Variety studies

In present-day linguistics the term *variety* is used to refer to any variant of a language which can be sufficiently delimited from another variant. The grounds for such differentiation may be social, historical, spatial or a combination of these. The necessity for a neutral term such as *variety* arose from the loaded use of the term *dialect*: this was not only used in the neutral sense of a regionally bound form of a language, but also with the implication that the linguistically most interesting varieties of a language are those spoken by the older rural population. This view is understandable given the origin of dialectology in the nineteenth century, that is in the heyday of historical linguistics. Nowadays, sociolinguistic attitudes are prevalent and the need for a term which can include the investigation of the urban population of a language from a social point of view became evident. The neutrality of the term *variety* must be stressed. It simply refers to a distinguishable variant of a language. This means that there are a large number of varieties of any given language, indeed the number is theoretically infinite. The sole criterion to be fulfilled by a particular variety is delimitation vis à vis other varieties. Dialects within a variety framework are frequently referred to as regional varieties and sociolects as social varieties, though the label *dialect* can be retained if used objectively.

The notion of 'dialect'

1) Dialect Strictly speaking the term *dialect* refers to a geographical variant of a language. However, it is used loosely, not only by non-linguists, to talk about any variety of language. For sociolinguistic purposes one must distinguish various sub-types of dialect.

The term *dialect* is used to denote a geographically distinct variety of a language. There is no reference to the social dimension of language here. It is also important to stress that the standard of a language is nothing more than a dialect which achieved special political and social status at some stage in the past and which has been extensively codified orthographically.

a) *koiné* This is a term deriving from ancient Greek 'common' and refers to the situation where, in a group of dialects, one is predominant and used outside of its natural boundaries as a means of inter-dialectal communication. This was the case with Athenian Greek and the remaining dialects in Classical Greece and - at least for writing - also held for West Saxon vis à vis the other dialects of English in the Old English period.

b) *patois* This is a French term which refers to a dialect which is unwritten and as such without a literary tradition. The (French) term *dialecte* conversely refers to a geographical variety which has an associated literature. This use is to be found in other countries of Europe as well, such as Sweden.

2) Standard, non-standard and substandard In a country with a so-called *Kultursprache*, a language with a long written tradition and a literature, such as the majority of countries of the West, it makes sense to talk of a codified standard. By implicit or explicit comparison with this standard one can then classify other varieties as non-standard or substandard (a more loaded term than the former). In each country there is a term for the standard. In Germany this is simply *Hochdeutsch* whereas in England there are various terms such as *The Queen's English*, *Oxford English*, *BBC English*, *Received Pronunciation*. Only the last of these finds favour with linguists.

Although the layperson may use these terms indiscriminately and although he/she may not be able to be precise about what he means by them, he/she is always able to recognise them and may not infrequently be in a position to imitate them also. Here one sees that the *receptive* ability of a speaker is greater that his/her *productive* ability.

There are a number of further labels which are used to refer to language variation along various axes. Students should be aware of at least the following three terms.

Diatopic	Refers to variation in language on a geographical level.
Diastratic	Refers to variation in language between social classes.
Diachronic	Refers to variation in language over time.

3) Vernacular This is a term which is only found in English. The nearest equivalent in German is *Volkssprache*. The term refers to the language spoken naturally by the inhabitants of a country as opposed to a possible classical language which may have a position of dominance in cultural or ecclesiastical spheres.

4) Mutual intelligibility of dialects This consideration presents us with the problem of how to distinguish between language and dialect and the related problem of how to decide what a language is. One way of characterising 'language' and 'dialect' is to regard languages as a collection of mutually intelligible dialects and a dialect as a recognisable variety within this group.

Unfortunately, the criterion of mutual intelligibility is not entirely successful. One common problem with this criterion is that some languages like Norwegian, Swedish and Danish are usually considered, for political reasons, as different languages but speakers of these three languages can readily understand and communicate with each other. It may also be the case that dialects belonging to the same language lack mutual intelligibility. German, for instance, would not be considered a single language because some types of German are not intelligible to speakers of other types. Furthermore, mutual intelligibility may not be equal in both directions. It is often said, for instance, that Danes understand Norwegians better that Norwegians understand Danes. This leads us to another difficulty: the criterion admits of degrees of more or less because many Swedes, for instance, can readily understand many Norwegians but not in the same way as they do Swedes.

5) Polylectal grammars Obviously, speakers of different dialects are able to understand each other more or less. This can be seen with speakers of both English and German. The reason is that the linguistic systems involved do not differ fundamentally. The understanding of different dialects implies that the speakers know the overall system of the language (group of dialects) and use it just as they convert underlying forms to surface forms by rules in syntax for instance. This view is what is called *polylectal*, from 'lect', meaning form of language. However, we have reason to question the knowledge of common underlying forms. The phenomenon of hypercorrect utterances, e.g. the introduction of an /r/ into the pronunciation of *lager* /l<:rgɑr/ by speakers who pronounce the final *-r* in English in general, proves that underlying forms are not present for all speakers, i.e. they introduce the /-r/ where it does not exist in Received Pronunciation because they feel the back pronunciation /<:/ implies a following /-r/ which is true of *r*-ful dialects but not of those without syllable final *r*.

In this connection one must specify that speakers understand more dialects than they usually speak. One explanation for this states that speakers of different dialects are able to communicate because of their receptive competence which is part of their native speaker competence in general. It might then seem legitimate to construct polylectal grammars, grammars that incorporate more than one variety. This leads one to the question of how much polylectal competence speakers possess, what the speaker is able to do with his/her knowledge, and, for instance, where polylectal grammars start and stop on a continuum. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the polylectal grammar is the best way of accounting for mutual intelligibility. It may be the case that the degree of mutual intelligibility is related to the differences, rather than the similarities, between the two grammars in question.

6) Geographical dialect continua In many parts of the world, if we examine the rural areas, we are faced with a situation which is known as a geographical dialect continuum. There are linguistic differences between the dialects of different villages in rural areas, which are sometimes larger and sometimes smaller but the further we get from a definite starting point in an area, the larger the differences become. The striking point is that a chain of mutual intelligibility links all the dialects spoken throughout the area. At any point on this extensive continuum, speakers of one dialect can understand speakers of other dialects who live in adjacent areas to them. In other words, dialects on the outer edges of the geographical area may not be mutually intelligible, but they are linked by a chain of mutual intelligibility. At no point is there a complete break, but the cumulative effect of the linguistic differences will be such that the greater the geographical separation, the greater the difficulty of comprehension. This situation is clearly illustrated by German dialects which form an uninterrupted continuum from the Dutch border in the north west to the Hungarian border in the south-east. The varieties in these extremes are not mutually intelligible but at any two points on the continuum they are.

7) Social dialect continua Dialect continua can also be social rather than geographical. A good example of this is provided by the situation in Jamaica. The initial linguistic situation in Jamaica was such that those at the top of the social scale, the British, spoke English, while those at the bottom of the social scale, the African slaves, spoke Jamaican Creole. English, the international and prestigious language of the upper classes, had a considerable impact over the centuries on Jamaican Creole. Since Jamaican Creole was recognised as being similar to English, although these two languages are not mutually intelligible, it came to be regarded as inferior or debased vis à vis English because of the social situation.

As a result two things happened. First, the 'deepest' Creole is now a good deal closer to English than before. Secondly, the gap between the varieties from 'pure' English to 'deepest' Creole has been filled and forms the social dialect continuum. The problem with this social dialect continuum is that there is no point on the continuum where English stops and Creole starts. Therefore, any division into two parts would be linguistically arbitrary. The result is that Jamaicans are taken to speak English. In fact, some Jamaicans do speak English, some do not, and some speak varieties where it is not really possible to judge. In many cases, the varieties spoken by most Jamaicans constitute a semi-foreign language, although these varieties are not foreign to, say, British English speakers in the same way that French is.

8) Autonomy and heteronomy A useful concept in looking at the relationship between the notions of 'language' and 'dialect continuum' is the concept of *heteronomy*. Certain varieties on the West Germanic dialect continuum, for example, are dialects of Dutch while others are dialects of

German. The Dutch dialects are heteronymous with respect to standard Dutch, and the German dialects to standard German, the respective superimposed autonomous standard varieties.

Heteronomy and autonomy are the result of political and cultural rather than purely linguistic factors and are therefore subject to change. A useful example of this is provided by the history of what is now southern Sweden. As a result of war and conquest, parts of Denmark became Swedish. The Danish dialects spoken on that part of the Scandinavian dialect continuum finally became dialects of Swedish, even though the (former Danish) dialects themselves did not change at all linguistically but they had become heteronymous with respect to standard Swedish rather than Danish.

Just as the direction of heteronomy can change, so formerly heteronymous varieties can achieve autonomy, often as a result of political developments, for example Middle Low Franconian became autonomous with the independence of the province of Holland and evolved into Dutch, the official language of the Netherlands. While 'new' languages may develop the linguistic forms need not be new. In other cases, political separation may lead not to autonomy but to semi-autonomy as in the case of Swiss German. It is also possible for autonomy to be lost, and for formerly independent varieties to become heteronymous with respect to other varieties. Scots was formerly an autonomous variety, but it has been regarded as a variety of English for the last two hundred years (movements are currently in progress to achieve at least semi-autonomy).

What is an isogloss?

Isoglosses Boundaries between two regions which differ with respect to some linguistic feature are called isoglosses. The term *isogloss* literally means 'same language' (*iso* + *gloss*). The term is used in two slightly different ways and is also represented graphically in two different ways. One way of displaying an isogloss is to draw a single line between two regions which are found to differ with respect to some linguistic feature. The single line separating the regions is the isogloss.

The alternative representation links by means of lines the locations of speakers who share the realisation of feature *a* with those who share feature *b*. The two lines form a heterogloss referring to those speakers who are at the interface between the two isoglosses. While the heterogloss is more precise at the interface, it is neutral with regard to any claim about those features (*a* and *b*). A single isogloss is in turn less precise about the interface, cutting through it arbitrarily. However, there are lots of cases in which both, isoglosses and heteroglosses make the same claim (compare gradual and abrupt transition).

Patterns of isoglosses Certain patterns of isoglosses have recurred time and again in various surveys that have been carried out. Their recurrence is an interesting fact about dialect, but what is also striking is the pattern itself. One of those patterns shows up as a welter of isoglosses that criss-cross one another almost chaotically. A classic example for such a pattern displaying a wild variety of combinations of dialectal elements is the set of isoglosses which separate Low German from High German and which runs east and west across Germany and Holland on a line just slightly north of Berlin. For part of their length they run more or less parallel to one another in a loose sense. Suddenly, at the point where they meet at the Rhine river, the elements go their separate ways so that it is impossible to make useful generalisations about High and Low German. The point in the northern Rhine area is called the 'Rhenish fan' which has become an instructive example for isoglosses going their separate ways. This pattern of criss-crossing isoglosses separating even contiguous villages is considered to be typical of a region that has had a long

settlement history and it is the cartographic counterpart to the principle that linguistic varieties increase the closer one gets to the area of original settlement.

In another common pattern of isoglosses, one finds a particular isogloss in more than one part of the survey region, i.e. a linguistic feature exists in two parts of the region, but those parts are separated from one another by an area in which a different linguistic feature occurs. The feature which occurs in the isolated areas has the status of a relic feature and the area(s) in between can be viewed as innovative.

Bundles of isoglosses It is important to note that each isogloss plots a single linguistic feature. The significance of a dialect area increases as more and more isoglosses are found which separate an area from adjacent ones. The coincidence of a set of isoglosses is called a bundle, as for instance in the case of the isoglosses running throughout Germany. Perhaps the most striking example of a bundle of isoglosses was obtained by the French survey by Gilliéron and Edmont. The investigated bundles have a particular prominence in the number of isoglosses which come together to form it, and in their closeness throughout the entire area which they cover.

Grading of isoglosses It seems clear that some isoglosses are of greater importance than others - often depending on what particular feature they mark. With bundles it is almost the same. However, in the history of dialectology, no one has succeeded in developing a set of principles for grading isoglosses or bundles of them. Several interesting attempts have been made. One of the most prominent is referred to as dialectometry which describes a formula for indexing the dialectic 'distance' for any two speakers in a survey.

Structural categories of isoglosses In attempting to determine the linguistic significance of isoglosses, categorising them according to the type of linguistic feature they describe may be the first step followed by grading them according to their linguistic structure or empirical observations. The categories can be characterised as follows:

Lexical isoglosses describe contrasts in the words used by different speakers to characterise the same object or action, like the use of the words *dutch cheese* and *cottage cheese*. Pronunciation isoglosses include most of the examples discussed so far, referring to contrasting pronunciation. It seems appropriate to rank lexical differences as more superficial than pronunciation differences because the former are more likely to be subject to self-conscious control or change by speakers than the latter. This may well have to do with the status of lexis and phonology as open and closed classes respectively.

In phonology, there are also two types of isoglosses. The first one is phonetic, involving contrasts in the phonetic output of two regions as the result of a more general or an additional phonological rule. Differences in phonemic inventories, on the other hand, involve phonemic isoglosses. There are thus two kinds of phonological isoglosses, and it might be tempting to rank them by attributing greater significance to the phonemic type, since it has greater structural significance. The remaining types can be subsumed under the heading 'grammatical isoglosses'. One subtype is morphological, i.e. it involves paradigmatic, inflectional and derivational differences between contrasting regions. The second subtype, the syntactic isogloss, refers to aspects of sentence formation. Both types of grammatical isogloss are quite rare, and thus it is difficult to grade them relative to one another. Finally, another type of isogloss can be referred to as a 'semantic isogloss'. Semantic isoglosses include contrasts in meaning from one region to another.

It is now fairly easy to devise a system for grading the different types of isoglosses by

indexing each isogloss with the most superficial type being valued as, say, 1 and the deepest type as 7. The result of such indexing might look like the following.

1.	lexical	2.	pronunciation	3.	phonetic
4.	phonemic	5.	morphological	6.	syntactic
7.	semantic				

By adding up the index value for each isogloss the total score would represent the value for a bundle of isoglosses.

