THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

A LINGUISTIC HISTORY



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The Development of National Varieties

English first spread throughout the British Isles, causing the partial or complete displacement of Celtic and also the development of distinct varieties of Welsh, Scottish, and Irish English. Then, as a result of extensive colonization from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century, it spread through the British Empire, producing the national varieties of English we recognize today, including United States, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, South African, and West Indian (Caribbean) English, as well as second-language varieties spoken in South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka), Southeast Asia (Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia), the Philippines, East Africa, and West Africa. Table 12.1 gives a timeline of the important historical events in the transmission of English around the world.

A national variety can be defined as a kind of large-scale regional dialect (a form of a language spoken in a particular geographical location which is mutually intelligible with other forms of the language). A regional dialect stands in contrast to a social dialect, which is shaped by factors such as the socio-economic class, gender, age, education, and occupation of the speakers. National varieties of a language develop for a number of reasons:

- separation from the mother tongue in both space and time, engendering linguistic conservatism;
- features brought over at the time of settlement of the new land being preserved;
- regional or social dialects (often not the prestige dialect) spoken by the immigrants shaping the new national dialect;
- language contact with other immigrant groups;
- language contact with indigenous languages (though this influence may be weak); and
- the new landforms, foods, flora, fauna, etc. requiring new vocabulary.

National varieties of English differ primarily in their phonology and lexicon. The set of phonological characteristics of a variety is often called an accent as in the expressions 'a British accent' or 'an Australian accent'. Phonological differences among the national varieties of English are significant. In the lexicon, however,

Table 12.1 Timeline of the Transmission of English

Date	*Britain*	*North America*	*Africa*	*Australasia*
c. 550	English in Lowland Scotland			
1066	Norman invasion of England; some English flee to Scotland			
1169	Norman settlement in southeast Ireland			
1172	The English king becomes Lord of Ireland			
1301	First Prince of Wales			
1497		Cabot reaches Newfoundland		
1536, 1542	Act of Union with Wales			
1553			Trade with West Africa	
1584		Roanoke settlement		
1607	Plantations of Ulster	Jamestown settlement		
1611	King James version of Bible published			
1620		Plymouth settlement		
1650	Cromwellian settlements in Ireland			

Continued

Table 12.1 Timeline of the Transmission of English—*Continued*

Date	*Britain*	*North America*	*Africa*	*Australasia*
1707	Act of Union with Scotland			
1745	Highland Clearances			
1763		Canada ceded to the British		
1769				Cook circumnavigates New Zealand
1770				Cook claims east Australia for the Crown
1776		United States Declaration of Independence		
1783		British Loyalists flee the US for Canada		
1788			Period of colonization of West Africa	Botany Bay settlement
1795			Occupation of the Cape Colony	
1800	Act of Union of Ireland			
1840				Treaty of Waitangi; Settlement of New Zealand
1845	Irish potato famine			

(Source: adapted from Laurie Bauer, *An Introduction to International Varieties of English* [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002], pp. 17–18.)

although people are often struck by differences in word choice, the variations are often confined to the colloquial register or to specialized domains and do not affect the structure of the dialect. Grammatical differences among the national dialects are rather limited. For these reasons, the standard written forms of the different varieties are quite similar. We read novels, poetry, history, textbooks, and so on, often without even being aware that they are written in national varieties of English different from our own.

Second-language varieties of English found globally—as well as English-based pidgins and creoles—are hybrid languages resulting from complex linguistic interaction and often depart significantly from basic English structure. In some areas, the second-language varieties of English are becoming so widespread and well-used that they are acquiring 'fixed local norms of usage' (Trudgill and Hannah 2002:124). Moreover, some of the second-language varieties are spoken by very large numbers of people; for example, Indian English is spoken by over 200 million people, not just in India but throughout the world, compared to approximately the same number of English speakers in the US and only 60 million English speakers in the UK (see Crystal 2003b:62–5 for figures).[2]

British versus North American English

Patterns of colonization and historical developments have led to the emergence of two supranational varieties: North American English and British English. The first is the basis of US and Canadian English as well as the varieties spoken in Puerto Rico, Panama, the Philippines, Hawaii, Guam, American Samoa, the US Virgin Islands, and Liberia; the second is the basis of all of the other varieties (see Figure 12.1). For this reason, we begin by considering features (primarily phonological and grammatical) that distinguish North American English (NAE) from British English (BE), accounting for features of NAE as either innovations (having developed since the settlement of North America) or preservations (preserved from the speech of the original inhabitants, while British English has lost or changed the feature). Throughout the following discussions, we assume the perspective of North American English (rather than British English) as a basis for comparison.

North American English can generally be described as conservative. Not only does it preserve features of eighteenth-century British English, but many of the

2 While these varieties are of great importance globally, they constitute a subject of study in and of themselves and thus lie beyond the scope of this textbook. For information on second-language varieties of English, such as the English of India, Hong Kong, or the Philippines, see the Further Readings at the end of the chapter. We must also keep in mind that within each of the national varieties, there are numerous regional and social dialects beyond the scope of this text. Moreover, the intricate and sometimes controversial histories of dialects cannot be fully explored here.

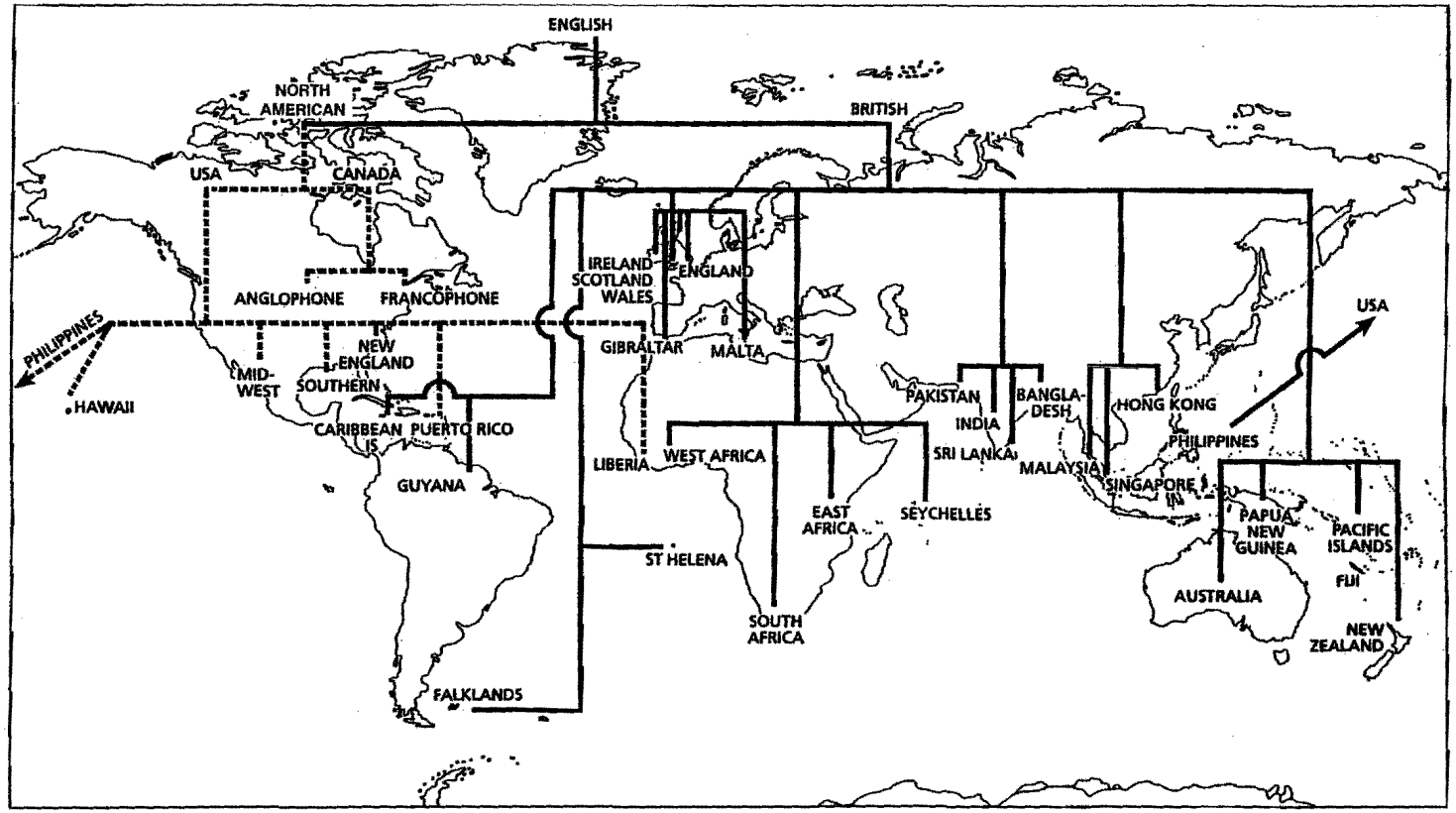


Figure 12.1 World Distribution of American and British English (David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, 2nd edn [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003], reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press).

immigrants to North America came from northern England, Scotland, and Ireland, areas remote from the centers of innovation in London and southern England and hence not affected by the sound changes underway there in the eighteenth-century.

Phonology

Comparing North American phonology with British is made complicated by the fact that pronunciations vary within each region. When talking about British English, scholars tend to refer to the prestige dialect known as Received Pronunciation (RP), even though RP seems to be waning in England to the point that the Queen herself does not speak what is seen as the pure version. When contrasting RP with North American English, we will usually be referring to what is called General American (a regional dialect of US English) and General Canadian (see below):

1. NAE is a rhotic dialect, meaning that [r] is retained before consonants and at the end of words, as in *farm* and *far*. RP is not rhotic, having lost [r] in these environments, an innovation that occurred in eighteenth-century Britain. In non-rhotic dialects, a final [r] may be pronounced when it precedes a word beginning with a vowel, as in *far away*, but also sometimes when it has no etymological validity, as in 'idear', 'warsh' for *idea, wash*; this is called a linking or intrusive *r*. In rhotic dialects [r] may be lost in certain contexts through a subsequent dissimilation (as in *cate(r)pillar*).
2. NAE preserves [æ] in so-called '*ask* words'. These are certain words with [æ] before [f, f + consonant, s, s + consonant, θ, m + consonant, n + consonant] such as *staff, after, grass, clasp, basket, plaster, castle, fasten, path, example, dance, grant, branch,* and *demand* in which BE has changed from [æ] to [ɑ] (or [a]). This change began at the end of the eighteenth century in southern England (some New England dialects also show this shift). However, this development is not yet complete as [æ] may be found in BE in identical phonetic environments in *gaff, gas, asp, mascot, pastel, hassle, romance, banter, scansion, stand*, and many other words.
3. NAE may preserve the distinction between [w] and [hw], that is, between the labiovelar glide and the labiovelar fricative (transcribed [ʍ]). For BE speakers, the initial sounds of *wear/where, wail/whale, wet/whet,* and *witch/which* are the same, whereas for NAE speakers, at least for older generations, the first member of each set begins with [w] and the second with [hw]. The British change of [hw] to [w] began as a vulgarism but became standard in BE by 1800; the change seems to be spreading in NAE as well.
4. NAE pronounces words derived from ME [ō], such as *goat* and *toad,* with [oʊ], whereas BE uses a more centralized diphthong [əʊ]. Similarly, NAE pronounces words derived from ME [ō], such as *loop* and *hoop*, with [u], while BE has a diphthong [ɨu] ([ɨ] is a high central vowel). In both cases, the NAE pronunciation is a preservation.

5. For words that have four or more syllables, NAE preserves a secondary stress on the second to last syllable when the ending is *-ary* (*legendary, necessary*), *-ory* (*explanatory, territory*), *-mony* (*ceremony, matrimony*), *-ery* (*monastery, cemetery*), and *-boro(u)gh* (*Peterborough, Edinburgh*). BE does not have this stress, and the result is that the penultimate syllable actually disappears in the pronunciation. Thus, a NAE speaker says [mɑnəstɛri] while a BE speaker says [mɑnəstri]. Again, loss of secondary stress is an innovation in BE.
6. In NAE, a [t] that occurs between vowels and follows a stressed syllable (or an [r]) is voiced to [d] or a flap [ɾ] (a speech sound made by rapidly striking the tongue against the roof of the mouth). For most NAE speakers, *latter/ladder, matter/madder, bitter/bidder, metal/medal, atom/Adam, hearty/hardy, waiting/wading* sound the same (we say they are *homophones*). This feature is actually an innovation in NAE. Another innovation is the NAE loss of [t] following [n] in words such as *winter* (a homophone with *winner*), *interesting, dentist*, and *twenty*.
7. The diphthong [ɪu] tends to monophthongize to [u] following alveolars in NAE, in words such as *tune, student, suit, duke, Tuesday, enthusiasm, allude*; thus, *due/dew/do* are homophones. In other phonetic environments, the diphthong is generally preserved, as in *beauty, music, pew, few, cute*, and *argue*. The loss of the initial glide [ɪ] or [j] in the diphthong (the technical term is *yod-dropping*) is an innovation of NAE.
8. An innovation in some dialects of NAE is the merger of [ɔ] and [ɑ], so that *taught/tot, caught/cot, auto/Otto, dawn/Don, hawk/hock, offal/awful*, and *chalk/chock* are homophones, pronounced with unrounded [ɑ].
9. Most working-class dialects of BE are characterized by *h*-dropping, the loss of [h] at the beginning of words and syllables, as *hit, happy, hedge, ahead*, resulting in [h] being entirely lost in these phonemic systems. This widespread phenomenon is highly stigmatized as uneducated (Wells calls it 'the single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in England' [1982:254]). It is not found in working-class dialects of NAE, which are conservative in retaining [h].
10. A more subtle phonological difference between NAE and BE is in intonation. Although differences in intonation are very difficult to analyze, they probably account in large part for the different 'sound' of NAE and BE. The North American variant tends to be flatter and less varied in pitch than the British English variant; rises in intonation come later in the sentence.

