we have lost today), but with the Republic, then the Napoleonic Empire, as the need arose for a unified system to be used in schools and in public administration it also became more institutionalised and rigid. In 1832 Louis-Philippe issued a decree stating that all public servants were to observe the 'correct' orthography.

It is no doubt significant that the French word for *spelling*, *orthographe*, immediately conjures up visions of a strict norm, the *right* way to spell, whereas the English word *spelling* is much more neutral.

6. 20th century reforms

As we have seen, in France up to the 19th century there was a thriving tradition in favour of periodic, limited and rational reforms, with the backing of official institutions. However, with these occasional reforms having almost come to a halt, and with 'correct' spelling (even though the 'correct' forms were often far from perfect) having become such an obligation and an obsession, it is hardly surprising that reform movements in the late 19th–early 20th centuries tended to become more radical. These came to a head when a massive movement in favour of largely phonetic spelling was launched around 1890, mostly by linguists, spurred on by new research in phonetics and comparative linguistics, and backed up by many writers, intellectuals and teachers. Whole periodicals were printed in reformed orthography, and petitions with thousands of signatures were presented to the Académie and to the Ministry of Education. The Ministry replied by introducing in 1901, as a temporary measure, a decree that certain 'new' spellings would not be counted as mistakes in examinations. Even the Académie went so far as to accept some of the reforms. However the movement was finally crushed by the weight of adverse public opinion, by violent anti-reform campaigns in the press, and by the firm opposition of printers and publishers. The 'spelling question' almost turned into a nationwide battle, but finally the whole episode was forgotten with the outbreak of a real battle: the First World War.

7. What future for spelling reform?

Past experience shows that the only reforms which have ever succeeded (in French, at least) were limited, involved only a small number of clearly defined issues, didn't create too much of a break with the previous tradition (by introducing new characters, for example), and were brought about by close collaboration among all those (printers, writers, grammarians, teachers) that had the power to bring them into general use. Thanks to these frequent, small-scale reforms, modern French spelling is relatively regular, although the development of the spoken language in recent years, which has not been followed by corresponding changes in spelling, and the failure to 'clean up' leftovers of old notations mean that learning the written language is an increasingly difficult task.

Today, in the light of new theoretical approaches to the study of spelling and writing systems, linguists are tending to turn away from the purely phonetic ideal which many had previously upheld, and which ruled out the possibility of small-scale moderate reforms. As the task of making up for lost time becomes more and more urgent, reformers realise that over-ambitious reform

schemes which have no hope of succeeding will only be a waste of time and effort. This is why each successive reform scheme in recent years has reduced the number of points for suggested reforms: the present AIROE [3] proposals have only four main points, but some people feel that even that is too much.

It is also important to create a favourable climate for spelling reform, and this can only be done by making people more aware of how their spelling system works, and informing them about its history. The study of the history of a written language in all its richness and complexity does not necessarily lead to excessive conservatism. On the contrary, those who refuse spelling reform entirely are often the most ignorant of the efforts made in the past to renew and revitalise the spelling system.

Let us therefore accept that in written language there can be a tradition of change and reform, just as there is a tradition of continuity with the past: the important thing is to maintain a balance between the two, and the study of past reforms shows how to achieve exactly that.

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[1] E.g.: Geofroy Tory *Champ Fleury* (1529)

Jacques Silvius *In linguam gallicam Isagoge* (1531)

Anon. *Briefve Doctrine* (1533)

[2] Rainus played an important part in popularising modern use of <i, j> and <u, v> (often referred to by contemporaries as "lettres ramistes"; Meigret and Peletier systematically cut out mute letters and simplified doubled consonants and Greek letters.

[3] The AIROE association (Association pour l'Information et la Recherche sur les Orthographes et Systèmes d'écriture) is proposing a limited number of reforms (see *JSSS 88/1*).

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[Thomas Hofmann: see [Bulletins](#), [Journals](#), [Newsletter](#)]

5. Showing Pronunciation in EFL teaching

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Abstract

Systems for the representation of pronunciation in teaching English language to foreign learners are based on the linguistic theories of nearly half a century ago. While linguistics introduced a number of invaluable techniques into language teaching & changed its emphasis from the written to the spoken language, its limitation to single accents & its exclusion of the written language do not serve the needs of practical language teaching well. Moreover linguistics has now abandoned the phonemic theory that serves as the basis on which pronunciation is represented.

Surveying the requirements of a system for representing pronunciation in language teaching, we identify a number of points over & above simply representing sound. The most important are that it should not conflict with orthography but preferably mesh with it as far as possible, & that it be valid at least for the 2 major standards of General American (GA) & British Received Pronunciation (RP). This second requirement led to defining a type of diaphonic representation, & showing how it applied in the severe test of English vowel sounds. The traditional system of long & short vowels is used, but expanded with 4 more unit vowels, giving rise to a system that applies to most accents with minor mergers. An English accent can thus be fairly accurately described by a characteristic set of diaphonic mergers, plus some distinctive preferences in word choice. A rough sketch of the linguistic analysis of this diaphonic system provides a surprisingly simple account of vowel features that works across accents, suggesting that these are the features that an English speaker actually learns to identify when meeting speakers of varying accents.

With minor additions such as a circumflex accent to mark 'continental' vowel-values, this system is found to be consistent with ordinary orthography. This allows a language learner to learn only one system of representation, 'spelling plus', that specifies both the spelling & the sound. Being equivalent to a phonetic representation with some extra marks, it can serve both the foreign learner & the native-speaking child learning to read, as well as supporting the teaching or learning of English spelling. It is found to be clearly superior to the traditional systems of phonemic representation used in English language teaching.

It is hoped that a future issue of the *Journal* will describe this system applied in teaching English in Japan.

0 Introduction

For all the effort devoted to teaching English as a second language, as a foreign language, & today as a world language, & for all the related research that is being carried out, rather little attention has been given to the best way of representing English pronunciation. Traditionally linguistic analyses have been used on the assumption that they are not only scientifically valid, but also

appropriate to the teaching task.

However, the learner faces different pronunciations depending on accent, while these commonly used linguistic analyses each represent only a single accent, whether that of the US or of the UK. They start from the assumption that the language is the same everywhere. In fact communication takes place (sometimes imperfectly) despite different accents, rather as in Canada where French & English speakers may understand each other's language, although they do not speak it.

The result of this situation is that most course materials & most teachers only teach the standard accent of England or of the US. Students may then need to undertake considerable relearning if they travel to an area where a different accent is prevalent.

Of course a good program will introduce students to both standards — but at the risk of possible confusion & slower learning. In fact the effect of students being confronted with alternative accents is unknown, but it can hardly be beneficial. What is needed is a foundation which can apply to both dominant standards, as well as allowing for other sometimes quite serious variations the student will encounter in daily life.

There is furthermore fluidity in the accents used & understood by native speakers themselves: they vary their accent according to the linguistic situation in which they find themselves (Labov), speakers of the standard accents understand local variations, & speakers of local accents understand the standard accents.

In teaching foreign learners it would therefore be desirable to use a phonetic representation that can allow for these variations. Fortunately the standard orthography goes a considerable way towards providing such a phonetic representation, & must be learnt anyway, as the student must learn to write.

We shall here attempt first to determine what features such a script needs, & provide a theoretical basis for it. We shall conclude that the traditional distinction between 'long' & 'short' vowel values is the key to such a system, which is superior in many respects to the linguistically-based representations of pronunciation at present widely used.

1. Showing pronunciation in teaching English

Since English orthography is not a reliable guide to pronunciation, it is useful to have an alternative system when teaching foreign learners. It can be used by students when referring to dictionaries & by the teacher in the classroom. It allows the students to take notes [2] on the sounds, to do exercises on the pronunciation without supervision, & to be tested on that knowledge; furthermore it enables the teacher to refer to the sounds simply & unambiguously. Above all it enables students to form a clear idea of which sounds are the same & which are different, as is necessary if hearing & pronunciation are not to be defective.

The linguistically-based systems commonly used today have advantages & disadvantages. Their greatest problem is that they disagree & are not convertible between accents. We shall discuss particularly the system derived from Daniel Jones' *An English Pronouncing Dictionary* (for British varieties of English) & the one derived from Kenyon & Knott *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* (for North American varieties). We shall not consider how these systems are applied to non-standard accents, but will compare them as broad systems (henceforth called the *J*-system for Jones, & the *K*-system for Kenyon & Knott) with the system of 'long' & 'short' vowels [3]. Other linguistic analyses are that of Trager & Smith (*Outline of English Structure*) & of Chomsky & Halle (*The Sound Pattern of English*), which we shall call the *T*- & *C*- systems, though we shall have little to say of them as they have failed to find significant application in English teaching.

We will first survey the aims of a phonetic [4] System for indicating pronunciation in teaching English as a second language, & then apply the 'long'/'short' vowel distinction consistently to at least 90% of the syllables in running text, or 95% of the words in English. We shall then give a theoretical basis for such a system & explain why it is the best for language teaching: it is based on modern linguistic insights such as were not available 50 years ago, & adopts a wider perspective than hitherto — the English language as a whole, spoken & written, throughout the world.

2. Requirements of phonetic representation

1. The prime requirement is of course accurate representation of pronunciation & the contrasts made. A system can also show non-contrastive variation. Such a system is easy to design, & linguistics has refined the techniques for doing so in the first half of this century.

2. The system should not mislead. J-systems that show tense vowels with a colon (e.g. tense & lax high front vowels shown as /i:/, i/) can be misleading for students whose languages contrast long & short vowels. Japanese students need a lot of remedial work to cure the habit of pronouncing *it*, *bit* the same as *eat*, *beat*, only shorter. In fact the vowel qualities are significantly different, while length in English primarily reflects a following voiced consonant, as when the vowels in both *bid*, *bead* are longer than in either *bit* or *beat*.

3. The system should be easy to learn. Here a J-system is better than a K-system, as it has fewer symbols, & they are mostly familiar from the roman alphabet & have nearly the same values as in the student's native language. However the J-symbols strictly represent only a rather poor approximation to English sounds.

4. The system should show the student the underlying system of English pronunciation. Although the J- & K- systems show the off-glides of low vowels as in *cline*, *clown*, neither system shows the off-glides in the mid tense vowels (as in *rain*, *loan*, or more clearly in final position in *ray*, *low*). Although not all speakers always pronounce the off-glide medially, especially not before <r> (Scots do not), & it is quite difficult for a native to perceive the glide except finally, students from languages without off-glides should not be misled into ignoring them by symbols which stand for pure, unglided vowels in their native language.

As students in Africa, Asia or South America are particularly likely to encounter non-standard speech, including British or American regional accents, they must be able to accommodate readily to other varieties. The traditional linguistically-based J- & K-systems offer no help here, since they presume a uniform accent. Today it is realized that accents vary, & that foreign learners must be able to cope with variation. Dictionaries & textbooks have to aim at a world market, & be usable regardless of the teacher's accent, or the accent of the student may be aiming to acquire.

To overcome this problem, Daniel Jones proposed the concept of 'diaphones' to represent all the contrasts in at least the major varieties of English. However, different accents contain different contrasts, & the task was logically insoluble within the then prevailing theory of phonemes.

It is however not difficult to devise a set of diaphones valid for a pair of accents, although some diaphones may be differently pronounced in the two accents.

5. The phonetic system should indicate all the contrasts in British 'Received Pronunciation' & a US standard such as 'news broadcast pronunciation'. Most native speakers understand them & may be able to approximate to one of them, and indeed most other varieties relate to these in fairly simple ways.

6. Since the students must also learn English spelling, the closer the phonetic system is to the orthography, the less additional learning there will have to be. The old linguistically-based *J-* & *K-* systems do not begin to meet this requirement, since they aimed only to represent the sounds & were perhaps deterred from using the orthography by its very irregularity. More recently, Chomsky & Halle, [5] & perhaps Bolinger, have attempted to link English orthography with morphology & phonology, but this notion has yet to be applied to the practical needs of the classroom.
7. Ideally, the phonetic notation should be familiar to ordinary users of the language. Not only could teachers then be trained more easily, but students could then get information from untrained people. If a student who is unable to distinguish the vowels of *boat* & *dog* were to ask whether *ogre* is pronounced with an open or closed <o>, or with an open/low or mid/non-low vowel, few people, teachers even, would understand the question. On the other hand the distinction between long & short <o> would be far more readily understood. A system that does not require technical terms will therefore be more useful, in that students could have their queries more easily answered by available non-specialists.
8. The system should be simple enough for children to use. The *J-* & *K-* systems are indeed simple, but Chomsky's would require special training; the system used in the 2nd *Webster's* is also complex, in that it expands the traditional 'long' & 'short' vowel values to some 30 special diacritic values, with an explanatory key needed on each page. Thus we should seek a system with a small number of easy-to-interpret symbols: these two goals tend to conflict, but we hope to be able to show that such a system can be constructed.
9. Very importantly, the symbols should be available on ordinary typewriters, or else easily obtainable. The *J-* systems come much closer to satisfying this requirement than do the *K-* systems.
10. It should be possible to annotate existing texts easily, so that the teacher can prepare self-pronouncing material & the student can annotate text when required. The benefit of using such notation can be judged from the experience of using traditional phonemic transcriptions: the student is constantly presented with the correct enunciation. Although phonemic transcription may be necessary for learning unwritten languages, it is rare in English because the typefaces are hard to find & printing expensive. Furthermore, the student must learn the conventional spelling anyway. If however standard spelling can be annotated to show the pronunciation, ordinary typing & printing can be used, & the texts annotated.

These requirements are of varying importance, & in some countries, with students of some ages or having specific needs, not all of them will be relevant. But in general, they all contribute to efficient teaching.

3. Orthographies, phonemic & pronouncing

The *J-* & *K-* systems are based on the principle of one symbol for each phoneme, that is for each sound or class of sound by which words can differ. This concept is largely abandoned today for two reasons, one linguistic (units of sound are not in general segments in time) & one pedagogic while 2 sounds may contrast in some positions a word, elsewhere they may not do so. For example, the vowels of *eat*, *it* are quite different, but they do not contrast before <r, ng>, nor, for some people (speakers of my native accent for instance), before <n, 1> either. This means that such a sound can be equally represented by the symbol for either phoneme. If however only one symbol represents the correct spelling, the choice is arbitrary. No alphabetic system permits only the significant distinctions to be written. [6]

The advantage of 1-for-1 sound-symbol & symbol-sound correspondence (if it can be devised) is that learning to read & write it is easy. However, in most languages (including English) there are

necessarily sounds which can be written in more than one way. The writing system of English at least cannot be reduced to such absolute simplicity.

As far as spelling reform is concerned (whether for general use or for teaching children), many researchers now accept that a single symbol for each distinctive sound is not of primary importance (though some still cling to the phonemic ideal); but they do insist there should only be one pronunciation for each symbol. Reading such a system is unambiguous, but writing is less straightforward. Thus English has two normal ways of writing /f/, as either <f> or <ph>. If <ph> is learnt as a 'fancy' <f>, reading is no problem, & writing faces only the minor problem of remembering which words require <ph>. This kind of pronouncing orthography' is useful both for native & foreign learners.

Alternative symbols for some sounds in some environments do not cause serious problems. This indeed is exactly what is needed to define diaphones, as suggested by Jones: symbols valid for more than one accent. While the vowels in *hot*, *father* are distinct in England, they are usually the same in North America. A phonemic system valid for both RP & GA needs different symbols for them: the single sound in North American English therefore requires two symbols. Let us consider this more closely.

4. Theory of diaphonic systems

We are here concerned with phonological features only as aids to teaching & learning. We shall therefore talk almost entirely in terms of the classical segmental phonemes or 'broad phonetic' transcription. Diaphones can also be described in terms of phonemes. The terms *vowel* & *consonant* are used here ambiguously for letters & sounds (phonemes or diaphones) — the context should make clear which is intended, with *long* & *short* designating letters & *high*, *low*, *back*, *tense* describing sounds.

For any pair of accents, a diaphonic system can be established whereby one accent is represented by the merger of some contrasts, & the other accent by the merger of other contrasts. In general one symbol is used when both accents agree, & two symbols when one of the accents contrasts two sounds, but the other accent does not.

This procedure can be applied to any number of accents, but with larger numbers the diaphones required may be too many to be easily grasped. It is therefore convenient for language teaching purposes to restrict ourselves to the two most standard & explicitly described, Received Pronunciation (RP) as defined by D Jones & General American (GA) as defined in Kenyon & Knott.

As well as listing the diaphones, we need rules to specify which of them merge in which accent. We shall here describe the mergers informally.