Distribution of lexical isoglosses A very different approach to the grading of isoglosses was carried out by Hans-Henning Speitel. For him there was no possibility of grading isoglosses according to their linguistic structure because his survey was based only on lexical isoglosses. Therefore, he found out that the distribution of lexical items could pattern in a number of ways and in classifying these different patterns he proposed that they might have different strengths and thus can easily be graded. His classification depends chiefly on the presence of a political border (in his case that between England and Scotland). Some regional term *a* or *b* might occur only on one side of the border or on the other side, or on both sides like term *x* as part of the standard variety.

Dialectology as a branch of linguistics

The impetus for dialect geography It may be surprising that the major step toward studying dialects systematically begins in the latter half of the nineteenth century, although there is a long history of observation of dialect differences prior to this time. In France, for example, the primary dialect division between the north and the south was characterised as early as 1284 by the poet Bernat d'Auriac. Here the forms of the key word 'yes' are essential and have even resulted in the names of two large parts of France, Languedoc and Languedoeil, the former referring to the region south of the Loire (the source of modern Provençal), the latter to that north of the Loire (which later developed into modern French).

In England, John Trevisa described a dialect continuum from north to south in 1387, and this has been supported by the systematic studies that began more than five centuries after he wrote. The first attempts to systematise were initiated by the striking advances in philology and language studies in general which were made at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

The Neogrammarians (historical linguists of the late 19th century) were the first to search for general principles of language change. One principle of their research was 'Verner's Law' (named after the Dane Karl Verner who discovered it in 1875) which eliminated the largest set of apparent exceptions to 'Grimm's Law' (called after Jakob Grimm who formulated it in his *Deutsche Grammatik* of 1816 and 1821) by showing that all sound changes are rule-governed. The relevance of this hypothesis is seen in the development of dialect geography. The first results of dialect geography seemed to disprove the theoretical stances of the Neogrammarians. As a consequence, from the first studies to the most recent, dialect geography has scarcely involved itself at all with linguistic theory. Only recently has there been a rapprochement between the different positions.

An outline history of dialect geography The pioneering work of dialect geography was carried out in Germany by Georg Wenker. In 1876, he began sending out questionnaires to schoolmasters in the north of Germany asking them to provide equivalents of standard words in their local dialect. It took him ten years to cover the entire nation. He sent his list of 40 sentences written in standard German to nearly 50,000 schoolmasters and received completed questionnaires from about 45,000 of them. The amount of data, enabled by the postal questionnaire method, forced Wenker to limit his analysis to the variants for certain words. He ended up making two sets of maps, which were then published under the title *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reiches* in 1881 which covered north and central Germany. Wenker carried on gathering questionnaires so that in 1926 the first volume of the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* which was based largely on Wenker's data was published under the editorship of Ferdinand Wrede.

Although it was possible to accumulate a large amount of data by sending out questionnaires, this method had its limitations mainly that dialect pronunciations could not be accurately recorded. Therefore, in 1896, Jules Gilliéron came up with an alternative. He sent out trained fieldworkers to conduct interviews and record the data in a consistent phonetic notation. One of Gilliéron's fieldworkers, Edmond Edmont, who was famous for his good hearing, went around in France from 1896 to 1900 and recorded no less than 700 interviews. The results of his observations, together with those results from Gilliéron and his other assistants, were subsequently published between 1902 and 1910 under the title *Atlas linguistique de la France*. Other projects followed, as for example in 1930 by Hans Kurath who served as the director for the first region to be surveyed in the United States, the New England States. More surveys followed so that in 1949 Kurath's *Word Geography of the Eastern United States* appeared.

The Survey of English Dialects (SED) was undertaken between 1959 and 1961 by Eugen Dieth and Harold Orton and published between 1962 and 1978. The *Basic Material* was published as a compendium of four volumes including each informant's response to each question in the interview. The SED further published interpretative volumes like the *Phonological Atlas of the Northern Regions* by Edouard Kolb in 1964, *A Word Geography of England* by Orton and Nathalia Wright in 1974, and *The Linguistic Atlas of England* by Orton, Stewart Sanderson and John Widdowson in 1978.

The techniques of traditional dialectology

The methods of dialect geography: The questionnaire In so far as dialect geography seeks to provide an empirical basis for conclusions about linguistic varieties occurring in a certain area, its methodology is much the same as in other branches of linguistics. However, there are some aspects which are uniquely associated with dialect geography, like the questionnaire.

Within the guidelines established by a questionnaire, fieldworkers try to elicit a common core of data. The advantage of a questionnaire is thus to ensure that the results of all the interviews will be comparable. The way to elicit the data by a questionnaire can be different. Its use can be either direct or indirect. An example for the direct use may be the following question 'What do you call a cup?'. The other way is to make use of indirect questions like 'What is this?' holding up a cup. The advantage of this kind of question is to encourage the informants to give more natural responses.

Another criterion for differentiating questionnaires might be formality. In one case the forms of the questions are free, and in the other case the form is supplied in advance. Within the use of indirect forms there are various possibilities to frame questions. The basic types are naming

and completing. Naming questions involves quizzing the informant like 'What do you say to a caller if you want him to enter?' (*come in*). A subtype of naming is formed by asking questions which elicit more than one word like 'What can you make from milk?' (*butter, cheese*). The so-called reverse question is an attempt to elicit a particular word by getting the informant to talk about it at some length by questions like 'What's the *barn* for, and where is it?'. The second basic type, completing questions, can be represented by questions like 'You sweeten tea with ...?' (*sugar*) leaving a position blank. A subtype of completing questions is called converting questions which requires completing sentences like 'A tailor is a man who ... suits.' (*makes*).

The basic organisation of the questionnaires generally refers to semantic fields, i.e. semantically similar items clustered into groups. For the rural areas, the semantic fields may include such areas as farming techniques, the weather, etc. to get the appropriate data. Furthermore, it is necessary to take several conditions under which the interview is conducted into account to get the representative data one requires. Some elicitation techniques may lead to misleading results as the informants answer in a relatively formal or careful style. The success of the interviews is therefore often dependent on the technique used to elicit the information.

Linguistic maps Linguistic maps can either take the form of display maps or interpretative maps. Display maps, which are more common, transfer the results of each of the items indicative of dialect variation onto a map and thus reveal a geographical perspective. Each utterance of an informant is associated with a distinct symbol. Therefore, display maps give detailed information about the entire survey.

Interpretative maps, are often based on display maps or other comparable dialect geography projects as their primary source. The elicited data is used to make more general statements in terms of picking out responses for a particular item that predominates in various regions. Interpretative maps simplify display maps as they represent the relevant trends and their distribution, with the rare items omitted while the very frequent items indicate a trend. **The selection of informants** The most typical feature the major projects in dialect geography have in common is the type of informant selected. Nearly all informants fit into the category of non-mobile, older, rural males. Only 60 of 700 informants in the French survey by Edmont were women and about 200 of the informants were educated; all of them came from rural areas. Kurath attempted to select a broader base of informants by establishing three different types of informants (3 categories and 2 sub-categories).

Type I: Little formal education, little reading, and restricted formal contacts.

Type II: Some formal education, usually high school; wider reading, and more social contacts.

Type III: Superior education, usually university; wide reading, and extensive social contacts.

Type A: Aged, or regarded as old-fashioned.

Type B: Middle-aged, or regarded as more modern.

All of the informants were non-mobile and the majority conformed to the criteria of the typical informant mentioned above.

The motivation for consistent choice of informants is clear. Non-mobile informants ensure that characteristic features of speech appear unadulterated; older people reflect the variants of a bygone era; rural people were preferred because urban people are too mobile; and males guarantee vernacular speech, because women were considered to be too self-conscious and class-conscious in terms of 'contaminating' dialects or undue standardisation.

Dialectology and philology As mentioned above, dialect geography originated in response to a theoretical claim by the Neogrammarians and Wenker's original work was motivated in part by the claim that sound change was regular. The significance of this claim is that if a sound change takes place, it will take place in all cases which had the sound in question, or at least in such cases in which the sound occurs in a particular environment - i.e. sound change is rule-governed and exceptionless. In his studies, Wenker found proof for this law, e.g. the change of word-initial /t/ (as in English *tide*) to /ts/ in German (as in *Zeit*).

Although the suggestion about the rules of sound change is substantially correct, the situation seems to be more complex and reveals that sound changes are not really exceptionless. Wenker, for instance, investigated a change of medieval German /u:/ to modern German /au/, but this diphthongisation did not take place in the entire area, i.e. some areas remained unaffected by the change. In other words, the German-speaking area was divided into parts which had the original /u:/ and those which had the newer /au/.

Attitude and stigma

Overt stigmatisation One obvious indication that a variable is a marker rather than an indicator (see above) is that it is the subject of unfavourable comment. Variables which are often mentioned in the Norwich community include (h), (t) and (ng), all of which are markers. Why are these variables subject to overt criticism while others are not? One of the main reasons seem to lie in the divergence between pronunciation and orthography. The low prestige variants of the three Norwich variables - ø, [ʔ] and [n] - can all be, and often are, characterised as 'dropping your *h´s*, *t´s* and *g´s*'. These characterisations are commonly given by schoolteachers, but they are also given by other members of the community as well. The fact that laypeople have an expression for these features shows that they are highly consciousness of them.

Linguistic change Overt stigmatisation alone does not account for all linguistic variables which become markers. Another factor in a variable becoming a marker is that the variable is involved in an ongoing linguistic change, since speakers are more aware of the social significance of forms if the variable is subject to a linguistic change. By contrast, indicators appear to be relatively stable. Even variables which are not subject to any overt comment but which are definitely markers can thus be accounted for.

Phonological contrast Studies of urban dialects show, however, that there are still other markers left which can neither be related to overt comment nor linguistic change. One example is the Norwich variable (yu) involving the vowel sound in words like *tune*, *view* or *news*. Historically, words like *rule* and *rude* were pronounced [rju:l] and [rju:d]. In Modern English, however, [j] no longer occurs after [r] (in an area of eastern England which includes Norwich, the loss of [j]

before [u:] has been extended still further to include environments following any consonant). Therefore, the variable (yu) has two variants: [ju:] as in RP *view*, and [u:] as in [vu:] 'view'. One therefore requires an additional explanation to account for the status of (yu) as a marker. One possibility arises from the fact that (yu) has variants which are phonological rather than merely phonetic. Minimal pairs depend for their differentiation upon the presence of [j]. It seems reasonable that the involvement of (yu) in a phonological contrast may draw more attention to it than to variables which are simply phonetic.

Stereotypes Awareness by speakers of linguistic variables obviously admits degrees of 'more or less' and can change in the course of time. Thus, linguistic variables can change from the category of an indicator to the category of a marker and vice versa. Variables may, for instance, start as an indicator following a linguistic change in a particular social group. These changes can take place relatively unobserved. Changes of this type are called changes from below the level of conscious awareness. Subsequently, as usage of the new variable increases, awareness of class differentiation will also increase and the indicator may well become a marker.

At another stage, awareness of particular variants becomes even higher and speakers become especially conscious of them. The aristocratic English pronunciation *off* /ɔ:f/ rather than />f/, for instance, can be referred to as a stereotype, since its social and regional connotations have become part of common knowledge. Changes of this kind stem from above the level of conscious awareness and can thus become part of a stereotype of a class.

The varieties of English

English is spoken today on all five continents as a result of colonial expansion in the last four centuries or so. The colonial era is now definitely over but its consequences are only too clearly to be seen in the presence of English as an official and often native language in many of the former colonies along with more or less strongly diverging varieties which arose in particular socio-political conditions, so-called pidgins which in some cases later developed into creoles. Another legacy of colonialism is where English fulfils the function of a lingua franca. Many countries, like Nigeria, use English as a *lingua franca* (a general means of communication) since there are many different and mutually unintelligible languages and a need for a supra-regional means of communication.

English has also come to play a central role as an international language. There are a number of reasons for this, of which the economic status of the United States is certainly one of the most important nowadays. Internal reasons for the success of English in the international arena can also be given: a little bit of English goes a long way as the grammar is largely analytic in type so that it is suitable for those groups who do not wish to expend great effort on learning a foreign language.

Present-day geographical distribution English is spoken on all five continents. With regard to numbers of speakers it is only exceeded by Chinese (in its various forms) and Spanish. But in terms of geographical spread it stands at the top of the league. The distribution is a direct consequence of English colonial policy, starting in Ireland in the late 12th century and continuing well into the 19th century, reaching its peak at the end of the reign of Queen Victoria and embodied in the saying 'the sun never sets on the British Empire'. For the present overview the varieties of English in the modern world are divided into four geographical groups as follows.

1)	*Britain*	2)	*America*
	England		United States
	Scotland		Canada
	Wales		African American Vernacular English
	Ireland		The Caribbean
3)	*Africa*	4)	*Asia, Pacific*
	West Africa		India and South-East Asia
	South Africa		Australia and New Zealand
	East Africa		The Pacific islands region

The two main groups are Britain and America. For each there are standard forms of English which are used as yardsticks for comparing other varieties of the respective areas.

In Britain the standard is called Received Pronunciation. The term stems from Daniel Jones at the beginning of the present century and refers to the pronunciation of English which is accepted - that is, received - in English society. BBC English, Oxford English, Queen's English (formerly King's English) are alternative terms which are not favoured by linguists as they are imprecise or simply incorrect.

In America there is a standard which is referred to by any of a number of titles, General

American and Network American English being the two most common. There is a geographical area where this English is spoken and it is defined negatively as the rest of the United States outside of New England (the north east) and the South. General American is spoken by the majority of Americans, including many in the North-East and South and thus contrasts strongly with Received Pronunciation which is a prestige sociolect spoken by only a few percent of all the British. The southern United States occupy a unique position as the English characteristic of this area is found typically among the African American sections of the community. These are the descendents of the slaves originally imported into the Caribbean area, chiefly by the English from the 16th century onwards. Their English is quite different from that of the rest of the United States and has far more in common with that of the various Anglophone Caribbean islands.