There are other differences in phonology between BE and NAE, but they are minor and often restricted to variant pronunciations of individual words.

Grammar

A few fairly minor grammatical features distinguish NAE and BE:

1. NAE uses an inflected subjunctive in constructions following verbs such as *insist, recommend, order, suggest*, or *move*; BE instead uses an expanded form with a modal auxiliary or an indicative. Thus, a NAE speaker says *I insist that he leave* (the third-person singular present without *-s* is subjunctive), but a BE speaker says *I insist that he must leave* or *I insist that he leaves*. Though it is likely that the use of the subjunctive is a preservation in NAE, it has been accompanied by an innovation in the negative form, with a pre-verbal *not*: *I insist that he not leave*.
2. NAE preserves the strong past participle *gotten*, while BE has regularized it to *got*, preserving the older form only in remnant adjectives such as *ill-gotten* and *forgotten*. In NAE, *have got* and *have gotten* are carefully distinguished, each having two meanings:

   have got: 'possess' or 'be obligated' (+ infinitive)

   have gotten: 'have acquired' or 'have been allowed, permitted' (+ infinitive)
3. With the verb *have*, BE preserves the older patterns of interrogation and negation without an auxiliary, as in *Have you any money*? or *You haven't any money*. NAE generally uses the auxiliary *do* in such constructions, as in *Do you have any money?* or *You do not have any money*. Also, we find the innovation *She has a dog, doesn't she?* in NAE versus *She has a dog, hasn't she?* in BE.
4. With collective nouns (nouns naming a group consisting of individuals), such as *team, herd, flock, family, committee*, and *government*, BE tends to use a plural verb, while NAE uses a singular verb. Even in NAE, however, usage varies: if the collective is seen as a unit or as an abstraction, the singular is used (e.g. *the committee agrees, the family is a dying institution*), whereas if the collective is viewed in terms of its individual members, the plural is used (e.g. *the committee are all assembled, the family are all at home*).
5. The position of *only* is more restricted in NAE than in BE, where it generally appears pre-verbally. In NAE, prescriptive rules dictate that it be placed before the word it modifies, thus *I have only two favors to ask of you* not *I only have two favors to ask of you,* because *only* modifies *two* not *have*.
6. The use of prepositions is somewhat different in BE and NAE. BE often uses *in* where NAE uses *on*: e.g. *to live in/on a street, to be in/on a team, to be in (a)/on sale*. BE also uses *different to* rather than the NAE *different than*. Both forms are considered wrong by prescriptivists.
7. BE places the substitute verb *do* after an auxiliary, whereas NAE does not: *he could have helped and certainly might have (done)*.
8. BE omits articles in a number of instances where they have evolved as obligatory in NAE (though not for all Canadian speakers), as in *enter (the) hospital* or *be in (the) hospital*.
9. BE preserves the auxiliary *shall* more consistently than NAE does. Where

NAE uses *will*, BE uses *shall*, as in the statement of prediction *I shall be there in an hour.*

10. In constructions that have pronouns as both direct object and indirect object, word order differs. BE preserves the older order of direct object followed by indirect object (e.g. *give it her*), where NAE prefers the newer analytical construction (e.g. *give it to her*).
11. BE uses a larger number of past and past participle forms ending in [t], such as *dwelt, knelt, slept, dreamt, spelt, smelt, spilt,* and *burnt*; NAE uses this ending only when the form also includes a lax vowel, as in *crept, swept, dealt,* and *felt.* Other differences in past tense forms include BE *dived, spat, sprang, sank* in contrast to NAE *dove, spit, sprung, sunk.*
13. NAE allows *just* with the simple past, as in *I just arrived,* whereas BE uses *just* with the perfect, as in *I have just arrived.* NAE is conservative here.
14. NAE permits objects with certain otherwise intransitive verbs (e.g. *wonder the same thing, stay the course, cruise the Danube*), where BE would require a preposition (e.g. *wonder about the same thing, stay on the course, cruise on the Danube*).

Lexicon

Some comparisons of lexical differences between the two varieties are shown in Table 12.2. Many more examples can be found in dialect dictionaries.

Table 12.2 Examples of Lexical Differences between British and North American English

British	North American	British	North American
dual carriageway	divided highway	nil	nothing, zero
sweets	candy	pavement	sidewalk
druggist	pharmacist	lollipop man/ woman	crossing guard
Madam	Ma'am	tights	pantyhose
maize	corn	rubber	eraser
trolley	shopping cart/buggy	saltcellar	saltshaker
pillar box	mail box	diversion	detour
sultanas	raisins	high street	main street
dustbin	trash can	fringe	bangs
verge	shoulder (of road)	jumper	sweater

While it is not possible to point to particular lexical differences in terms of topic, we might point out a few patterns (see Crystal 2003:308). In some cases, entirely different words exist in the two dialects, e.g. *estate car* (BE) and *station wagon* (NAE), while in other cases, the same word exists in both dialects but has additional meanings in one of the dialects; for example, in BE *caravan* can also mean a vehicle being towed by a car. In contrast, the same word may exist in both dialects (such as *undertaker*), but one dialect may also possess a synonym (such as NAE *mortician*). Finally, words may be present in both dialects, but more common in one; hence *flat* is the more frequent term in BE and *apartment* in NAE (with *suite* being used in Canadian English).

Orthography

A final difference between the two varieties is in orthography. As we will see, Canadian spelling borrows from both British and US conventions, so for now we will concentrate on the innovations in US English (USEng) in comparison to BE. Noah Webster's influential 1828 dictionary was influential in establishing American spelling conventions. According to Leith (1997:241), it was Webster's belief that 'national consciousness could be stimulated by cultivating a different *look* to the language'. Among other changes, Webster suggested the replacements shown in Table 12.3. Note that the change from *-ick* to *-ic* has taken place even in BE. Webster also suggested that when a suffix is added to a word, the final consonant be doubled only

Table 12.3 Orthographic Distinctions between United States and British English

USEng	*BE*	*USEng vs BE examples*
-or	*-our*	*color, flavor, labor,* not *colour, flavour, labour* (cf. *author, doctor, mirror,* which do not have *-our* in BE)
-ol	*-oul*	*mold, smolder,* not *mould, smoulder*
-er	*-re*	*theater, center,* not *theatre, centre*
-se	*-ce*	*defense, pretense,* not *defence, pretence* (cf. *practice,* which does not have *-se* in USEng whether it used as a noun or a verb)
-ic	*-ick*	*music, physic, traffic,* not *musick, physick, traffick*
-ize	*-ise*	*realize, civilize, idealize,* not *realise, civilise, idealise*
-ct-	*-x-*	*inflection, connection, deflection,* not *inflexion, connexion, deflexion*
e,o	*ae, oe*	*medieval, archeology, maneuver,* not *mediaeval, archaeology, manoeuvre*

if the final syllable is accented, thus *tráveling*, but *propélling*. Finally, he altered the spelling of a number of individual words:

curb for *kerb*	*plow* for *plough*
show for *shew*	*woolen* for *woollen*
tire for *tyre*	*ax* for *axe*
wagon for *waggon*	*gray* for *grey*

It should be pointed out that the spellings suggested by Webster were almost all variant spellings found in the eighteenth century.

Canadian English

By the Treaty of Paris in 1763, most of Canada was ceded to Britain. An important milestone in the development of the English language in Canada was the arrival, beginning in 1783, of large numbers of British, who out of allegiance to the king fled the newly formed United States following the Revolutionary War. The so-called United Empire Loyalists came primarily from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and eastern Vermont. They moved into Upper Canada (present-day Ontario) via the St Lawrence River, bringing with them the Northern dialect of US English.

As a result of the War of 1812, England decided to strengthen its claim in Canada by sending over a million British immigrants between 1816 and 1857, and Canada remained a colony of Britain until the Dominion of Canada in 1867. Thus, despite its firm basis in a US dialect, Canadian English continued to feel the force of British English as a prestige dialect well into the twentieth century, with the superimposition of certain British features on the original Loyalist speech. Immigration patterns also led to Scots-based enclaves of English in Canada (e.g. Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia) and Irish-based enclaves (e.g. Newfoundland). These differences in settlement history as well as the presence of a large French-speaking population in Lower Canada (present-day Quebec) have contributed to making Canadian English a distinct variety of NAE.

Canadian English displays considerable homogeneity, although the English spoken in the Maritimes (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) may be distinguished from standard Canadian, as may the dialects of Quebec, the Ottawa valley, the Prairies, the West, and the Arctic North; Aboriginal and English as a Second Language (ESL) variants are also to be found. The language of Newfoundland constitutes the most distinctive variety. In the sections that follow, we will examine the features of General Canadian English (as it is spoken by educated, middle-class, urban Canadians from the eastern border of Ontario to Vancouver Island). In the end we reject the oft-held view that Canadian English is an amalgam of British and US English dialects.[3]

3 The following discussion of Canadian English is adapted from Laurel J. Brinton and Margery Fee, 'Canadian English', *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Vol. VI: English in North America*, ed. by John Algeo. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 422–40.

General Canadian English

Phonologically, Canadian English (CanE) is more or less identical to USEng in respect to being rhotic, retaining [æ] in *ask* words (though with a somewhat lower and more open [æ]), preserving [oʊ] (< ME [ɔ̄]) and [u] (< ME [ō]), keeping secondary stress in *-ary, -ory, -mory, -ery,* flapping or voicing of [t] between vowels and in certain other contexts, losing of [t] following [n], monophthongizing of [ɪu] to [u] following [s] and increasingly after [t, d, n] as well, and merging [ɑ] and [ɔ]. CanE resembles BE more closely in the complete loss of the distinction between [w] and [hw], the occurrence in some people's speech of [ɒ] in words such as *hot, not,* and *lot,* and the more consistent preservation of [ɔ] before [r] in words such as *sorry, tomorrow,* and *orange.*

The one truly distinguishing phonological feature of Canadian English is the raised onset of the two central diphthongs where the initial vowel of the diphthongs [aʊ] and [aɪ] in CanE is somewhat higher, or raised, to a centralized vowel [ə] giving [əʊ] and [əɪ]. This phenomenon is termed *Canadian raising*. Although raised diphthongs are not unique to Canada (they are also found, for example, in eastern Virginia, South Carolina, and Martha's Vineyard) and evidence for their spread or decline in CanE is contradictory, they are a striking feature by which even speakers without expertise in linguistics identify Canadians. The existence of raised diphthongs in CanE is usually attributed to Scottish or northern English influence. In Chapter 10, we saw that the conservative feature of the raised or 'unlowered' diphthongs represents an intermediate step in the Great Vowel Shift diphthongization of [ū] and [ī] to [aʊ] and [aɪ]. While in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century BE, raised diphthongs would have occurred in all phonological environments, in CanE they survive only in certain environments; they are allophonic, occurring only before voiceless consonants, not voiced consonants:

Table 12.4 Raised Diphthongs in Canadian English

[ʊɪ]/[ʌɪ]	[əʊ]/[ʌʊ]
price/prize	spouse/espouse
bite/bide	house/houses
site/side	bout/bowed
fife/five	mouth (N)/mouth (V)
tripe/tribe	blouse (N)/blouse (V)
knife/knives	lout/loud

CanE is also distinguished by a predominance of rising intonation (typical of questions) in all sentence types.

A number of lexical items have pronunciations in CanE that are found in neither

British nor US English: *asphalt* [æšfɑlt], *drama* [dræmə], *bilingual* [baɪlɪŋɪuəl], *khaki* [kɑrki] (being replaced with US English [kæki]), *longitude* [lɑŋgɪt(ɪ)ud], *opinion* [oʊpɪnjən], *docile* [dɑsaɪl], and *tomato* [təmæroʊ]. However, pronunciations of certain lexical items attest to the continuing influence of BE as a prestige dialect in Canada, e.g. *again* [əgeɪn], *been* [bin], *decal* [dɛkəl], *herb* [hərb], *produce* (noun) [prɑdɪus], *senile* [sɛnaɪl], and *scone* [skɑn]. Spelling pronunciations, such as *herb* (with [h]), *arctic* [ɑrktɪk], or *often* [ɑftən], seem to be fairly frequent in CanE, as in BE. The BE pronunciation of *schedule* [šɛdɪul] has been promoted by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, but the American pronunciation seems to be the preferred form for Canadian speakers. A number of British pronunciations formerly used in Canada, such as *zebra* [zɛbrə] and *lieutenant* [lɛftɛnənt], have fallen out of use.

Apart from a few minor differences, little distinguishes CanE from its American counterpart grammatically. Widespread features include the use of *different than* rather than *different from* (the prescribed American form) or *different to* (a common British form), the noun + modifier order in phrases such as *Air Canada, Revenue Canada,* or *Parks Canada* (influenced by French), the use of *as well* at the beginning of sentences to function as a conjunctive adverb as in *When I get home, I have to make dinner. As well, I have to do a load of laundry.*

Without doubt, the form thought most typical (indeed stereotypical) of Canadian English is called the 'narrative *eh?*', occurring as a tag at the end of a sentence or phrase. The linguist Walter Avis (1972) distinguishes eight uses of the form, such as a tag inviting or soliciting agreement, as a reinforcement, or as a request for repetition, but while speakers of many dialects use *eh* in all of these functions, it is the eighth use Avis mentions—narrative *eh?*—that is exclusively Canadian. It is spoken quickly and without its usual rising intonation (denoted by the question mark), and is of high frequency, as in *That was when we almost intercepted a pass, eh?* and *Stu Falkner bumped into him, eh?* Although it is said to be 'virtually meaningless' and is often stigmatized (its use is more common in the lower socioeconomic class), *eh* clearly serves connective and discoursive functions.