'Exceptions' arise if a word is pronounced with a different phoneme in the two accents (mathematically, forming an equivalence class of one). Thus *apricot* has the long <a> of *able*, *apron* in England, but the short <a> of *apple*, *apprehend* in North America. As well as single words, we also find groups of words⁷ forming exceptions.

A diaphonic system will be nearly valid for most other accents that derive from the same origin, so the choice of these two accents leads to a diaphonic system that is valid for most varieties of English.

5. A diaphonic system for English vowels

The main phonemic differences between English accents concern vowels rather than consonants, so let us concentrate on this most difficult area.

It is convenient to begin by establishing the inventory of phonemes, & then seeing how the accents in question differ in corresponding to it. The traditional orthography is a useful starting point, since it tends to reflect the state of the language before the major accents diverged.

The vowel sounds in *beet, bit, bait, bet, but, boat, bite, bout* have nearly the same distribution, contrasts & pronunciation in both RP & GA. We can mark the vowels as 'long' & 'short' in the traditional way with macrons & hooks to create our phonemic system as follows:

vowel	SHORT	LONG
A	băt, căt	bāit, rāte
E	bět, sět	bēet, sēed,
I	bīt, sīt	cēde
O	böttle,	bīte, sīte,
U	röt*	sīght
OO	būt, rūt	bōat, cōat
	look,	beaūty, cūte*
	wood	loop, mood*

*Items marked * to be discussed below.*

There are other vowels in English. To 3 of them we assign digraphs functioning exactly like unitary vowels.

OI toy, boil *AU* law, autumn *OU* cow, house

Are these perhaps really simple vowels followed by off-glides? It is characteristic of many English vowels to be glided rather than pure, as with the off-glide in long-*<i>* & (barely perceptible except at the ends of words) long-*<o>* & long-*<a>*, while long-*<u>* has a preceding on-glide. Many linguists have tried to analyse the glided vowels systematically as a combined vowel plus glide (e.g. the *C-* & *T-*systems), but long *<u>* with its on-glide does not fit the pattern, & shows that all these vowels are elementary units of pronunciation.

More problematic for a diaphonic system are vowels before *<r>*, the low vowels & the high back vowels.

Whether silent (as usual in England) or pronounced (as usual in North America), postvocalic *<r>* does not cause a serious problem to the diaphonic system: we simply note that RP pronounces it as schwa, thereby lengthening a preceding low vowel, so that *<or>* merges with *<au>* & *<ar>* merges with continental *<a>*.

The low vowels are more difficult, as RP & GA distribute words differently between the three varieties: front, 'central' (back but unrounded) & back (rounded). RP has central *<a>* in *bath, pass, can't* where GA has front *<a>*, & *hot, top, lock* have central *<o>* in GA, but back *<o>* in RP.

Orthography resolves the difficulty however. Short *<o>* is back but becoming central (i.e. -Round) in most American accents (except before *<g, ng>* & the voiceless fricatives *<f, s, sh, th>*). Short *<a>* is front (mostly [x] in GA, [a] in RP), but becoming central (+Back) in RP before *<th, n, s>* & elsewhere. Exceptions are words with central *<a>* in both accents (*father, shah* & some foreign words), which require an extra diaphone, the central low vowel of continental *<a>* in all accents. We thus have 3 low diaphones, but just the two sharply contrasting phonemes of short-*<a>* & short-*<o>* in either accent.

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
Low vowels	short-<a>	cont.-<a>	short-<o>
	RP→	←GA	
	/æ, a	a	ɔ/

The chart assumes RP short-<a>-*continental-<a> is an allophonic (non-contrastive) variant before <f, n, s, th>. RP (but not Australian varieties) does have some contrasts:

- +Back: pass castle dance slander staff path
- Back: lass hassle manse gander gaff hath.

As there is variation between accents, & as pronunciation is changing & the words with front <a> are the rare ones, the distinction can be ignored in the diaphonic system for teachings.

Traditional orthography again offers a solution with the high back vowels. The long-<u> loses its on-glide always after <r>, mostly after <l>, often after <s>, & for many Americans after <n, t, d> (though its total loss gives the impression of stupidity, as in *this noo toon is sooper*, & is not needed in the diaphonic system, though it is useful for spelling-consistency. The back vowel <oo> is centralized in selected words before <k, t, d>.

This completes a diaphonic vowel system best described in 3 classes, 'short', 'pure' & 'glided':

	Front	Central	Back
<i>'Short' (not tense, not glided) vowels</i>			
High	short-<i>	short-<oo>	
Mid	short-<e>	short-<u>	
Low	short-<o>		short-<o>
<i>'Pure' (tense, but not glided) vowels</i>			
High	long-<e>		long-<oo>
Low		cont.-<a>	<au>
<i>Glided towards high front:</i>			
-Low	long-<a>		<oi>
+Low		long-<i>	
<i>Glided towards high back:</i>			
-Low	long-<u>		long-<o>
+Low		<ou>	

We here have an adequate diaphonic system for vowels & <r> in RP & GA that is nearly valid for most other accents. The consonants only differ in a few words, except that some British & American accents merge <wh, w>.

The symbols we have assigned to the diaphones (conventional letters with a diacritic) have little phonetic substance, their realization varying significantly between accents. Nevertheless, we see in the table that they retain phonetic features to a surprising degree regardless of accent: the 'short' values are all -Tense, -Glided & form an ordinary 6-vowel system, while the traditional long values are all +Tense, some pure (+Glided) forming a standard 4-vowel system (some glided), 2 more or less standard 3-vowel systems, one with glides to the front, the other to the back. English-trained ears must note these features when listening to other accents; & foreign students must learn to do so.

6. Matching with traditional orthography

The traditional letter-names & -symbols of the English alphabet have survived because they are appropriate to the phonology of English, known at least subconsciously to adult native speakers. As Chomsky & Halle showed, they are reflected in morphological alternations such as *sane: sanity*,

tone: tonic, reduce: reduction. Furthermore, many diaphonic exceptions (e.g. *apricot, dahlia, economic, italics, leisure, patriot, privacy, vitamin, zebra*) vary between short & long pronunciation of the vowel in different accents. Apart from a hundred common irregularly spelt words, these diaphones have unambiguous, predictable spelling patterns. The major patterns are as follows:

A single vowel is short before 2 consonants, or word-finally before 1 consonant (counting <ph, sh, th, st> & consonants followed by <l> or <r> as single consonants). A vowel is usually long before 1 consonant followed by a vowel, & always long immediately before a vowel or word-finally (except <a, e, y>). We see these patterns in *fade: fad, waste: vast, table: rabble, maple: apple, apron: appropriate*. Special patterns occur word-finally & in function words (*by, me* etc), especially final silent <e>, which may indicate a long vowel or distinguish homophones.

Most long-vowel digraphs are unambiguous & do not need marking except for beginners & in dictionaries; thus <ai>=long-<a>, <ee>=long-<e>, <igh>=long-<i>, <oa>= long-<o>, <ue>=long-<u>. Less common patterns such as <eigh, eign> for long-<a> can be classed as exceptions.

Nevertheless, English spelling can hardly be called basically systematic. Systemically ambiguous are the endings <ow> (contrast *low: cow*) & <ea> (contrast *bead: bread*). Even here some patterns appear (<ea> is normally short-<e> before <d, th>), though they may not help the learner, & the diaphones need to be shown by the usual diacritics.

7. Diacritics as an aid to pronunciation

In recent centuries English has not adapted the spelling of new loan-words to conform to English patterns. Most source languages (e.g. Italian, Spanish) have standard 'continental' values for the vowels, which gives a third value in English beside long & short, and has to be shown by a special diacritic. The circumflex accent, being associated with foreign words, seems most suitable. We thus have:

cont-<a>	â (low central vowel as in <i>shah</i>)
cont-<e> 9	ê = a (long-<a>)
cont-<i>	î = e (long-<e>)
cont-<o>	ô = o (long-<o>)
cont-<u>	û = oo (long-<oo>)

We can now mark nearly all vowels in ordinary spelling to show the pronunciation by means of these 'pronouncing diacritics'. Two more marks are needed: <x> over a vowel to show that it is irregular with neither long, short, nor continental pronunciation; & a slash through a vowel to show it is silent, as with the second vowel in *every*.

Remaining problems include the common <o> & occasional <oo> pronounced as short-<u> (*come, son, blood*). These can be shown by an umlaut or diaeresis (<ö> = short <u>): *wörd, wörk, wön*. Similarly, <a> with the value of short-<o> could be given an umlaut: *wär, wäsh, swän*, though I have not so far tried this in the classroom.

This essentially simple system of diacritics for long, short, continentl, & modified vowels (despite a few irregular forms to which it cannot apply) could equally be used for native-speaking children & foreign learners.

Like the i.t.a., it has only a single pronunciation for each symbol (= letter + diacritic) for all major accents, but there are alternative spellings for each sound. Writing therefore remains difficult, but learning to read is much simpler, with easy transfer to conventional spelling. Parents, teachers & children have no difficulty in reading either annotated or conventional script.

Though much simpler than reading ordinary text, the rules are still complex, & do of course have to be learnt, the system being further complicated by the rather large number of exceptions. The teacher marks each fully pronounced vowel with the traditional macron or breve for long or short values & a circumflex accent on continental values. Unmarked vowels are ignored (unpronounced) at the ends of words or beside another vowel, or they are pronounced with reduced value if surrounded by consonants.

This diaphonic system for indicating pronunciation can be combined with marking for rhythm & stress. Each complex symbol of vowel + diacritic has a single pronunciation, while unmarked letters are effectively decorative additions distinguishing homophones. The writer, of course, still has to learn all the letters required in TO. Transfer to TO for the reader is even easier than in i.t.a., since there are no changes in the shapes of letters or words, but only the disappearance of the diacritics.

In language teaching the system serves as a phonemic transcription (though with some extra letters), it is valid for most accents, it lends itself to EFL publishing (especially dictionaries), & it is less misleading than an international set of symbols.

Regular spellings are taught by removing the diacritics, which are only left in irregular cases; in this way the student confronts the irregular forms independently.

8. Comparison with *J*- & *K*-systems

We will now compare the *D*-system with the *J*- & *K*- systems according to the EFL/ESL requirements listed in section 2 of this paper.

1. As explained, this *D*-system (diaphonic) was devised to represent both the GA & RP standards of pronunciation, with different mergers for the low vowels, vowel + <*r*> & long <*u*> with <*oo*>, but it can apply more or less to most dialects. For example, it is valid for Scots with a merger of long- and short-<*oo*>, and again for Northern England, where short-<*u*> is merged with short-<*oo*>.

2. Unlike the *J*-system, the *D*-system does not mislead by overtly symbolizing some vowels as longer than others. It is true the traditional terms 'long' & 'short' can mislead in the same way, but we can avoid confusion by describing the marked vowels as *macron: breve*, or *bar: hook*.

3. The *D*-system is much easier to learn than the *K*-system, needing only 4 new symbols, the diacritics. The long values are known from the letter-names, & the short values are learnt from the earliest words, while students often know the continental values of vowels from their native language. Learning the diacritics may appear harder than the 3 new symbols of the *J*-system (*ː* , *˘* , *ˆ*), but the latter also entails learning different qualities for <*e*, *e*>, <*i*, *i*>, <*U*, *u*>.

4. The *D*-system is far superior to the earlier systems in enabling the student to perceive & use the essential phonological structure of English in terms of its vowel-alternations. It makes clear that in English short-<*i*> relates to long-<*i*> rather than to long-<*e*>, although the student's hearing & the old phonetic systems of representation (long- <*e*> written as /i:/) both suggest otherwise. The student will then accept such long: short variations as are heard in actual speech (*apricot*, *italic* with the initial vowel pronounced either long or short).

5. By being applicable to the main accents, a *D*-system enables the student to cope with the different realizations of words likely to be heard. This the *J*- & *K*-systems cannot do, as they only represent a single accent.

6. A *D*-system is consistent with TO: the same representation of words teaches both their spelling & their pronunciation. The inconsistency of the *J*-, *K*- & *T*- systems, as well as of *Webster's 3rd New International Dictionary* in this respect is particularly striking in their representation of the back rising glide spelt <ou> [10] (in TO (*out around about the house*) as <au>, which in TO represents the low back unglided vowel (*audition, bauble, bawdy, awful, saw*). While </au/> is phonetically justified (the sound s= with [a]) & may be used in the student's native language, it causes unnecessary confusion between spoken & written English, which leads to distrust of both the spelling & pronunciation systems of English.

[7] A *D*-system is also known to users of the language, whom the student can consult in the teacher's absence. Teachers are also more easily trained in it. Educated native speakers recognize the circumflex as representing continental vowels, & they are generally aware of the concept of 'long' & 'short' vowels, however problematic (e.g. some US systems represent long vowels with upper case, short vowels with lower case letters). Moreover, a basic rule for line-end hyphenation distinguishes long & short values, a hyphen being permissible immediately after a long vowel but requiring an intervening consonant after a short vowel.

[8] While the *J*- & *K*-system rules indicate non-contrastive variation, a *D*-system has some unordered merger rules for different accents. The *D*-system is however simple enough to use with young children, indeed perhaps as efficient as the i.t.a. when its compatibility with TO is taken into account.

[9] The diacritics are not available on ordinary typewriters, but they are available in many printing fonts. The non-roman special characters required by the *J*- & *K*- systems on the other hand are hard to obtain.

[10] In any case, a *D*-system has the advantage that the teacher can annotate textual material as required for teaching, & specially printed material is unnecessary. For beginners the teacher can annotate all vowels, or perhaps just new words. Students can be tested by being asked to enter the diacritical marks themselves — a much simpler, less error-prone task than writing a phonemic transcription.

A further advantage of a *D*-system is that the vowels all have distinct & well-known names, which is not the case for all the non-roman symbols in the IPA.

9. Conclusion

For teaching English as a foreign or especially a 2nd language, a *D*-system has many advantages over the usual *J*- and *K*-systems, & we may hope to see dictionaries & materials use it. It also has clear advantages in teaching native children to read, not least in allowing publishers to indicate pronunciation — as they dare not do at present.

This *D*-system also sets up the facts that any reformed spelling system must face: who pronounces which sets of words alike & who pronounces them differently, as well as identifying which present spellings are total exceptions, which are examples of limited patterns, and so on.

10. Samples of text annotated with diacritics

In the first text mainly the stressed vowels are marked for pronunciation as described in the above article.

Rěpresěnting pronŭnciātion in tēaching Ěnglish

Crītēria of an ādequate rěpresētātion of pronŭnciātion for lānguage lěarning are mādē explīcit.

The linguistically based representations used in teaching English are thereby seen to be clearly inadequate & a partial solution is found in the traditional notions of 'long' & 'short' values for vowels. However, minor extensions are necessary, as well as a theoretical foundation, & methods for its introduction in the classroom.

(N.B. *ou* in *found* and *ow* in *vowels* should have joined macrons above both letters.)

(N.B. In the following text all vowels should be marked.

There should be a single dot to indicate an obligatory schwa-syllable above *a*, *the*, *another*, the second *i* of *incompatible*, the second *e* of *even*, *a* in *applied*.

Strikethrough marks should be vertical. There should be a different mark over the second *a* in *language* and the *o* of *to*. The *y* of *underlying* and *by* should have a macron. *er* should have a breve above it.)

Of course, this is obviously not true once it is pointed out:

while a language student must face different pronunciations & different dialects, the linguistic methods that present language teaching is based on work for only one single dialect or another. In fact these methods lead to quite incompatible results even when applied to dialects as similar as the accepted standards of pronunciation in the US & the UK. Such results follow naturally from the assumption underlying nearly all of modern linguistics, that the language is shared by a community of speakers.