Those varieties of English which are spoken outside of Britain and America are variously referred to as overseas or extraterritorial varieties. A recent practice is to use the term Englishes (a plural created by linguists) which covers a multitude of forms. The label *English World-Wide* (the name of an academic journal dedicated to this area) is used to refer to English in its global context and to research on it, most of which has been concerned with implicitly comparing it to mainland varieties of Britain and America and then with trying to determine its own linguistic profile. Extraterritorial varieties are not just different from mainland varieties because of their geographical distance from the original homeland but also because in many cases a type of suspension has occurred vis à vis changes in point of origin, i.e. in many respects the overseas varieties appear remarkably unchanged to those from the European mainland. This phenomenon is known as *colonial lag*. It is a term which should not be overworked but a temperate use of the term is appropriate and it can be cited as one of the features accounting for the relative standardness of overseas varieties, such as Australian or New Zealand English with regards to British forms of English.

The varieties of English both in Europe and overseas tend to show variation in certain key features, for instance special verbal structures to express aspectual distinctions are common to nearly all varieties in the developing world. Pronunciation and morphology features can equally be classified according to frequency of variation in non-standard forms of the language. To facilitate orientation in this sphere a table of those features is offered below which typically vary among both mainland and extraterritorial forms of English. Note that the variation in the area of lexis (vocabulary) tends to be restricted to two types. The first is the presence of archaic words no longer found in mainland Britain, e.g. the use of *bold* in the sense of misbehaved or *wench* as a non-derogative term for woman. The second type contains flora and fauna words. Obviously those speakers of English who moved to new environments were liable to borrow words from indigenous languages for phenomena in nature which they did not know from Europe, thus Australian English has *koala, kangaroo,* New Zealand English *kiwi,* etc.

Checklist of non-standard features of English In the development of the language English has shown variation with a number of features on different linguistic levels. In those cases where the variation has been between dialects and/or sociolects and the arising standard the features in question have become indicators of non-standardness. Consciousness of this is frequently present with speakers and it forms part of what is sometimes called ‘panlectal’ knowledge of language, i.e. part of the awareness of inherent variation in a language which people acquire with their particular variety of the language in question. In English the indicators of non-standardness are chiefly phonological but there are also morphological and syntactical features, the most salient of which are indicated below. The standard referred to here is Received Pronunciation and the variation applies chiefly to forms of British English.

Phonology

1)	Presence of syllable-final /r/	*card* /k<:rd/
2)	Lack of initial /h-/	*happy* /æpi/
3)	Glottalisation of /t/	*bottle* /b>?)/
4)	No lowering of /u/	*but* /but/
5)	Short /a/ before /f, s, 2/	*bath* /ba2/
6)	Use of /w/	*which* /wit$/
7)	Alveolarisation of /n/	*walking* /w0:k(/
8)	Yod deletion in /ju:/	*news* /nu:z/ *tune* /tu:n/
9)	No lexical distribution of /æ/ and /<:/	*grand* /grand/, *cancel* /ka(:)ns)/
10)	Short vowel distinction before /r/	*fern* /fern/ # *burn* /bvrn/
11)	Unshifted long /u:/: *town* /tu:n/	

Morphology

1) Contraction of *am* + *not*: *amn't* or *aren't* and of *is* + *not*: *isn't* or *ain't*
2) Use of /i:/ for /ai/ with possessive pronoun *my*
3) Use of demonstrative pronouns for possessive pronouns: *them boys*
4) A distinctive form for the second person plural: *ye*, *yez*, *youse*
5) Use of objective forms for subject, e.g. *us* for *we*
6) Unmarked adverbs (deletion of final /i:/): *He's awful busy these days*
7) Differences between weak and strong verbs
8) Zero marking for plurals, often with numerals: *He's been here five year now*

Syntax

1) Use of past participle as preterite: *I done the work, I seen him*
2) Narrative present with generalised *-s*: *I hops out of the car and finds him lying on the ground*
3) Additional aspectual distinctions such as the habitual: *He does be working all night*. Perfective with participle after object: *He has the book read*
4) Double or multiple negation: *They don't do nothing for nobody*
5) Use of *for* with infinitives: *He went out for to get some milk*
6) Deletion of copula and/or auxiliary: *She a farmer's daughter, He gone home*
7) Zero subject in relative clauses: *There's a man wants to see you*
8) *Never* as past tense negative: *I never done the work* (= *I didn't do...*)
9) Lack of negative attraction: *Anyone wasn't interested in linguistics*
10) Passive with *get*: *His car got stolen last week*
11) Different use of prepositions, e.g. *on* to express relevance: *They broke the glass on me*
12) Overuse of the definite article: *He asked the both of them*

Britain

Divisions within England

Isoglosses in England The consideration of Britain here concentrates on the regions of the British Isles in which Celtic languages were, and to some extent still are, spoken. This excludes the dialect regions of England proper. These latter areas are best characterised - in their rural forms at least - by a discussion of isoglosses which are lines which separate regions with different realisations of related linguistic items such as sounds, inflections, lexical items, etc.

There are a couple of obvious isoglosses for English dialects. The clearest one acoustically is the presence or absence of syllable-final /r/. Within England the absence is typical of large regions of the south, but parts of the south and south-west still retain /r/ in this position. The next obvious isogloss is that separating the northern area with unshifted short /u/ and that in the south where this sound has been unrounded and lowered to /ʌ/. An additional isogloss - and one which has significance in the context of sociolects - is that separating areas with initial /h-/ and those without it. The loss of /h/ in initial position is endemic in British English with the exceptions of Scotland and the far north of England, the region of Newcastle and Durham.

Speaker awareness of variation Variation in English shows varying degrees of salience for lay speakers. Some features are unconscious but others form part of the general knowledge of English which speakers have. For instance take the fact that alveolar stops are liable to be phonetically reduced. There are many ways for this to occur, including full deletion - frequently the end of a series of weakenings, here is a selection of options: /t,d/ ~ [ʔ], [ɾ], [ɹ], [h], ø.

Another example which shows this kind of speaker awareness is the shift of /ŋ/ to /n/ in participle forms of verbs which goes under the phonetically completely inaccurate description of ‘dropping one’s *g*’s’. This is a feature which is found in a number of widely separate varieties and which would appear to be both stigmatised and wide-spread in all.

The Celtic regions

The Celtic languages today comprise six languages with greater or lesser degrees of vitality. These fall into two main groups traditionally known as *Brythonic* or *Brittonic* (P-Celtic in type) and *Goidelic* from the *Goídil*, modern *Gaels* (Q-Celtic in type).

P-Celtic	*Q-Celtic*
Welsh, Cornish, Breton	Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx

The distinction between P- and Q-Celtic is based on the realisation of words with inherited IE /k(w)-/. In the Q-Celtic branch this is retained whereas in the P-Celtic branch it is shifted to /p/.

Irish	Welsh	
ceann	*pen*	‘head’

mac	*mab* (E /map/)	'son'
ceathair	*pedwar*	'four' (IE **qetwar*)

Note that the distinction between the two main types of Celtic already existed on the continent. Celtiberian like Irish is Q-Celtic whereas Gaulish and Welsh are P-Celtic. One should also be aware of the fact that Breton is *not* a remnant of Gaulish but is due to a wave of immigration from Cornwall to Brittany as a consequence of the pressure brought to bear on the Celts in the south-west of England by the Germanic invaders.

All the languages just mentioned belong to a branch of Indo-European known itself as Celtic. Its relationship to other branches is unclear, formerly scholars thought that there was an earlier unity between Italic and Celtic on certain morphological grounds. On a firmer footing is the location of the Celts. There are two archaeologically defined cultures which are associated with the Celts in the latter half of the first millennium BC, the earlier Hallstatt and the somewhat later La Tène culture (see above).

The Irish language

1 Ogam (400-600)

Ogam represents the earliest attestation of Irish and can be termed 'pre-Old Irish'. It consists of a form of writing in which letters are represented by a series of horizontal or slanted notches on stone. Other materials such as wood and bone may have been used for short texts, but this is just a surmise. As it stands one has a number of stone remains of Ogam writing chiefly in the south and south-west of Ireland, a few in south-west Wales and one or two remains in north-east Scotland. The period to which the Ogam stones belong is known as Primitive Old Irish. The majority of inscriptions which attest this period stem from the 5th and 6th centuries and consist of personal names in the genitive (in the sense of 'in memory of' or 'dedicated to').

Language Even at this early stage there was a tendency to weaken consonants in intervocalic position. This was a low-level phonetic phenomena, as yet without any consequences for the language as the inherited inflections remained in tact.

2 Old Irish (600-900)

The period of early Irish for which remains are available in the Roman alphabet begins after the Christianisation of Ireland in the 5th century. The first documents are glosses and marginalia from the mid-8th century contained in manuscripts found on the Continent no doubt as a result of the missionary zeal of the Irish, above all in Germany (*Codex Paulinus* in Würzburg) and the Alpine region comprising Switzerland (*Codex Sangallensis* in St.Gall which contains the glossed version of Priscian's grammar) and northern Italy (*Codex Ambrosianus* in Milan). This period lasted until the end of the 9th century. The single external event which was most responsible for the demise of insular Old Irish were the Viking invasions which set in during the late 8th century.

Language By comparing a random selection of Latin loan-words in Irish one can see that part of the phonological makeup of the language was the lenition which had begun during the Ogam period. Thus one has *lebor* /l"evqr/, later /l"aur/, from *liber* 'book', *sacart* /sagart/ from *sacerdos*

'priest'. Only medial geminates are resistant to lenition: *peccad* /p"eka3/ later /p"akɋ/ from *peccatum* 'sin'.

The same applies to the Scandinavian loan-words towards the end of the first millennium *margadh* /marga3/ later /margɋ/ from *markaþr* 'market'. In keeping with phonological reduction as a general phenomenon one also has cluster simplification as in *fuinneog* /fin"o:g/ from *vindauga* 'window'. This type of behaviour continues well into the Middle Ages so that with Anglo- Norman loan-words from the 13th and 14th centuries one has similar lenition, e.g. *bagún* from *bacun* 'bacon', *buidéal* from *botel* 'bottle'.

3 Middle Irish (900-1200)

This period is one in which the classical standard of Old Irish declined and spoken forms came to penetrate written Irish but no indication of dialect formation is as yet evident. There is much confusion in morphology with writers less and less sure just what constitutes correct classical Old Irish. The period draws to a close with the coming of the Normans at the end of the 12th century, in 1169 in the south-east of the country.

Language The simplification of the inflectional system is continued throughout the Middle Irish period. There is by this stage no question of any repair being done to the original case and verbal system of Old Irish which was in an advanced stage of decay. By the end of the Middle Irish period there is no distinction between genitive and dative with most nouns and the complex system of verb prefixes has been greatly simplified either by these being dropped or by being absorbed into the stem of a verb and becoming opaque in form for later generations.

As part of the general direction of typological change independent forms of personal pronouns develop during this period. The old infixed pronouns are replaced by post-posed independent pronouns and synthetic forms of pronoun and copula are replaced by an invariable form of the copula with generic personal pronouns.

4 Early Modern Irish (1200-1600)

This period is that which stretches from the arrival of the Normans to the end of an independent Gaelic society with the defeat of the Irish by the English in 1601 and the collapse of Irish aristocratic society with the legendary Flight of the Earls in 1607 and the more or less complete Anglicisation of the country as a consequence of English military successes in the course of the 17th century. After this period there are just a series of dialects with no recognized standard.

The old form of Irish society in which poets still had a place, however tenuous, came to an end so that there was no continuation of a single written standard. Indeed it is unlikely that such a standard would have survived as it was long since remote from every spoken form of the language. The Anglicisation accelerated a process which had begun long before, it did not initiate it.

It is in this period that a series of instructions for poets were composed intending to act as guidelines for those wishing to use the classical standard for poetic composition at a time when the latter was no longer spoken anywhere. These are collectively known as the *Bardic Syntactical Tracts* (McKenna, 1944) or as *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (Bergin) and date back to the 15th century or earlier (Ó Cuív, 1965:142).

Language This period is characterised by the language of a professional class of poets called *filí*; the period itself is known as *aos dána* 'the age of poetry' and is referred to in linguistics as Classical Modern Irish. The writers of the period were secular employees of Irish

courts (witness the quantity of praise-poetry produced, Ó Cuív, 1965:143) or freelance authors as it were. At any rate different from the many religious writers of the Old Irish period. From a present-day perspective the writers of this period are viewed critically. They clung to an obsolete norm quite removed from anything spoken at the time. Furthermore they were not completely conversant with the Middle or indeed Old Irish standard which they emulated and the result was an adulterated form of language hampered by its own artificiality. In this period the dichotomy of the older norm and contemporary usage lead to a tension between what was called *ceart na bhfileadh* 'the poets' standard' and *canamhain* 'speech', i.e. the spoken Irish of the time.

Linguistically the Early Modern Irish period is a time of consolidation of the changes initiated and partially carried through in the Old and Middle Irish period. The verb prefixes are vastly reduced in number, e.g. *do-*, *ad-*, *no-* and *ro-* frequently level to *do-* which was retained up to recently as a marker of the past. A whole series of independent personal pronouns became normal with a single form of the copula verb. Indeed this pattern, invariant verb form and independent personal pronoun, spread to other verbs and has all become common in Modern Irish outside of the present tense which does, however, retain synthetic forms.

Scottish Gaelic

Early history. Gaelic was introduced to Scotland from Ireland approximately 500 AD. The settlers who brought the language came to dominate the Picts who had up till then enjoyed a wide distribution in Scotland. Under linguistic pressure from the newly arrived Irish, Pictish receded to finally die out perhaps as late as the 9th century.

The strong position of Irish lasted up to the 12th century after which it came to be replaced by Scots in the Lowlands nonetheless lasting in Galloway up to the 17th century (Gilles, 1993: 145). By the late middle ages Scotland was distinctly bilingual with a Gaelic-speaking area covering the Highlands and Islands and a Scots-speaking southern area, largely consisting of the Lowlands. These areas are known as the *Gàidhealtachd* and the *Galldachd* respectively from the terms *Gàidheal* for Gael and *Gall* for foreigner, i.e. Englishman.