Like all national varieties, CanE has a set of lexical items distinctive to it. Some of the items cited in this context are borrowings from French Canadian (such as *caplin, coulee, shanty*), from Aboriginal languages (such as *saskatoon* 'berry' and *muskeg* 'bog' from Cree, *kokanee* 'type of salmon' from Shuswap, *sockeye* 'type of salmon' from Coast Salish, and *skookum* 'excellent' from Chinook Jargon), and from the languages of various immigrant groups (such as *pysanka* 'hand painted Easter egg' from Ukrainian). In addition to such borrowings, there are Canadianisms relating to:

- specific holidays (*Victoria Day, Canada Day*)
- French–English relations (*anglophone* 'an English-speaking person', *francophone* 'a French-speaking person', *sovereignist* 'a supporter of Quebec sovereignty')
- Aboriginal people (*First Nation* 'an Indian band or community', *reserve* 'land set aside for the use of a specific group of Aboriginal people')

- government/law/politics (*First Ministers* 'the prime minister of Canada and premiers of the provinces', *Mountie* 'a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police', or *RCMP*)
- finance (*GST* 'the goods and services tax', *loonie* 'a Canadian one-dollar coin depicting a loon on one side' and by analogy, *toonie* 'a Canadian two-dollar coin')
- social structure/programs (*heritage language* 'a language other than French or English spoken in Canada', *multiculturalism* 'a government policy advocating a society composed of many culturally distinct groups')
- sports and games (*five-pin bowling* 'a variety of bowling', *shinny* 'informal pickup hockey', *crokinole*, 'a kind of board game', *three-pitch* 'a variety of softball')
- weather (*chinook* 'a warm dry wind which blows east of the Rocky Mountains', *humidex*—blend of *humidity* and *index*—'a scale indicating the personal discomfort level resulting from combined heat and humidity')
- education (*separate school* 'a publicly funded denominational [usually Catholic] school', *grade one* 'first grade', *March Break* 'a school holiday')
- food and drink (*homo* 'homogenized milk with full fat content', *poutine* 'French fries topped with cheese curds and gravy', *peameal bacon* 'back bacon coated in cornmeal')
- miscellaneous categories (*toque/tuque* 'a close-fitting knitted hat', *parkade* 'a parking garage', *hydro* 'electricity', *garburator* 'a garbage disposal unit').

Canadian spelling conventions are a mix of those used in Britain and the United States: for example, Canadians prefer USEng *tire, jail, wagon, -ize* (not BE *tyre, gaol, waggon, -ise*), but BE *cheque* in the sense of 'bank draft', *grey,* and *catalogue* (not USEng *check, gray,* and *catalog*). Spelling varies from province to province and person to person. One may find *theatre* more commonly than *theater* among the same group of speakers that prefers *center* to *centre*, and vice versa. Variation also exists in people's choice of *-our* and *-or* endings in words like *labo(u)r* and *colo(u)r*; slightly more than half the population seem to choose *-our*, and this ending certainly appears more often in nationally published texts.

Exercise 12.3 British vs North American English

For the following words, transcribe the pronunciations most characteristic of British English (BE), United States English (USEng), and Canadian English (CanE). Ignore differences in stress.

	BE	USEng	CanE
a. class	_____	_____	_____
b. lighter	_____	_____	_____
c. primary	_____	_____	_____

d.	park	_____	_____	_____
e.	white	_____	_____	_____
f.	router (tool)	_____	_____	_____
g.	conservatory	_____	_____	_____
h.	crass	_____	_____	_____
j.	plenty	_____	_____	_____

Newfoundland English

The distinctive features of Newfoundland English can be attributed primarily to its sparse population, geographical isolation, and continuing connection to Britain (it joined Canada only in 1949). English speakers settled in Newfoundland very early, beginning in the seventeenth century, though transient fisherman had been summering there since the sixteenth century. The earliest settlers came from the West Country of England, and beginning in the 1720s immigrants arrived from southeastern Ireland. Newfoundland became a colony of England with control over its own affairs in 1833. British immigration fell off after the first half of the nineteenth century. Newfoundland English is thus shaped by the speech of the West Country British mercantile and seafaring class, the southern Irish merchants and 'servants' (workers on fishing boats), and the British and Anglo-Irish administrators and professionals. As a result, Newfoundland English shows little influence from general Canadian English.

Two features—coalescence of [w] and [hw] and rhoticity—are characteristic of both West Country and Irish English. Particular West Country features include variable [h] (added or deleted rather arbitrarily, e.g. 'hup' for *up* or 'en' for *hen*), dark [l], retroflex [r], voicing of initial consonants (e.g. 'vir' for *fir* or 'zin' for *sin*), lowering of vowels before [r] (most noticeable are [i] > [ɛ] as in *beer*, [ɑ] > a vowel sound approximating [æ] as in *car*, and [ɔ] > a vowel approximating [ɑ] as in *hoarse*), retention of [e], especially in words spelled *ea* (e.g. *sea*), and raising of the [aɪ] diphthong to [əɪ] in all contexts (independent of Canadian raising). Particular Irish features include clear [l], [t] and [d] in place of [θ] and [ð], as in 'ten' for *then* or 'fader' for *father*, realization of [θ] after a vowel as [f], as in *path*, coalescence of [tj] > [č] and [dj] > [ǰ], rounding of [ə], monophthongal [e] and [o], as in *bay* and *boat*, coalescence of the vowels in *cot/caught*, and [aɪ] and [ɔɪ] merger, as in *boy/buy*.

We can attribute Newfoundland's special grammatical features to the same two sources. West Country English has contributed a system of pronouns based on stress, not on case (the unstressed forms being *me, un* or *'n, (h)er, us, (th)em*, as in 'Me did it'). Also from the West Country is the use of *he/she* for inanimates (*it* being reserved for dummy *it* and for mass nouns) and the use of *-s* throughout the paradigm of the

present tense (*I works, you works, he/she/it works, they works*). From Irish English comes the use of the habitual *be(s)* or *don't be* (less often *does be*) and *be after* (V)*-ing* for the perfect. Other noticeable characteristics are adverbs without *-ly* and the intensifiers *real, right, some* (as in *some happy*).

Newfoundland English has a large, distinctive vocabulary, much having to do with fishing (e.g. *caplin* 'small fish like a smelt'), sealing (e.g. *bedlamer* 'immature harp seal'), logging (e.g. *nug* 'a chunk of wood for fuel'), and ice conditions (e.g. *clumper* 'small iceberg'). There are also many Irish borrowings (e.g. *sleeveen* 'deceitful person').

Australian and New Zealand English

Australian English

After Captain James Cook's expedition to Australia in 1770, English settlement of the area began in 1787, when Captain Arthur Phillip set out with 1100 people, 750 of whom were convicts. In 1788 he founded a penal colony at a harbor he named Sydney and annexed the eastern half of Australia. Using the island as a penal colony into the late nineteenth century, England transported its social undesirables—those it considered traitors, political prisoners, union organizers, and petty criminals—to New South Wales. The first free settlers were soldiers who decided to stay following their military service. Many convicts also decided to stay in Australia after their sentences were served. Farmers came, as did government officials and those supervising prisons. Very slowly, in the first half of the nineteenth century, more free colonists arrived to look for new homes; the later gold rush brought other white settlers and eventually, most of the rest of Australia was settled. Union of the Australian colonies occurred in 1900 (Prall and Willson 1991:616–17).

The colonization of Australia with permanent white settlers represents one of the typical means by which the British Empire expanded in the nineteenth century, taking the English language with it. Because many of the first English speakers came from southern England, and London in particular, the influence of Cockney English on Australian speech has attracted attention, but many colonists came from elsewhere in Britain, such as Scotland. Although there is not the extent of regional variation found in United States English in either Australian English or New Zealand English, there is a fair amount of social stratification within the Australasian accents. In terms of its phoneme inventory, Australian English (AusE) is very close to RP, although there is some allophonic variation. Higher prestige is associated with less variation from RP. Accordingly, at the high end of the social scale, particularly among older speakers, we find cultivated or mild speech which differs only slightly from RP. Broad accents, at the other end of the social scale, differ considerably from RP and are usually compared to Cockney.[4]

4 The linguistic characteristics of Australian English and New Zealand English in this and the following sections are adapted from Trudgill and Hannah (2002:15–23).

AusE is non-rhotic and has linking and intrusive *r*, its [r] being more retroflex than in British English. A [t] between vowels, as in *city*, may be voiced to the flap, [ɾ], but it may also remain unvoiced. Flapping is less common in AusE than in NAE. The lateral liquid [l] tends to be dark (further back in the mouth) in all positions. The long, tense vowel [i] occurs (instead of RP [ɪ]) in the second syllable of words such as *very* and *many*. AusE has /ə/ in unstressed syllables rather than /ɪ/ as RP does, as in the final syllable of *horses* and *wanted*. Like RP, AusE has [ɑ] in words such as *laugh, path, grass* but (unlike RP) it has [æ] in *dance, sample*, and *plant*. (Although regional variation does occur, the pronunciation [ɑ] has more prestige in these circumstances.) Front vowels in Australian English are closer than in RP; thus [ɪ] approximates [i], [ɛ] approximates [e], and [æ] approximates [ɛ]. AusE diphthongs are wider than those in RP; this means that diphthongs are more open and have a more centralized onset. The AusE [ɑ] vowel is very front, almost [æ], in words such as *bar*. Finally, British speakers hear AusE as flatter in intonation, with less variation in pitch in neutral statements, though it is sometimes observed that rising intonation makes statements sound like questions, as in CanE.

Minimal differences separate the grammar of AusE from that of other standard varieties of English. Like BE, collective nouns such as *government* and *team* take a singular verb. Like NAE, AusE usually lacks the auxiliaries *shall/should*, as in 'I *should* like to go there', and instead uses *will/would*. In AusE *do* is not routinely used after an auxiliary, as it is in BE (e.g. *I may* as opposed to *I may do*). Increasingly Australian speakers add the tag *but* to the end of the sentence to mean 'however'. Australian dialects may use an infinitive rather than a participle (e.g. *to pay* rather than *paying*) in such sentences as, 'Some people delay to pay their tax'. The feminine pronoun, *she*, can be used to refer to inanimate nouns or in inanimate constructions; *She'll be right* means 'Everything will be all right' (Millward 1996:388). Australians may use *thanks* rather than *please* to make a request, as in *Can I have a cup of tea, thanks?*

Even though very few Australians are of Aboriginal descent (approximately 1 per cent of the population, or 170,000, of whom 47,000 have some knowledge of one of the Aboriginal languages), these tongues have influenced AusE, and borrowings from Aboriginal languages differentiate Australian speech from the other varieties. Of course, the flora and fauna reflect native names: e.g. *dingo, kangaroo, wallaby, koala, wombat, budgerigar* 'parakeet native to Australia' (> *budgie*). From daily life, we find the borrowings *boomerang, bardy* 'edible grub', *barramundi* 'various freshwater fish', *billabong* 'blind channel of river, slough', *billy* 'container for making tea', and *yandy* 'to separate grass seed'. In Aboriginal English usage we find figurative language, *big* for 'city', and *pink-eye* for 'festival'. Australian slang contains a number of such vivid expressions: e.g. *arvo* 'afternoon', *baggies* 'baggy shorts', *bagman* 'a tramp', *boatie* or *yachtie* 'member of crew', *boil the billy* 'make tea'. *Bo-peep* is 'a look', *batch* 'a makeshift hut', *barney* 'noisy dispute', *biff* 'hit, strike', and *blackball* 'hard sweetmeat, humbug'. Then, too, to be *on one's bones* is to be 'hard

up, destitute'. Diminutives are common in AusE, such as *barbie* 'barbeque', *cozzie* 'swimming costume', *Chrissy prezzie* 'Christmas present'. While many of these lexical items remain uniquely applied to Australian cultural experiences, some have been exported into other varieties of English: e.g. NAE speakers may use the term *budgie* to refer to their 'parakeets'.

New Zealand English

Captain James Cook also made his way to New Zealand in his famous expedition of 1769. The islands became part of Australia (New South Wales) early on, but by 1841 they were a separate crown colony. Unlike Australia, free white settlers, not convicts, settled in New Zealand. The settlers often encountered strong Maori resistance. New Zealand accents are very similar to those of Australia, such that outsiders often have difficulty telling mild Australian speech apart from New Zealand English (NZE). The following characteristics (based on the description by Trudgill and Hannah [2002:23–7]) distinguish the two.