Notes

- [1] My thanks to Chr. Upward not only for discussion & encouragement but for the difficult task of cutting the length while preserving the essence, & to K Okana for comments leading to the improvement of this exposition. This work was begun in 1961 at the Institute for Exceptional Children, University of Illinois, under L Stalurow, aiming to find easier ways to teach English spelling to native children.
- [2] A mature learner denied an adequate medium will use an ad-hoc creation, perhaps based on the sounds of his own language, & surely inadequate when he does not already know English.
- [3] A moderate extension of this system is found in Fowler et al.'s *Concise Oxford Dictionary* & further extensions in the 2nd edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary*. See also *The Random House Dictionary*.
- [4] We shall call them all 'phonetic systems', without suggesting thereby that they should or do indicate non-distinctive variations, as the only other terms available are either awkward ('phonological system') or unpopular if not discredited ('phonemic').
- [5] It is perhaps best seen as a philosophical 'position', the antithesis of the phonemic *J-*, *K-* & *T-* theories that assumed English spelling was irremediably unsystematic.
- [6] It is possible in principle for languages with a CV structure, or if written with symbols for syllables, but even in such languages, it may not be possible, as e.g. Japanese *ji* can be written as voiced varieties of either *shi* or *chi*.
- [7] E.g. the <-alm> words *balm*, *calm*, *palm*, *psalm*, with continental-<a> in RP & GA but <au> or <au + 1> in some accents.
- [8] That is, if centralizing one of the lower (-Back) group is not felt to be a serious mispronunciation.
- [9] An <e> in a foreign word may also be anglicized as short-<e>, but we already have a symbol for that, so another symbol is unnecessary. The 1st <e> in *fete*, for example, is given a short-<e> value in North America, but a continental- <e> pronunciation (i.e. long-<a>) in England.
- [10] We here take <w> as replacing <u> word-finally.

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[David Stark: see [Journals](#), [Newsletters](#)]

6. Implementing Spelling Reform — an Introduction

David Stark

David Stark is an architect who has been grappling with the design problems of English orthography since he started tutoring adult illiterates 10 years ago. In successive issues of the Simplified Spelling Society's *Newsletter and Journal*, he described how a standardised spelling pronunciation could overcome the problems of the conflicting accents of English.

Many great minds have been applied to the problems of English spelling reform over the last few hundred years, but the one positive result has been the revision of a small number of spellings in American English, thanks to Noah Webster, and a few interesting spin-offs like i.t.a. The forces against change are strong and the reasons for objecting to reform can be summarised as follows:

1. There is no need for reform

1.1 As more people become fully literate, there is probably little wrong with the present spelling. Any defects in the orthography can be accommodated by good teaching.

1.2 As Chomsky has argued, the English spelling system has syllabic and morphographic elements which make it more efficient to use than an alphabetically consistent orthography. The eradication of heterographs (*hear/here*) in a reformed system would increase the semantic search during the reading process. It is worth the extra effort to learn TO.

1.3 It is good for TO to be difficult to learn. This stops people who are poorly educated, whether native or immigrant, from gaining positions of power within the English-speaking societies. It is easy to judge if someone has been well-educated by observing how well they spell.

2. It is inherently wrong to change TO

2.1 The present spelling system is part of our linguistic heritage and culture, and as such is unimpeachable. To admit that there is something wrong with our orthography would be tantamount to suggesting that there is something wrong with English-speaking societies. The dominance of English as the main world language in its traditional form speaks for its success.

2.2 Revised spelling would obscure the Latin, Greek and other foreign language derivations of words.

2.3 The appalling appearance of revised spelling systems is testimony to their inappropriateness.

3. It is impractical to base a revised orthography on the spoken word

3.1 English is a world language which should not have its orthography fixed to one dialect because the social group whose language is chosen as the standard for reform would gain increased importance. This would be resented by all others.

- many adherents of other dialects would have difficulty relating to the phonetic elements of the chosen dialect.

- it is impossible to ensure that the chosen dialect is reproduced throughout the English-speaking world.
- there is the possibility of different dialect standards being used in different parts of the world with the danger that distinct written varieties of English develop.

3.2 Ordinary people have difficulty exercising the phonetic precision necessary for a fully alphabetic orthography. They learn spelling patterns more than phoneme definition, especially with vowels, for example *hay* rhymes with *pay*, so the same spelling must apply.

3.3 Dialects vary through time, with changes appearing each generation. It would be impractical to revise sections of the orthography at say 30 to 50 ycx intervals.

4. Introducing reform is impractical

4.1 Books in the old orthography would immediately become obsolete. People who learn only the new orthography would be cut off from the literary tradition unless old books were reprinted.

4.2 Older people would not bother to learn the new orthography. This would produce a social division with perhaps certain newspapers and journals aimed at the elderly continuing to be written in TO.

4.3 Those who needed to convert to revised spelling would have to relearn many reading and writing skills.

4.4 It would be inappropriate to convert laws and regulations into revised spelling as the text would require to be reviewed to eradicate any possible confusion from homophones being spelled the same (*whole/hole*).

Arguments to counter Objections 1 and 2 above have been well rehearsed by reformers, and my last series of articles tackled some of the questions raised by objections in Section 3. Strategies for Section 4 are increasingly being addressed by reformers and the series of articles to which this forms the introduction seeks to explore the progress made to date, and suggest pointers for further study.

Spelling reform is a continual process of synthesis and analysis, in which we define design criteria and formulate solutions. It is as important to accurately define (and subsequently verify) the design criteria as it is to formulate design solutions. It is a common and recurring fault of spelling reformers to begin with an ill-defined design brief, invent a new spelling-system, and seek reasons to justify it. This series of articles hopes to define design criteria which can be used to counter problems relating to the introduction of spelling reforms. Assessment of reform solutions against such criteria would also give an indication of their efficacy.

The method of introducing reform may impose its own criteria on the design. An initial teaching alphabet provides an opportunity for presentation of an alphabetically consistent orthography to the public at large and particularly to children, who will grow up knowing how efficient spelling can be, and more readily allow more logical spellings into their everyday lives. However, the design requirements of an initial teaching alphabet will be somewhat different to those of an orthography for world English. The i.t.a. alphabet of the 1960's, with its new characters, precluded its use by existing literates. It did not sufficiently counter the objections in Section 4 above to make it

acceptable to the public at large, and indeed the lack of acceptance of this 'strange' alphabet by parents was probably one of the main reasons for its fall from grace.

Simplified American Spelling seeks to learn from this by producing an orthography which has as one of its design parameters that it "is sufficiently compatible with English spelling so his (the child's) parents can read it." However, as it has been designed specifically for use in the USA, some of the problems in Section 3 have not been fully addressed. It is probably too dialect-specific and phonetically precise to be suitable for use in world English. However, if it were more internationally minded it might be a less marketable product in the USA. Given this dilemma and the fact that getting a revised orthography accepted is the greatest problem any reformer has, one must sympathise with the approach taken, and wish its proponents well.

Producing a new orthography for a target section of the population inevitably puts constraints on its design. But the compromise will be worth it if a toe-hold can be gained and the extension of its use to society as a whole can begin.

Children learning literacy is one target group, but one could also aim at people learning English as a second language. This could be to the benefit of integrating the huge Spanish-speaking population of the USA into the English-speaking establishment, helping those in a multi-language country like India or Nigeria become literate in lingua franca and international English, or easing the burden of those in the international community where English is the dominant language. The concession by English-speaking people of having their orthography changed to help others, could only help to promote English as the main second language in the world and official language of international organisations like the UN or the EEC. However, if a revised orthography is tailored for any one of the above uses, it will not be the ideal design for another. In the real, practical world, design is compromise.

While we may begin by targeting a reformed orthography at one group, we must remember that the ultimate aim is an orthography for all people wishing to use English, and that we cannot make a complete break with the English literary tradition. The relationship between the old and new orthographies is crucial, and the prime concern must be for those skilled in old orthography to be, able to learn to read the new one easily. Most reform proposals therefore attempt to minimize interference with traditional orthography. Proposals involving new grapheme symbols are not usually taken seriously.

However, following minimal interference too far does not produce a sufficiently straightforward alphabetic design solution for many reformers. To reduce the impact on existing literates, proposals for introducing more radical reforms in a series of stages have been explored over the last 20 years. The potential and problems of the minimal interference and stage reform strategies are the subject of the rest of this series of articles.

7. Conflicting Efficiency Criteria in the Cut Spelling — 2

Christopher Upward

This paper continues the discussion of the dilemmas of Cut Spelling (CS) introduced in [Journal 88/3](#) (Item 6). The cut spellings used here are fairly radical, and readers will find many of the more problematic forms discussed in the present article and its predecessor. Readers are invited to comment on the forms used.

THE ARGUMENT OF PART I

Spelling reform aims primarily to make sound-symbol correspondence of the more predictable. Redundant letters (which by definition conflict with regular sound-symbol correspondence) are particularly troublesome features of the traditional orthography (TO) of English, and CS takes them by systematic omission. Most omitted letters fall into one of three categories: 1) they may be silent letters, 2) they may represent post-accentual schwa before <l, m, n, r>, or 3) they may be doubled consonants. Cutting redundant letters has further advantages: it makes writing more economical, is fairly easy to master, and rarely changes the appearance of words so drastically that they become hard to recognize (i.e. CS is highly compatible, both backwards and forwards, with TO). But these qualities of regularity, economy, simplicity and compatibility sometimes conflict with each other, and then decisions have to be taken as to which should have priority. The following questions in particular were discussed: 1) whether CS may produce excessive brevity, 2) how difficult CS may be to learn, 3) which CS forms are hardest to recognize (problems of forwards compatibility), and 4) which TO forms would be hardest to recognize for readers who had learnt to read and write only in CS (problems of backwards compatibility).

PART 2

5. INDICATING LONG VOWLS

5.1 'Long' and 'short' vowels

Similar conflicts of orthographic efficiency arise when it comes to ensuring that the so-called long vowels, as in *raid, read, ride, rode, rude*, are reliably distinguished from their short equivalents, as in *pat, pet, pit, pot, put/pull*. The Roman alphabet lacks any clear way of making this distinction, although it is central to the phonology of English. TO is notorious for its inconsistency on this point, as observed in pairs like *proper: toper, hint: pint, ration: nation, river: diver, gone: tone*, which give no indication to readers that their vowels are differently pronounced, nor would writers guess from their pronunciation that the vowels are spelled the same.

5.2 'Majic' <e> in TO

One of the devices that TO uses, however inconsistently, to distinguish long and short vowels is 'majic' <e>, as when the silent final 'majic' <e> in *hate* indicates that the vowel <a> is pronounced long, while the absence of final <e> in *hat* tells us that the vowel is short. Apart from its inherent illogicality, there are at least two practical objections to 'majic' <e>. The first is sociological: 'majic' <e> confuses learners by interrupting normal left-to-right line-scanning; so when they encounter a word like *waste*, the letter-sequence first suggests a word beginning with the sound was, and only when the 'majic' <e> is registered (and its significance understood) three letters later does the reader realise that the preceding <a> has a quite different value (but the pair *wasted: lasted* shows how unreliable an indicator that <e> is). The second objection to 'majic' <e> is that it gives rise to numerous inconsistencies and uncertainties when suffixes are added; so the 'majic' <e> disappears in *waging* (but not in *ageing*), and is optional in *lik(e)able*. However, although an ideal rational orthography for English would certainly not use 'majic' <e>, it is so widespread in TO that it

cannot be eliminated without drastically affecting the appearance of the written language (as happened when *New Spelling* respelled *hate* as *haet*).

5.3 Distinguishing 'majic' <e> in CS

Both to prevent disturbing changes to the appearance of words and because 'majic' <e> is strictly speaking not redundant, CS retains it. However its retention does cause adults some difficulty when they first learn to write CS, as they have to distinguish the very common redundant final <e> (as in *are*, *imagine* and numerous other words), which is cut in CS (*ar*, *imajn* etc), from the true 'majic' <e>, which is not cut. The first step is to distinguish 'majic' <e> in words such as *hate* (with its long vowel) from the misleading and redundant final <e> in words like *have*, where the preceding vowel is short. The distinction may be a little less obvious when two consonants follow the vowel, but it applies in exactly the same way; so *change*, *table*, *title* etc must keep the final <e>, but *flanj*, *rabl*, *litl* etc, with their preceding short vowels, do not. The distinction is initially also sometimes overlooked when the silent <e> occurs medially rather than finally, though the rule is the same here too; thus while the second <e> is redundant in *TO seven*, it must be kept in *even* to indicate that the preceding vowel is long (CS *sevn*: *even*). Once learners have mastered the distinction, the CS forms are seen to offer an altogether more predictable representation of the different vowels than does TO.

What this distinction amounts to in terms of CS rules is that Rule 1 (redundant letters are cut) must take precedence over Rule 2 (post-accentual schwa before <l, m, n, r> is cut). The second <e> in *even* is not made redundant by a following syllabic <n> (as it is in *sevn*) and cannot be cut by Rule 2 because it is preserved by Rule 1. The difference is also seen in the syllabic structure of the two words: *sevn* consists of <sev> + syllabic <n>, while *even* consists of <eve> + syllabic <n>.

The following CS pairs demonstrate these distinctions:

<i>rabl</i> : <i>label</i>	<i>apl</i> : <i>maple</i>	<i>latr</i> : <i>late</i>	<i>sevn</i> : <i>even</i>
<i>dinr</i> : <i>diner</i>	<i>rivr</i> : <i>dive</i>	<i>hovr</i> : <i>over</i>	<i>supr</i> : <i>super</i>

5.4 Aferant preceding vowels

The above pattern also applies when preceding <o> has abnormal value, as in the pair *lov*: *mover*. Although <o> here has two of the normal values of <u>, the length distinction still applies, exactly as it did between *hovr* and *over*.

This effect arises in several common monosyllables too. The final <e> in *gone*, *shone* is clearly redundant as these words do not rhyme with *tone*; CS Rule 1 therefore produces *gon*, *shon* (rhyming with *on*), but leaves *tone* uncut. Now although *done* rhymes with *fun*, not with *on*, and ideally it should therefore perhaps be spelled *dun*, this would raise problems of backwards compatibility: a child who had learned *dun* would find it hard to decipher *done*, which appears to rhyme with *tone*. CS *don* therefore merely shows that the <o> is short and that *don* does not rhyme with *tone*; in fact CS aligns *don* with its rhymes *son*, *ton*. The final <e> is similarly cut in words like *com*, *som*, *lov*, *dov*, *glov* which then no longer misleadingly resemble *home*, *cove* etc, although the visual collection between *lov*: *love* etc is preserved for the sake of backwards compatibility. CS here compromises between the efficiency criteria of perfect sound-symbol correspondence and backwards compatibility.

5.5 Other letters as long-vowel indicators

Less obvious than the above distinctions is the fact that final in *comb*, *climb*, *tomb*, *womb* also indicates a preceding long vowel — if it were deleted, *comb* would become *com*, *tomb* would become *tom*,

and *climb* wud appear to rym with *him*. This silent or 'majic' must therfor be kept, altho it is cut wen th preceding vowl is short, as in *lam, lim, bom, aplom, crum, dum, plum, sucum, thum*.

We hav alrely seen wy *label* cannot be cut: th <e> indicates a preceding long vowl. Nowevr in many similr words th unstressd vowl-letr is not <e> as in *label*: it is <a> in *total*, <i> in *evil*, <o> in *idol*, <u> in *ultimatum*. Nevrtless th same paten aplys as with 'majic' <e>, so ensuring th vowl-contrasts in *botl*: *total*, *devl*: *evil*, *symbl*: *idol*, *albm*: *ultimatum*. For th riter an unecesry and unpredictbl vowl-letr is removed from *bottle*, *devil*, *symbol*, *album*, wile th readr can clearly se th distinction between long and short vowels. Othr exampls of this distinction in CS ar: *catl*: *fatal*, *metl*: *fetal*, *litl*: *vital*, *grovl*: *oval*, *sutl*: *brutal*. In most such words howevr th preceding vowl is short, and th unstressd vowl-letr can be cut: *signl*, *rebl*, *pebl*, *nostrl*, *pistl*, *consl*, *difictl*; but *removal*, *yokel*, *able* with ther preceding long vowels ar not cut. Similrly TO *pattern* becoms *patrn*, but *patron* is not cut (in fact th <o> in *patron* must also be kept to distinguish th -CVC sequence from th -VCC of *pattern*).

Sycologjicy th user is here becoming acustmd to new, mor relybl fonografotacfic patrn. Whereas in TO a nonce word *setal* myt be pronounced in one of at least thre ways, as *settle*, *seetle* or *see-tall*, in CS th readr nos that *setal* is not pronounced as *settle*; indeed *settle*: *metal* merj to look like th rym they ar. Rule 1 cuts final <e> from *settle* and Rule 3 simplifys th dubld <1>, giving *setl*; wile Rule 2 cuts th <a> from *metal*, giving *metl*.

Th speling-ambiguity of post-accentul shwa is howevr retaind aftr long vowels, since its removal wud require a hyly disruptiv chanje to th speling of th long vowl (removal myt hav to be reritn *remuuvl*, for instnce). Here again CS is compromising between th two efficiency criteria of compatibility and regulr sound-symbll corespondnce.

