Who pecks who in the world of English?

The New Oxford Dictionary of English (1998) says of the phrase pecking order (and its variant peck order) that it stands for 'a hierarchy of status among members of a group of people or animals, originally as observed among hens'. The Encarta World English Dictionary (1999) says of the same phrase (but without the variant peck order) that it is: (1) 'Soc Sci social Hierarchy a social hierarchy in which some members of a group are established as superior to others,' and (2) 'Birds social HIERARCHY AMONG FOWL a social hierarchy among domestic fowl in which each member maintains its place by dominance over the lower members.'

It is intriguing that the editors of both volumes placed people before fowl: the fact that hens peck (as in *hen-pecked*) is for them of less immediate interest than the emergence of an analogy which allows us to say something that is far more socially potent about people than about chickens.

The matter is relevant in this issue of ET.

From time to time, over at least the last thirty years, commentators have been discussing hierarchy within the world's varieties of English. The Indian American scholar Braj B. Kachru has been noted, for example (from at least the early 1980s), for a model of English(es) that emphasizes multiplicity within the language across three world zones he calls the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles. In terms of these zones, native users of the language are 'Inner,' second-language users are 'Outer', and the rest of the planet is experiencing the Expansion.

Originally, and until about the mid-twentieth century, the UK was, as it were, pecker-in-chief. Within it, south-east England pecked the hardest, and the upper classes – wherever they lived – were so secure that others tended to do their pecking for them. In the course of the century, however, and especially after the Second World War (or rather, World War II), the size, strength, and influence of the US meant that its usage made inroads everywhere. As a result, the world looks far more nowadays towards (and listens far closer to) American than British (or any other usage), and this will continue indefinitely.

In this issue, however, the key commentator on such matters is not American or British or from mainland Europe or Australasia. He is West African, and markedly clear in what he has to say about his own country, Cameroon, and the world of English at large, however defined.

Tom McArthur

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