Much of NZE is non-rhotic, with linking and intrusive *r*. The South Island is an exception, though, with several rhotic local accents having a 'Southland burr'. (Immigrants from Scotland and Ireland may be responsible for this.) The [hw] in *which* is maintained, especially among older speakers. The voiced flap [ɾ] is heard as a variant form of the intervocalic [t] as in *city* and *better*. The word *with* has a voiceless final sound [wɪθ] where BE usually voices it as [wɪð]. The lateral liquid [l] is dark in all environments. Phonetically, the New Zealand vowel [ɪ] as in *bid* is realized as a central vowel, [ə]. This sound has in turn merged with [ʊ] after [w] so that *women* has the same pronunciation as *woman*. When unstressed at the end of a word, the RP vowel [ə] is raised slightly in NZE in words such as *butter* (the *r* being lost). The indefinite article *a* is also pronounced with this raised variant. The front vowels [ɛ] as in *bed* and [æ] as in *bad* are higher, more closely approximating [e] and [ɛ], than in AusE. Words in the set *dance, sample, grant*, and *branch* have the low back or central vowel [ɑ] or [a] rather than [æ]. Words like *laugh* and *graph* have [æ]. Unlike AusE, the vowel [ʊ] tends to be unrounded, so that *put* sounds like *putt*. Finally, the vowel in *bird* has considerable lip rounding.

Again, there are only minor grammatical difference in NZE from other varieties. NZE avoids *shall* and *should* in favor of *will* and *would*, even avoiding the former in interrogatives where other dialects that lack *shall* and *should* retain them: e.g. *Will I close the window?* is a request for direction. Collective nouns take singular verbs. The indirect object requires a preposition when it follows the direct object, thus *I'll give it to him* rather than BE *I'll give it him*. Idiomatic use of prepositions differs from British and other forms of English. For example, New Zealanders say *in the weekend*, while the British say *at the weekend*, and North Americans say *on the weekend*. As in AusE, NZE allows clipped forms in colloquial speech. Thus, we hear *beaut* 'beautiful', *ute* 'utility vehicle', and *varsity* 'university'. *Thanks* can be used in place of *please*, just as in AusE. Colloquial abbreviations often end in a diminutive even though the

words may not be the same in AusE and NZE. *Postie* means 'mail delivery person'.

Because 8 per cent of the population of New Zealand is Maori, a third of whom, or about 100,000 people, have some fluency in their language, many Maori words have come to be used by or are at least familiar to English speakers. Examples are: *whare* 'Maori hut', *waiata* 'Maori song', *tena koe* 'Maori greeting', *kunaku* 'person', *goorie/goory* 'mongrel dog', *half-pie* 'imperfect, mediocre', *hangi* 'earth oven', *heitiki* 'greenstone neck ornament', *kiwi*, *moko puna* 'grandchild, niece, nephew', *pakihi* 'area of open swampy land', *taua* 'Maori army or war party', *tangi* 'dirge, lamentation', and *taongu* 'possessions, goods'. Australian loan words also make their way to New Zealand, as in *back blocks* 'land in remote area', *banjo* 'shovel', and *beg-pardon*. Distinctive New Zealand usage includes *to front* 'to show up', *to flat* 'to live in a shared flat', *a crib* 'a cabin or cottage', and *a joker* 'a guy, bloke'.

African English

As a result of colonization, English has official or semi-official status in many parts in sub-Saharan Africa, including southern Africa (Republic of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, and Namibia), eastern Africa (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi, and Zambia), and western Africa (Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon [where French is also official]). In both East Africa and West Africa, the non-native varieties of English are characterized by reduced vowel systems (consistent with the systems of the indigenous languages). In West Africa, a generalized West African Vernacular English has arisen with national variants, and a creolized form of English known as Krio is also widespread in Sierra Leone. In East Africa, the second-language versions of English bear greater similarity to the English of South Africa. Only two native varieties of English have evolved in Africa, namely, in South Africa and in Liberia. We will focus on these.

South African English

The first large group of English speakers to South Africa were the 1820s settlers in the Eastern Cape, who came from several different dialect areas in Britain and were of a mixed social background. English was declared the official language in 1823. The early British settlers were followed in the period 1848–62 by more British immigrants to the Natal and later in the 1870s and 1880s by those going to the diamond mines and gold fields. Afrikaans speakers from the Netherlands had occupied South Africa since the seventeenth century. East Indians, many of whom spoke English, were imported in the 1860s as manual laborers. Indigenous populations included speakers of Bantu languages (Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, etc.) as well as Khoisan languages (Bush-Hottentot). Throughout much of South Africa's history, Afrikaans and English were the two official languages, but speakers of these languages were always in an uneasy relationship (culminating in the Boer War, 1900–2). English was the language of the socially elite and was dominant in commerce, education, science,

and technology. Since 1994, English has been one of 11 official languages in South Africa. It is gaining influence in government and public affairs as it is perceived as politically more neutral than Afrikaans, which is associated with the apartheid era. The influence of English in present-day South Africa is remarkable given that it is the mother tongue of under 10 per cent of the population, though it is spoken as a second or third language by many others. As Crystal notes, 'historical, racial, tribal, and political factors have combined to produce a sociolinguistic situation of stunning intricacy' in South Africa (2003c:356).

South African English (SAE) is a variant of British English (specifically south-east English); because of the relatively recent date of their transplantation, SAE, AusE and NZE bear similarities with each other. However, one cannot really talk about a unified South African English. Lanham (1982:336–7) distinguishes three varieties based on linguistic and social variables: Conservative South African, similar to RP (spoken by British immigrants of recent descent, generally upper class, female, and over 45), a newly indigenous dialect, Respectable South African (spoken by middle and upper class residents of the Natal region), and Extreme (or broad) South African (spoken by lower class residents of the Cape region and by some Afrikaaner speakers). An advanced form of Afrikaans-English is also recognized.

Like BE, SAE is non-rhotic and shows a merger of [hw] and [w] as [w]. However, it has also departed in significant ways from RP. SAE is 'alone among the "English" varieties of English' in lacking intrusive and linking *r* (Trudgill and Hannah 2002:29). The lack of *h*-dropping and the consistent pronunciation of *-ing* as [ɪŋ] rather than [ɪn] in SAE may be due to the absence of an English-speaking manual laboring class (Wells 1982:622). Other consonant features include the following: [t] between vowels may be flapped (as in NAE); [l] is always clear, [r] can be pronounced as a fricative or 'tapped' with the tongue touching the roof of the mouth; [l] and [n] are not syllabic in words such as *middle* or *button*, and [tj] may coalesce to [č] and [dj] to [ǰ] in words such as *tune* and *due* (this also occurs in CanE). An interesting split affects the [ɪ] vowel: it is raised to [i] before and after velars, before [š], after [h], and at the start of words or syllables, but it is lowered to [ə] elsewhere; thus, *kit* and *mitt* do not rhyme. An apparently stigmatized feature is the lowering and retraction of certain vowels following [l]. The monophthongization of [ɪu] to [u] is common (as in USEng). The [eɪ] and [oʊ] diphthongs have centralized starting points, as in CanE, namely, [əɪ] and [əʊ]. Wells notes a 'cross-over' effect where the onset of [aɪ] is further back and that of [aʊ] further forward (1982:614). The [ɑ] vowel in *bath* is very far back and may be rounded. In broad accents [ɛ] in *dress* may be raised to [e] and [æ] in *trap* to [ɛ]. Finally, the more extreme varieties of SAE show a number of phonological features that can be attributed to Afrikaans interference, such as the lack of aspiration on voiceless consonants, devoicing of final stops as in *bad* or *bag*, the audible release of stops in clusters such as in *apt* or *picture*, the 'trilling' of [r], the voicing of initial [h] to [j], and nasalization of vowels before nasal + fricative clusters as in *dance*.

Grammatically, SAE shows little difference from the other varieties of English, though again some features may be attributed to Afrikaans influence, such as different preposition usage (e.g. *over* for 'about') or use of the *be busy* (V)-*ing* construction as a progressive. As in many forms of English, the invariant tag *is it?* is common (as in *That was a good movie, isn't it?*). Other distinctive features include the deletion of objects sometimes after transitive verbs, the use of *with* without an object (*Should I go with?*), reduplications such as *now-now*, the appearance of *already* as a perfective particle at the end of sentences, the use of *must* for *shall*, and the infinitive used after an adjective instead of *of* plus a participle (*capable to understand her*).

In the lexicon, one can point to borrowings from Afrikaans (many of which occur in the broad variety of SAE and are a result of early contact), e.g. *kop/kopje* 'hill', *oud-stryder* 'veteran', *braai* 'barbeque', *in a dwaal* 'confused', *bywoner* 'poor tenant farmer', *kreef* 'crayfish', *blink klip* 'diamond', *padkos* 'provisions for a journey', *platteland* 'rural area', *broek* 'coward', *konfyt* 'fruit preserve', *boerewors* 'spiced sausage', or *sitkamer* 'sitting room, lounge'. The *OED* lists several hundred words from Afrikaans, but many relate to flora and fauna indigenous to South Africa. Fewer borrowings come from Bantu; some examples include *impala, maas* 'thickened sour milk', *mamba* 'large venomous snake', *dagga* 'mortar made of mud and cow-dung', *lobola* 'bride price', *bonsella* 'surprise gift', and *muti* 'medicine'. Borrowings from Hottentot are even rarer, e.g. *gnu* 'member of the antelope family', *kierie* 'short club'. Some borrowings show complex routes of transmission, such as *dagga* 'hemp' from Hottentot via Afrikaans. Certain SAE borrowings are now part of standard English, such as *basenji* 'breed of dog' (< Bantu), *veldt* (< Afrikaans), *apartheid* (< Afrikaans), *trek* (< Afrikaans), and *kraal* 'animal enclosure' (Afrikaans < Portuguese). Rather than borrowing, SAE may resort to calquing, as in the case of *monkey's wedding* 'simultaneous sun and rain' (based on Zulu) or of *suck one's thumb* (a calque on Afrikaans). Some standard English words have acquired a specialized sense in SAE, including *robot* 'traffic light', *cubbyhole* 'glove compartment', *bioscope* 'movie theatre' (this one used to be in BE but is now very dated), *cool drink* 'soft drink', *tackies* 'running shoes', *café* 'convenience store', *bell* 'to telephone', *camp* 'fenced in portion of a farm', *just now* 'in a while', *rather very* 'somewhat', *butchery* 'butcher's shop', *bottle store* 'liquor store', and the language of apartheid (*homeland, township, endorsed out, classify, job reservation*, etc.).

Liberian English

The country of Liberia was founded in 1822. Over the next 50 years, some 15,000 freed American slaves as well as 6,000 slaves captured at sea settled there. The country became an independent republic in 1847 with a constitution modeled on that of the United States. The descendents of these original settlers, known as Americo-Liberians, were politically dominant until a coup in 1980. According to 1993 statistics, approximately 69,000 people, or 2.5 per cent of the population, spoke

Liberian Standard English (LSE) as a first language. Liberia is the only county in Africa where English is the native language of black people (though increasingly blacks in South Africa are adopting English as a mother tongue). LSE has roots in southern dialects of US Black English (also called African American Vernacular English). The vowel system is more elaborate than in other West African variants; LSE distinguishes [i] from [ɪ], and [u] from [ʊ], and uses the diphthongs [aɪ], [aʊ], and [əɪ]. Vowels can be nasalized. The final vowel of *happy* is [ɛ]. Like West African English generally, LSE favors open syllables, usually omitting a final [t], [d], or fricative. The interdental fricatives [θ, ð] appear as [t, d] initially, and as [f, v] finally. The glottal fricative [h] is preserved as is the labiovelar fricative [hw]. Affricates have lost their stop component, thus [č] > [š]. Between vowels, [t] may be flapped as in NAE. Finally, liquids are lost at the end of words or before consonants, making Liberian Standard English a non-rhotic dialect.

Caribbean English

Beginning in the seventeenth century, various European powers, including France, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Britain, vied for territory in the West Indies, initiating over 350 years of political and linguistic struggle in the region. Indigenous peoples of the area included Carib and Arawak speakers, to which were added groups of West African slaves, often speaking mutually unintelligible languages, brought over to work on the sugar cane plantations. There was also a European ruling class. Pidgin languages developed in order to facilitate communication, and over time, these pidgins underwent processes of creolization (see Chapter 9). The result was a set of English-, French-, Spanish-, Portuguese-, and even Dutch-based creoles spoken in the Caribbean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Where Britain exerted political power, BE became the prestige dialect (as it has remained to some degree, although US English is displacing it).

Many creoles in the Caribbean have undergone a subsequent process of 'decreolization'. This occurs when a creole and a higher prestige language—in this case, standard English—remain in contact. In this process, the creole (the substratum) is increasingly influenced by the high status language (the superstratum) and comes to resemble it more closely. This process typically involves complication (introducing irregularities and counteracting simplification) and 'purification' (in this case, removing elements derived from African languages, which are typically stigmatized, and adding more English lexicon). The result of decreolization in the Carribbean has been what linguists refer to as a post-creole continuum, a spread of dialects ranging from the 'deepest' creole to something approximating standard English. The socially most powerful variety closest to the standard is called the 'acrolect' and the variety showing the most creole characteristics is called the 'basilect'. Between these are a number of 'mesolects', showing a varying number of features of the creole or standard English.

English is now the national or official language of several countries in the Caribbean area (not all of which were originally British holdings), including Anguilla, Antigua, Barbados, Belize, the Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Monserrat, Puerto Rico, St Kitts-Nevis, St Vincent, St Lucia, Trinidad, and Tobago, Turks and Caicos Islands, and the British and US Virgin Islands, and is beginning to displace French in Dominica and St Lucia. (An English-based creole, Gullah, is also spoken on islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia.) Because of immigration, one encounters Caribbean English in Canada, the United States, and Britain as well.

Whether a decreolized form should be seen as a dialect of English or as a distinct language is not at all clear, especially in the light of the emergence of Caribbean islands as independent countries and growing awareness and understanding of linguistic diversity and change. What is perhaps most significant about Caribbean English, no matter what form it takes, is that it is a form of English spoken natively by large numbers of black people.