The severing of ties with Ireland and the contact with the Viking settlers as of the 9th century led to the development of independent traits in Scottish Gaelic. Evidence of these is scanty in the early period of Gaelic in Scotland and it is not until after the early modern period (12th to 17th century) that these are clearly recognizable. The main reason for the invisibility of Scottish Gaelic features is that the Classical Irish of the early modern period in Ireland (also 12th to 17th century) was used as a type of literary koiné throughout the Gaelic-speaking world (Ireland and Scotland) much in the style of West Saxon in the late Old English period. Apart from occasional slips in the application of this koiné large-scale texts in a distinct form of Scottish Gaelic are only available as of the 17th century.

Separation from Irish. The term 'Common Gaelic' (Jackson, 1952) is used to refer to a stage of Q-Celtic in which Scottish Gaelic had not separated from Irish through the development of features of its own. According to Jackson this stage lasted until the end of the Middle Irish period (900-1200). Certainly if one examines the phonology of Scottish Gaelic (and for that matter of Manx) one finds that it shows the same velarisation and glottalisation which is attested in Irish after the loss of interdental fricatives as the lenited forms of /t/ and /d/.

Common Gaelic				As of 13th century
/t/	F	/2/	F	/h/
/d/	F	/3/	F	/J/

A further feature of Scottish Gaelic which links it up with the Irish of the middle ages is the shift of /n/ to /r/ in cluster of stop and a nasal as in *cnoc* with /kr-/ for an earlier /kn-/.

Dialect areas. As part of a general recession of Gaelic-speaking areas, the focus of Gaelic has been pushed to the north west of Scotland with the large-scale abandonment of the language in the central and eastern Highlands. Today speakers of Gaelic are concentrated on the islands and a few pockets on the western coast. One can take the Inner Hebrides and the adjoining coast as forming a central area in an isogloss sense with the outer islands to the north, west and south of this focal point being more distinct in terms of unshared features. Up to the middle of the century the Gaelic-speaking continuum spread as far south as and Arran and Kintyre, the dialects of which were examined by the Swedish scholar Nils Holmer. For the purpose at hand there would seem to some justification in discussing the Gaelic of the Hebrides as a representative form of the language. It is quite close to the literary norm and is that which is preferred in print (Gilles, 1993:146). Where necessary deviating details will be discussed.

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Present-day Celtic languages

Before the arrival of the Romans (in the last decades BC) and before the coming of the Germanic tribes as of the 5th century AD the British Isles were almost entirely Celtic. The story of these peoples since has been one of ground lost to the expanding English speakers so that the present distribution on the fringe of the British Isles is the result of a long and continuous process of peripheralisation.

Celtic is divided into two main branches on the basis of early treatment of keywords, cf. Welsh *pemp* and Irish *cúig* 'five' where the former has a /p/ and the latter a velar reflex of /kw/ at the beginning of the word. From the present-day point of view the most vital of the languages is definitely Welsh with something like half a million speakers, though here as with the other Celtic languages, one must be careful about definitions: some speakers can only say a few words of their putative native language while others can converse equally well in this and in English.

P-Celtic	Approx. no. of speakers
1) Irish	30,000
2) Scottish Gaelic	50,000
3) Manx (died out in 20c)	-
Q-Celtic	
1) Welsh	500,000
2) Breton	100,000
3) Cornish (died out in 18c)	-

In all the Celtic regions English has been much affected by the structure of the particular Celtic language spoken there. Pronunciation and sentence patterns are the two areas which show greatest diversity compared to more standard forms of southern British English. However, not all characteristics are traceable to a substrate source. One must all bear in mind that in these areas regional forms of English were imported which were different from southern English to begin with, probably more archaic in structure. Furthermore features may have developed quite independently of these two main sources.

Irish English

Historical outline In 1169 a group of Anglo-Norman adventurers arrived in the south east corner of Ireland to ostensibly help a native Irish lord in trouble with his neighbours. As so often in such situations, the helpers turned on the seeker of the help and established themselves, along with others later, in a small enclave in county Wexford. Their language was Anglo-Norman as can be

seen from many early Irish loan words such as *páiste* 'child' from Anglo-Norman *page*, but a number of English speakers were in the retinue of the warlords.

By the end of the 12th century the Anglo-Normans had reached the area around Dublin and took the city as well with many of the English among the original settlers moving to the capital and living as traders and craftsmen there. Once established in the capital, English was never to be ousted although in other parts of the country it had a chequered career in the following centuries.

The linguistic documents from this early period have been gathered together as a group of poems known as the *Kildare Poems* (Heuser 1904) which must have been written sometime after 1300 (internal historical evidence).

The period of so-called Medieval Irish English lasted on in the next century and is attested in certificates, particularly in the towns of the East coast: Dublin, Kilkenny, New Ross, Waterford.

The political ties of the Anglo-Normans with England became less and less with time (given the reduction in Anglo-Norman power in England after 1204 when France lost direct control over England). Hand in hand with this increasing Gaelicisation is to be seen (linguistic assimilation through mixed marriages, general acculturation). What was most important was the break with the English aristocracy after the latter converted to Protestantism.

The net result of these developments is that in the second half of the 15th and in the 16th century English receded greatly. This climaxed in the political strivings for independence which were, however, curtailed by the victory of the English over the Irish forces in Kinsale in 1601.

The seventeenth century is a watershed in the development of Irish English. During this century new settlers from England came to the south of Ireland while settlers from the Lowlands of Scotland moved across the short sea divide to Ulster. This group formed the base of the Protestant community in the north. These were furthermore dissenters and belonged to the Presbyterians (and not to the Church of England). Their variety of Scots developed further into Ulster English in the course of the following three or so centuries.

From the 17th to the 19th centuries there was a major language shift in the entire country when the rural population slowly but surely abandoned their native language Irish, switching to English as they did and developing varieties which to a greater or lesser extent show the influence of the Irish substrate. The demographic developments during these two crucial centuries were compounded by the potato famines of the first half of the 19th century culminating in the Great Famine of the late 1840's and by the large-scale emigration to Britain (Merseyside, Newcastle, London) and the United States (north east coast, New York, Boston). These events cost the country several million inhabitants.

The English of the south of Ireland is called simply *Irish English* (just as one has Canadian English or Australian English). The term *Hiberno-English* has gone out of fashion somewhat as it is an unnecessary Latinism; *Anglo-Irish* is also unsuitable as this is used to refer to politics in the Republic of Ireland and to literature written in English by Irish authors.

The following sections contain a selection of the more salient features of Irish English, particular of the south with a comparison given to aspects of Northern Irish English. Note that the vocabulary of Irish English is not very different from that of British English, with the exceptions of rural terms in Ulster English. There are two recent dictionaries on Irish English, one for the south by Diarmuid O'Muirithe (1996) and one for the north by Caroline Macafee (1996).

Phonology

Plosivisation of dental fricatives A fricative realisation of the initial sounds in *think* and *this* is very much an exception in the South of Ireland. Instead the sounds are manifested as dental stops,

i.e. [t] and [d] respectively. This applies to all but a few varieties of the South which may go further, so to speak, and use alveolar stops at the beginning of such words as *think* and *this*.

This alveolar realisation is quite stigmatised in the South and rural speakers are frequently ridiculed by imitating their speech using alveolar rather than dental stops, e.g. [tiŋk] and [dis] for [tiŋk] and [dis]. The ability of speakers to imitate this clearly shows that they make a distinction between a dental and an alveolar place of articulation.

The dental stop realisation of /2/ and /3/ may well be a contact phenomenon going back to Irish where the two coronal plosives are realised dentally, i.e. /t/ and /d/ are manifested phonetically as [t] and [d] respectively as in *tá* 'is' [t<:] and *dún* 'castle' [du:n]. Recall in this connection that there was considerable Irish-English bilingualism up to the late 19th century before the radical decline in the numbers of Irish speakers due to the Great Famine of the late 1840's and the subsequent emigration. Hence the suspicion that many features of Irish English derive from contact phenomena would seem to be founded.

Lenition of /t/ The normal alveolar stops of English have a further characteristic which is particularly Irish. In weak positions they are reduced to fricatives. The sound thus produced is an apico-alveolar fricative which can be transcribed by placing a caret below the relevant stop symbol, giving for instance [s̪] as in *put* [pus̪]. The fricativisation of alveolar stops does not apply to dental stops, i.e. to those sounds which correspond to dental fricatives in mainland English, so that the contrast of word final and intervocalic /2/ # /t/ in standard English is realised as [t] # [s̪] as in *both* [bo:t] # *boot* [bo:s̪].

Realisation of <*wh*> In general one can say that Irish English is a conservative variety of English. Those features which it has developed independently are by and large due to contact with Irish over the centuries as has just been pointed out. One of the conservative features which is both acoustically prominent and statistically frequent in Irish English speech is the use of a voiceless approximant [w] for /w/ in those words spelt with *wh*. As an identification feature this is of little value as it is so common among other varieties of English, e.g. in Scottish English or many forms of American English and was still found in older varieties of Received Pronunciation according to phoneticians active early in the present century like Daniel Jones.

Morphology and Syntax

Pronominal distinctions The distinction between second person singular personal pronouns in Irish English is typical *you* for the singular and various forms for the plural: *ye* [ji], *youse* [juz], *yez* [jiz], the differential use of the latter is sociolinguistically significant, i.e. it tends to be stigmatised as uneducated and lower class.

Special word order The use of the word order OV(non-finite) to indicate a resultative perfective aspect is common: *I've the book read* 'I am finished reading the book' which contrasts with *I've read the book* 'I read it once'. The object-verb word order has of course precedents in the history of English and corresponds to the original Germanic sentence brace which is still to be seen in German (*Ich habe das Buch gelesen*). But equally it has an equivalent in Irish in which the past participle always follows the object: *Tá an leabhar léite agam* lit.: 'is the book read at-me'.

Verbal structures Irish English offers three further instances of verbal modification to indicate aspectual distinctions, two of which are probably from Irish, the third having both older forms of English and Irish as a possible source.

Habitual aspect The combination of *do* + *be* expresses habitual aspect as in *He does be in his office every morning.* 'He is in his office repeatedly for a certain length of time'.

Perfective aspect After + present participle is employed to express an immediate perfective aspect as in *He is after drinking the beer.* 'He has just drunk the beer'.

Durative aspect A-prefixing was found frequently but is now quite obsolete in Irish English. It has a source in English where the *a* is a reduced form of *on* much as in adverbs like *alive, asleep* (E *on life, on slæpe*): *She was a-singing* (cf. German *Sie war am Singen*). In Irish a similar construction exists: the preposition *ag*, 'at' is used with the so-called verbal noun (a non-finite verb form with nominal characteristics) *Bhí sí ag canadh* lit.: was she at singing.

Clefting In this connection one should mention front-focussing structures like *it*-clefting which are characteristic of Irish English and which have definite parallels in Irish; note that the number and kind of topicalised elements is far greater than in other forms of British English.

It's to Dublin he's gone today.
It's her brother who rang up this morning.

Features of Northern Irish English The term 'Northern Irish English' refers to the varieties spoken in the state of Northern Ireland established with the partition of the country in 1921. The term *Ulster* is used synonymously by many to refer to Northern Ireland. However, *Ulster* is the name of an historical province in Ireland which comprises nine counties, only six of which are contained in the state of Northern Ireland, hence the further term 'the six counties' used by the southern Irish in preference to the official English designation 'Northern Ireland'. The remaining three counties of Ulster, Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan are part of the Republic of Ireland though linguistically they are quite close to Northern Ireland in the characteristics which hold for their varieties of English.

Turning to a linguistic description of Northern Irish English one can begin by a general statement on accent. Whatever about the segmental features of Northern Irish English, it has a very distinctive prosody. This manifests itself most clearly in the fall in pitch on stressed syllables, the highlighting of which is realised in the South (and in most varieties of English for that matter) by lengthening of the stressed syllable. It is this fall which is probably responsible for the lowering of short high front vowels as in: *He was hi*[e]*t by a bullet*. This feature is so salient that it alone can suffice for the recognition of a Northern Irish speaker. For the segmental speech of speakers from Northern Ireland the most easily identifiable features are the following three.

1) *Retroflexion of /r/* One of the clearest dialect indicators among varieties of English is syllable-final /r/. Northern Irish English is clearly a rhotic dialect and this feature is one which those speakers who attempt to approach something like Received Pronunciation retain longest.

Syllable-final /r/ is different in both parts of the country so that one can tell a speaker just on his/her pronunciation of the word *north* alone. While in the southern /r/ is velarised in post-vocalic position, it is retroflex in the north so that one has [nɔrt] in the south and [nɔ52] in Ulster.

2) *Vowel length* As mentioned above Northern Irish English has its origins in the language which the planters from Lowland Scotland brought with them from the 17th. century onwards. A feature which it shares with many varieties of Scottish English to this day is the lack of contrastive length in the vowel system. This applies in particular to those forms of English in the North known as Ulster Scots. Although the latter is largely a rural form of English the lack of distinctive vowel length which characterises it is also found in urban varieties of English in the north. The distinction between vowels is thus reduced to a matter of quality so that a pair of words like *bid* and *bead* are distinguished by a more central versus a more peripheral vowel articulation. In those cases where quality considerations are indifferent homophony often arises as it *cot* and *caught* both [kɔt].

The vowel shortening only applies to high and mid vowels. All short low vowels are lengthened in accordance with the phonetically open nature of such segments. This results in pronunciations like [baːn] for *ban*, [baːg] for *bag*, etc. with a long central low vowel.

3) *Fronting of /u/* A further feature of Scottish origin in Northern Irish English is the fronting of /u/ to a mid high vowel [ɨ]. In the case of /uː/ one has shortening which leads to homophones like *fool* and *full*, both [fɨl] phonetically.

Welsh English

Historical outline English has been spoken in the geographical area of Wales since the beginning of the Old English period. It first spread along the southern coastline of Wales and then up to the North. The mountainous central region remained monolingual longest. Despite the long history of English in Wales, bilingualism has been the rule since the very beginning. There were no plantations on the pattern used in Ireland nor was there a religious conflict of the type which added increased vigour to the efforts at stamping out Irish in Ireland.