5.6 Alternativ cuts for long <e>

Wile long <a, i, o> ar comnly spelt with 'majic' <e> (*rate, rite, role*), long <e> rarely is, forms like *Chinese, complete, eve* being relatively unusul. Insted long <e> is comnly representd by a digraf such as <ee, ea, ie, ei>. Howevr, wen these ocur in a final sylabl befor certn consnts (e.g. <v, z>), silent <e> is oftn add, wich then servs efectivly as a secnd (and hence redundnt) indicator of th preceding long <e>; so in *receive* th long <e>-sound is shown first by th digraf <ei>, and secndly by th final <e>.

Wich letr shud then be cut in such words, th final <e> or th digraf? Th set *leave, sleeve, receive, believe* cud be cut to *leav, sleeuv, receiv, believ*. Howevr th variant digrafs constitute a notorius speling-trap in TO, and it wud therfor be mor helpful to reduce al these words to ther comn denomnator, th sylabl *eve* (itself a TO form). We then obtain th regularity of *eve, leve, sleve, receive, beleve*. Ocasionl slyt disadvantages do arise: th plural of *leaf* wud presumably hav to be *leavs* (despite th verb *leves*), and *receit, belief* cud not be cut to mach *receve, beleve*. (Similrly th conection between *waif*: *waive* wud be hidn if th latr wer merjd with *wave*; but few notice th conection in TO anyway.) TO howevr contains many such anomlis (e.g. *proceed*: *procedure, speak*: *speech, comparative*: *comparison, message*: *messenger*), and th benefits of regulrizing *believe, receive* etc must surely outwei these disadvantages. We here face a conflict of morfologjicy versus fonografic regularity, and we ar giving priority to th latr.

Othr words containing this dubly indicated long <e> with foloing syllabic <1> ar less esily regulrized. *Evil* myt provide a modl for *weevil*, but no cutting procedur can alyn *eagle* with *legal*. Th <eo> in *people* is hyly anomlus, causing lernrs real dificlty, and CS *peple* is a clear improvement. But shud

its rym *steeple* then be cut to mach, as *steple*, and likewise *beadle*: *needle* alynd as *bedle*: *nedle*? Ther ar som posbl objections to these forms: cuting these centrl, stressd digrafs may be visuly mor disruptiv than cuting a later, unstressd lettr; th TO variations <ea, ee> ar comn and distinctiv digrafs, less liabl to confusion than <ei, ie, eo>; and a mor useful kind of regulrisation for these words myt therfor be th standrd patrnr of final consnnt plus <1> (wich must be th long-term ideal speling for such endings anyway), giving *weevl*, *eagl*, *steep*, *beadl*, *needl*. With these words we ar having to make sutlr, mor individul discrinnns in deciding th CS form.

6. SIMPLIFYING DUBLD CONSNTS

6.1 Regulr simplification

Dubld consnnts ar somtimes said to be useful indicators of a preceding short vowel in TO, but usuly they ar unecesry and/or inconsistnt. CS Rule 3 calrs for them to be simplifyd, wich, in conjunction with th othr CS Rules, can mostly be don quite straitforwrdly, indeed th regularity of th riting systm is therby gretly improved.

Dubld consnnts usuly ocur in english in certn wel-defined environmnts, as in *ebb*, *bubble*, *accommodate*, *committee*. Al of these can be safely simplifyd by Rule 3, giving *eb*, *bubl*, *acomodate*, *comitee*. So we hav simplification in monosylabls (e.g. *eb*, *od*, *tif*, *eg*, *wel*, *bur*), in words containing short stressd vowels and ending in syllabic <1, m, n, r> (e.g. *bubl*, *rotn*, *copr*), and in words containing asimilated latin prefixs (e.g. *arive*, *imaculat*). Th gain in efficiency is one of predictbility, as wel as econmy: no mor is ther uncertnty about wethr or not to dubl th consnnt in such words; inconsistncy as between th cognates *abbreviate*: *abridge*, *affray*: *afraid* disapear; and ther is rarely dificly over bakwrds or forwrds compatability.

In addition ther is oftn gretr acordnce with th speling of othr languajs, especialy spanish (e.g. *acomodación*); compare also CS *comitee* with singl <m, t> in *comité* (french, spanish) and *Komitee* (jerrnn). Consnnt digrafs functioning as dubld consnnts ar similrlly simplifyd, <ck, cq, dj, xc> being cut to <k, q, j, x>, as in *lok*, *aquit*, *ajust*, *exept*.

A few TO forms contain a dubld <l> or <s> aftr a long vowel: *roll*, *tulle*, *wholly*, *drolly*, *camellia*, *bass* (in music, not th fish), *gross*. Singl <1> in TO *control*, *mule*, *holy*, *Celia* provides a modl for CS *rol*, *tule*, *drolly*, *camelia*. *Wholly* cud likewise merj with *holy*, but if it is perceived to be pronounced with a lengthnd /l/, it myt expectionly be modld on *solely* as *holely*; clearly it must not merj with *holly*. *Bass*, *gross* wud be left uncut by th CS sub-rule preserving final <ss> (se §6.11 belo); certnly *bas*, *gros* do not acord with any presnt speling patrns.

Problms arise in a few environmnts if al dubld consnnts ar simplifyd regardless, notably in disyllabic words not ending in <1, m, n, r>, especialy in disyllabic words ending in <y>, th <-ing> forms of monosyllabic verbs and widely with <rr> and <ss>. These cases present a conflict between activ transfer efficiency and fonografic predictbility, and ar discussd in th rest of section 6 and in section 7.

6.2 Medial consnnts

Medial consnnts in disyllabic words not ending in syllabic <1, m, n, r> ar hylly inconsistnt in ther patrns of dubling in TO. Som variations with words ending in <y> ar: *abbey*: *cabby*: *baby*; *ferry*: *very*: *query*: *eery*; *eddy*: *ready*; *city*: *bitty*; *filly*: *happily*: *wily*; *choppy*: *copy*: *ropy*: *dopey*; *ston(e)y*: *money*; *study*: *Judy*: *muddy*. Mecanicl aplicacion of th CS rules wud produce th foloing forms: *aby*: *caby*: *baby*, *fery*: *very*: *query*: (e)ery, edy: redy, city: bity; rily: hapily: wily; choppy: copy: ropy:

dop(e)y, ston(e)y: mony; study: Judy: muddy. Th TO forms ar caractrised by two-way confusion of sound-symb and symb-sound corespondnce; but if we simplify al th dubld consnts, we replace th famlr two-way confusion by a new one-way confusion: th simplifd forms tel us how to rite words, but giv us even less gidance than befor as to ther pronunciation.

Such problms ar rarer and perhaps less serius in longr words. So th paralel between *nulity: nudity: credulity* may be acceptbl, both because of difring word-length and because th valu of <u> in *nulity* is derived from nul, wheras in *nudity* it derives from *nude*. Elsewher a difrnce of stress may be obscured by simplification, as wen *dilema* is ritn paralel with *cinema*; but since TO alredy givs paralel spelings to thre difrnt patrn of pronunciation in *cinema, enema, oedema (US edema)*, a fourth variant in *dilema* may be acceptbl as scarcely worsning th confusion. Howevr a fulr study of polysyllabic forms containing dubld consnts is needd befor any conclusions can be confidntly drawn.

If th medial consnts in al such words wer consistntly ritn singl, a gret hazrd of TO wud be removed for th riter; but insofar as dubld consnts indicate a preceding short vowl in TO, ther simplification wud be unhelpful to th readr; th balance of advantaj is therfor unclear. In som cases simplification of dubld consnts merjs minml pairs with short and long vovls, so introducing total ambiguity (*tinny: tiny*); but elsewher th ambiguity is only implicit (and then, to varying degrees). Th form *query* may inhibit us from shortning *ferry* to mach *very*, but (apart from names such as *Cody, Thody*) ther ar no such awkwrld paralels to inhibit us from alyning *shoddy, toddy* with *body*.

6.3 Stratejis for CS

Sevrl posbl ways of dealing with th problm sujest themselvs, non of them entirely satisfactory:

- 1 CS cud simplify al dubld consnts regardless of ambiguity, speling *holly: holy, tinny: tiny* identicly.
- 2 CS cud simplify al dubld consnts exopt wen hetrofones result, riting *droly, folly, jolly* but not cuting *holly, tinny*.
- 3 CS cud simplify dubld consnts exopt wher grafotactic ambiguity arises, riting *droly* by analojo with *holly*, but not simplifying *folly, jolly*, and riting *shoddy* by analojo with *body* because no ordnry words end, in *-ody* pronounced with long <o>.
- 4 CS cud leve al medial dubld consnts in such polysyllabic words uncut.

6.4 Th -ing form of verbs

Th abov problm of dubld consnts is particulrly serius in th <-ing> form of monosyllabic verbs.

In longr verbs simplification brings considrbl advantajs by eliminating th major uncertnty about dubling final consnts befor suffixs. Thus th variation between *committing, visiting*, itself hyly conduciv to misspeling, *leves benefit(t)ing, formatting* unclear or anomlus, and practice varis with som endings (especialy <-l>) between american and british speling: US *traveling, kidnaping, worshiping*, british *travelling, kidnapping, worshipping*. Al these ar regulrized in CS *comiting, visiting, benefiting, formating, travling, kidnaping, worshiping*. In som cases th stress-patrn is then obscured: <tt, rr> in *comitting, occurring* tel us th secnd vowl is stressd, wile in *visiting, murmuring* th first vowl] is; howevr TO oft n fails to indicate stress (considr *formatting, benefitting, travelling: compelling, procuring: murmuring*), and th econmy and regularity of th CS forms ar surely prefrbl to th presnt confusion.

With monosyllabls howevr ther ar over 60 sets (mostly pairs) of verbs like *hop: hope* hose <-ing> forms wud by th mecanicl aplicacion of th CS rules becom hetrografs, e.g. *hoping* for both verbs. Th

problem arises because TO confuses the <-ing> forms of pairs of verbs whenever the spelling of their base-form differs only by the 'magic' <e>. Thus, since TO uses <hop-> as the base for the <-ing> form of *hope* (<hop+ing>), it needs another way of distinguishing *hoping* from the <-ing> form of *hop* — and it does so by doubling the <p> of *hop*, thus *hopping*.

The CS Rules provide a straightforward solution to the uncertainty of consonant doubling before other suffixes (*hopd: hoped, hopr: hoper*), but before <-ing> CS faces a most intractable problem: at worst, to rite *hoping* as the <-ing> form of both *hop* and *hope* would introduce a major new ambiguity into written English. It is true that TO tolerates actual ambiguity in the case of *bathing* which can derive from both *to bath* or *to bathe*, and common words like *having*, *coming* appear to rhyme with *shaving*, *homing*, but it can hardly be acceptable to spread this ambiguity to some 60 other sets of verbs too.

6.5 Cataloging *hoping*-type ambiguities

If the CS Rules give two differently pronounced words the same spelling when in TO they are spelled differently, total ambiguity results, as when <pp> in *hopping* is simplified. To establish the size of the problem and compile a catalog of such ambiguities, a matrix was drawn up for each vowel, with the possible syllable-initial consonants and consonant-strings forming the vertical axis and the possible final consonant patterns forming the horizontal axis. (The inventory of possible consonants was taken from Gimson's tables of phoneme sequences. [11]) The resulting grid should then ensure that all possible combinations of phonemes in monosyllables are accounted for.

The catalog, giving only the TO form of the short-vowel verb in each pair, now follows. Some pairs only merge when other CS rules are also applied, as when *plaiting* is cut to *plating*, <ck> is cut to <k> (*tacking: taking*), or silent initial <w> *disappears* (*wrapping: raping*).

With <a>, 23 pairs arise from *plait, plan, bar, bath, back, chaff, tap, tack, quack, lamb, stack, scrap, snack, slack, slat, shack, spar, star, scar, sham, mat, rack, rat, have* (if CS cuts the <1> in half). Ambiguity is avoided within CS between *rag, wag* and *rage, wage* if the latter are respelled *raje, waje*, but problems of compatibility arise as the adult learner will misread CS *waging* as TO *waging*, and conversely the child will misread TO *waging* as *wagging*. The <-ing> form of both *wrap, rap* would appear as *raping*, and perhaps of *ball, bawl* as *baling*.

With <e>, no pairs were found, because nearly all monosyllabic verbs prefer digraphs such as <ea, ee, ei, ie> to 'magic' <e>. *Sell: seal* therefore remain distinct as *sealing: seling*, and *speling* is unambiguous. The archaic verb *to mete* is exceptional in having 'magic' <e>, but it has no short vowel equivalent. *League* is presumed cut to *leag, not lege*.

With <i>, some 20 pairs arise from *pip, pin, pill, till, twin, bid, grip, sit, spit, strip, snip, shin, jib, lick, fill, rid, whip* (if paired with *wipe*), *wit* (if paired with *white*), *will, whirr* (if paired with *wire*). Phonemically *tip: type* belong here, but if <y> is kept to represent the long vowel, no ambiguity arises between *tiping: typing*; similarly, assuming *sign* is respelled *syn*, no ambiguity arises with *sin*. There is one trio (if <wh> is simplified to <w>) in *win: wine: whine*.

With <o>, 11 pairs arise from *top, dot, cock, cod, chock, stock, slop, lop, mop, knot, rob, hop*. If CS keeps 'magic' in *comb, combing: coming* remain distinct.

With <u>, no pairs were found; retention of final <ss> in CS prevents a merge of *fussing: fusing*.

6.6 Potential and grafotactic ambiguity

The danger of ambiguity is acute and explicit with the above pairs such as *hopping: hoping*, but there are many other cases of latent, or potential, ambiguity. For instance, of the pair *slim: slime*, only *slim* normally occurs as a verb, and *sliming* should therefore self-evidently derive from *to slim*. However, English is so productive of new verbs that a sentence like (TO) *the hippopotamus was sliming itself with mud* can perfectly well arise. This means that whenever a short-vowel monosyllable forms a pair with a long-vowel monosyllable, there is at least the potential for ambiguity, as when with *lack: take* a short-vowel verb pairs with a long-vowel noun, or with *fad: fade*, when the reverse occurs, or when with *rip: ripe* a verb pairs with an adjective.

Not merely might *sliming* conceivably be derived from a verb *to slime*, but it parallels long-vowel forms such as *timing, miming*, so producing what we might call grafotactic ambiguity: the reader is familiar with the string <-iming> pronounced with long <i>, and learners at least will therefore tend to construe the same pattern elsewhere as representing the same sound. *Sliming* thus constitutes a double ambiguity, potential and grafotactic. Elsewhere we may have only grafotactic ambiguity; so if CS cuts the from the verb *to thumb* and then writes *thuming*, there is neither actual nor potential ambiguity, as no form *thume* with 'magic' <e> exists; but the rhyming parallel *fuming* suggests a different phonographic correspondence, leading to possible mispronunciation of *thuming*.

Of course, a number of common verbs already exhibit such grafotactic ambiguity in TO, as when *coming, having, giving, loving* appear to rhyme with *homing, shaving, driving, roving* (or *moving*); yet skilled readers and writers accept them without demur. Could we not therefore equally well accept more such disparities, as between *sliming: miming, thuming: fuming*? However, perhaps the existing ambiguities are accepted precisely because they occur in such common words and are therefore soon learnt. Furthermore it is not skilled users, but learners, whether native-speaking beginners or foreign students unsure of pronunciation, whose interests we must here consider, since it is they who most need unambiguous symbol-sound correspondence. They may soon learn to distinguish *coming: homing* and the consistent-doubling pattern of *slimming: miming*; but *sliming: timing* can only be distinguished by learning individual words — the very difficulty that lies at the heart of the problems of TO.

6.7 Answers to the *hopping: hoping* problem

In principle at least 4 approaches to the problem are conceivable, though not all are equally practicable.

1 A new grafeme could be used for the long vowel, whose TO spelling with 'magic' <e> lies at the root of the problem. For instance *hope* could be spelt *hohp*, with the regular <-ing> form *hohping*, so enabling the double <p> in *hopping* to be simplified without ambiguity within CS. Unfortunately this solution involves backwards and forwards ambiguity between TO and CS: the adult would still misread *hoping* in CS as TO *hoping*, and the child would mistake it for *hopping* in TO.

2 A less radical innovation would be to insist on morphological regularity in the spelling of the <-ing> forms of long-vowel monosyllables. The <-ing> form of *hope* would then be *hopeing*, while *hopping* could be written with one <p>; this pattern occurs occasionally in TO already, as in *ageing* (though not *raging*), and in the distinction between *singing: singeing* (contrast *hinging*). Unfortunately it also entails the same disadvantages of backwards and forwards ambiguity as does the *hohping* solution.