It may be possible to characterize a West Indian Standard English (WISE), namely, the acrolectal dialect spoken in places such as Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guyana by educated people at the top of social scale. Description of this standard poses difficulties because it shows substantial regional variation and because one cannot know how many mesolectal features to include. Phonologically, WISE is normally non-rhotic, though [r] is articulated in Barbados and the Virgin Islands, and may be heard in Guyana and Jamaica. The [h] generally occurs (though not in the more creolized varieties), [w] and [hw] are not distinguished, and [l] is clear in all positions. The replacement of [θ] by [t] and [ð] by [d] is widespread, especially before [r]. A creole feature is the reduction of final consonant sequences, e.g. the loss of [t] in *best, left, act, pushed, hoped, touched* or of [d] in *rubbed, begged, roved, breathed, wind, child*, though sequences of nasal + voiceless consonant, as in *dance, ant, ink, lamp* are maintained. Metathesis can occur, especially with [sk/ks] *ask/aks* and [sp/ps] *wasp/waps*. Vowel features show even a greater range of variability. However, many of the vowel mergers common in creoles (e.g. *cat/cot/caught* as [æ], *buy/boy* as [aɪ], *bud/bird* as rounded [ʌ], *fear/fare* as [ie]) typically do not occur in WISE. Perhaps what gives Caribbean English its most distinctive sound is the full value given to vowels in unstressed syllables as well as the fact that the language is syllable-timed (syllables occurring at approximately regular intervals) rather than stress-timed (only stressed syllables occur at regular intervals). The grammar of WISE may also show some creole features.

The different varieties of Caribbean English have distinct vocabularies. A sampling of terms from Jamaican English include: *janga* 'crayfish', *ganja* 'marijuana' (originally from Hindi), *bankra* 'big basket', *bandalu* 'fraud', *bakra* 'member of the ruling class', *dukunu* 'sweet cornmeal dumpling', *irie* 'cool, good, nice', *dunny* 'money', *facety* 'cheeky', *roti* 'type of bread' (originally from Hindi), and *labrish* 'gossip'. Of African origin are *duppy* 'ghost, spirit' and *burru* 'a vigorous dance'. Of

French origin is *drogher* 'cooking vessel'. Standard English words may be used in specialized ways, as in *dreadlocks* 'Rastafarian hairstyle', *dread* 'terrible, excellent', *foot* 'leg and foot', *licks* 'a beating', *look for* 'to visit', *peelhead* 'bald-headed person', *a something* 'thing', *vex* 'annoyed', and *watchy* 'watchman'. Some words found in standard English were first borrowed in the West Indies, including *hurricane* (< Spanish < Carib), *savannah* (< Spanish < Carib), *manatee* (< Spanish < Carib), *iguana* (< Spanish < Carib), *calypso,* and *reggae.*

Important Regional Varieties

Within each of the national varieties of English, there exist numerous regional dialects. Because of the length of settlement of Britain by English speakers, regional dialects in this area are numerous and localized, including Cockney, West Country, East Anglia, Birmingham, Cumberland, Devonshire, Cornwall, Dorset, Durham, Lancashire, Nothumberland, and Yorkshire, to name just a few. A particularly important present-day regional and social dialect in Britain is Estuary English, which originates as a dialect centered in London but extending throughout southeastern England and spoken by members of the lower middle class. *Estuary English* bears certain similarities to Cockney English. It is spreading northwards and westwards and in some contexts is in competition with RP a prestige, or at least widely accepted, dialect. While space does not permit a full discussion of all of the regional dialects of Britain, we will focus on three which have semi-national status: Welsh, Scottish, and Irish (or Hiberno-) English. We will then survey some of the important regional varieties of United States English, including African American Vernacular English.

English in the British Isles

The varieties of English spoken in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland have developed along separate paths and are distinctly different dialects of the language, yet because they are spoken in areas first inhabited by Celtic speakers, they all show some Gaelic influence in their phonology, grammar, and lexicon.

Welsh English

Political and linguistic assimilation of Wales into England occurred in 1536 when English was declared the official language of Wales, and soon afterwards the use of the English Bible and Book of Common Prayer was required by law in Wales. A diglossic situation remained for some time, in which Welsh was the 'lower' and English the upper language. In the early twentieth century, English came to displace Welsh, especially in border areas, but more recent attempts to revive the Celtic language have been relatively successful, with perhaps 20 per cent of the population able to speak Welsh. (The methods include compulsory instruction in the schools,

funding of a Welsh-language television station, and recognition of Welsh as an official language, used alongside English on road signs and in government publications.) Nonetheless, English is the country's dominant language, and a native variety called Welsh English (WE) is identifiable. WE is not strongly affected by the Welsh substratum, though in the north and southwest, Celtic influence is most strongly evident (e.g. [z] and [ž] may be voiceless in the north while, in the southwest, an [r] after a vowel—a tapped or rolled *r*—is retained as is [hw]).

Phonologically, WE is very similar to RP. There is a tendency to monophthongize [eɪ] to [e], especially when spelled *a* as in *made*, but this sound is distinguished from the sound in *maid* [ɛɪ] and other words spelled with *ai, ay, ei, ey*. Likewise there is a tendency to monophthongize [oʊ] to [o], especially when spelled *o* or *oo* as in *no*, but this sound is distinguished from the *know* [ɔʊ] and other words spelled with *ou, ow*. The diphthongs [aɪ] and [oʊ] are centered to [əɪ] and [əʊ] (as in CanE). The diphthong [ɪu] as in *new* is often pronounced [ɪʊ]. No contrast is made between the stressed and unstressed mid central vowel; both are [ə]. Some words with [ɔ] have [o], such as *soar*, but others retain [ɔ], such as *port*. The sound in *ask* words such as *dance* is [æ] rather than [ɑ], though practice varies and may be socially determined, with [ɑ] for some speakers and in some words. Unstressed syllables are not weak and tend to be pronounced; thus *separate* is [sɛpərɛt], not [sɛprət]. For this reason, rather than [ə], unstressed orthographic *a* may be pronounced [æ], unstressed orthographic *o* [ɒ], and unstressed orthographic *e* [ɛ].

For educated speakers, WE is non-rhotic, with linking and intrusive *r*, though *r* may be retroflex, rolled, or even uvular. Voiceless stops are strongly aspirated, [l] is always clear, [t, d, n] may be dental rather than alveolar, and [w] and [hw] are not distinguished. *H*-dropping is common and [j] and [w] are lost in initial position before [i] and [u] as in *yeast* (pronounced like *east*) and *wood* (pronounced like *hood*, when [h] is also absent). At the end of words, [ž] may become [ǰ] as in *prestige*. Perhaps most distinctive in WE is the lengthening of intervocalic consonants before unstressed syllables, as in *money, chapel, missing, butter*. Also, the Welsh consonants [ɬ] (a voiceless lateral fricative), spelled *ll*, and [x], spelled *ch*, may occur in place names and loan words.

In written form, WE is indistinguishable from BE. However, colloquial, oral WE exhibits some distinguishing grammatical features, including use of the invariable tag *is it?*, inversion of predicate object (e.g. *Looking for you he was*), use of negative *too* (instead of *either*) (e.g. *He wasn't on time too*), and adjective and adverb reduplication for emphasis (e.g. *it was long, long*).

There is a remarkably small number of Welsh loan words in WE. Apart from general Celtic terms, a few that may be cited are *del* and *bach*, which are terms of endearment, *eisteddfod* 'competitive arts festival', *llymru* 'porridge dish', *nain* 'grandma', *taid* 'grandpa', and *Duw* 'God', used in exclamations. The *OED* cites a handful of Welsh borrowings, such as *commot* 'territorical and administrative division', *owdell* 'poem consisting of 24 strict meters', and *van* 'height, summit'; most

of which are highly localized or obsolete. A few Welsh words have entered standard English usage, such as *bard* 'minstrel', *corgi* 'breed of dog', and perhaps *gull* 'sea gull'. Some distinctive uses of standard English terms may also be noted in WE, such as *delight* 'interest', *rise* 'get, buy', *tidy* 'good, nice', and *be off* 'be angry'.

Standard Scottish English

English has been spoken in southwest Scotland since medieval times, but for only about 200 years in the Highlands and northern Islands, when it finally became dominant over Scots Gaelic. There has always been a complex political and cultural/linguistic relationship between Scotland and England. The union of crowns in 1603 and the union of parliaments in 1707 established English as the official language in Scotland, but nationalism has always been strong, and the parliaments were separated again in 1999. Scots, or Scottish (both terms are widely used), is the name given to a standardized form of the English language based on southern Scottish, used in government and literature until the Reformation, but it has been steadily declining since the seventeenth century (this is the language of Robert Henryson and William Dunbar and revived by Robert Burns in the eighteenth century).

Scots is variously seen as a dialect of English or a distinct language; it is distinguished from other dialects by having a literary history and by serving as the official language of an independent Scotland. While some non-standard dialects of southern, central, and northeastern Scotland still bear strong affinities to Scots, a twentieth-century attempt to resurrect a synthetic Scots known as Lallans ('Lowlands') has had only minor success. Scots has been replaced by Scottish Standard English (SSE), or standard English with a Scottish accent. SSE began to be used at the start of the eighteenth century and is the speech of educated, middle-class, urban Scots today. There is a continuum of Scottish dialects spoken from the Orkney and Shetland Islands of the north to the Lowlands of the south, and Scots Gaelic continues to be spoken, albeit not widely, in the north and west of Scotland.

Unlike in Wales and other parts of Britain, RP is not the only prestige dialect in Scotland. A Scottish accent can also carry prestige. The phonology of SSE is conservative. Several features of the vowel system are particularly striking to the non-Scottish speaker. One is the preservation of short vowel distinctions before /r/ in prestige versions of SSE, which in other dialects have merged to [ə]. Thus, *first* contains the [ɪ] sound and *fern* the [ɛ] sound; also for some speakers the vowel in *horse* [ɔ] is distinguished from the vowel in *hoarse* [o]. A second striking feature is the lack of distinction between [u] and [ʊ]; thus, *pool* and *pull*, *foot* and *boot*, *full* and *fool* are all pronounced with [u] (or a slighter further forward vowel [ʉ]). Some speakers may not distinguish between *cot* and *caught*, having [ɔ] in both (rather than [ɑ] or [ɒ] found in many NAE dialects). The vowels [ɪ] and [ə] may be neutralized, so that *fin* and *fun* rhyme. As in NAE, SSE speakers do not have the distinction between [æ] and [ɑ] which distinguishes *ample* from *sample*. The sounds in *great* and *home* tend to be monophthongs, [e] and [o], though the diphthongal versions are

spreading. The [aɪ] diphthong has split into [əɪ], as in *side*, and [ae] as in *sighed* (the latter in positions of length). The [aʊ] diphthong has not undergone a similar split but can be centralized to [əʊ]. (The stereotypical Scottish pronunciation of *house* with [u] shows the influence of Scots Gaelic.) In SSE, vowels are frequently long since all short vowels (except [ə] and [ɪ]) are lengthened before voiced fricatives ([v], [z], [ð]), [r], and at the end of a word.

In respect to consonants, SSE is a rhotic dialect. It distinguishes [hw] and [w], and may even use [hw] when not expected, as in *weasel.* The voiceless stops [p, t, k] are lightly aspirated and [l] may be dark in all positions. Despite the perception that Scots 'roll their *r*'s', *r* is more often a flap or a 'continuant' (which means that the vocal tract is only partly closed). There is no *h*-dropping in SSE. The Gaelic sound [x] is found in personal and place names and loan words (e.g. *loch, clachan* 'village') but also occasionally in English words such as *thought* or *night.* [θ] is used rather than [ð] in words such as *with, through,* and *although.* A [t] in non-initial position may become a glottal stop, though this appears to be stigmatized. In the Celtic-speaking areas (the Highlands and Islands), interference from Gaelic is obvious in the following ways: voiced stops may be devoiced, voiceless consonants may be heavily aspirated, [l] is clear, [t] and [d] may be dental, [θ] and [ð] may be missing, and voiced sibilants are devoiced.

The grammar of SSE also exhibits a significant number of distinctive characteristics (most of which are also found in Ulster English). The definite article is often used in different ways than in BE, e.g. *in the hospital* (this usage is also found in USEng), *go to the shops for the milk, wear the kilt, the now* 'just now', and *the day* 'today'. The remnant plural noun forms, *shoon/shuin* 'shoes', *eyen* 'eyes', and *kyne* 'cows', may be found, and with measure terms, plural marking on the noun may be absent, as in *ten year ago.* Some speakers continue to use the second-person singular forms, *thou/thy/thee*, but others have innovated a new plural form, *yous.* In 'broad' accents, the demonstrative forms are *thir* 'these' and *thae* 'those', which may also represent remnant forms, and the interrogative/relative forms are *at* 'that', *whae* 'who', *wham* 'whom', *whase* 'whose', and *whilk* 'which'. Resembling older usage, *that* may be used in both non-restrictive and restrictive relative clauses.