In 1535 and 1543 two Acts of Union were passed through the English parliament formally binding Wales to England and making English the official language in the region. The industrialisation of Wales and the expansion of the infra-structure of the country led to a natural decline in the numbers of Welsh speakers. Early census figures can only be taken as approximations but nonetheless give an idea of the decline in the language, at least as far as monolinguals are concerned. The census of 1931 returned a figure of 35% bilinguals and 4% monolinguals, that of 1971 showed 19.6% bilinguals and less than 1% monolinguals. What these figures do not reflect is the active part in Welsh social and cultural life which the language plays. There is Welsh radio and television which broadcast over one third of the time entirely in Welsh. The cause of the Welsh language has also long been represented by the Welsh Language Society with varying and often controversial effects.

Literature and newspapers appear in Welsh and the language is taught in all primary and most secondary schools. Needless to say the only hope for Welsh (and indeed for Irish and Scottish Gaelic) up against the world language English is that a diglossic situation develops in which Welsh takes the position of the L-variety (that used in the domestic sphere), English retaining its dominant position in public life (as H-variety).

Language maintenance is largely a matter of motivation in the population which still speaks the language and less a matter of political decrees. In the case of Welsh the motivation is fairly high as speakers see in the language a means of identifying themselves with their region and setting off Wales from the rest of mainland Britain. This would appear to be particularly true of the rural north as opposed to the more urban south.

The word *Welsh* derives from the Old English word *wealh* 'foreigner', 'slave' - but also 'Celt' - and occurs as a surname also with an additional form *Wallace* going back to Anglo-Norman *walleis*. The root behind *Welsh* is found on the continent as well. It is the source for German *Welsch*, the Swiss canton *Wallis*, the Belgian group of the *Walloons*; in all these cases, the reference is not to Celts but to Romance speakers. The root is furthermore found in German *Wallach* 'gelding' and in the *Wallachei*.

Features of Welsh English The English spoken in Wales is not as deviant with respect to more standard forms of English, especially when it is compared to either Scottish or Irish English. There is little in the syntax which is specifically Welsh so that the main features are phonological with one or two morphological characteristics and a few lexical items such as *bach* and *gel* as terms of endearment.

Phonology The most general feature of Welsh English is the lilting intonation due to the rise-fall at the end of statements as opposed to the fall in other forms of English. Long vowels tend to occur only in stressed syllables. There is little distinction in length among low vowels so that words like *grand* and *grass* sound as if they had the same vowel. A central schwa is found for the /ʌ/-vowel in words like *cut, but* /kɑt/, /bɑt/. Long final vowels occur such as /i:/ in *sorry* /s>ri:/. Yod before /u:/ is often deleted as in *regulate* /reguleit/.

Welsh - the Celtic language - is found in two major varieties, a northern and a southern one. The north of Wales tends to be more rural and the south, certainly in the regions of Swansea and Cardiff, is mainly urban. In keeping with the division for Welsh there are some distinctions between the English spoken in the north and that in the south of the country. Southern Welsh English is *h*-less where Northern Welsh English tends to be *h*-ful, i.e. /h/ occurs in initial position. In the south a clear /l/ is commonly used for all types of English /l/ - i.e. in syllable-initial and in syllable-final positions which have a clear and a dark /l/ in Received Pronunciation respectively - whereas in the north the velar /ɫ/ may well predominate.

Morphology Multiple negation is found as in *We don't speak no English in the home*. *As* is frequently used as a relative pronoun, *The woman as went abroad*. *Them* acts as a demonstrative adjective *Them men who sing so well*. Unstressed *do* can be employed to express a durative aspect as in Irish English (see above) *The children do be playing in the yard after school*. Fronting as a means of topicalisation is quite acceptable, *Books on linguistics he is keen on reading*.

Scottish English

Historical outline Of the three Celtic areas left in present-day Britain, Scotland is definitely the one with the oldest tradition of English, both spoken and written. While in Ireland a literature in Irish arose in the Old English period which was to have an influence even on continental Europe,

writing in English only developed slowly at the end of the Middle English period. In Scotland, however, English became firmly established in the early part of the Middle English period spreading northwards from the dialect area known as Northumbrian in the Old English period (i.e. the geographical area north of the river Humber and south of the Cheviot hills which forms the natural boundary between England and Scotland.

The term *Scotland* comes from Latin *Scotii* which was originally a term for the Irish, who settled the western coast of Scotland and Christianised it before England was converted from the south with the mission of Saint Augustine at the end of the 6th century. The adjective *Scottish* has two further variants *Scots* and *Scotch* which may be used with different meanings, for instance *Scots* is used to refer to the particular variety of English spoken natively in Scotland and *Scotch* is nowadays almost solely confined to the country's type of whiskey.

The advance of English in Scotland was at the cost of Gaelic which was pushed back out of the Lowlands into the Highlands north of the Firth of Forth. The variety of English which established itself at this early stage later on developed into what is called *Lallands* (E 'lowlands') and has kept its identity as a distinct variety of Scottish English even to the present-day. The speakers of English in this initial period were very often English settlers who had been invited by the Scottish king to settle and render arable the plains of the Lowlands. Through mixed marriages and gradual assimilation of the Gaelic speaking community in the lowland area, Gaelic became weaker and weaker. By the Early Modern English period (in the Elizabethan era) Gaelic was only spoken by monolinguals in the Highlands and Islands (i.e. on the large islands on the west coast of Scotland). A further language, Norn, which was a remnant of Old Norse spoken on the Orkney and Shetland islands, disappeared finally in the 18th century.

For the 20th century one must distinguish at least four distinct varieties of Scottish English: 1) Lallands, the most original of all varieties of Scottish English, 2) Contact English which is that spoken by speakers of both Scottish Gaelic and English and 3) Standard Scottish English which is a locally flavoured version of mainland British English (derived ultimately from Received Pronunciation), 4) more recently developed urban varieties spoken chiefly in Edinburgh and Glasgow. In addition there are affected accents close to Received Pronunciation which are known by the middle-class suburbs of the two main cities in Scotland where they occur profusely, Morningside and Kelvinside (in Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively).

In the area of phonology the indigenous Scottish varieties show strong deviations from Southern British English. Syntactic peculiarities are to be found above all in the contact varieties of English where the syntax of Gaelic has lead to a variety of constructions which have no parallels in Southern British English. Here the position is like that of Irish English: a certain number of syntactic characteristics have been retained from contact speech, even with those speakers who no longer have a command of Gaelic. Examples of such contact phenomena are 1) the use of a durative tense as *I do be in the office of a Tuesday*, 2) the formation of a kind of imperfective which may contrast with a simple past tense as *Have you read 'Ulysses'?* versus *Have you 'Ulysses' read?* or *He is after eating his dinner* versus *He has eaten his dinner* and 3) the use of a dative of relevance as in *The fire went out on me* or *The soup boiled over on her*.

Phonology The most archaic varieties of Scottish English (i.e. the lowland varieties) have not gone through the Great Vowel Shift. The diphthong which one nowadays has in words like *down* is still represented by a monophthong /u:/ while the *but* sound is still an unshifted /u/. In addition, a number of specifically Scottish characteristics are to be found. Most noticeable of these in the area of phonology are 1) a strongly retroflex if not rolled /r/, 2) the lack of vowel length contrasts so

that words like *full* and *fool* are homophones, 3) the retention of the *wh* sound in words like *which*, *whale*, 4) the presence of /ei/ for English /oː/ as in the Scottish pronunciation of words like *home*, *ghost*, 5) there is a distinction between front and back short vowels before /r/ as in *germ* /dgerm/ and *burn* /bʋrn/ and 6) the inherited sound /x/ is still found in traditional varieties and initial /h/ as well as [ʍ] for /hw/, *wh-* are common almost everywhere. In some words the lack of palatalisation of /k/ is still to be seen, this having been carried out in practically all other varieties of English: *kirk* for *church*, *rigg* for *ridge*.

The aspect of Scottish English which has attracted most attention from linguists recently is the so-called *Scottish Vowel Length Rule* or Aitken's Law, after the linguist who first described it linguistically, which specifies that vowels are lengthened (normally they are short in Scottish English) before voiced fricatives, /l/ and /r/. Here one has a case of phonetic conditioning for lengthening as a following voiced sound often causes a vowel preceding it to be realised as long, cf. the vowel in standard English *bad* [bæːd] vs. *bat* [bæt].

Grammar Different types of Scottish English show different degrees of grammatical deviation from southern British English. For instance the modal *will* tends to stand for both *shall* and *may*, the passive is often formed with *get*: *I got told off*; it is often used for compulsion: *You've got to speak to her*; *must* is used in an epistemic sense in positive and negative: *She musn't be Scottish* for *She can't be Scottish*; the pronoun with *-self* is used non-reflexively: *Himself isn't at home yet* for *The man of the house is not at home yet*; the abbreviated form of *am* + *not* is *amn't* as in *Amn't I right?*; generic pronominal references tend to use *-one* rather than *-body*: *Someone has to do the work* (all features found in Irish English as well).

Future negation is formed with independent *not* rather than the clitic form of a modal and *not*: *She'll not go home* for *She won't go home*.

Lexis The vocabulary of Scottish English is rich in borrowings from both Gaelic (cf. *loch* 'lake', *burach* 'mess', *cailleach* 'old woman') and Old Norse (cf. *bern* for 'child'). Three major lexicographical works are 1) *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* from the 12th to the end of the 17th century, 2) *The Scottish National Dictionary* (from 1700 to the present-day) and 3) *The Concise Scots Dictionary*.

Two others sources for Scottish English which deserve mention are (1) *The Linguistic Survey of Scotland* (with its centre at the University of Edinburgh) and (2) *The Survey of English Dialects* (centred at Leeds) which deals with Scottish English alongside the other varieties of British English. Both these projects have produced much linguistic literature (atlases and interpretative monographs) with information on the English spoken north of the border.

America

English in the United States

Historical outline The history of North America begins in modern terms with the discovery of Central America by Christopher Columbus in 1492 when he landed on the island of Hispaniola. Various parts of the coast of the present-day United States were discovered at the beginning of the 16th century. Between 1584 and 1586 Sir Walter Raleigh began his attempts to colonise North Carolina (his 'Virginia' so named after Queen Elizabeth I). After this time we can assume that British colonisation continued until the firm establishment of British rule at the beginning of the 17th century (Jamestown, Virginia 1607; Plymouth, New England, 1620; Boston and other places in Massachusetts, 1630). Some other European countries were also directly involved in the conquest of America: the French in Canada of course but also the Dutch in New York (the city, founded in 1625, was called New Amsterdam until 1664).

The colonisation of the territory of the present-day United States proceeded from East to West. At the same time the different areas formed into separate colonies which were only later joined together to give the states of today. Among the earliest states were those of the historical area of New England (not the name of a present-day state!): Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia (all founded at the end of the 18th century) along with those of the 'South' stretching from Virginia in the central east coast to Texas on the Rio Grande border with Mexico. These are the original 13 states of the Union.

British rule ended after a disorganised and uncoordinated campaign against the rebellious Americans in 1777 which led to the Paris peace of 1783 conceding the Americans sovereignty over the entire territory from the Great Lakes in the north down to Florida in the south. The position with the mid and western states was somewhat different inasmuch as they were only later conquered, at first by pioneers and later settled by farmers. The Gold Rush of 1848 led to the rise of California as a unit within the states; the last of the states to be founded were those in the region immediately east of the Rocky Mountains such as Wyoming (1890) and Utah (1896) and the more southerly states such as Arizona (1912) and Oklahoma (1907). Further territorial extensions were achieved by the annexation of land from Mexico (with the Peace of Guadalupe in 1848), with the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 and with the formation of an American presence on Hawaii in 1878. The development of the states in the nineteenth century was blemished by the Civil War of 1861-4, caused by the refusal of the southern states to abolish slavery and their attendant wish to secede from the Union.

Today the United States consists of a federation of 48 contiguous states along with Alaska and Hawaii (to give 50). It has an area of 9.3 million square kilometres and a population of nearly 250 million. The following figures are taken from the 1972 census and probably are more in favour of the cities now: urban section of the population: 73.5%, rural section: 26.5%. Ethnic composition: white 87.5%, African American 11.1%. The capital is Washington, District of Columbia (not to be confused with the western state of the same name). The official language is English.

The position of the United States in the twentieth century on the world arena begins with the First World War. Up until 1917 America remained neutral but then joined on the side of the

British. This national alliance with England has historical and last but not least linguistic reasons. Since then it has remained a permanent feature of American foreign policy. The size of America and the development of its economy towards an emphasis on export in the interwar years increased America's position in international politics. During the Second World War and immediately afterwards, America reached the height of its European influence. The desolate state of the European economies led to the strengthening of the American one. Furthermore the adoption of the dollar as a de facto international currency reinforced the standing of the United States. The political polarisation of the world also increased the American position as the United States became the natural counterpart of the (former) Soviet Union during the years of the Cold War (until 1989).

Terminology The most general means of referring to English in the United States is *American English* (which does not include Canadian English). The term *The American Language* is admittedly the title of a famous book but it is an unnecessary exaggeration to claim (largely for patriotic reasons) that the English of the United States in any way represents a separate language from kinds of British English with which it is mutually intelligible.

There is a further complex of varieties which is a terminologically sensitive area: the English of the African American population. Obviously terms like *Negro dialect* or *Negro English* are unacceptable nowadays given the pejorative meaning of 'negro' today. American sociolinguists, active as of the mid sixties, came to use the term *Black English* (BE) or *Black English Vernacular* (BEV). With the advent of political correctness as a socio-political phenomenon the terminology had to be revised for fear of appearing discriminatory. *Afro-American English* was used but then the *Afro-* element was thought to be subordinate to *American* and so *African American English* (AAE) came to be employed and is current today, usually with the word *Vernacular* as an additional qualifier. Occasionally the term *Ebonics* (from 'ebony' where the colour of the wood is sometimes associated with blacks) is found, particularly outside linguistic circles.