3 A third solution would be to accept the ambiguity of *hoping* as the <-ing> form of both *hop* and *hope* — and the ambiguity of the <-ing> forms of all the other pairs too. This solution has hybrid transfer

efficiency, but conflicts with some basic principles of good spelling, above all that a word should be unambiguously recognizable from its written form.

4 This leaves the retention of the TO forms as the only practical solution — but at the expense of active transfer efficiency because of the numerous exceptions to CS Rule 3.

6.8 Problems of defining an exception-rule

Ideally a simple exception-rule is needed, to tell adult learners when to keep double consonants. However it is not immediately apparent what rule could ensure that *comma* retains <mm>, while *command*, *commence*, *commend*, *comment*, *commerce*, *committee*, *common*, *communism* align with *comedy*, *comet*, *comic*, *comity*. It is sometimes suggested that double consonants be kept after stressed vowels; *comma* would then remain uncut — but so would *comment*, *commerce*, *common*, *communism*, though not their cognates *commercial*, *community*. Altogether this seems a most untidy approach.

There are also complications when one tries to formulate a rule for the -ing forms of verbs. If we say that monosyllabic verbs with a short vowel should double their final consonant when adding -ing, what should be done in cases like TO *coming*, *having*, *thumbing*, *spreading*, *sweating*? Do we write *comming*, *havving*, *thumming*, *spredding*, *swetting*, and thereby lengthen the spellings? Uncertainty also arises with compound forms; if <tt> is kept in *betting*, *setting*, *fitting*, that reintroduces the whole problem of consonant doubling in inflected forms which Rule 3 was designed to resolve.

Simpler than this would be a blacklist of individual words which would be ambiguous (i.e. with the same spelling as other, differently pronounced words) if their double consonants were simplified. Section 7.8 below will develop such a blacklist.

6.9 Consonant-doubling between morphemes

Consonants that are doubled or repeated across morpheme-boundaries also create difficulty for users in TO, as for instance when 20% of a group of British university students sitting their final examinations failed to double the <n> in TO *openness*. Such doubling arises particularly in the following environments.

The adverbial suffix <-ly> gives rise to several confusing variations in TO. Typically <-ly> is added to the root (*bad*: *badly*, *sole*: *solely*, *cool*: *coolly*). However if the root ends in <-ll>, just <-y> is added (*full*: *fully*, *droll*: *drolly*); if the root ends in consonant plus <-le>, the <-e> is replaced by <-y> (*able*: *ably*, *simple*: *simply*); and if the root ends in <-ic>, <-ly> is added (*basic*: *basically*); *wholly* is anomalous.

CS simplifies these variations by never writing <ll>: words ending in <-l> add <-y>, while others add <-ly>: *badly*, *solely*, *coolly*, *fully*, *drolly*, *ably*, *simply*, *basically*. Doubtful cases are *wholly*, which might be respelled *holly* or *holely*, and the pair *latterly*: *laterally* both appear as *latrly*.

- The suffixes *-less*, *-ness*. Again, if the root ends in <-l, n>, CS adds only *-ess*: *goalless*, *soless* (assuming CS *goal*, *soul* for TO *goal*, *soul*), *keenness*, *openness*.
- The prefixes *in-*, *un-*. When roots begin with <n>, CS writes only single <n>, thus *innocent*, *unnecessary*; the TO spelling trap of <nn> in *innocuous* but <n> in *inoculate* is eliminated with CS *inocuous*, *inoculate*.

The joint TO form *cannot* is aligned with TO *can't* (CS *cant*) as *cannot* in CS.

- The prefix *fore-* in TO *forerunner* is assimilated with single <r> in CS as *forunr* (cf *forenr* for TO *foreigner*). Also involving <r> are words with the prefix *inter-*; CS would thus write *interogate*, *intrupt*.

- Th prefixes *dis-*, *mis-* assimilate initial <s> in th root: *disatisfy*, *mispel*.
Th assimilated ordnl suffix *-th* in TO *eighth* is unchanged in CS, altho fonograficly anomlus.

CS presumes fre morfemes remain distinct, as tho ritn sepraty or hyfnated. So CS dos not reduce *withhold* to *withold*, nor *nyt-time* to *nytim*. Howevr if TO alredy asimlates such morfemes, as in *threshold* for *threshold*, CS keeps th shortnd TO form.

On first aquaintnce with CS, adult lernrs may feel unesy at simplifications such as singl <n> in *unecesry*, as they may sense a certn lengthning of th /n/ in ther speech wich they wud wish to spel <nn>. Howevr, as in italian, th lengthning is not clearcut or invariable and if one makes an exeption to th consnnt-simplification rule in *unecesry*, uncertntis arise elsewher: shud th negativ prefix *in-* similrly be retaind as in TO *innumerable*, and if so, shud th prepositions prefix *in-* likewise produce <nn> in *innovate* etc? But then we begin to reintroduce th hole minefield of consnnt dubling as found in TO. Th rule that bound morfemes do not lead to dubld consnnts is simplst and most economicl for both readrs and riters.

6.10 Dubld <r>

Usuly <rr> can be simplfyd like othr consnnts. Just as *egg*, *copper*, *accommodate* becom *eg*, *copr*, *acomodate* in CS, so *purr*, *horror*, *arrive* becom *pur*, *horr*, *arive*. Aftr most vowels ther ar paralel forms with singl <r> in TO wich provide a modl: so TO *carrot* can alyn with *carat*, *caret* and french *carotte*. Howevr disylabic words ending in <-y> again rase difictis: just as th atemt to alyn *choppy* with *copy* runs up against th disturbing paralel of *ropy*, so if we try to alyn *ferry* with *very*, we face th disturbing paralel of query. Likewise simplification of <rr> in *carry*, *sorry*, *harry* runs up against *vary*, *story*, *fury*, altho in americh speech *sorry*: *story* may rym. Furthr complications ar that, depending on meaning, *tarry* may rym with *carry* or with *starry*, and *furrier* may hav th vowel of *hurry* or of *furry*. Perhaps th derivativ ajecfivs *starry*, *tarry* shud be analysed as *star+y*, *tar+y* and hence ritn *stary*, *tary* (despite *vary*), wile *to tarry* remains uncut to paralel *carry*.

A preceding <u> is particulrly inhibiting, as th valu of <u> in *hurry* rarely ocurs befor a singl consnnt folod by a vowel in TO (*bunion*, *pumice*, *punish*, *study* being exeptionl). So perhaps *burro* shud be distinguishd by <n> from *bureau*, *hurricn* from *Huron*, *turret* from *Turin*. This may even lead us to question such CS forms as *curaj*, *surogat*, *ocurence*, altho it is notabl that americh speech comnly givs this <ur> th same valu as in *fur*.

Restrictions may be less severe with othr vowels befor non-<y> endings: ther ar no such obvius grafotacfic objections to cuting *arrow* etc to *aro*, *baro*, *faro*, *maro*, *naro* (unless *Pharaoh* wer cut to *Faro*), and *carion* machs *Marion*. Aftr <e> th paralel of *ferret*: *merit* wud seem to allow *feret* (cf french *furet*). Aftr <o>, we myt decide that th distinction between *sorry*: *story* is not significnt and therfor rite *sory*, *horid* (cf *florid*), *moro*; ambiguity wud howevr arise between *borrow*: *borough* if both wer ritn *boro*. In americh speech *worry* has th vowel of *word*, and th speling *wory* myt therfor seem satisfactory.

This analysis is not exhaustiv, but a prelimnry conclusion seems to be that <rr> can usuly be simplfyd, but not always aftr <u>, nor aftr short <a, e> befor <y>.

6.11 Dubid<s>

Simplification of <ss> is also problmatic. Final <ss> always indicates voiceless /s/ in TO, wile final <s> is comnly (e.g. in most inflexions) voiced as /z/. Final <ss> therfor cannot be simplfyd if we ar to

avoid widespread ambiguity, as between *princes: princess* (indeed *discus: discuss* do not even differ as to voicing). If a later reform were to regularise the /s, z/ sounds jointly, final <ss> might prove a useful transition grapheme for distinguishing pairs such as *hens: hence* (*hens: henss*).

TO provides no such clear distinction between voiced and voiceless values of medial <s, ss>. Thus *present* is heard with both voiced and voiceless <s>; *house, use* are voiced as verbs but not as nouns; and <ss> is voiced in *dissolve* but voiceless in *dissolution*. Medial <ss> tends to be voiceless (*assess, message, dissent, Cossack*), with *dessert, dissolve, Hussar, possess, scissors* as well-known exceptions, and medial intervocalic <s> tends to be voiced (*busy, pleasant, visit, weasel*, with *basin, mason, sausage* as exceptions). Whether <s> before or after consonants is voiced varies with the consonant (though it does not depend on whether that consonant is itself voiced): compare voiced <s> in *crimson, dismal* with voiceless <s> in *ransom, basket*. The voiced-voiceless distinction in value of medial <s> does not appear significant (it has very little functional load) in English, and in most cases CS writes just <s> for both values: *present, desert, dissolve, dissolution, assess, message, dissent, Cossack, Hussar, possess, scissors, busy, pleasant, visit, weasel, basin, mason, sausage, crimson, dismal, ransom, basket*. No minimal pairs have been found which would then become ambiguous, although occasional contrasts are lost, as when TO *feasible: possible* become CS *feasibl: possibl*, and learners have even less guidance as to voicing than in TO. However, mispronunciation is unobtrusive and the writer enjoys much improved predictability and economy.

There remain some unresolved cases. Before suffixes, for instance, it is unclear whether CS should keep final <-ss> or write medial <s>: *profess* gives *professd, professing, professr*, but the rule for medial <s> gives *profesd, profesing, profesr* (by analogy with *predecessor*?). Another case concerns the regular TO distinction between palatalized voiceless intervocalic <ss> in the -*ssion* endings (*mission*), which contrast with voiced -*ssion* (*vision*), especially since <ss> also indicates preceding short <a, e, u>, as in the pairs *occasion: passion, lesion: session, confusion: concussion*. (However single <s> is voiceless after a consonant, as in *repulsion, tension*.) No length-distinction arises with <i> (which is never long) or <o> (which is never short), but voicing is shown in *vision, erosion* as opposed to *mission*. If we keep <ss> in these cases, disparities may arise in derivatives (e.g. if *misl, misiv* have single <s> despite *mission*). We here face a conflict of efficiency between morphemic consistency and consistent cutting rules.

7. CUT SPELLING AND AMBIGUITY

7.1 The nature of the problem

One of the most characteristic difficulties of TO is its ambiguity, which takes two main forms: a given spelling may have more than one pronunciation (heterophones, as in *tear* (=rip) and *tear* (from weeping)), and, far more common, different spellings may have to be learnt for words pronounced identically (heterographs, such as *meat: meet*). All spelling reformers agree that heterophones should be differently spelt; but they disagree whether all, or some, heterographs should in principle have the same spelling. The problem of heterographs and its implications for spelling reform in general was examined at some length in an earlier article, [2] and we shall now consider how far CS in particular resolves or aggravates such ambiguities. It is clear that when ambiguity results directly from redundant letters, CS can remove it; but the cutting rules produce a range of effects, from those that would be universally accepted as desirable, through those that have both advantages and disadvantages, to those, at the other extreme, which actually create new ambiguities.

7.2 Heterophones unaffected by CS

Normal CS rules cannot differentiate heterophones if the discrepancies are not caused by redundant letters, as in:

- words whose letters are pronounced differently according to the part of speech, such as the nouns (*ab-*, *ref-*)*use*, *close* (also an adjective), and *house*, *mouth* as opposed to the corresponding verbs, whose final consonant is voiced; similarly final <y> is pronounced long in the verbs *multiply*, *supply* (CS *suply*), but short in the adverbs derived from *multiple*, *supple*.
- other (mostly unrelated) words whose letters have different values; these include *bass*, *bathing* (unless respelled *batheing*), *sewer* (CS *sewr*), *wind* (unless the verb is respelled *wynd*).
- parallel words with different stress patterns; these include *abstract*, *accent*, *affix* (CS *afix*), *arithmetic*, *attribute* (CS *atribute*), *combine*, *compact*, *compress*, *conduct*, *console*, *consort*, *content*, *contract*, *contrast*, *converse*, *convert*, *convict*, *defect*, *diffuse* (CS *difuse*), *digest* (CS *dijest*), *essay* (CS *esay*), *excise* (CS *exise*), *exploit*, *export*, *extract*, *frequent*, *impact*, *incense*, *incline*, *insert*, *inset*, *invalid*, *object*, *perfect*, *permit*, *proceeds*, *process*, *produce*, *progress*, *project*, *prospect*, *prostrate*, *protest*, *recess*, *recoil*, *record*, *refuse*, *reject*, *retail*, *subject*, *survey*, *torment*, *transport*, *underlay* (CS *undrlay*).
- words distinguished by upper and lower case letters: *August*: *august*, *Job*: *job*, *Polish*: *polish*; if, as is proposed, days of the week, months, nationalities and languages are decapitalized in CS, *august*, *polish* would actually become ambiguous.
- loan-words with the same form as native English words: *pace* (Latin), *sake* (Japanese), *salve* (Latin).

7.3 Heterophones differentiated by CS

Since some letters in the following heterophones are redundant for one of their pronunciations, CS differentiates them:

- *Ax*s: *axes*, *bo*: *bow*, *do*s: *does*, *le*d: *lead*, *li*v: *live*, *lo*er: *lower* (also *lower*), *re*d: *read* (cf *Reading*: *reading*), *ro*: *row*, *so*: *sow*, *te*r: *tear*. By its associated letter-changing rules, CS can also distinguish *gil*: *jil* and *skir*: *skyr*.
- Reduction of the regular past-tense suffix <-ed> to <-d> permits the following distinctions: *belovd*: *beloved*, *blessd*: *blessed*, *crookd*: *crooked*, *cursd*: *cursed*, *dogd*: *dogged*, *lerned*: *learned*, *legd*: *legged*, *wikd*: *wiked*; the same cut also distinguishes *bathd*: *bathed*. Complications are entailed in the sets *ajed*: *ajèd*, *ragd*: *ragèd*: *rajed*, *rugd*: *rugèd*: *rujed*.
- Related words with different stress patterns include: *absnt*: *absent*, *altrnate*: *alternate* *asociat*: *associate*, *complmnt*: *compliment*, *delegat*: *delegate*, *desrt*: *desert*, *entrnce*: *entrance*, *envlope*: *envelop*, *estmat*: *estimate*, *graduad*: *graduate*, *intimat*: *intimate*, *minut*: *minute*, *modrat*: *moderate* (but how many syllables?), *presnt*: *present*, *rebl*: *rebel*, *secnd*: *second*, *segmnt*: *segment*, *seprat*: *separate* (how many syllables?). More doubtful, because suppressing <e> which may be perceived to represent more than just schwa, would be the distinctions *convrse*: *converse*, *convrt*: *convert*, *insrt*: *insert*, *pervrt*: *pervert*, *tormnt*: *torment*, *transfr*: *transfer*. It would also be possible, by going beyond normal CS rules, to distinguish the differently stressed values of *accent* as *acsnt* (or even *axnt*): *accent*, *concert* as *consrt*: *concert*, *incense* as *insnse*: *incense*.
- The following distinctions would be possible but also problematic: *furrir*: *furir* (but this implies *furry* respelled as *fury*), *pusy*: *pussy* (but which is which?), *ruted*: *routd* (but these are homophones in American speech), *tary*: *tarry*, *wund*: *wound* (but no rhyme with *fund*).
- A purely grammatical distinction that arises in CS is that the plural of *leaf* is *leavs*, but *to leave* inflects as *leves*.
- This distinction of heterophones in CS reduces the ambiguity of TO, especially for the reader (the sociologists may be dismayed at the loss of some of the 'garden-path' forms they use for testing

readers' responses). In a different way, readers benefit from the improved sound-symbol correspondence and from the greater economy.

7.4 Variety of heterogram-mergers in CS

While the above distinctions all reduce the ambiguity of written English, CS also tends to increase its ambiguity when heterograms merge. Heterograms which in TO happen to share the essential letters required to represent their pronunciation become homograms in CS by omission of redundant letters. While such mergers remove uncertainty for the reader, he no longer has to remember alternative spellings for a given pronunciation and meaning (e.g. *dependent: dependent* merge as *dependnt*), ambiguity is increased for the reader, he no longer immediately knows from the spelling which sense of a word is intended. Such ambiguity (polysemy) is already widespread in TO (e.g. *bank* can be either a river-bank or a money-bank) and is not in itself necessarily undesirable. The main reservation spelling reformers must have about such mergers is that cumulatively they increase the overall ambiguity of the writing system. If taken to extremes (for instance in a language with many more homophones than English) such ambiguity can render phonographic writing dysfunctional; indeed that is perhaps the main reason why Chinese and Japanese have not been able to adopt the Roman alphabet for general use.