There are a number of distinctive verbal forms, including *gae/gaed/gane* 'go, went, gone', *hing/hang/hungin* 'hang, hanged/hung, hung', *lauch/leuch/lauchen* 'laugh, laughed, laughed', *do/done/done, tellt* 'told', *brung* 'brought', *taen* 'took', and *sellt* 'sold'. The negative particle is realized as *no* or *nae* and is typically contracted to form items such as *canno, didnae, hadnae,* or *amnae.* Multiple negatives are still possible. In regard to the modal auxiliaries, *will* has virtually replaced *shall* (as in NAE), *can* or *get to* is used for permissive *may, should* or *want* substitutes for *ought,* and *mustn't* is common. The infinitival marker *to* may precede a modal verb, e.g. *I'd like to could do that,* and multiple modals are possible, e.g. *She'll no can give us coffee the day* (this feature is found in some dialects of United States English). Even when *have* acts as a main verb, *not* follows it; no dummy *do* is required: thus,

I hadnae a party for him for 'I didn't have a party for him'. In contrast, *need* is always a main verb (as is the case for most speakers of NAE). The structure *needs washed* 'needs washing' is found as is *wants out* 'wants to go out' (a structure also found in NAE). The agent in the passive may be marked with *frae* 'from' or *by*, as in earlier English. The progressive with state verbs is more widespread than in other varieties, as in *I'm needing to see you.* The past tense is used when the perfect would be expected in BE; this usage is also found in NAE, thus *Did you see the film?* 'Have you seen the film?' The tag *isn't it* (> *init*?) is common, as is the tag *e* [e], similar to *eh* in other varieties. In general, tags are widespread, even following interrogatives. Frequently, prepositional usage varies from the standard, as in *married on* 'married to' and *throw ower* 'throw out of', and the *a-* prefix is used with certain forms (*afore, aneath, aside, atween*) that standardly have a *be-* prefix (*before, beneath, beside, between*).

Scottish English has a fairly distinctive vocabulary. Scottish forms widely known outside Scotland (and found in general dictionaries of English) include *auld* 'old', *wee* 'little', *pinkie* 'finger' (now also in NAE), *aye*, *nay*, *burn* 'stream', *bonny* 'pretty', *lass*, and *ay* 'always'. SSE contains borrowings from Scots Gaelic, such as *loch* 'lake', *baudrons* 'cat', *caber* 'pole', *clachan* 'village', *coronach* 'funeral song, dirge', *dod* 'slight fit of ill humor', *droich* 'dwarf', and *strool* 'stream of liquid' (used by James Joyce), some of which have entered general usage, such as *cairn, clan, glen, sporran, plaid, whiskey*, and *ptarmigan* 'bird of the grouse family'. Moreover, quite a number of lexical items in SSE (and northern British dialects) are medieval borrowings from Scandinavian, such as *kirk* 'church', *freit* 'omen', *coup* 'to barter, exchange', *brough* 'halo', *carline/carling* 'woman' (contemptuous term), *birkie* 'fellow' (jocular term), *brae* 'steep bank of a river', and *clour* 'bump on head'. Many of the forms cited in dictionaries of Scotticisms are known by relatively few present-day Scots, such as *wheen* 'many', *glaikit* 'stupid', *stoor* 'dust', *scunner* 'to disgust', and *darg* 'task', while others are unknown outside of rural, agricultural contexts, such as *grosser* 'gooseberry', *cuit* 'ankle', *skaup* 'skull', and *capoosh* 'hood'; these are usually only known to older speakers. Finally, a number of standard English words assume specialized meanings in SSE, such as *(lord) provost* 'mayor', *janitor* 'caretaker', *stay* 'to live, reside', *sort* 'to mend', *fire-raising* 'arson', *advocate* 'barrister, lawyer', *gate* 'road', *travel* 'go on foot', *scheme* 'local government housing estate', *mind* 'memory, recollection', and *sober* 'poor, miserable, humble'.

Hiberno-English

Although English has been present in Ireland since the twelfth century, Irish Gaelic retained its dominance until the 1600s. This dominance was eroded by the defeat of the Irish during the reign of Elizabeth I, an influx of English settlers during the reign of James I, efforts by Cromwell to dominate the Irish, and various plantation schemes. Under the Act of Union of 1800, Ireland became part of England and Gaelic began a steady decline. English was dominant by the mid-nineteenth century.

Different settlement patterns as well as the partition of Ireland in 1921 into an independent southern Republic of Ireland and a British Northern Ireland have led to different developments of both English and Gaelic throughout the island. The language of Northern Ireland, also known as Ulster-Scots or Scots-Irish, bears strong similarities to the language of Scotland, as it results in large part from seventeenth-century Protestant immigrants from southwest Scotland. (For the most part, present-day Catholics are the descendents of the original Irish inhabitants of the area, while present-day Protestants are descendents of seventeenth-century Scots immigrants.) However, even in Northern Ireland one finds a range of accents from heavily Scots-influenced Ulster-Scots of the far north and less heavily Scots-influenced Mid-Ulster varieties in the border area. The language of the Republic of Ireland is the result of immigrants from the West Country and the West Midlands of England who settled originally in the Dublin area; their speech spread throughout the country. Considerable diversity exists between the urban, more English-like varieties and the rural, more Gaelic-influenced ones. While Irish Gaelic was much in decline by the mid-nineteenth century, it has received some support in the Republic of Ireland, where it is spoken natively by a small number of speakers in certain areas (known as the Gaeltacht), is an official language, and is taught in the schools.

We will discuss Anglo-Irish English, often called Hiberno-English (HE), in relation primarily to the dialect spoken in southern Ireland. Phonologically, the dialect is conservative, showing none of the BE or NAE innovations. As in Scottish English, RP is not the exclusive prestige dialect. For vowels, 'there is a measure of truth in the view than an Irish accent consists in the sounds of Irish imposed upon English' (Wells 1982:419). Some features stereotypically associated with HE are, in fact, recessive or found only in the speech of uneducated people, such as the failure to raise the ME [ɛ̄] vowel in *tea, steal, meat, leave, cheat, tea, easy* from [e] to [i], the merger of the [ɔɪ] and [aɪ] diphthongs as [əɪ] so that *boy* and *buy* are homophones, or the pronunciation of *ol* as [aʊl] in *cold* or *old*. A feature found in contemporary HE is rounding of [ə] so that *look* and *luck, put* and *putt,* or *took* and *tuck* are nearly homophones. For some speakers, [ɛ] and [ɪ] merge as [ɛ] before [n], so that *pen* and *pin* are homophones (this feature is also found in some dialects of USEng). Also as in SSE, vowels are not reduced before *r*, and [e] and [o] tend to be monophthongs. The vowels [ɒ] and [ɔ], which have merged in many dialects of English, are distinct in *stalked* and *stock* and generally before [p, t, k], but not elsewhere, so that *awful/offal* or *sawed/sod* are the same. The use of [æ] or [ɑ] in *ask*-words is far from clear, though [æ] may certainly be heard. There are distinctive pronunciations of *many* and *any* with [æ] not [ɛ]. As in CanE, *opinion/official* have [o] rather than [ə] in the first syllable. The unstressed vowel is typically [ə], not [ɪ], so that *addition* and *edition* are not distinguished. Schwa is also found instead of [ɪu] or [o] in the unstressed syllables of *speculate* or *yellow*.

HE is a rhotic dialect, generally using a retroflex [ɾ] as in NAE, though it may be 'darker' and it can be fricativized after [t] and [d]. The distinction between [w] and

[hw] is maintained. There is no *h*-dropping, and [l] is always clear. Perhaps most distinctive among the consonant sounds is the treatment of the interdental fricatives [θ, ð]. These are realized as dentalized [t, d], so there is only a slight difference (one of place, not manner of articulation) between, for example, the initial sounds in *thin* and *tin* or the final sounds of *breathe* and *breed*. Some speakers use dentalized stops for both. This is attributed to Gaelic influence. Concomitantly, *width* and *with* or *breadth* and *breath* may not be distinguished, while *breathed* may be disyllabic. To complicate matters, after or between vowels [t] may be a glottal stop, a voiced [t], or a flap. Final [p, t, k] are released and aspirated. In heavily Gaelic-influenced dialects, [s] > [š] and [z] > [ž], as in *star, wisdom*. An occasional [x] is heard in Gaelic words.

HE often has postponed stress on verbal suffixes (*educáte, prosecúte*) and in polysyllabic words on a syllable followed by consonant cluster (*algébra, charácter*) though the latter is stigmatized. This feature is found in Scottish, Caribbean, and Indian English, but is more advanced in the Hiberno-English dialect.

The influence of Irish Gaelic may be seen in a number of syntactic calques. The construction *be after* (V)-*ing*, as in *he is/was after getting up*, is used for the perfect 'he has/had just gotten up'. The construction *do* + V (including *be*) or verbal periphrase, as in *he does sing* (in the north often *he bees singing*)/*he does be happy/he does be writing*, expresses the habitual. The conjunction *and* serves as an all-purpose subordinating conjunction, meaning 'when', 'while', 'if', etc., as in *I was happy and I left* 'I was happy when I left'. It is common to see marked predicative constructions move to the front of the sentence, as in *Coming home late are you?* Sentence clefting, or division, often without any intended emphasis, is common, as in *Is it happy that you are?* rather than *Are you happy?*' People commonly invert the usual order of subject and auxiliary in indirect questions, as in *I asked when is it due* 'I asked when it was due'. Relative pronouns are frequently omitted. Speakers ask many rhetorical questions, and express possession with the construction *be* + *near/at/by*, as in *There wasn't any money by that boy* 'That boy didn't have any money'.

Other features of the HE verb system include the use of *will* for *shall* (also found in NAE), occurrence of the *be*-perfect, as in *He is arrived home* for 'He has arrived home', the more frequent use of the progressive, especially with state verbs, as in *She is liking chocolate* for 'She likes chocolate', and the use of the present for the perfect or the past for the past perfect, as in *He's dead ten years* 'He has been dead ten years' or *He said that he paid me* for 'He said that he had paid me'. In fact, Irish people tend to avoid the perfect generally, preferring constructions like *Did you see him yet?* to mean 'Have you seen him yet' (a feature also of NAE). HE employs the forms *used be* for *used to be*, *amn't* for *aren't,* and *mustn't* for *can't*, and uses *let* for second-person imperatives, as in *Let you see to that*. We also find negative progressive imperatives, as in *Don't be saying that*. Preposition usage differs from BE: *till* is used for *to* or *until*, as in time expressions such as *quarter till five* 'quarter to five' (also used in USEng), *of* and *on* may be interchanged, and *from* is used for *since*. In

the pronoun system, *yous(e)* is commonly employed for plural *you*, but with a singular verb, i.e. *youse is*. *Yes* and *no* are avoided in preference for an elliptical clause, e.g. *Are you ready? I am/I am not.*

HE contains borrowings from Irish Gaelic, for example, *spalpeen* 'rascal', *barmbrack* 'currant bun', *gombeen* 'usury', *bonny-clabber* 'clotted milk', *merrow* 'mermaid', *moulleen* 'cow without horns', *bosthoon* 'awkward, tactless fellow', *colleen* 'girl', *lough* 'lake' (cf. Scottish *loch*), some of which have entered standard English, including *shamrock, banshee, galore* 'abundant', *leprechaun, hubbub, bog, puss* 'ugly face', *brogue* 'kind of shoe', and *smithereens* 'small fragments' (note that *-een* is a diminutive suffix in Irish). As with Scotticisms, it is likely that many terms cited as Anglo-Irish or Irish in dictionaries are not widely known among younger, urban HE speakers. Specialized Irish forms of words include *boyo* 'boy', *eejit* 'idiot', and *bejasus* 'by Jesus'. Some English words are used in specialized senses in HE, as *leaf* 'brim of a hat', *lashings* 'floods', *flake* 'to beat, flog', *ball (of malt)* 'glass (of whiskey)', *snug* 'moderately well to do', *bold* 'naughty', *yoke* 'gadget, thing', *cog* 'to cheat', *cant* 'auction, disposal of goods', or *chief(e)ry* 'office or territory of a chief'. HE has a distinctive set of directional terms: *back* 'westwards', *below* 'northwards', *over* 'eastwards', and *up above* 'southwards' (Trudgill and Hannah 2002:104).

Exercise 12.4 Vocabulary of National Dialects

Using the *OED*, supply the information requested for each word:

	word	national variety	meaning	source
a.	sasquatch			
b.	puckeroo			
c.	dowf			
d.	natty			
e.	kiva			
f.	bodach			
g.	sangoma			
h.	bywoner			
i.	coracle			
j.	potlatch			
k.	walkabout			

l. joual _____ _____ _____

m. hogan _____ _____ _____

English in the United States

Spoken varieties in the United States have been the object of intensive study. Dialect atlases, the publications of the American Dialect Society, urban surveys, and the *Dictionary of American Regional English* record evidence of regional pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. Yet there is little consensus as to how American dialects should be demarcated or whether boundaries should or should not be drawn upon the basis of particular evidence. For example, Pederson (2001) places New York City speech within a larger northeastern dialect along with Eastern New England, while Trudgill and Hannah (2002) decide that both are important and distinctive enough to constitute separate categories. Even the claim that a General American speech exists may be debated. The complex story of historic settlement, modern immigration, and continuing mobility complicate any dialect map. Variation precludes the drawing of definite dialect boundaries; at best an opaque pattern of probable dialect distribution emerges (Pederson 2001:258). Moreover, there are other dialects that need further study such as American-Indian English and Chicano English. We must also keep in mind that discussions of United States regional dialects often neglect the contribution of African American and Latino-American ethnic speakers (e.g. in New Mexico).

With these stipulations, we may still make some generalizations. Three main dialect areas can be identified within USEng: General American, Northeastern, and Southern (see Figure 12.2). Among these three areas we find the subregional dialects enumerated below.[5]

General American

To some extent General American speech may be identified as much by a lack of distinguishing features as by their presence. Certainly we may contrast this dialect with the marked features of Northeastern and Southern speech.