A sketch of American English

Starting point British and American English were essentially similar in the 17th century. After this period the two major varieties of English drifted apart with American English remaining more conservative (in keeping with a generally observed tendency of peripheral dialects) while British English (at least in its standard form, Received Pronunciation) continued to develop quite rapidly, losing syllable-final /r/ for example. Note that because the varieties of British English which were brought to America differed in themselves an additional process of standardisation set in among the heterogeneous groups in the United States, a linguistic correlate to the demographic *melting pot* phenomenon. Evidence of the conservative side of American English is found for instance in verb forms: English has simplified the past forms of *get* to just *got* (with the verb *forget* there is both *forgot* and *forgotten*) whereas American English still has *gotten*. In the area of lexis one could cite words like *fall* for *autumn* or *mail* for *post* where the American terms are more archaic terms than the English ones.

Divisions of American English

There are traditionally three main dialects areas in the United States (excluding Canada):

1)	*Midland, West*	(General American)
2)	*North*	(coastal states on the Atlantic, New England)
3)	*South*	(coastal states on South Atlantic + Gulf of Mexico)

Nowadays, this division must be qualified given the presence of many urban sociolects which do not fit neatly into this triadic group. The western section covers a vast area of land and has something of the character of a standard in the United States. It is variously called *General American* - or in a geographically less specific manner - *Network English* seeing as how it is used in public life, in the media, politics, etc. The remarks on linguistic structure below apply to General American unless otherwise specified.

The settlement history of America has led to subvarieties or groups of these arising within the United States. For instance the area of the Appalachian mountains, in the south-east somewhat in from the coast, shows a kind of English which is quite distinct from that of the adjoining flatlands, e.g. double modals as in *I might could take a course in linguistics* are common here. Such structures are only found elsewhere in the Anglophone world in Scotland and Ulster and it is known that large numbers of Scots and Ulster Scots settled in the region as of the late 17th century.

There are further minor varieties of English in America such as *Gullah*, a remnant of a negro creole spoken by small numbers on islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. French existed up to this century in Louisiana where it derives from former *Louisiana French Creole*. Various forms of Mexican Spanish have been spoken in those states adjoining on Mexico (above all in California). *Chicano English* is a term used for the type of English spoken by native speakers of Spanish in the south-west of the United States.

Various immigrant groups have to a greater or lesser extent retained their original languages, e.g. Italians, Jews (Yiddish). Immigrants vary greatly in the degree of language maintenance they exhibit, the Estonians show a very high degree while the Ukrainians and the Irish have little or none. Of more recent origin are the many immigrants from Asiatic countries, for instance the large Chinese population in California.

American orthography The spelling of American English has been a matter of central interest since the late 18th century when Noah Webster, the father of American lexicography, brought out his *Dissertations on the English Language* (1789) in which he suggested separating America from Britain linguistically. Webster's major work is his *An American Dictionary of the English Language* of 1828. With its 70,000 entries is was larger than Samuel Johnson's *English Dictionary* (1755). Certain spelling changes of Webster are older forms, such as *-er* for *-re* (cf. *theater*) or *-or* for *-our* (cf. honour). Many of the changes suggested by Webster were not adopted permanently into American English and he can not free himself entirely from the accusation of having tinkered with the language (e.g. in his proposal that one write *oo* for *ou* in words like *soup, group*). Note that the letter *z* is pronounced /ziː/ in American and /zed/ in British English.

Phonology

1) Presence of (retroflex) syllable-final /r/ (in General American). This /r/ may be absent in the South and conservative varieties in the North East.

2) Raising, lengthening and frequent nasalisation of /æ/ is very common. The lexical

distribution of /æ/ and /<:/ is different from British English: e.g. *cancel*, *dance*, *advance* all have /æ/ in American English.

3) Lowering of /o/ to /a/ as in *pot* /pat/.

4) Flapping of /t,d/ to /4/, e.g. *writer* /rai4qr/.

5) Alveolar /l/ in syllable-final position, e.g. *ill* [il]

6) Not so much diphthongisation of mid long vowels as in RP, e.g. *home* is pronounced /houm/ and not /hqum/

7) Partial retention of /w/ where RP has /w/, e.g. *which* /wit$/

8) Many cases of varying word stress compared with British English.

AE	BE	AE	BE
a/dult	*/adult*	*/direct*	*di/rect*
/address	*ad/dress*	*/inquiry*	*in/quiry*

Morphology and syntax

The differences between American and British English are not so often a question of presence or not of a certain feature as one of statistical frequency; the following characteristics should be understood in this light.

1) Increased use of adjectives for adverbs. *He's awful tall*. *That's real funny*. *I near finished it*.

2) Strong verb forms which are either a) archaic or b) false generalisations from other strong verbs. *do - done - done*; *get - got - gotten*; *see - seen - seen*; *bring - brang - brung* (non-standard in the United States).

3) Use of *do* is widespread in American English for questions and negative sentences. *Did he have a chance to do it*? (*Had he a chance to do it*?) *Have you enough money*? *No, I don't* (*No, I haven't*) *He hasn't a driving licence, sure he doesn't*? (, *hasn't he*?) *Did he use to smoke* (*Used he to smoke*?)

4) Suppression of verb leaving a) a preposition *The cat wants in*. *She wants off*. b) a past participle *He ordered him replaced*. *They wanted a conference held*.

5) Large number of phrasal verbs in American English: *hold off* (= *restrain*); *figure out* (= *understand*); *check out* (= *leave*); *get through* (= *finish*); *count in* (= *include*); *stop by* (= *visit briefly*).

6) Differences among prepositions: *aside from* (= *besides*); *in back of* (= *behind*); *for* (= *after*), e.g *The school was named for him. on* (= *in*), e.g *I live on George Street. in* (= *into*), e.g. *He ran in the kitchen. than* (= *from*), e.g. *She is different than her sister*. *through* (= *from ... to*) *Monday through Friday.*

7) Lack of prepositions with expressions of time: *I met him* (*on*) *Tuesday*. *I wrote* (*to*) *her last week.*

8) Pronominal usage: American English allows 'he' after 'one' which is not found in British English. *One never does what he should. One always deceives himself.*

Cross influences of American and British English The influence of American English on British English has its roots in the economic development in the 19th century which lead directly to American words for technical and specialised objects being adopted into British English and, indirectly with the coming of age of American culture, to a general and pervasive infiltration of the British word stock by Americanisms, the more general of which co-exist with their British counterparts.

> *movie/film*; *mailman/postman*; *mental/insane*; *can/tin*; *garbage/rubbish*; *window shade/blind*; *gas/petrol*; *mad/angry*; *raise/rise*; *filling station/garage*; *pitcher/jug*; *elevator/lift*; *reel/spool*; *trailer/caravan*; *I guess/I think*; *truck/lorry*; *lumber/timber*; *installment buying/hire purchase*; *chips/crisps*; *French fries/chips.*

Note that the influence of American on British English has been almost entirely in the sphere of lexis. The degree of awareness of Americanisms varies greatly from item to item. In some cases the American term has successfully ousted the British one as in the case of *radio* for *wireless*; *okay* (which is of uncertain origin, turning up in the early 19th century) is now ubiquitous.

Certain prepositional verbs (a favourite American construction) have become part of British English without its users realizing their origin: *to put sth. over*; *to get sth. across*; *to stand up to*; *to go back on.*

Word formation. This sphere of lexicology is arguably the most innovative of American English, especially in the last few decades. For all the phenomena of our industrialised society the Americans have coined a term. The use of derivational suffixes is notable in this respect. *-ster*: *gangster, oldster*; *-ician*: *beautician, cosmetician*; *-ee*: *escapee, returnee*; *-ette*: *roomette*; *drum-majorette*; *-ite*: *socialite, sub-urbanite*; *-ize*; *to winterize, to itemize, to fictionalize*. Conversion as a word formational process is also exceedingly common; *a bug - to bug*; *thumb - to thumb*; *commercial* (adj.) *commercial* (noun); *hike* (verb) - *hike* (noun).

In this connection one should take note of back-formations such as *jelly* F *to jell*; *enthuasiasm* F *to enthuse*; *bachelor* F *to bach.* Added to these are a variety of reductions: *ad* E *advertisement*; *demo* E *demonstration*; *exam* E *examination* which are also common in British English.

British and American English

Spelling

AE	BE	AE	BE	AE	BE
honor	*honour*	*realize*	*realise*	*theater*	*theatre*
favour	*favour*	*criticize*	*criticise*	*center*	*centre*
odor	*odour*	*idealize*	*idealise*	*meter*	*metre*

AE	BE	AE	BE	AE	BE
traveled	*travelled*	*defense*	*defence*	*program*	*programme*
labeled	*labelled*	*offense*	*offence*	*dialog*	*dialogue*
woolen	*woollen*	*license*	*licence*	*sulfur*	*sulphur*

AE	BE	AE	BE	AE	BE
inquiry	*enquiry*	*cozy*	*cosy*	*draft*	*draught*
inclosure	*enclosure*	*check*	*cheque*	*plow*	*plough*

Vocabulary Note that in the following list the words on the left of the colon are typical of American usage and those on the right of British. However one must emphasise that there is much overlapping in usage particularly with American terms which are in use in British English.

> *apartment*:*flat*; *trash can*:*dustbin*; *attorney*:*solicitor,barrister*; *baby buggy*: *pram*; *bartender*:*barman*; *bug*:*insect*; *bus*:*coach*; *cab*:*taxi*; *candy*:*sweets*; *check*: *bill*; *chips* : (*potato*) *crisps*; *preacher*:*clergyman*; *clerk*:*shop assistant*; *coed*:*female student*; *cooky*: *biscuit*; *store*:*shop*; *corporation*:*company*; *diaper*:*nappy*; *dishpan*: *washing-up basin*; *eraser* : *rubber*; *bowl*; *corn*:*maize*; *drugstore*:*chemist*; *dumb*:*silly*; *elevator*:*lift*; *fall* : *autumn*; *first floor*: *ground floor*; *gas station*:*petrol station*; *first name*:*Christian name*; *flash- light*:*torch*; *French fries*:*chips*; *freshman*:*first year student*; *garbage*:*rubbish*; *grade*:*gradient*; *jelly* : *jam*; *liquor*:*spirits*; *highway patrolmen*:*mobile police*; *high school*: *secondary school*; *hood*:*bonnet*; *kerosene*: *paraffin*; *lumber*:*timber*; *mail*:*post*; *movie*:*film,pictures*; *movies* (building) : *cinema, pictures*; *muffler*:*silencer*; *doctor's office*:*surgery*; *pacifier*:*dummy*; *parking lot*:*car park*; *penitentiary*:*prison*; *period*:*full stop*; *pitcher*:*jug*; *realtor*:*estate agent*; *roadster*:*two seater*; *roomer*:*lodger*; *section*:*district*; *sedan*:*saloon*; *quarter*:*term*; *sidewalk*: *pavement*; *sophomore*:*second year student*; *slingshot*:*catapult*; *highway*:*motorway*; *streetcar*: *tram*; *subway*:*underground*; *suspenders*:*braces*; *taffy*:*toffee*; *trillion*:*billion*; *truck*:*lorry*; *trunk*:*boot*; *turtleneck*:*poloneck*; *undershirt*:*vest*; *vacation*:*holidays*; *weather bureau*:*met office*; *school* : *college*; *ride* : *drive*; *rise* : *raise*; *cookie* : *biscuit*; *faucet* : *tap*

English in Canada

Historical outline John Cabot landed in Newfoundland in 1497 and so began the settlement of Canada by Europeans. Up to this date indigenous tribes peopled the country. Their languages are still extant in small ethnic groups within present-day Canada; their position is similar to that of the native Indians in the United States; their languages belong to the various language families of the

North American continent which pre-date the coming of the Europeans. A special position is occupied by the Inuit (formerly termed Eskimos) in the arctic regions of northern Canada).

In 1534/35 Jacques Cartier captured the areas of the St. Lawrence river for the French and in 1608 S. de Champlain founded Quebec. Up to 1674 the administration of the French colony was a matter of a colonial company (compare the situation with the English in India). After this date the French crown took over the government of French Canada. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 established the position of the English in Newfoundland. In 1774 the Quebec Act established the province of Quebec officially. The Americans attempted unsuccessfully in 1775 to take over Quebec. Many loyalist Americans came to Canada after the American War of Independence (1783) and settled in the new province of New Brunswick. Due to the erratic settlement of Canada various centres of population developed. The constitution of 1791 acknowledged this and created two halves in Canada: Upper-Canada (mainly British) and Lower-Canada (mainly French). The Americans tried once again unsuccessfully in 1812-14 to conquer Canada. The necessity to form a unity to oppose America led to the unification of Lower and Upper Canada with the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick: the Dominion of Canada was founded on 1.7.1867. Later other minor provinces were added such as those of the Hudson Bay Company (Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan). British Columbia joined in 1871. Canada remained a British colony (subject formally to the British crown) until the beginning of this century. In 1920 Britain recognised the right of Canada to sign international treaties on its own. At the Empire Conference in 1926 and later with the Statute of Westminster (1931) Canada attained, along with other dominions, formal independence from Britain but remained a member of the loose confederation of states known as the Commonwealth. The Maritime Provinces with Newfoundland had a rather peripheral status until being integrated fully into the Canadian state in the present century.

Note that the name *Canada* is of uncertain origin.

Main facts Population: ca. 24 million inhabitants. Capital: Ottawa. Consists of 10 provinces and two territories. Of these Ontario with 8.5 million is the most populous followed by Quebec with 6.5 million (census of 1976). The latter province is French-speaking as opposed to the remaining provinces. Canada is the second largest country in the world. Official languages: French and English. Most Canadians are the descendants of English immigrants (44.6%) or of French immigrants (28.7%). However other ethnic groups are also represented such as Ukrainians (2.7%), Italians (3.4%), Germans (6.1%), Dutch (2%) and Poles (1.5%). Interesting from the linguistic point of view is the small group of Scottish immigrants in Cape Breton in Nova Scotia who have maintained a variety of Scots Gaelic to this day and the Irish-derived population of Newfoundland.

Main linguistic features

Canadian English can be said to occupy an approximate position between American and British English. This can be explained historically, seeing as how Canada was under the influence of Britain for very much longer. Furthermore the Canadians do not like to be mistaken for Americans and so they tend to avoid the more obvious traits of English in the United States. Despite its great size there is not much deviation within Canadian English. The most prominent of the dialect regions is the island of Newfoundland known locally as ‘The Rock’. This island has a history of seasonal migration from Ireland and the West Country of Britain: Workers came over in the summer to partake in the fish industry and returned in the winter and so there was - up until the 19th century - a continuous input of dialect features from the two areas just mentioned and many

aspects of Newfoundland English can be accounted for given the Irish and West Country backgrounds of its original settlers. The brief remarks below refer to General Canadian English and not to the eastern periphery varieties.