Practical experience with CS has not so far suggested that such increased ambiguity causes readers any general difficulty. However, in terms of backwards and forwards compatibility, the mergers introduced by CS are not all of a kind: some give rise to greater ambiguity than others, at least transitionally for adult learners. We shall now examine the variety of mergers that occur.

7.5 Symmetrical cuts: *peace: piece > pece*

TO	<i>peace</i>		<i>piece</i>
	\	/	
CS		<i>pece</i>	

Least problematic are symmetrical cuts, when two (or more) heterograms lose different redundant letters to merge in a third, new form. Thus *peace* loses redundant <a> and *piece* loses redundant <i>, so producing the merged form *pece*. This is immediately decodable, it resembles both *peace* and *piece*, no confusion arises with existing TO spellings, the context makes the meaning clear, and neither word is likely to be mistaken for the other (contrast *pece of mind, a pece of my mind*). All we have here is a new pair of homonyms like *bank: bank*.

An augmented version of the heterogram list in [Journal 87/1](#) serves as the source for the following 115 sets of TO heterograms which would be merged symmetrically by the mechanical application of the CS rules.

Etymologically related forms are marked with an asterisk *: (It must be remembered that for a variety of reasons, it may be desirable to make exceptions in a number of the following cases in practice.)

<i>aisle: isle > ile</i>	<i>all: awl > al</i>
<i>altar: alter > altr</i>	<i>auger: augur > augr</i>
<i>axel: axle > axl</i>	<i>ay: aye: eye > y</i>
<i>ball: bawl > bal</i>	<i>baton: batten* > batn</i>
<i>bell: belle > bel</i>	<i>billed: build > bild</i>
<i>boar: bore > bor</i>	<i>board: bored > bord</i>
<i>boarder: border > bordr</i>	<i>bolder: boulder > boldr</i>
<i>bole: bowl > bol</i>	<i>buyer: byre > byr</i>
<i>calendar: calender > calendr</i>	<i>call: caul > cal</i>
<i>callous: callus*> calus</i>	<i>cannon: canon*> cann</i>

carpal: carpel > carpl
censer: censor > censr
chough: chuff > chuf
coarser: courser > corsr
core: corps > cor
cubical: cubicle > cubicl
dollar: dolour > doir
ewe: yew > ew
filter : philtre > filir
.floe.- flow > flo
gamble: gambol > gamb
greave: grieve > greve
hall: haul > hat
hangar: hanger > hangr
hoard: horde: whored > hord
immanent : imminent > imnnt
lea: lee > le
lightening: lightning > lytning
literal: littoral > litrl
mall: maul > mal
manner: manor > manr
marten: martin > martn
meddler: medlar > medlr
moor: more > mor
mustard: mustered > mustrd
palette: pallet* > palet
peace: piece > pece
pedal: peddle > pedl
petrel: petrol > petrl
pole: poll > pol
principal: principle > principi
rack: wrack (*?) > rak
radical: radicle* > radicl
retch: wretch > rech
rigger: rigor: rigour > rigr
role: roll > rol
roux: rue > ru
sailer: sailor* > sailr
soh: sow > so
sloe: slow > slo
soared: sword > sord
stationary: stationery* > stationry
tea: tee > te
there: their > ther
tough: tuff > tuf
weaver: weever > wever
which: witch > wich
whoa: woe > wo

caster: castor(*?) > castr
choler: collar > colr
coal: cole > col
complement : compliment > complmnt
coward: cowered > cowrd
dependant : dependent* > dependnt
ere: heir > er
felloe: fellow > felo
flea: flee > fle
freeze: frieze > freze
gin: (d)jinn > jin
grill: grille > gril
handsome: hansom > hansm
hoar: whore > hor
hostel: hostile > hostl (US)
knight: night > nyt
lessen: lesson > lesn
limb: limn > lim
lumbar: lumber > lumbr
mangel: mangle > mangl
mantel: mantle* > mantl
medal: meddle > medl
missal: missel: mistle: missile > misl
muscle: mussel* > must
ordinance: ordnance* > ordnnce
pea: pee > pe
pedaller: pedlar (US peddler) > pedlr
pendant: pendent* > pendnt
pidgin: pigeon > pijn
pore: poor: pour > por
rabbit: rarebit > rabbit
reck: wreck > rek
rapped: wrapped > rapd
rho: roe: row > ro
right: wright > ryt
rough: ruff > ruf
rye: wry > ry
sea: see > se
slight: sleight > slyt
soar: sore > sor
sole: soul > sol
summary: summery > sumry
tenner: tenor > tenr
thro: throw > thro
watt: what > wat
where: wear > wer
whither: wither > withr

7.6 Asymmetrical cuts: *plai*ce: *pie*ce > *pl*ace.

TO *plai*ce *pl*ace
 \ |
 CS *pl*ace

A subtly different kind of merger occurs if only one retrograde contains redundant letters, and it then merges with an existing form; so when *plai*ce loses its redundant <i>, it turns into *pl*ace. We may describe this as an asymmetrical merger of the TO pair *plai*ce: *pl*ace. Sometimes more than one word is reduced to the same existing form, as when *borne*: *born* are both cut to *born*. Even though, as with *pece*, the meaning will normally be clear from the context, the visual impact of an apparently familiar form with an unfamiliar meaning is transitionally disturbing for the adult learner of CS, *pl*ace for *plai*ce being in effect a 'garden path' form. We here have a conflict between forwards compatibility and phonographic regularity, the latter having priority over the former in asymmetrical mergers.

The CS rules would, if applied in all cases, produce the following 114 asymmetrical mergers (how curious that the number should be so close to that for symmetrical mergers!). Cut forms already found as alternatives in at least some variants of TO are marked †.

<i>aide</i> > <i>aid</i> *	<i>aunt</i> > <i>ant</i>	<i>bade</i> > <i>bad</i>
<i>balled</i> : <i>bawled</i> > <i>bald</i>	<i>banned</i> > <i>band</i>	<i>barred</i> > <i>bard</i>
<i>baulk</i> > <i>balk</i> *†	<i>bee</i> > <i>be</i>	<i>bogey</i> > <i>bogy</i> (*?)†
<i>bowled</i> > <i>bold</i>	<i>borne</i> : <i>born(e)</i> > <i>born</i> (*?)	<i>buoy</i> > <i>boy</i>
<i>bread</i> > <i>bred</i>	<i>butt</i> > <i>but</i>	<i>buy</i> : <i>bye</i> > <i>by</i> †
<i>candied</i> > <i>candid</i>	<i>canvass</i> > <i>canvas</i> *	<i>caste</i> > <i>cast</i>
<i>charred</i> > <i>chard</i>	<i>chord</i> > <i>cord</i> *	<i>copse</i> > <i>cops</i>
<i>coarse</i> : <i>course</i> > <i>corse</i>	<i>cruise</i> > <i>cruse</i>	<i>damn</i> > <i>dam</i>
<i>dessert</i> > <i>desert</i> (verb)	<i>eaves</i> > <i>eves</i>	<i>fiancée</i> > <i>fiancé</i> *
<i>Finn</i> > <i>fin</i>	<i>Finnish</i> > <i>finish</i>	<i>flue</i> > <i>flu</i>
<i>fore</i> : <i>four</i> > <i>for</i>	<i>forego</i> > <i>forgo</i> †	<i>fourth</i> > <i>forth</i>
<i>gauge</i> > <i>gage</i>	<i>gnu</i> > <i>nu</i>	<i>guild</i> > <i>gild</i> †
<i>heard</i> > <i>herd</i>	<i>heart</i> > <i>hart</i>	<i>heroine</i> > <i>heroin</i>
<i>hoarse</i> > <i>horse</i>	<i>hour</i> > <i>our</i>	<i>inn</i> > <i>in</i>
<i>jamb</i> > <i>jam</i>	<i>knave</i> > <i>nave</i>	<i>knead</i> > <i>need</i>
<i>knew</i> > <i>new</i>	<i>knit</i> > <i>nit</i>	<i>knot</i> > <i>not</i>
<i>know</i> > <i>no</i>	<i>laager</i> > <i>lager</i> *†	<i>lamb</i> > <i>lam</i>
<i>lapse</i> > <i>laps</i>	<i>lead</i> > <i>led</i>	<i>learg</i> > <i>lent</i>
<i>leaver</i> > <i>lever</i>	<i>llama</i> > <i>lama</i>	<i>low</i> > <i>lo</i>
<i>maize</i> > <i>maze</i>	<i>malt</i> > <i>mat</i> †	<i>mooed</i> > <i>mood</i>
<i>mourn</i> > <i>morn</i>	<i>mourning</i> > <i>morning</i>	<i>mucous</i> > <i>mucus</i> *
<i>nett</i> > <i>net</i> †	<i>oh</i> : <i>owe</i> > <i>o</i> (cf <i>IOU</i>)	<i>oar</i> : <i>ore</i> > <i>or</i>
<i>parr</i> > <i>par</i>	<i>pease</i> > <i>peas</i>	<i>penned</i> > <i>pend</i>
<i>pie</i> > <i>pi</i>	<i>plai</i> ce > <i>pl</i> ace	<i>plumb</i> > <i>plum</i>
<i>psalter</i> > <i>salter</i>	<i>programme</i> > <i>program</i> †	<i>reign</i> > <i>rein</i>
<i>raise</i> > <i>rase</i>	<i>read</i> > <i>red</i>	<i>savoury</i> > <i>savory</i> †
<i>seamen</i> > <i>semen</i>	<i>scent</i> > <i>sent</i>	<i>sell</i> > <i>set</i> †
<i>soh</i> : <i>sow</i> > <i>so</i>	<i>soled</i> > <i>sold</i>	<i>steppe</i> > <i>step</i>

<i>Storey</i> > <i>story</i> t	<i>straight</i> > <i>strait</i> †	<i>stye</i> > <i>sty</i> †
<i>tease</i> > <i>teas</i>	<i>tolled</i> > <i>told</i>	<i>tonne</i> > <i>ton</i>
<i>too: two</i> > <i>to</i>	<i>tore</i> > <i>tor</i>	<i>waive</i> > <i>wave</i>
<i>warred</i> > <i>ward</i>	<i>wee</i> > <i>we</i>	<i>welled</i> > <i>weld</i>
<i>weather: whether</i> > <i>wethr</i>	<i>when</i> > <i>wen</i>	<i>whet</i> > <i>wet</i>
<i>Whig</i> > <i>wig</i>	<i>while</i> > <i>wile</i>	<i>whin</i> > <i>win</i>
<i>whine</i> > <i>wine</i>	<i>whit</i> > <i>wit</i>	<i>whole</i> > <i>hole</i>
<i>wholly</i> > <i>holy</i>	<i>whooping</i> > <i>hooping</i>	<i>whorled</i> > <i>world</i>
<i>wrap</i> > <i>rap</i>	<i>wrest</i> > <i>rest</i>	<i>write</i> > <i>rite</i>
<i>wring</i> > <i>ring</i>	<i>wrote</i> > <i>rote</i>	<i>wrung</i> > <i>rung</i>

We note that some roots are involved in both a symmetrical and an asymmetrical merger if *bowl*: *bole* becomes *bol* (by analogy with long <o> in *control*, *old*), then CS *bowled* necessarily becomes *bold*.

7.7 Imperfect mergers

Slightly more disturbing still for adult readers than asymmetrical mergers is the case of CS *add*. Here a double shift has taken place: an orthographic form abandoned by TO, *add* (which is cut to *ad*), is adopted by CS for TO *added*.

TO	<i>added</i>	<i>add</i>	
CS		<i>add</i>	<i>ad</i>

There is ambiguity here not within CS, but between CS and TO, which creates difficulties of backwards and forwards compatibility, though these are probably outweighed by the advantages of systemic regularity: if final consonants are simplified in *eb*, *eg*, then they should also be simplified in *ad*; and if verbs form their past tense by adding just <d> as in *faded*, *needd*, then *ad* should be no exception but should inflect as *add*.

There are a number of sets of near-homophones which may or may not be merged by the CS rules, it being uncertain whether their pronunciation should be considered identical. These mergers may be symmetrical or asymmetrical, and they will typically seem sensible to speakers of some accents, but not to speakers of others. For instance, the <l> in *calm*, *halve* is universally silent, but many speakers distinguish the vowels of *cam*: *calm*, *have*: *halve* and may therefore find it confusing to have both words spelt *cam*, *hav*. Some speakers who pronounce the two vowels of *city* differently may wish to keep *candid*: *candied* distinct. Other speakers may not accept *hostl*, *misl* both for *hostel*, *missal* and for *hostile*, *missile*; while others again jibe at *wethr* for *weather*: *whether*: *wether*. Probably few speakers would immediately think of merging *ere*: *heir* with *err* as *er*. It needs to be established whether such mergers are beneficial in terms of the global rationality of the writing system; if so, a persuasive case may be made for them, but if not, they may need to be excluded from a CS reform.

Views differ as to whether *where*: *wear*: *were* should all be merged as *wer*. The present author exceptionally now keeps <h> in *wher* to distinguish *where*: *were*, but he merges *wear*: *were*. Others however argue that if <wh> is merely cut to <w>, and if *there*: *their* merge as *ther* (as *bear*, *pear* etc are cut to *ber*, *per*), then *where*: *wear*: *were* should all become *wer*. Certainly they are often not clearly distinguished in speech.

Two common words, *could* and *done*, contain blatantly redundant letters, but their removal merges them with TO *cud*, *don*, which in most accents are differently pronounced. Here the rarity of TO *cud*, *don* should

permit an unproblematic merger in the interests of economy and wider consistency: *cut* then aligns with *shud, wud, put, pudding*, and *don* aligns with *son, ton*.

The main argument in favor of the above mergers is that although adults may find some of them disturbing on first reading, children would find them more straightforward than the variant forms of TO.

7.8 Unacceptable ambiguity: a blacklist

We may accept most or many of the mergers discussed above, but others go yet further in the direction of ambiguity, and will probably have to be excluded. They are typically cases where one word is cut to the same form as another whose pronunciation is quite different. There is however no clear dividing-line between the acceptable and the unacceptable, and each possible merger has to be judged on its own merits.

So we have a case like *pall: pawl* which could be cut like *call: caul* to the form *pal* — but *pal* is a word in its own right with different pronunciation; perhaps *pall: pawl* can be so merged because they are rather uncommon words, or conversely perhaps their very rarity means they do not justify being thus regularized, and should wait for a later reform when they may be rightly *paul*.

Then there is the group *chilled, willed, binned, finned*, which by normal CS procedures would merge with *child, wild, bind, find*, so introducing more heterophones like TO *the wind: to wind*. To prevent this we may exceptionally decide to keep the double consonants, giving *chilld, willd, binnd, finnd*. The ultimate solution would be to distinguish the long vowels, perhaps as in *chylld, wyld, bynd, fynd, wynd*, but without a transitional period there would still be problems of backwards and forwards compatibility.

Similarly, double consonants are needed to distinguish the pairs *bellow: below, boggy: bogy, bonny: bony, comma: coma, coral: corral, dully: duly, furry: fury, gammy: gamy, hallow: halo, holly: holy, wholly, knobbly: nobly, navy: navy, pennies: penis, ragged: raged, spinney: spiny, tinny: tiny, vellum: velum*.

Awkward individual cases include *alley: ally, annual: annul, colour: collar: choler, latterly: laterally* which would be merged by the normal application of CS rules. If mergers are not acceptable in these cases, individual solutions may be needed, such as *aley: aly, anul: anull, color: colr, lairly: latraly*.

The inflected forms of monosyllabic words ending in long /o:/ spelt <ow> are very troublesome, especially *sho*. There is no difficulty with *shoing, shos* (cf *going, gos*), but *showed, shown* would be ambiguous if cut to forms like *shod, shoed, shon*, and *showd, shown* are perhaps the only possibilities. Similarly CS probably has to rite *bowd, twwd, mown, rowd, sowd, sown* from the verbs *bo, mo, ro, so* etc.

Also serious are the heterographs *toe: tow* and *doe: doh: dough*, which surely cannot be rightly *to, do* while those TO forms remain unchanged; the present author would cut *dough* to *doh*, but leave the other words uncut. The comparative forms of the adjective *low* raise similar problems, *lor, lost* being totally misleading; here *loer, loest* are preferable to *lowr, lowst* (*lowr* being an alternative spelling for *lour*).