Mid-Atlantic

Another label for this dialect is Central Eastern, but the geographical term Mid-Atlantic is more transparent. The dialect speads over southeastern New York State,

5 The following account is drawn largely from Pederson (2001) and Trudgill and Hannah (2002:40-7).

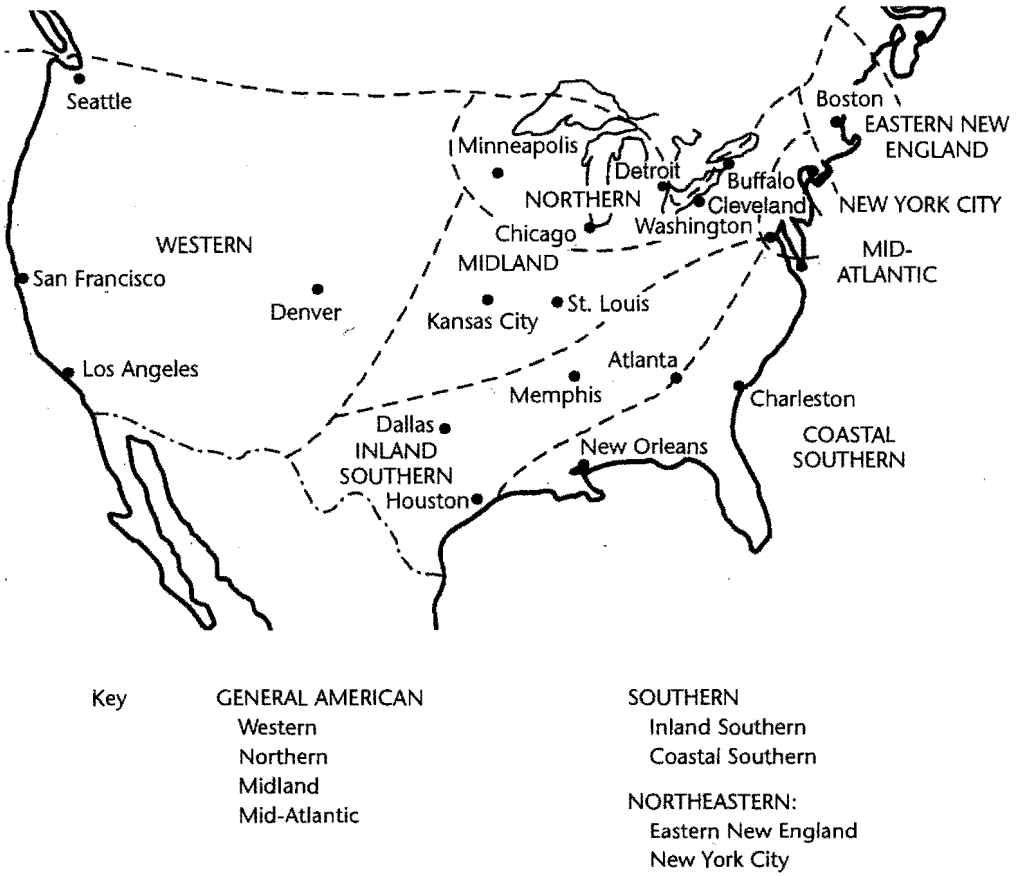


Figure 12.2 Regional varieties of US English (adapted from Peter Trudgill and Jean Hannah, *International English: A Guide to Varieties of Standard English*, 4th edn [London: Arnold, 2002], p. 41).

most of New Jersey beyond the New York suburbs, eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. This dialect has many features common to NAE such as rhoticity. In addition, however, it has a number of recent innovations, found among younger speakers here. Of primary importance is the behavior of the vowels [ɑ], [æ], and [ɛ], which are being moved to [æ], [e], and [ə], respectively, in accordance with the 'Northern Cities Chain Shift' (a phenomenon explained in the section on Northern speech below). Another characteristic innovation involves [eɪ] as in *bay*, which is becoming increasingly closer and narrowed to [ɛɪ]. A contrast with Southern USEng is thus developing, where the diphthong widens, as it does in AusE, NZE, and SAE. In addition, allophones of the vowel [aɪ] which occur before voiceless consonants

are being raised to [ə] to give the pronunciation *night time*, [nəɪt taɪm]. Finally, we might mention that the [u] in *boot* is being fronted to a high central rounded vowel and the onset of [oʊ] in *boat* to a mid-central or mid-front rounded vowel.

An account of vocabulary in Mid-Atlantic speech proves difficult because General American lexical items often overlap. For example, from Pennsylvania Dutch country in southeastern Pennsylvania come a number of German loan translations. ('Dutch' does not refer to Holland but is a form of 'Deutsch', meaning 'German'.) We hear, for example, *fire bug* 'firefly', *green beans*, and *snake feeder* 'dragon fly'. Many of these words, however, are not specific to Mid-Atlantic speakers, but can be heard in other places with large numbers of German immigrants such as Milwaukee or East Texas. Such Germanisms include *fat cake* 'doughnut', *rain worm* 'earthworm', *sawbuck* 'sawhorse', *smearcase* 'cottage cheese', *clook* 'hen', and *snits* 'dried fruit'.

NORTHERN

The Northern dialect area envelopes the ring of northern states that essentially surround the Great Lakes, i.e. Minnesota, Wisconsin, northern Illinois, northern Indiana, northern Ohio, northern Pennsylvania, northwestern New York, and west Vermont. At the core of this region are the northern cities of Minneapolis, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Buffalo. A significant sound shift is currently and recently underway here, and it constitutes the most prominent characteristic of Northern speech. In a series of linked movements in vowel space, the Northern Cities Chain Shift involves the vowels [ɑ], [æ], and [ɛ]:

1. [ɑ] moves forward to encroach upon the front vowel space of [æ]. The name *John* may thus be heard as *Jan*.
2. [æ] is in turn lengthening and moving upward through [ɛ] to [e] and may even be diphthongized to [eə] or [ɪə]. The woman's name *Ann* may be heard as the man's name, *Ian*. In this part of the shift, the degree of raising and diphthongization varies considerably from place to place, and among different words and phonological environments.
3. [ɛ] responds to the pressure from the rising of [æ] and retracts in the mouth to become a mid-central vowel closer to [ə]. *Best* may be heard as *bust*.

These speakers also contrast:

[oʊ]	[ɔ]
mourning	morning
hoarse	horse
fourteen	forty

In addition, [ʊ] rather than [u] is heard in *roots*. Finally, Northern speakers predictably pronounce *greasy* with [s] and *with* with [ð].

Unique grammatical features are difficult to identify. A visitor to the Northern area might hear *wun't* 'wasn't', *be* 'am', and *hadn't aught* 'should'. A few non-standard preterites may be heard in some more rural parts of the region: *et* 'ate', *riz* 'rose', *div* 'dived, dove', and *driv* 'drove'. Among distinctively regional vocabulary we find *angleworm* 'earthworm', *swill* 'table scraps for hogs', and *johnnycake* 'cornbread'.

MIDLAND

While dialectologists argue over its historical and geographical bases, the Midland dialect is generally understood to encompass the speech of Nebraska, Kansas, western Iowa, most of Missouri, southern Illinois, southern Indiana, southern Ohio, and southwestern Pennsylvania. Neither the Midland nor the Western dialects evidence the Northern Cities Chain Shift. Certain other pronunciations may be identified as Midland regionalisms. Intrusive [r] is the most pervasive feature within the area. *Wash* may be pronounced [wɔrš] so that it rhymes with *Porsche*. Less obviously, some old, rural pronunciations also survive among educated speakers in words with vowels occurring before the fricatives [š] and [ž]. The vowel [ɪ] may be raised and tensed to [i], so that *fish* sounds like *fiche*; [ʊ] may similarly be pronounced [u], so that *push* rhymes with *douche*. In the same environment the first vowel in *special* may be pronounced [eɪ] so that it is identical to *spatial*; we hear the same vowel in *pleasure, measure, egg,* and *leg*. So too a word like *mash* is said as [mæɪš] and a word like *hush* is [həɪš].

Only a few lexical forms appear to be general to the entire region: e.g. *blinds* 'roller shades', *coal oil* 'kerosene', *hull* 'to shell beans or peas', *little piece* 'short distance', *skillet* 'frying pan'. *Sweet corn* is distinguished from *field corn*. 'Cantaloupe' is *muskmelon*. Several regional phrases occur, such as *all the further* 'as far as', or *all the ways*; the use of the preposition *till* as in 'quarter till the hour' is also common. Other constructions may be heard throughout the United States but seem to typify Midland speech, including *seen* 'saw' or *boilt* 'boiled' and *clum* 'climbed'. If you were to visit the southern part of the Midlands, you might hear subregionlisms such as *pavement* 'sidewalk' or *fireboard* 'mantel'. The preterit and past participle forms *drink* and *shrink* may be expected, too.

WESTERN

Western dialects are found from the Pacific coast through the Rocky Mountains (excluding New Mexico) into the Dakotas. Remarkable within this dialect are two sets of sound mergers. The first involves a sound shift that has been completed in other parts of North America (e.g. Canada) but is still in progress in the western United States. As a result, while older speakers in the West distinguish *cot* (with [ɑ]) from *caught* (with [ɔ]) among younger speakers [ɔ] is merging with [ɑ], a shift which creates the homonym pairs *taught/tot*, and *sought/sot*. The second merger involves several vowels. Most notably, the vowel [æ] in *bad* has merged with [ɛ]

before [r] + vowel as [ɛ], making *marry* and *merry* identical. Then, too, [ɛ] and [eɪ] may be merged in the same environment, giving both *merry* and *Mary* an [ɛ] pronunciation. A Western speaker may thus have the homonyms *marry*, *merry*, *Mary*. Finally, in Western speech we do not generally hear a front glide [j] in words such as *new, tune*, and *due*, i.e. [nu], [tun], [du].

Because the American West is such a vast territory, its speech is by no means uniform, and to a certain extent, this area retains the dialect features of the Northern, Southern, and Midland speakers who settled west of the Mississippi. Certainly its vocabulary reflects this mixture. Moreover, because the area extending from the southwest into California was once a colony of Spain and a territory of Mexico, Spanish loan words are also to be found here. *Mesa* 'flat topped hill', *remuda* 'string of horses', and *arroyo* 'dry creek' are some examples. Loan words for food may be well known to outsiders: along with *frijoles* 'pinto beans', we find *taco, tortilla, huevos* 'eggs', *chorizo*, and *enchilada*.

NORTHEASTERN

In Eastern New England and New York City we hear the subregional speech of the two main Northeastern dialects.

Eastern New England. Eastern New England speech focuses on the historically important city of Boston and includes the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, eastern Vermont, eastern Connecticut, and eastern and central Massachusetts. After settlement Boston continued as a port city and thus served as a conduit through which London and southern English features moved into the United States. For this reason, the Eastern New England accent bears some resemblance to the accents of England and is differentiated from the speech of its Mid-Atlantic neighbors. The area is non-rhotic and has both linking and intrusive *r*, although younger speakers are beginning to conform with the rhoticity of General American. Like BE, Eastern New England may have the following pronunciations of vowel + *r*: *peer* [pɪə], *pair* [pɛə], and *poor* [pʊə]. It also resembles British English with a fairly fronted [a] in words such as *calm, father, dance*, and *path*. The merger of [ɔ] and [ɑ] has been completed in this area. Eastern New England speakers have [ɒ] for both; sets such as *sot, sought*, and *sort* become homophonous. Younger urban speakers also display Northern Cities Chain Shift pronunciations.

Especially in rural parts of this area, lexical features may be striking. *Apple dowdy* 'deep dish pie', *bonny clabber* 'curdled milk', *buttonwood* 'plane tree, sycamore', *comforter* 'quilt', *fritters* 'fried cakes', *hog's head cheese* 'headcheese', *spindle* 'tassel', and *pigsty* 'pigpen' are common, if not unique, to the countryside of Eastern New England. In addition to these regionalisms, many words in general use in the United States originate in this dialect: *chipmunk, firefly, gutter, kerosene, picket fence, skunk, string beans*.

New York City. The New York City dialect area covers not only the five boroughs of the city itself, but also the areas adjoining it: Long Island, the Hudson River Valley up into Westchester County, south into northern New Jersey and southwestern Connecticut (Millward 1996:356). The dialect's distinctiveness is a hallmark of the city's history. In the eighteenth century, following the initial Dutch settlement, New Amsterdam became New York and developed as an English port. The mid nineteenth century saw Irish and German immigrants and by the late nineteenth century, the immigration facility at Ellis Island received people from southern and eastern Europe speaking Yiddish, Polish, Italian, and other European languages. In the twentieth century, Hispanic peoples came, as did African Americans and Asians. Many local New York speech patterns result from this rich settlement pattern.

Certain pronunciations characterize New York City speech. Unlike most everywhere else in English-speaking North America, however, accents are socially stratified as they are in Britain. Upper-class accents lack the local features found in lower-class accents. The dialect is non-rhotic, and linking and intrusive *r* are usual. As in Boston, however, younger speakers, especially among the more affluent and educated, are increasingly rhotic. New York, as does Boston, has the additional vowel long [a], but in New York it is phonetically realized as [ɑə]. This sound occurs in *bard, calm, father*, and in words like them, although it is absent in *dance* and *path*, which have [æ]. In words such as *bird* and *girl*, we often hear the diphthong [ɛɪ], though this allophone is less frequent among younger speakers. Because the vowel [ɔ] is present in New York City pronunciations, the words *cot* [ɑ] and *caught* [ɔ] are distinct. Some New Yorkers articulate [θ] and [ð] as dental stops, [t] and [d], so that *then* and *den* may be homophones, although the stop consonant is less likely among educated speakers. The Northern Cities Chain Shift is manifest in New York City speech.