There are one or two further particular areas in Canada which have a special significance linguistically. For instance the Ottawa Valley west of the city of Ottawa in Ontario is noted for its Scottish and Irish settlement history and structures typical of Irish English are found there (as on Newfoundland), e.g. the perfective aspect *I'm after washing the car*, 'I have just washed the car'.

The most populous area in Canada is that of Toronto and the surrounding conurbation on the northern shore of Lake Ontario.

Phonology The main feature is what is called Canadian Raising by which is meant that the diphthongs /ai, au/ are pronounced as /ɑi, ɑu/ before voiceless consonants and /ai, au/ before voiced ones, e.g. *knife* /nɑif/ : *knives* /naivz/; *house* /hɑus/ : *houses* /hauziz/. /æ/ is raised somewhat to /e/ (as in AmE.); /o/ is unrounded to /ʌ/: *stop* /stʌp/.

Lexis Contains many elements from Indian languages such as *kayak* 'canoe of Greenlander'; *parka* 'skin jacket with hood attached'. The much quoted interjection *eh?* is supposed to be a shibboleth for Canadians but tends to be avoided because of its all too obvious character.

African American Vernacular English

The term *African American Vernacular English* (formerly referred to as 'Black English') refers to the varieties of English spoken by those people in the United States who stem from the original African population transported there. These speakers are currently distributed geographically across the entire country. However, the African Americans were originally settled in the south (from Texas in the West to the Carolinas in the East) where they were kept as slaves to provide a labour force for the plantations of the whites in this region.

With the industrialisation of the United States in the last century a migration from south to north began leading to considerable numbers of African Americans settling in industrial centres, particularly of the north and north east. These latter speakers are severed from the historical core area of African American Vernacular English and have frequently undergone developments not shared with the original speakers in the south. The remarks below hold for the most undiluted form of African American Vernacular English. There are three basic views on the origin of African American Vernacular English.

1) *Baby talk theory* Now completely out-dated; African American Vernacular English is said to have developed from a simplified form of English used in communication with slaves, supposedly akin to language in early childhood.

2) *Creole hypothesis* African American Vernacular English is viewed here as having developed out of the necessity of slaves from different linguistic backgrounds on the plantations of the south to have a form of basic communication, i.e. an English-based pidgin, later a creole with native speakers).

3) *Dialect origin view* Also known as the segregation hypothesis. This sees African

American Vernacular English as having developed from dialects of English cut off from others hence independent features arose not shared by the input forms.

Phonological simplification The sounds of the English which formed the base for African American Vernacular English have been reduced, particularly the phonotactics have been affected with consonant clusters being simplified (*desk* F *dess*; *master* F *massa*, with *r*-dropping in syllable-final position).

Development of a system of aspect Verbs have two basic modes: tense and aspect. The former is quite developed in Western European languages: the time axis for a verbal action is always explicitly expressed. But there is another equally important axis for verbs: that of aspect. The latter refers to the manner in which an action is carried out or refers to the result of an action or its relation to the present point in time. Typical aspectual distinctions are *habitual* : *non-habitual*, *durative* : *non-durative*, *perfective* : *non-perfective*. The first distinction is present in Standard English (compare the progressive forms of verbs). The second is expressed in African American Vernacular English by an unstressed form of the verb *do*: *He does be in his office in the morning*, i.e. He is in his office every morning for a certain length of time. The third distinction is one which is common in the Slavic languages: the action of a verb is stated as being completed or not. Indeed African American Vernacular English frequently distinguishes between an Immediate Perfective (*I done go = I have gone*) and a Remote Perfective aspect (*I been go = I had gone*). Similar aspectual distinctions are to be found in other varieties of English such as Irish English, however, the relation with African American Vernacular English is not established.

3) *Movement towards an analytic structural type* African American Vernacular English betrays its pidgin origin in a number of ways. One of these is the tendency to develop grammar to the analytic ideal of one-word-one-morpheme. This principle holds for practically all pidgins (at least for the small number of combinations of basic lexeme + inflectional ending).

4) *Elimination of redundancy* The clearest example of this is to be found with verbs. In the present tense the *-s* ending of the third person singular is eliminated, e.g. *he likes* F *he like*. Analogy may cause the *-s* to be generalised to the entire tense leading to forms like *I likes*, *we likes*. With the past tense of regular verbs the *-ed* ending is frequently deleted; the context ensures that no ambiguity arises (no confusion with present tense forms without any ending).

Another example of the elimination of redundancy is the deletion of the copula (cf. sentences like *He a nice girl* in which the lack of distinction between ‘he’ and ‘she’ is also to be seen). Note that copula deletion is common in other languages as well (in Russian for example).

5) *Multiple negation* A feature both of older English and many dialects including African American Vernacular English. It refers to the use of two (or more) negative particles to intensify a negation, e.g. *He don’t know nothing*. This feature is also called *negative concord* as there is a requirement that the tensed verb and the quantifier both agree, i.e. both occur in the negative form in a negated sentence.

List of salient linguistic features

I Phonology

1) Non-rhotic (syllable-final /r/ is not pronounced)
car [ka:], *party* [pa:ti]

2) Frequent deletion of final /l/, particularly after labials or word-finally with auxiliaries
help [hep], *he´ll be home* [hi bi ho:m]

3) Reduction of word-final clusters
test [tes], *desk* [des]
looked [luk], *talked* [to:k]

4) Fortition (hardening) of initial /3/ to either [d] (dental stop) or [d] (alveolar stop)
this [dis], *there* [de:]

5) In word-final position /2/ is frequently shifted to [f] (also found in Cockney English). This shift is also found for /3/ (à [v]) in word-internal position.
bath [ba:f], *teeth* [ti:f].
brother [brvvq]

6) Velar nasal shifted to alveolar point of articulation (very common in dialects of English)
She´s comin´ tomorrow

7) The distinction between short /e/ and /i/ is frequently lost before nasals as it is southern white American English (and other forms of English). The neutralisation is to the raised vowel [i].
pen, pin [pin]; *ten, tin* [tin]

8) Glide reduction, a general feature of southern white American English, is also typical of AAVE (along with many other varieties of English, such as those in South Africa). It applies to both /ai/ and /au/ with the slight retraction of the onset of the second diphthong maintaining the distinction between the two phonemes.
wife [wa:f], *time* [ta:m]
house [h<:s], *loud* [l<:d]

9) Strong initial stress is often found with words of two syllables
police [/po:lis], *define* [/di:fain]

II Morphology and syntax

1) Multiple negation is common (as it is in many non-standard varieties of English it serves the purpose of intensifying a negation and not of neutralising one). This type of negation is also termed

`negative concord´ because polarity particles must agree with each other, i.e. all be in the positive or all be in the negative.

I ain´t goin´ to give nothin´ to nobody.

2) Existential *there* is replaced by *it*

It ain´t no football pitch at school.

3) Plurals are not marked if preceded by numerals.

He here for three year now.

4) The genitive is not necessarily marked with /s/ (as position is sufficient to indicate this category)

I drove my brother car.

5) A formal distinction is frequently made between second person singular and plural. This is realised by *you* [ju:] in the singular and *y´all* [j>:l] (derived from *you* + *all*). AAVE shares this feature with southern white American English. The distinction in question is found in many dialects of English, e.g. with *you # ye*, *you # youse* or *you # yez* where *ye* is the archaic second person plural pronoun and *yez* is a doubly marked plural form.

Y´all have to leave now. `All of you have to leave now.´

Note: 3) and 4) are examples of the elimination of redundancy as the grammatical categories intended are obvious from the combinations of words and their order in the respective sentences.

II.1 Verbal syntax

1) Third person singular *-s* is omitted.

She like my brother.

2) Deletion of copula. As in Russian, the copula is not required in so-called equative sentences, i.e. those of the form X = Y.

She a teacher. They workers in the factory.

3) *Come* has been grammaticalised as a type of auxiliary. This is often referred to in the literature as `indignant´ *come* because it contains a connotation of disapproval.

He come tellin´ me some story. `He told me some false story.´

4) *Like to* has often the meaning of `almost´.

She like to fell out the window. `She almost fell out of the window.´

5) Base subject relative clauses are found in AAVE though not in standard English. However, such structures do occur in other forms of English, e.g. popular London English.

He the man (who) got all the old records. (AAVE and London English)

He´s the man she talked to.

6) AAVE in common with southern white English in the United States can have two modals within the same verb phrase. This is probably an inherited feature from Scots-derived dialects originally brought to the United States in the 18th century which then diffused into the language of the African-American population.

He might could do the work.
She may can do the work.

7) The numbers of forms of verbs is reduced vis à vis standard English. Typically in the past there is one form, based either on the simple past or the past participle. While reduction of verb forms is common in creoles it is also widespread in dialects of English, such as those from Ireland which had an influence on AAVE in its early days (both in the Caribbean and in the southern United States).

I have already ate.
Bruce have drunk chocolate milk before.

II.2 Aspect

This is a grammatical category which determines the internal structure of a temporal event. In a way it is a refinement of tense (see above). Whereas tense only says whether an event is located in the past, present or future, aspect specifies how it occurred or how its occurrence was viewed by the speaker, by indicating whether an action has just started (inchoative), just ended (terminative), continued over a period of time (progressive), took place repeatedly (iterative), took place repeatedly for a certain length of time (durative), was not terminated (imperfective) or was indeed finished (perfective), to mention some of the more common aspectual types.

1) Uninflected *be* functions as a marker of the habitual aspect
They be out on the street at night. ´They are always out on the street at night.´

2) An iterative aspect is expressed by means of *steady* which can occur in final position.
They steady rappin´ outside our house. `They are always talking outside our house.´
They high steady. ´They are always high on drugs.´

3) A stressed of *been* occurs to indicate the remote past
I È been travel to New York. ´I travelled to New York a long time ago.´
Jodie, she È been marry to Chuck. ´Jodie married Chuck a long time ago.´

4) An intentional aspect is found with the particle *a* which precedes the verb form.
I´m a drive to town. `I´m about to drive to town.´
I´m a gonna meet her. `I´m about to meet her.´

5) The unstressed past participle form of *do*, *done* [d « n], is used to signal an action which has just occurred. This is similar to the immediate perfective found in other varieties of English and realised in different ways, cf. Irish English *I´m after breaking the glass* `I have just broken the glass´.

The mirror done broke. `The mirror has just broken.´
The cook done cooked the food. `The cook has just/already cooked the food.´

III Vocabulary

1) Some vocabulary items are clearly of West African origin, such as ***buckra*** `white man´, ***tote*** to carry. Even more obvious are terms referring to food also found in African, e.g. ***goober*** `peanut´, ***yam*** `sweet potato´.

2) Many semantic extensions of existing English words are also to be found such as ***homies*** for close friends (often those with whom one shared a spell in prison), ***bloods*** for other blacks, ***whities*** for white people, ***rednecks*** for poor southern whites. Some of these terms appear to have some sound symbolism such as ***honkey*** for a white person, though this is difficult to quantify.

IV Varieties of AAVE

1) There are considerable register differences within present-day AAVE. Slang terms are fairly general, such as ***bad*** for `good, admirable´, ***cool*** for `good, neat´, ***hip*** `knowledgeable´, ***dude*** `male´ (often disparaging). Some of these terms have diffused into general American English and from there to other languages, e.g. the word ***cool***.

2) In-group language is characteristic of black street gangs in the major cities of the United States (such as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago). Here as elsewhere in AAVE the pragmatics of discourse is quite different from that of white Americans. Verbal insulting can take on ritual forms and a volatile, rhythmic eloquence is known as ***rappin´***.

Obligatory and variable rules

The rule which deletes the ending of regular verbs in the past, cf. ***looked*** [luk], is obligatory whereas that which leads to the reduction of clusters within a single word, cf. ***desk*** [des], is variable, i.e. it does not always occur for all words which could possibly undergo this reduction.

Sources of AAVE

This set of varieties can be traced back to forms of English which developed in the 17th century in the Caribbean. The reason for English existing in this area to begin with is that the slave trade was initiated by European powers, notably Spain and England, in the 16th century. This trade consisted of taking native Africans from the region of West Africa slaves and transporting them to the islands of the Caribbean where they worked on the plantations of the European powers. Later, with crowding on smaller Caribbean islands such as Barbados and Montserrat, black slaves were moved to the southern coast of the present-day United States and put to work on tobacco and cotton plantations. These historic facts supports the linguistic assumption that the native Africans first developed a pidgin in West Africa (as they were mixed with members of different tribes to prevent plotting) and then when moved to the Caribbean the following generations developed this make-shift language into a fully-fledged one, a creole based on fragments of English and dramatically re-structures with constructions not found in the input varieties of English.

The second major hypothesis concerning AAVE is that its specific features arose due to contact with dialects of English which had been transported to the southern United States by white settlers and which continued to develop in isolation in this region for a couple of centuries. While it is undeniable that AAVE has developed features of its own, the structural similarities with Caribbean creoles (copula deletion, aspectual distinctions such as the habitual) point towards an origin as a creole which has undergone varying degrees of decreolisation (approximation to more standard varieties of English surrounding it, in this case American English).

The exact status of structural characteristics in AAVE is much debated. For instance, the habitual aspect is a prominent feature of Caribbean creoles but also found in many West Atlantic languages which provided the substrate input to early forms of English in the Caribbean area. Thus habitual aspect may not so much be an indication of creolisation as an inherited features from African languages. Against this one can point out that other creoles - those in the Pacific region, for instance - also show habitual aspect so that this feature may be prototypical for creoles.

The Caribbean

The Caribbean is a large area extending from the southern coast of the United States to the northern coast of South America, bounded on the west by Mexico and the Central American states and facing out to the Atlantic on the east. The section between the east of Mexico and the south of the United States is the Gulf of Mexico and does not contain any islands; the Caribbean islands begin in the north with Cuba and the Bahamas and extend southwards to South America.