Potentially quite dangerous would be a merger of the numerals *two, four* with *to, for* (despite the existing cut form *forty*): misreading of a numeral could have serious, even catastrophic, practical consequences. CS could however recommend that numerals, especially 1, 2, 4, always be rightly numerically, never alphabetically.

7.9 Short cuts thru th complexitis?

Variis aproachs to th abov problms ar posbl. At one extreme, th CS rules may be aplyd regardless of th consequences; that aproach givs us hy activ transfer efficiency at th expense of fonografic predictibility. At th othr extreme, we may seek simpl rules to exclude problm cases (e.g. nevr simplify medial dubld consnnts between vowels in disyllabic words), but in th process som useful regulrisations wud be missd. A rathr difrnt aproach wud be to concentrate on th most frequently ocuring base-words (perhaps those listd in *Collins COBUILD*, [3] or in th *LOB/Brown* corpora [4]), and delibratly ignor rarer or arcaic words. We may then say that for th purposes of an initial speling reform, an exhaustiv lexica analysis is unecesry, and many of th abov merjrs can be left in th relms of th hypotheticl, in th belief that it is of no imediat imporince wethr *pawl*, *ere* etc. ar cut to *pal*, *er* or not. For practicl reasns th presnt CS Working Party wil in th short term be pursuing this latr aproach.

8 CONCLUSION

Th detaild analysis and lists in this articl sujest a paradox: on th one hand, th 3 CS rules ar far simplr to lern than th 40+ rules that wud be needd for a complete fonografic reform of rith english; but on th othr hand, wen one atemts an extensiv survey of english vocablry, a larj numbr of individul problm-cases emerj. CS is esy to read without instruction, and once th 3 rules ar mastrd, th adult lernr can rite evryday english in CS fluently, indeed mor esily than in TO; yet to produce a substantial dictionry of CS forms requires careful considration of many problmatic minutiae.

Th purpose of this articl (and its predecesr) has not been to provide conclusiv ansrs to th questions rased, but to explain som of di factrs that hav to be taken into acount in seeking th best ansrs. Readrs ar invited to reflect on th isus, and to send in coments, reactions, furthr problm cases, and sujestd solutions.

A foloing articl wil examn th aplication and effects of CS Rule 2, along with a posbl simplification of th use of capitl lettrs and apostrofes in english.

REFRNCES

- [1] A C Gimson *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*, London: Edward Arnold, 3rd edition with corrections 1983, pp. 240–52.
- [2] Christopher Upward 'Heterographs in English' in *Journal of the Simplified Spelling Society*, [Vol. 1, 1987/1](#), Item 7.
- [3] *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary*, London & Glasgow: Collins, 1987.
- [4] Knut Hofland/Stig Johansson *Word Frequencies in British and American English*, Bergen: The Norwegian Computing Centre for the Humanities (Longman), 1982.

[*Journal of the Simplified Spelling Society*, 10, 1989/1 p.30 in the printed version]

[Edward Rondthaler: see [Bulletins](#), [Anthology](#), [Journals](#), [Newsletters](#), [Personal View 8](#)]

8. Christopher Upward English Spelling and Educational Progress Review by Edward Rondthaler

Edward Rondthaler is President of the American Literacy Council. The work here reviewed is published by the Committee for Linguistics in Education of the British Association for Applied Linguistics and the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, as [No.11 of their series of Working Papers](#). Edward Rondthaler also reviewed Working Paper No.10 in the series, *The Synchronic Organization of English Spelling*, edited by Michael Stubbs, in [Journal 1988/2](#) (Item 14)

Chris Upward's 'Working Paper No.11' published by the Committee for Linguistics in Education of the British Association for Applied Linguistics and the Linguistics Association of Great Britain should be required reading for all concerned with our enormous illiteracy problem, particularly for those scholarly linguists who feel that all is well with English orthography.

Upward has boiled down into a few meaty pages the mass of literature on English spelling — both pro and con.

What becomes clear is that it is possible to prove almost any theory supporting or condemning our spelling by picking the particular examples of regularity or irregularity that validate the proponent's thesis.

Researchers in spelling desperately need a yardstick (or, better, a meter stick) with which to measure their theories. In the present atmosphere there is little hope that such a tool for appraisal will be forthcoming. Like the tobacco industry's focus in its study of ill effects, most academic research on spelling has been aimed at justifying the status quo. The Chomskys, for example, point to certain instances such as *nation: national* where English spelling's failure to match pronunciation supposedly is an aid to reader understanding. Those who respect the Chomskys' position would do well to read Valerie Yule's rebuttal in the Winter 1978 issue of *Spelling Progress Bulletin*.

Most orthographic research, then, does not address the illogic in our spelling. It seeks, rather, to justify it. It is tragic that this position is welcomed by those who are presently literate. With few exceptions they show no willingness to consider any adjustment of our reading and writing patterns. They have a vested interest in the status quo and — like the tobacco industry — their self-interest blinds them to long-range social benefits. Historians will be put to it to explain why among the thousands of worthy 'remedial' efforts to reduce English illiteracy not one has done the obvious: seriously investigated the possibility of simplifying TO. And this in spite of clear evidence that in all levels of society literacy is acquired more rapidly where the language has close grapheme fit.

So successful have been the supporters of the status quo — so successful have they been in whitewashing the defects of English spelling — that not one penny of public money or foundation support is being expended on research aimed at correcting what can clearly be shown as the

underlying cause of most of our English illiteracy.

As Upward points out, there is widespread public ignorance of the issue of spelling reform. He suggests that raising public awareness is a task to which the academic linguists could contribute much. Indeed they could. But will they? If past performance is any guide it is unlikely that educators, by and large, will rise to the challenge. With a few notable exceptions the academic mainstream has shown — consistently shown — a reluctance to consider the possibility of more logical spelling.

Not all readers may agree with the final two pages of the Working Paper, where Cut Spelling is proposed as the balm for our illness. Cut Spelling — certainly in the illustrations used in the paper — still does not take into account important irregularities in English spelling that stand in the way of phoneme-grapheme fit.

Even so it is a brilliant thesis of enormous value to the Cause. It could be written in less academic language and should be a best seller not only in homes where an otherwise keen-witted child is plagued with the illogic of our spelling, but also in discussion groups, book clubs, and circles when the future of the English language is on the agenda. It is more likely that the impetus for reform will come from these non-academic sources than vice-versa.

9. Katherine Perera Children's Writing and Reading Review by Christopher Jolly

Katherine Perera (Department of General Linguistics at the University of Manchester and a member of the Cox Committee on *ENGLISH for ages 5 to 11*): *Children's Writing and Reading — Analysing Classroom Language*, Basil Blackwell, 354pp.

This is a thorough and scholarly book about the development of grammar and expression by children. Unfortunately it covers few aspects of direct relevance to spelling reform.

It would have been interesting if the book had analysed the kind of spelling mistakes that children make. Or even analysed their handwriting to show which letters they find most difficult to write. We might have learnt, for instance, whether <z> is found difficult in handwriting, so helping to understand its unpopularity, an unpopularity expressed in Shakespeare's words, "Thou whoreson zed, thou unnecessary letter!"

Instead this is a book about children's progress in the use of grammatical structures and concepts, the age at which they *start* to use simple clauses (from age one-and-a-half), and the development of narrative writing (around 8 or 9). However there are interesting sections on some of the differences between speech and writing, and on accents, and the book is laced with examples of children's work. Overall it gives a solid, well-researched account of its subject.

[*Journal of the Simplified Spelling Society*, 10, 1989/1 p.31 in the printed version]

[Valerie Yule: see [Bulletins](#), [Anthology](#), [Quarterly](#), [Journals](#), [Newsletters](#), [Personal Views](#) 10 & 16, [Media](#), [Books](#).]

10. Style Council 1988 in Melbourne Australia Valerie Yule

Valerie Yule is based at the Faculty of Education, Monash University, Clayton, Vic. 3168, Australia.

In Novembr 1988 th 3rd Australian Style Council was held in Melbourne — th third meeting of Australian lexicografrs, educaters, publishrs, academics, editrs, and jurnalists, to discuss print Style in Australia. A revew of th Proceedings of th 1st Style Council was publishd in th *Journal of the Simplified Spelling Society* [1988/1](#) (Item 10). Proceedings of th 2nd Council wil be publishd jointly with th 3rd in 1989 by the Macquarie Dictionary Research Centre, edited by Mrs Pam Peters, School of English and Linguistics, Macquarie University, Sydney, NSW, Australia 2109.

A 'Style Council' is not a prescriptiv body like th *Académie Française*, but its discussions and recommendations ar bound to be influential. Th motto of th sponsoring Macquarie University lexicografrs could be 'Teach us to care and not to care' — that is, to distinguish between what is important and not important in ritn language. What is not important to preserv may wel be improved by change or omission. Th movement is to simplify, eradicate surplus, be consistent, and be lenient to alternativs. Developments of interest to spelling reformrs wer reported by Richard Tardif, Executiv Editr of th Macquarie Library and Valerie Yule of Monash University. Incidental, as an exampl of how 'blind economics' and developments of computer tecnology can force th pace, regardless of academic discussions, *Australia Post* had in th same week asumed th role of arbitr of punctuation, drivn by th needs of machines that now process letr adresses.

Nationwide, *Australia Post* advertiments ar telling th public they now shoud/must adress letrs punctuated as in

Mr B Right
66 Correct Street
SPEED VIC 3488

Valerie Yule was pressing th case for reserch and developrnt in th design of, spelling in information tecnology, illustrated by an acount of current reserch on how adult readrs respond to Cut Spelling.

Richard Tardif described current surveys on public atitudes to spetic spelling changes, being conducted thru varius media, with th aim of posibl admission of alternativ spellings in Macquarie Dictionary publications. In a newspaper survey with 3,700 responses, there was an average of 57% aproval of spelling changes for 29 listed words. In rank order, aproval for suggested changes was (with 'Cut' spelling forms italicised by this reportr):

% of respondents aproving these forms

81	<i>homeopath</i>	66	<i>usable</i>	48	<i>signaling</i>
80	organise	58	digestable	47	<i>modeling</i>
75	<i>medieval</i>	55	<i>sizable</i>	46	<i>trialed</i>
74	civilise		<i>likable</i>		<i>chaneled</i>
73	<i>pediatrician</i>		reversable	45	<i>ameba</i>
	encyclopedia	54	<i>esophagus</i>	43	totald
71	<i>paleolithic</i>	50	<i>esthetics</i>	42	<i>traveler</i>
67	<i>archeology</i>	49	<i>labor</i>	36	<i>investor</i>

Comments on th survey

a) On th lexicografrs' suggestions for change:-

1. 79% of th words listed by th Macquarie Dictionary wer shortenings.
2. Of th sevn categoris of changes listed, four wer shortenings: <e-> for <ae-> and <oe->; <-able> for <-eable>; <-or> for <-our>; <1> for <ll>. Th othr two wer consistent spelling with <-able> rathr than <-ible>, and <-er> endings for agentiv nouns containing current verbs.
3. A posibl future role of silent <e> as a consistent modifier for preceding long vowels was not taken into acount. This principl might cause confusion about th pronunciation of *traveler*, *modeling*, *totaled*, *trialed*.

b) Australian public's responses.

1. Evry change was aproved by at least a third of respondents. Yet th bias of such a survey woud be in favor of th mor literat in th comunity.
2. Changes wer most aproved when familiar thru American spellings, or th words with their present spelling wer less familiar in any case.

A telephone survey concentrated on choice between *colour*: *color* and *programme*: *program* — British and American spellings familiar to Australians today.

This sort of survey always invites a cautious response (th 'referendum negativ reflex' — keep what we hav!) but nevertheless aproval of th shortr spellings came from 27% of yung peple aged 10–25, 44% of adults aged 26–45, and 56% of adults older than 45.

There ar varius speculations why in this instance th yungr peple ar th mor conservativ (confirmd by Chris Jolly in his 1987 survey [[JSSS, 88/2](#) Item 6]). This riter's own theory is that th yungr respondents ar mor likely to hav been taut to read by 'look-and-say' and hav no idea of how words ar structured, and so find it hard to recognise surplus lettrs.

Comments made by respondents coud be categorised

70% woud like standardisation and simplification

18% wer against 'artificial change', "*keep it as I lernd it!*"

18% had esthetic arguments e.g. "*keep th language rich!*"

18% regard spelling as a repository of knolege and a valuabl lerning disiplin

15% wer oposed to Americanising.

Th importance of familiarity is shown in th fact that where these changes wer alrely familiar in newspapers and th press (in Victoria), 59% of respondents aproved them, contrasted with replys in th 40–49% range for othr Australian states where th press uses fewr American forms. But familiarity does not completely constrain. Interestingly, similar surveys hav found as many as 38% of Britons aproved th shortr spelling, which is not British, and only 84% of US respondents aproved th 'American' versions.

"The old ordr changes..." and it looks as if Cut Spellings ar running with th tide. It woud be interesting if th Australian Macquarie Dictionary found favor beyond Australia — altho its specifically Australian vocabulary may not migrate as easily as its spelling changes coud.

11. References to Spelling in ENGLISH for ages 5 to 11

Chris Upward

In November 1988 the Rt Hon Kenneth Baker MP, Secretary of State for Education & Science in the British government published the proposals of the National Curriculum English Working Group under the above title. They were elaborated under the chairmanship of Brian Cox, Professor of English at the University of Manchester, following the [Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English Language](#) (Kingman Committee). The Society's submission to Kingman may be found in [Journal 1987/3](#), Item 5, its comments on the Kingman Report in [Journal 1988/2](#), Item 8, and its submission to the National Curriculum English Working Group in [Journal 1988/3](#), Item 7. [ENGLISH for ages 5 to 11](#) is some 90 pages in length and contains the following points of relevance to English spelling. The excerpts are numbered according to the paragraphs from which they are taken in the report. The next issue of the *Journal* will offer some comments.

Proposals of the Secretaries of State (this first section, with its appendix, precedes the report proper — Ed.)

4. Standard English It is a ... responsibility ... to develop (children's) capability to understand written ... Standard English ... The objectives should be to ensure ... pupils ... are equipped for ... life and employment by being able to write formal Standard English.

9. Programmes of study should ... give greater emphasis to ... grammatical structure and terminology...

Appendix: Summary of attainment targets

Writing Attainment target II: Spelling.

1. Introduction

1.8 — ...writing — 3 attainment targets: ... ability to construct and convey meaning; spelling; and handwriting.

3 English in the National Curriculum

English and other languages

3.10 The curriculum should ... have in mind education in the European context, with reference both to ... English as an international language, and ... intercultural contact...

The aims of the English curriculum

3.12 The overriding aim of the English curriculum is to enable all pupils to develop to the full their ability to use and understand English.

The role of English in the curriculum

3.21 English is different.... in that it is both a subject and a medium of instruction for other subjects.

4. Standard English Teaching policy

4.18 It can only be confusing to a child if features of dialect are "corrected" at the same time and in the same way as ... spelling errors. The latter may be due to genuine carelessness, or to a principle which has not been grasped, but dialect features are not errors in the same sense...

4.19 ... a gradual policy on the use of standard forms. When children are learning to write, they have many different things to attend to: physical aspects of handwriting, spelling, layout, sentence construction, etc.

5. Linguistic terminology

Examples of classroom practice Extract 4

"Why couldn't (zyghpzgh) be a word? Ain't got any vowels!" "...Actually, unfortunately, why is sometimes y a sort of -" "Because i and y are sort of the same letters..."

Teacher's comments

Rules is a word ... children are used to. When we talk about spelling they are made aware that there are conventions of written language. However, we also kept a note of "silly spellings", ie those that broke the rules eg ocean, and ... where words that looked the same sounded differently eg tough, cough, bough. They quickly realised that learning sound-symbol rules was not enough.

Linguistic terminology & writing development

5.20 ... the diffusion of coherent knowledge about language is an important aim of the English curriculum.

5.30 The structure of language means not only grammar ... but also phonology, graphology... Terms may therefore refer to different aspects of language structure:

- the sounds of English (pronunciation or accent);
- the spelling and writing system of English;

5.32 We do not ... specify lists of terms and concepts which should be taught ... It is the responsibility of teachers ... to decide on and introduce terms ... However, we ... stress ... that ... terms should not be restricted to those for parts of speech, but should allow discussion of other aspects of language ... some examples are...