As elsewhere, lexical regionalisms are less accurate benchmarks for the New York dialect. For example, a large Hispanic population has lent Spanish words like *bodega* 'a corner convenience store' into common New York parlance. But, just as we saw that German loan translations are not unique to Mid-Atlantic speech, so too are Spanish loans plentiful in many other American cities and towns. Nor is vocabulary uniform within the dialect area; usage may vary from neighborhood to neighborhood. A 'regular' coffee comes with milk and a bit of sugar in Midtown but with three heaping teaspoons of sugar in Wall Street.

SOUTHERN

Like Northeastern, Southern speech departs noticeably from General American dialects. We can divide the Southern dialect area into Coastal Southern and Inland Southern. The Coastal pattern runs from eastern Virginia to the gulf coast of Texas, including the seaboard of the South Atlantic and Gulf States. The Inland dialect extends into West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, western Virginia, western North Carolina, western South Carolina, northern Georgia, northern Alabama, Arkansas,

southwestern Missouri, Oklahoma, and most of Texas. Inland speech includes the mountain varieties of Appalachia and the Ozarks. Historic patterns of settlement differentiate somewhat the two southern dialects: further away from Charleston and other eastern ports, Inland speech may preserve features which, on the coast, give way to innovations brought later on by trade with London. To simplify, Inland speech remains rhotic (albeit variably), while Coastal speech is more likely to be non-rhotic, lacking the expected linking and intrusive *r*. Along the Atlantic you might also hear allophonic variants of the diphthongs [aɪ] and [aʊ]. Before voiceless consonants the centralized onsets occur: [əɪ] and [əʊ] respectively (historic forms preserved in CanE as well).

Other subregionalisms occur in this large dialect region, but a number of generalizations nevertheless seem to hold true for a Southern dialect. Southern speech has some of the most remarkable features in the United States. Both its phonemes and prosody make it generally identifiable to the outsider. *Greasy* is pronounced with [z] throughout the dialect area. We hear a contrast between [oʊ] and [ɔ] in *hoarse/horse* and *mourning/morning*. In many stressed monosyllables, the vowels [ɪ], [ɛ], and [æ] often break into diphthongs which take a [ə] glide at the end. Taken to its extreme, *bed* [bejəd], *bid* [bɪjəd], and *bad* [bæijəd] occur. Younger speakers are especially likely to have homophones in the pairs, *den/din, meant/mint, pen/pin*, and *ten/tin*; in other words, [ɪ] alternates for [ɛ] before [n]. Before voiced consonants, [aɪ] and [ɔɪ] are monophthongized to long [a] as in *ride*, and [ɔ] as in *oil*. The verb forms *isn't* and *wasn't* often have [d] instead of [z], yielding [ɪdnt], for example. Southern speakers put the primary stress on the first syllable of *July, September, October, November*, and *December*. Weak stress falls on the final syllable of the names for the days of the week, rendering that sound [ɪ] rather than [eɪ] as is heard elsewhere in the US.

Southern grammatical features include the well-known second-person plural pronoun, *you all* or *y'all*. In a sense this form is a double plural because *you* is historically a plural form; perhaps the need for a second-person plural recognizably different from the singular, *you*, leads to its innovation in *you all*. The doubling of modal auxiliaries occurs in the South: 'I might could do it' would not surprise a Southerner. Also considered non-standard outside of the South is the widespread contracted negative, *ain't*. Less frequent in educated southern speech is the perfective *done* in 'I done told you that already'. Pederson (2001) mentions the omission of the verb 'be' in expressions like 'he a puppy', or the deletion of the auxiliary in 'he done it'. Along with other originally southern features, this last feature is also heard in African American Vernacular English, because black speakers emigrating out of this area took their southern accents with them. Doubtless, too, African American Vernacular English reinforces regionalisms in Southern English that might otherwise be lost to conformity with General American speech.

Despite the increasing homogenization of the United States, Southern USEng retains some regional vocabulary words. We hear of *butter beans* 'lima beans', *grits* 'milled corn meal', *chitlins*, 'hog intestines', *boiled peanuts, she crab* 'female crab',

greens 'boiled leaf vegetables', *roasting ears* 'corn on the cob', *sweet tea* 'sweetened ice tea', and *varmint* 'small predatory animal. *Hoppin John* (a dish of greens, black-eyed peas, and pork) is prepared on New Year's. *Barbecue* is pork pulled from the bone. If you're hungry for chicken or pork and three side servings of vegetables, you go to a *meat 'n three* and have *sweet potato pie* for dessert.

Exercise 12.5 American Regionalisms

1. Using the *Dictionary of American Regional English*, find the definitions for the following words:

   a. clophopper _____

   _____

   b. flapdoodle _____

   _____

   c. dust bunny _____

   _____

   d. boogerman/bogeyman _____

   _____

   e. elbow grease _____

   _____

   f. get-go _____

   _____

   g. doohickey _____

   _____

   h. fraidycat _____

   _____

2. Look up the following words in the *Dictionary of American Regional English*, and using the maps provided, discuss their geographical distribution in reference to the dialect areas identified in the text.

   a. davenport 'sofa, couch' _____

   _____

   _____

b. baby-buggy _____

c. creep 'crawl' _____

d. frigidaire 'refrigerator' _____

e. ethyl 'high octane gasoline' _____

African American Vernacular English

Given the number of its speakers, their diversity, and their geographical distribution, we should not be surprised that African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is by no means uniform. That is, we should expect as much variation within this speech as within any other dialect according to such factors as age, residence (urban versus rural), and income. In general, it can be identified by the salient features listed by Rickford (1999) and summarized below, many of which are not unique to AAVE. Just like any dialect or language, AAVE functions according to a system of governing principles or rules.

AAVE is a continuum of English vernaculars spoken by African Americans, and refers to essentially the same thing as the informal oral dialect known as *Ebonics* (a blend of *ebony* + *phonics*). While many speakers of AAVE use the two terms interchangeably, the word *Ebonics* carries ideological and political connotations for others. The first is an Afrocentrist conviction that African American speech derives entirely from the Niger Congo African dialects brought with the slaves to North America. By eschewing a label that includes the word 'English' (such as AAVE or Black English), *Ebonics* distances the vernacular from English. The other connotation comes from the use of the term to refer to educational programs in which teachers employ the Black vernacular to teach standard English in school, a pedagogical strategy which became the subject of some controversy in California.

Scholars have argued over the influences of Hiberno-English and Caribbean creoles on the formation of AAVE. The linguist John Rickford concludes that 'there can be absolutely no doubt that *some* pidgin/creole speech—whether homegrown or imported—was an element in the formative stage of African American Vernacular English' (1999:249). Other linguists oppose the creole hypothesis, finding little in AAVE not belonging to a dialect of (originally) British English. Salikoko Mufwene (2001) points out that AAVE must have started with the colonization of South Carolina in 1670, decades before the advent of Gullah, or Sea Island Creole, to which AAVE is likened. He argues that AAVE's grammar is essentially English, pointing to the features of Southern USEng it incorporates. An equally pertinent question is whether AAVE is diverging from white American vernaculars. Does the recently recorded variation amount to systematic language change?

PHONOLOGY

AAVE exhibits a number of distinctive consonant features:

1. The dialect is non-rhotic; for example, 'sistuh' for *sister* and 'fouh' for *four*. Intrusive and linking *r* are not usual.
2. [l] in preconsonantal position may be vocalized to a high back unrounded vowel represented in the IPA as [ɯ]. *Help* may be represented orthographically as 'he'p' and is pronounced [hɛɯp] and *silk* is pronounced [sɪɯk]. At times, [l] may even be lost in final position, so that *tall* is [tɔ] and *goal*, [goʊ]. This has the grammatical repercussion of deleting the contraction *'ll* of *will* in future tense constructions.
3. Consonant clusters at the ends of words may be simplified or reduced, especially those ending in [t] or [d], for example, 'han' instead of *hand*, 'des' instead of *desk*, or 'pass' instead of *passed*.
4. The interdental fricatives, [θ] and [ð], are realized as stop consonants, [t] and [d], at the beginning of words. *Them* may be [dɪm]. In medial or final position, they sometimes become the labiodental fricatives [f] and [v]. 'Bruvver' occurs instead of *brother*. *Something* may be [səmfɪn].
5. Unstressed *-ing* is realized as [ɪn], not [ɪŋ], as in 'walkin' for *walking*.
6. Deletion of initial [d] and [g] in certain auxiliaries, as in 'I 'on know' for *I don't know*, or 'I'm 'a do it' for *I'm gonna do it*.
7. More common among older than younger speakers is deletion of unstressed initial and medial syllables, as in 'fraid' for *afraid* and 'sec't'ry' for *secretary*.

The vowel system is also distinctive in a number of ways:

1. As in Southern USEng, [aɪ] and [ɔɪ] are monophthongized or smoothed to [a] and [ɔ], respectively, as in *buy* [ba] and *toy* [tɔ].

2. Before nasal consonants,[ɪ] and [ɛ] merge, e.g. [pɪn] for *pen* and *pin*.
3. Social separation among the races is evident in light of the fact that AAVE speakers do not seem to be participating in the Northern Cities Chain Shift, nor in the innovations found in the Mid-Atlantic dialect of General American.

In respect to prosody, AAVE tends to shift primary stress to the initial syllable (e.g. *pólice* instead of *políce*) and exhibit more varied intonation. A wider range of pitches may be employed along with more rising and level final contours.

SYNTAX

Some of the syntactic features of AAVE are the following:

1. *Ain('t)* functions as a general negator, replacing *am not, isn't, aren't, haven't, hasn't,* and *didn't*: e.g. *He ain' here* 'He isn't here' or *I ain't been told* 'I haven't been told'.
2. Multiple negation is not proscribed as it is in standard English, yielding sentences such as *He don't never* say *nothing*.
3. Appositive pronouns occur, as in *That teacher, she yell at the kids.*
4. Inflected *is* and *are* may be omitted in copulative and auxiliary constructions, as in *You sick* or *She working right now*.
5. Invariant *be, bees* expresses continuing or repetitious action, as in *He be studyin' all the time* 'He always studies' versus *He studyin'* 'He is studying right now'.
6. Invariant *be* may also be used for the future, as in *He be here tomorrow* 'He will be here tomorrow'.
7. The past tense form may function as a past participle, as in *He had bit* instead of *bitten*.
8. Direct questions may be formed without subject-auxiliary inversion but with rising intonation, as in *Why I can't play?*
9. Indirect questions (without *if* or *whether*) may exhibit subject-auxiliary inversion, as in *He asked me could I go with him.*
10. Unstressed *been* or *bin* occurs in present perfect constructions, as in *He been sick* for 'He's been sick'.
11. The construction *it* + (*is, 's, was, ain't*) replaces *there* + (*is, 's, was, isn't*), as in *It's a school up there* for 'There's a school up there'.
12. The auxiliary *done* emphasizes the completed nature of an action, as in *He done did it* for 'He's already done it'.
13. The form *say* is used to introduce direct speech, as in *They told me say they couldn't go.*

MORPHOLOGY

We find several distinctive features in noun and verb inflections as well as in the use of forms:

1. When the context is clear, the noun plural marker *-s* is often omitted, as in *four dog* or *many house.*
2. When the context is clear, the possessive marker *-s* may be omitted in noun-noun possessive constructions, as in *the lady house* 'the lady's house' or *John hat* 'John's hat'.
3. The third-person present indicative verbal ending may be omitted, especially in the presence of past-time adverbs, as in *the man walk there every morning.*
4. Past tense endings (*-ed* suffix, ablaut, etc.) may be omitted, as in *he walk there yesterday* or *he tell me so before.*
5. The forms *y'all* and *they* are used to mark second-person plural and third-person plural genitives, as in *it's y'all ball* and *it's they house*, respectively.

LEXICON

As Geneva Smitherman (1977:59) observes, 'words have potentially two levels of meaning, one black one white' (quoted by Mufwene 2001:309). 'Counterlanguage' or camouflaged constructions disguise intended meaning from outsiders, originally white masters. Examples include *sneak* 'to attack someone off guard', *train* 'group rape', *double-bank* 'to gang up on someone', and *give some sugar* 'kiss' (Mufwene 2001:308–9). A number of English words in general use derive from AAVE, including *goober, okra,* and *yam*, loans from African languages. The etymologies of two words used well beyond the African American community are enlightening: *tote* comes from the Kikongo word *tota* 'carry' and *hip* comes from the Wolof word *hipi* 'be aware' (Millward 1996:360–361). Expressions like 'givin' five' and 'Whassup' originate in the African American community, while other Black cultural idioms and slang contribute *nitty gritty, cool, jam* 'to improvise', *jazz*, and *rap.*

The Negro spiritual below, 'I Know Moon Rise', employs a call response/pattern brought with the slaves from their homes in West and Central Africa. The pattern facilitates the singing of Protestant hymns unfamiliar to the Africans: the lyrics would be called out in anticipation of the singers' next line (O'Meally 1997:6–7). We know that this song was sung by black soldiers on the Union side during the Civil War because the nineteenth-century scholar and abolitionist, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, remarks on the words, 'I lie in de grave an' stretch out my arms', writing in 1867: 'Never, it seems to me since man first lived and suffered, was his infinite longing for peace uttered more plaintively than in that line' (quoted by Johnson 1925:42).