- The sounds ... : pronunciation ... *consonant, vowel, syllable, elision, assimilation, alliteration.. rhyme...*
- The spelling and writing system of English: *letter, capital letters, punctuation ... apostrophe, etc.*
- Words: *loan word, prefix, word ending, word structure, Latinate word ... lexical and grammatical words...*

5.51 ... if distinctions are not ... maintained between sounds ... and letters, it becomes impossible to say...

"English has five vowel letters, but ... spoken British English has around 24 significant vowel sounds."

"The word *thin* begins with a single consonant phoneme represented by two consonant letters. The word *box* ends with a single consonant letter which represents two consonant sounds /ks/.

The word *locks* ends in three letters which represent they same two sounds."

"...if a grammatical word and a lexical word sound the same, the grammatical word tends to have the shorter spelling: eg for, *four*; *by*, *buy*; *in*, *inn*; *to*, *two*; *1*, *eye*; etc."

5.53 ... teachers of English and ... other languages... should meet and discuss what framework of description and which terms they propose to use... This might... be in the context of a marking policy for children's writing.

8. Speaking and listening

8.3 In *Better Schools* (1985) the government drew attention to the need to promote ... oral skills:

"...there is over-concentration on practising skills in literacy..."

9. Reading

9.7 ... (children) need to be able to recognise on sight a large proportion of the words they encounter and ... predict meaning on the basis of phonic, idiomatic and grammatical regularities and ... what makes sense in context; children should be encouraged to make informed guesses.

Attainment target 1: Pupils should be able to

Level 1 — Recognise that print conveys meaning.

— Show a developing sight vocabulary

Attainment target II:

Level 2 — Demonstrate knowledge of the alphabet and its application (eg in ... dictionaries and reference books).

Level 4 — Make effective use of alphabetical order, a list of contents, an index and keys ... of abbreviations in appropriate reference books.

Programme of study: age 5 to 7

9.15 ... phonic ... awareness. In due course ... skills in the use of alphabetical order in a word book.

Assessment

9.21 ... (the teacher's structured observation) ... could include ... miscue analysis... Miscue analysis entails record and evaluation of children's 'errors' when reading aloud from texts ... not well known to them and ... not at their reading frustration level... Miscues should be marked ... with 'positive'...distinguished from 'negative' errors.

10. Writing

10.2 ... it is possible now for word processors with spelling checkers to take over some of the proof-reading aspects of writing and to produce impeccable print-out.

10.3 Attainment targets and programmes of study must therefore cover both these aspects of writing, called ...'composing' and 'secretarial'. The ... secretarial aspect should not ... predominate ... while the more complex aspects of composition are ignored. It is evident that a child may be a poor speller, but write well-structured and interesting stories; or be a good speller, but write badly...

10.6 ... it is ... appropriate to demand ... correct spelling ... in work which has a public purpose ... this may be less appropriate for work with essentially private purposes.

10.8 A measure of tolerance of errors ... is essential...

10.12 ... (children's) early attempts ... consist of strings of letters with words represented by the initial letter or by clusters of consonants. Children's early ... spellings often demonstrate logical consistency; this ... should be recognised as an initial achievement and children should be helped to be confident in attempting to spell words for themselves.

Attainment targets

10.17 ... two attainment targets are secretarial... They concern the pupil's competence in spelling and handwriting.

Attainment target II: spelling

... children's increasing control not simply over ... correct spelling... but also over the most frequent sound-letter correspondences and the other principles of English spelling. Despite the ... irregularities ... it is important that teaching and assessing focus on ... areas that are systematic.

10.22 Beyond level 5, pupils should be making errors only in relatively infrequent words, which do not obey one of the main patterns of the system; eg loan words.

Pupils should be able to

Level 1 — Begin to ... understand ... the difference between drawing and writing, and/or numbers and letters.

Level 2 — Produce meaningful and recognisable (though not necessarily always correct) spellings of a range of common sight words.

— Spell correctly monosyllabic words which observe common patterns.

— Use these principles also to attempt the spelling of a wider range of words.

— Show knowledge of the names and order of the letters of the alphabet.

Level 3 — Attempt to spell less frequent words with increasing confidence.

— Spell correctly frequent polysyllabic words which observe common patterns.

— Recognise and use spelling patterns for vowel sounds and common letter strings of increasing complexity.

— Show a growing awareness of word families.

Level 4 Spell correctly words which display the other main patterns ... including the main prefixes and suffixes.

Level 5 Spell correctly words of increasing complexity, including words with inflectional suffixes, (eg -ed, -ing) consonant doubling, etc; and words where the spelling highlights semantic relationships (eg sign, signature).

Programme of study 5 to 7

10.29 ... (children) ... should begin to learn the most frequent spelling patterns of the consonant sounds and short vowel sounds ... teachers should pay ... attention to words that occur ... frequently, to those ... of importance to children ... and to those that exemplify ... patterns.

Children should learn the names of the letters and the order of the alphabet ... they should not become so ... anxious about... spelling that they fear to experiment with new words. Programme of study 8 to 11

10.33 Children should...

— pay attention to the shape of words so that they gradually master the spelling of frequently-occurring words of one and two syllables. They should learn how complex words are built up by the addition of prefixes and suffixes to roots. At the proof-reading stage, they should be encouraged to check difficult spellings in a dictionary;

— learn about the history of writing...

10.36 We do not believe that spelling or handwriting should be assessed through decontextualised tests... Weighting

10.41 While we recognise the importance of the secretarial skills of spelling and handwriting, we consider that our first ... attainment target ... should have a ... higher weighting than the other two ... we recommend:

- Attainment target 1: a growing ability to construct and convey meaning in written language-70%;
- Attainment target 11: spelling-20%;
- Attainment target IE: handwriting-10%.

10.46 Schools should formulate marking guidelines... these might establish:...

- the basis for pointing out technical errors, and the manner of their correction. ...

11. English in the primary schools of Wales

11.4 The evidence suggests ... that there are no significant differences between the performance at 11 in English of pupils educated mainly through Welsh and other pupils ...

Reports from the Simplified Spelling Society

12. — Strategy

At its meetings on 24 September 1988 and 11 February 1989 the Society's committee discussed and accepted the general principles of a Strategy Paper. The following is an edited version of that paper.

1. A pluralistic approach to spelling reform

The Society itself will never implement a spelling reform or directly determine the future of English spelling. All the Society can do is to persuade policy-makers to introduce a reform within their own sphere of authority. For effective persuasion, the Society should aim to present not a single take-it-or-leave-it reform proposal (to which the easiest response is to say "leave it"), but a range of alternatives that can be used to educate the target audience and perhaps provide a basis for official investigations.

Thus, American spellings, common-word reform, Harry Lindgren's SR1, Bill Herbert's <gh> list, the Society's 1984 Stage 1, Cut Spelling, Revised New Spelling, and other schemes too should all figure, with their pros and cons clearly stated, in the Society's public presentations. This pluralistic approach was adopted in the Society's submission to the National Curriculum English Working Group (published in [Journal 88/3](#), Item 7 Section 7). It has the advantage of transcending the constant fissiparous tendencies within the reform movement and maintaining potentially good relations with all interested parties. It would also help counter David Crystal's objection ([Journal 88/2](#), Item 13) that spelling reformers spoil their case with an "often unappealing evangelistic manner". The new SSS leaflet hints at such a comprehensive, conciliatory approach, but the Society should henceforth commit itself explicitly to it, and develop its policies accordingly.

2. Activities for the SSS

Two tasks should now dominate the Society's agenda.

i Orthographic development

Some members will wish to concentrate on the development of individual reform proposals, but the Society as a whole needs to coordinate these individual efforts to present a coherent set of proposals. Probably a sub-committee should prepare recommendations for consideration by the main committee.

ii Public Profile

Despite all the progress made in attracting serious outside attention in the past 18 months, the Society needs to develop a higher public profile. This requires wider dissemination of printed material, public speaking, the writing of articles for external publications, a presence at conferences, continuing submissions to official bodies, media appearances, representation in other organizations, development of world-wide contacts, all of which has been carried out by a small number of committee members in the past year. The public appears willing to listen; it is up to the Society to make its voice heard.

3. Greater involvement of members

With the recent influx of new members, it is important for the Society to give as many of them as possible the opportunity and encouragement to play an active part — whether or not they can directly attend meetings in London. The Society should therefore consider preparing materials such as the following:

- i Guidelines and outlines for giving public talks.
- ii Briefing for research tasks, e.g. spelling analysis, reading problems, misspelling analysis.
- iii Study packages, e.g. reading-lists, syllabuses for teacher-training.
- iv Guidelines for establishing local groups.
- v Guidelines for interaction with outside organizations.
- vi Spelling reform exercises, transcription drills.
- vii A reporting-back procedure to the Committee.

4. Utopian — but necessary

It may appear that the above suggestions for the future work of the Society are beyond its present strength. However, they are not all intended for immediate implementation, but rather to give a sense of direction with steps to be taken as and when members feel they have the time and skills required. To attract new members, which is a prerequisite for the future strength of the Society, a sense of purpose and clear aims are indispensable. This paper aims to be a step towards their development.

13 — The Cut Spelling Working Party

At its meeting on 24 September 1988 the Society's committee approved the setting up of a Working Group to develop a reform proposal based on Cut Spelling. The Working Group has so far met twice, on 10 December 1988 and 4 March 1989.

The Cut Spelling Working Group (CSWG) comprises Paul Fletcher (Secretary), Jean Hutchins, Chris Jolly and Chris Upward (Chairman). Its task is to prepare, if possible by the end of 1989, a Practical Guide to Cut Spelling for adults wishing to master the system. It will not attempt a full linguistic analysis, although readers of the *Journal* will be aware that that too is gradually emerging (see [Item 7](#) of this issue, for instance). The CSWG is however subjecting the Cut Spelling forms currently used to critical scrutiny, and will eventually probably not recommend all those that readers may be familiar with. An important task that the CSWG is already engaged on is a systematic survey of the most commonly used words in the language, to establish which can be least controversially cut; some of these words (*e.g. who, whom, whose*) pose an acute dilemma between compatibility and phonographicity. Future *Journals* will report on the Group's further progress, but meanwhile readers are invited to continue submitting their views.

[*Journal of the Simplified Spelling Society, 10, 1989/1 p.35 in the printed version*]

[John Downing: see [Bulletins](#), [Anthology](#), [Journals](#), [Newsletters](#)]

14. Commemorating John Downing

The Simplified Spelling Society is very pleased that the United Kingdom Reading Association is planning to honour the memory of the Society's late President, Professor John Downing, whose major research into the success of the Initial Teaching Alphabet has given the case for the regularisation of English spelling a unique and powerful scientific basis. The honour in which the Society held him may be seen from the obituary published in [Journal 1987/3](#), Item 2. We are very happy to print the following notice at the request of UKRA:

THE JOHN DOWNING AWARD

The United Kingdom Reading Association are appealing for donations to set up a fund to finance the John Downing Award for Reading Teacher of the Year.

John's contribution to the field of reading-teaching and reading-research first gained national his evaluation of i.t.a. This led him to investigate children's thought processes when reading.

The very essence of his humanity turned his intellect towards investigating how children learn to read in different cultures and how third world countries could be helped along the road to literacy.

His death in 1987 was a tragic loss to the educational community and if individuals and institutions would like to commemorate and preserve his memory could they please send a donation to:-

The John Downing Award, c/o The Administrative Secretary, UKRA, Edge Hill College.

[*Journal of the Simplified Spelling Society, 10, 1989/1 p.36 in the printed version*]

15. Publications and Conferences

Publications Available

The following publications are available for cost of postage and packing only (please add £1 for dispatch outside the UK

1. Free publicity leaflets: members are encouraged to distribute copies to interested individuals and organisations.

For orders over 50 copies, please send £1 p & p.

- [Introducing the Simplified Spelling Society.](#)
- [Introducing the Cut Spelling Streamlined Writing System for English](#)
- [Tough Though Thought and we call it correct spelling!](#) The Society's 1984 proposals.)
- *AIROE Pour une simplification de l'orthographe* (information on the French equivalent of SSS)

2. The CLIE (Committee for Linguistics in Education of LAGB & BAAL) produces a series of working papers, of which Nos.10 & 11 concern English spelling. SSS members may request a free copy of [No.11 English and Educational Progress by Christopher Upward](#) (28pp). A catalogue of all CLIE working papers, including No.10 (Michael Stubbs *The Synchronic Organization of English Spelling*, reviewed by Edward Rondthaler in [JSSS 88/2](#) Item 14) may

be obtained for £1 from series editor Thomas Bloor, Modern Languages Department, Aston University, Birmingham B4 7ET.

3. The text of the Society's classic 1948 spelling reform proposal [New Spelling](#) (Ripman & Archer, revised by Daniel Jones and Harold Orton) is now available again to members in photocopied form; send £1 p & p.
4. The *Dictionary of Simplified American Spelling* (1986) edited by Edward Rondodialer and Edward J Lias. The system is developed from *New Spelling* and i.t.a., for use in conjunction with J H Martin's *Writing to Read* scheme. It is highly recommended as a reference work and for its analysis of spelling problems, and for further research into the representation of pronunciation in dictionaries and the possibilities of a radical reformed spelling system. £2 p & p.
5. Newell Tune's [Spelling Reform: a Comprehensive Survey](#), an anthology of some 140 articles dating from between 1962 and 1982 and first published in [Spelling Progress Bulletin](#). The anthology was compiled with the assistance of SSS members Harvie Bamard and Valerie Yule. 298 pp, £2 p & p.
6. Arnold Rupert's pamphlets *School with less pain and School Tax Economy & Better Education*, describing an interesting reformed orthography based on an expanded alphabet that exploits the character-definition capabilities of modern word-processors.
7. Harry Lindgren's provocative and entertaining *Spelling Reform: A New Approach*. £1 p & p

Literature Received

Publications and papers recently received include:

Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit (ALBSU) *Newsletter* No.32 Winter 1989

Department of Education and Science *English for ages 5 to 11: Proposals of the Secretary of State for Education and Science*, November 1988.

—*Introducing the National Curriculum Council*, October 1988.

Dyslexia Contact: The official journal of British Dyslexia Association, Nov 1988.

English Today Vol.4, No. 5 No. January 1989.

UK i.t.a. Federation Newsletter, Spring 1989.

Spelling Action (Australia): issues for Oct–Dec 86, Apr–Sept & Oct–Dec 87, Jan–Mar, Apr–June, July–Sept, Oct–Dec 1988

Institut für deutsche Sprache, Mannheim *Sprachreport* 4/88, 1/89.

United Kingdom Reading Association (UKRA) *Journal of Research in Reading*, Vol. 12 No. 1 February 1989.

United Kingdom Reading Association (UKRA) *Newsletter*, February 1989.

Members wishing to consult any of these titles should contact the Editor of the JSSS.

Conferences

The United Kingdom i.t.a. Federation.

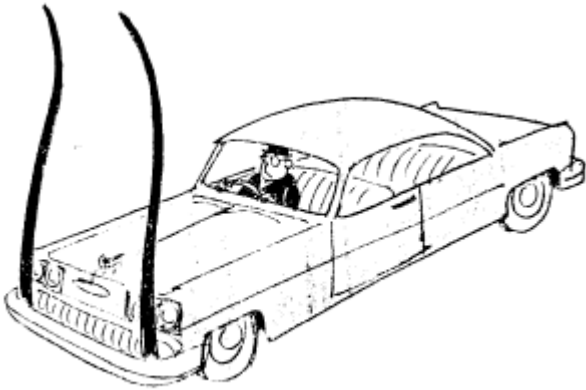
1980 Annual Conference, Warwick, Fri 13–Sun 15 Oct, theme 'Literacy and the Pre-School Child'. Speakers: Joyce Morris, Tom McArthur, Sue Lloyd, Ronald Threadgall. Fee incl. meals and accomm. £89. Contact Gen Secretary, Ronald Threadgall, 181 Fleetwood Avenue, Holland-on-Sea, Essex, C015 5RA (tel. 0255-81 3768).

United Kingdom Reading Association

will be holding its 26th Annual Course and Conference at Edge Hill College, Ormskirk in July 1989, with a paper to be given by the editor of the SSS *Journal* entitled 'Planning a Spelling Awareness Syllabus for Teacher Training. Contact Dr F Potter, Edge Hill College of HE, St Helens Road, Ormskirk, Lancashire, L39 4QP.

Lindgren cartoon

. Harry Lindgren has kindly given permission for us to reproduce cartoons from his *Spelling Reform — A New Approach*.



Horseless carriage, showing derivation.