From the point of view of English the Caribbean can be seen as consisting of the following islands:

1) Jamaica, Cayman Islands
2) Leeward Islands (St. Kitts Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, Virgin Islands)
3) Windward Islands (St Lucia, St Vincent, Barbados, Grenada)
4) Trinidad and Tobago

The following sections of the Caribbean periphery were settled to varying degrees by the British as of the 17th century.

1) The southern United States
2) The Bahamas
3) Belize (former British Honduras)
4) Costa Rica
5) Nicaragua (the Miskito Coast)
6) Providencia (Providence Island)
7) Guyana (former British Guyana)
8) Suriname (former Dutch Guyana)

Apart from English the two other main European languages are French and Spanish spoken on Haiti on the one hand and the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Puerto Rico on the other. Dutch was also present on the southern rim of the Caribbean

Jamaica

Of all the Caribbean islands with English-based creoles the most important is Jamaica. This island was taken by the British from the Spanish in 1655 and remained under British rule until its independence in 1962. Slaves were brought from West Africa to Jamaica from the latter half of the 17th century and it was not until the Emancipation Act in 1833 that slavery was abolished.

The English of Jamaica shows the typical creole continuum of former English colonies. The basilect exhibits many of the features of true creoles: analytic grammatical structure (little or no inflections), simplified phonology, notably lack of consonant clusters. As well as this Jamaican creole is a syllable-timed language (much as is French).

Some 2 million inhabitants speak a variety of English which has developed over the past few centuries during the colonial period. In addition to this, Jamaican English is spoken to a considerable extent in England notably in London due to immigration mostly after the Second World War. Estimates such as the 1971 census put the number of people of Caribbean origin in Britain at something over half a million most of whom according to one author (Sutcliffe) would speak the creole English of their homeland if they belong to the working class in England where there would be little opportunity to acquire more standard forms of language. The increase in the number of West Indian immigrants in England can be attributed to two factors. The first is the direct advertisement for labour which institutions like London Transport and the National Health Service carried out in the West Indies (compare this with the position of Germany vis à vis Turkey). This occurred in the 1950s and early 1960s. The second factor is a desire on the part of the inhabitants of former colonies to live in the home country and partake in the prosperity which was evident there in the years after the Second World War. Given the group of people who came for the first reason there is a large contingent of West Indian speakers among the working class in inner cities. This fact led to the retention of communal ties in Britain and to the survival of linguistic habits which might have been lost if the dispersion of the immigrants had been greater.

Phonology Loss of initial /h/ with partial restoration including hypercorrect insertion of non-etymological /h/, *hour* /h</. Cluster simplification, especially in initial and final position, e.g. *stand* /tan/. Loss of post-vocalic /r/ and monophthongisation of rising diphthongs, e.g. *writer* /rata/. Realisation of /ɑ/ as /a/ or /i/, e.g. *razor* /rieza/, *heaven* /hevin/. Metathesis covers examples of plosive and fricative, e.g. *ask* /h<ks/. Morphology Lack of agreement between subject and predicate is typical. No gender distinction with pronouns. A verb is not used in copulative sentences: *John ill*. There is no passive voice. Reduplication is common as a means for intensification: /hu<li hu<li/ ‘full of holes’, /ta:k ta:k/ ‘talk all the time’.

Lexis This contains many elements from various languages which have had an influence in Jamaica, e.g *habble* (E Spanish *hablar*), *door-mouth* (E Yoruba *iloro enu* ‘threshold’, lit. ‘porch mouth’).

Barbados

The Windward and Leeward Islands form an arc in the south east of the Caribbean from Puerto Rico in the north down to Trinidad and Tobago in the south. The islands here are all small

compared to the four great islands Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic) and Puerto Rico and because of their different settlement histories determined by different European powers they vary in language almost island by island. The two main Anglophone islands here are Barbados and Montserrat, both of which had an intake of English speakers already in the 17th century. Many of these speakers furthermore came from Ireland and it is known that English speakers later disseminated from Barbados to other islands so that there is a distinct possibility that some of the parallels between Irish English and forms of Caribbean creole - for instance structures involving verbal aspect - are not coincidental.

Africa

Africa has a long and complicated colonial history. The west coast was first visited by the Portuguese and as of the 17th century, above all with the development of the slave trade and the discovery of the trade route to India via the Cape of Good Hope, the continent came increasingly to feel colonial pressure from England, France and Holland as major European maritime powers. This development reached its peak in the 19th century with the *Scramble for Africa* when the interior of the continent was carved up by the Europeans, usually with no regard for the demographic distribution of the indigenous peoples. Thus the Belgians took a huge part of equatorial Africa and called it Belgian Congo (now Zaire). The Portuguese took Angola and the British lands on the east and west coasts such as Kenya, Uganda; Nigeria, Sierra Leone; what was later to become the Republic of South Africa shows an early Dutch, a later English and recently more Dutch influence; German presence was to be found above all in South-West Africa, present-day Namibia. Some countries such as Cameroon have had different periods under different colonial powers, in this case the British and the French.

The majority of African countries succeeded in gaining their independence from the European powers during the latter part of the 20th century. The roads to independence have been different for different countries and painful for many. The British relinquished their colonies fairly easily, e.g. Nigeria, less so Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe). Most other European powers were involved in some kind of struggle in the process: the French were tied up in a war of independence in Algeria. The Italians in Abyssinia and later the Belgians in the Congo were engaged in military conflict during their retreat from their colonies while the Portuguese loss of Angola was due largely to turbulences in the mother country.

English in West Africa

The term ‘West Africa’ is used to refer to the set of nations on the coast of western Africa from Gambia (in the north) and Cameroon (in the south). Nearly all of them are former colonies of England (hence the official language of many of them is English) and the base for the pidgins spoken in this region is English. Note that West Africa is used to refer to the maritime states of western Africa. It is here of course that trade contacts were most intensive from the beginning of colonial times onwards and thus pidgins developed to a greater degree here than in other parts of Africa. However one should mention that on the eastern coast of Africa in Kenya and Tanzania pidgins arose on the base of English. Furthermore, the Republic of South Africa is interesting as it shows the interaction of English and Dutch in colonial times, producing the language Afrikaans which is in many respects a pidginised form of Dutch. The following are the main countries in the West African group.

Gambia

Republic; independent since 1965; area: 11,300 sq km; pop: 0,6 m.; capital: Banjul. Contacts with Britain exist since the late 16th century. It was a separate colony after 1843 but with close ties to Sierra Leone. The pidgin of Gambia is Aku which is closely related to Krio (see below). The main indigenous language is Wolof (a West African language).

Sierra Leone

Republic; independent since 1961; area: 71,400 sq km; pop: 2,8 m.; capital: Freetown. The first colonials were Portuguese, later (end of 16th century) the British arrived setting up a trading post. A British colony since 1808, the capital was populated in the early 19th century by ex-slaves who returned after military service for the British. The pidgin here is called Krio which is based both on the language of the immigrants and on native pidgin. Nowadays Krio is used as a creole in Freetown.

Liberia

Republic, founded in 1847; area: 111,370 sq km; pop: 1,8 m.; capital: Monrovia. Established for the settlement of ex-slaves from the United States. Independent of the United States since 1867. American influence is to be seen in the English of Liberia (the pidgin is called Merico) which has features in common with African American Vernacular English dialects of the United States. Apart from Merico there is a further pidgin called Kru spoken by the tribe of the same name. Some Krio is also spoken (originating from Sierra Leone).

Ghana

Republic; independent since 1957 (old name: Gold Coast); area: 238,500 sq km; pop: 11 m.; capital: Accra. Again a British settlement dating from the late 16th/early 17th century. There is no name for the pidgin spoken in Ghana; additionally English is spoken as a second language by many speakers as opposed to a pidginised form of English being used. The neighbouring country of Togo (area: 56,000 sq km; pop: 2,4 m.; capital: Lomé) has pidginised English alongside English as a second (i.e. foreign) language for many of its inhabitants).

Nigeria

Republic; independent since 1960; area: 923,700 sq km; pop: 75 m.; capital: Lagos. Nigeria consists of a federation of separate regions based on tribal affiliations (the main ethnic groups are those of the Yoruba and Igbo who both speak languages of the same name). English has been spoken since the early 17th century and the pidgin of English is used by between 5 and 8 million speakers and used on official or semi-official occasions. The position of English is particularly strong given the enormous diversity of native languages found in Nigeria.

Cameroon

Republic; independent since 1960; area: 475,000 sq km; pop: 7 m.; capital: Jaunde. Like much of the rest of coastal west Africa, Cameroon was British in practice since the end of the sixteenth century. However, the country was annexed by Germany in 1884 and declared a German Protectorate. After the First World War the country was divided among the French and British to the advantage of the former. For this reason both English and French are official languages in present-day Cameroon, which is geographically based on former French Cameroon, most of former British Cameroon having gone to Nigeria (in the north). The English pidgin, which bears no

specific name, is estimated to be spoken by between a quarter and a fifth of the population in many official spheres much as in Nigeria.

English in South-Africa

Historical outline In 1652 the Cape of Good Hope was colonialised by Dutch navigators thus establishing the Dutch claim to this part of Africa. For 150 years the English did not disturb the colony; in 1806 however they invaded the region and brought the English language there thus initiating the dual European language tradition which exists to the present day. After the Napoleonic wars the number of permanent English settlers increased forming the group known as the '1820 settlers' who represented the backbone of English settlement in South Africa. In 1822 Lord Somerset declared English the only official language of the Cape Colony. Indeed he undertook steps to facilitate the acquisition of English by all classes of society. This led to exposure of the indigenous black community to English to a far greater extent than in the remaining English colonies in Africa. This fact holds true to the present day.

Throughout the 19th century new settlements in South Africa continued. In Natal a wave of settlement occurred in the year 1848-1862 with speakers of varieties of Northern English arriving in the area.

Another kind of immigration set in during the latter half of the 19th century which was to have a lasting effect on the demographic composition of South Africa: Indians started arriving, firstly as labourers on the estates of Natal, later on in the rest of the country. The Indians accepted English as the language of communication and thus contributed to the strengthening of the language in South Africa.

The mineral revolution in the 1870's introduced the industrial age into South Africa, leaving some of the old Cape Colonialists and the Afrikaners behind but drawing new immigrants into rapidly expanding cities such as Johannesburg. As a rule the whites formed the plutocracy of the mining-industrial society, the blacks being the labourers, of course.

At the turn of the 19th century England engaged in two wars with South Africa (known as the Boer Wars) which led to South Africa gaining a great deal of independence; it became a dominion of the British Empire in 1910, later a sovereign state within the Commonwealth and finally and an independent republic in 1961.

Nowadays one can recognise at least four main varieties of English in South Africa: Afrikaner English (the English of those South Africans whose mother language is Afrikaans), Coloured English (the kind of English used by the coloured (racially mixed, or Asiatic) portion of the population, the English of the black section of the population and of course the language of those native speakers of English. In addition there are about 1 million speakers of South African Indian English which derives from the speech of those Indian immigrants who came to Kwazulu-Natal in the late 19th century.

Note that English-speaking white South Africans enjoy highest social prestige. Both English and Afrikaans are official languages in the new, post-apartheid Republic of South Africa. However there is still a language loyalty conflict, a remnant of the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902. This situation has not changed substantially since the end of apartheid (white discrimination against and segregation of blacks).

English is the first language of about 10% (ca. 2.8m) of which two thirds are white. Furthermore English is used as a lingua franca by millions and in this context co-exists with

Afrikaans (mixtures of Afrikaans and English are not uncommon and termed 'Anglikaans') and many indigenous languages such as those of the Bantu and Khoisian groups. Since the change-over in power to a largely black government the Republic of South Africa recognises some 11 languages, including English and Afrikaans, as official languages in the country. The following description applies to General South African English.

Main linguistic features

Phonology Retraction of first element with the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/, e.g. *may* /mqi/, *go* /gqu/ (only the latter is true for RP). Raising of front short vowels: *man* /men/; this is a feature of English in general in the southern hemisphere, compare Australia and New Zealand in this respect. Schwa is frequently found for /i/, e.g. *pin* /pqn/ and in unstressed syllables, *wanted* /w>ntqd/. The diphthong /ai/ as in *time* is often quite open, i.e. [taem]. In general, South African English is non-rhotic, i.e. /r/ is not pronounced in syllable-final position (same as Received Pronunciation).

Syntax Again the influence of Afrikaans is noticeable, e.g. in the lack of prepositions with many verbs, e.g. *explain, reply, write*. Deletion of verb markers and contracted forms of the verb 'to be' are another salient feature: *You looking tired*; *The wife play*. The word *busy* is often found as a progressive marker: *They were busy talking together*. A general purpose *is it?* is found: *He's gone abroad, is it?* There is also a positive use of *no* in sentence-initial position as in *How are you keeping? No, we're well thank you*.

Lexis There are obviously two main sources for loanwords in South African English: 1) Dutch or Afrikaans (the colonial variety of Dutch in South Africa), 2) native languages of the region. Dutch provides terms like *kloof* 'ravine', *kraal* 'animal pen', *veld* 'unenclosed land' and of course the term *apartheid*. Other characteristics consist of the use of English words in unusual contexts, such as *shame* in the sense of 'a pity'.

English in East Africa

This area is very large encompassing countries such as Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania down as far as Zambia and Zimbabwe. The position of English is somewhat different from that in south and west Africa as here there has been for centuries an indigenous lingua franca, Swahili. English was thus used as a supplementary language and not a primary pidginised one as was the case in West Africa for many speakers. e.g. in a country like Nigeria with many mutually unintelligible indigenous languages.

Because the native languages of eastern Africa frequently belong to the Bantu group there is in many countries a common Bantu substrate as with Shona in Zimbabwe. Furthermore English interacts with Swahili in this region so that code-switching and mixed forms result. In general one can say that East African English is non-rhotic and has a simplified vowel system with frequent syllable-timing, an item of transfer from the Bantu substrate.

South Asia and South-East Asia

India was one of the largest and most important of the British colonies. It was colonised early by the British and was originally in the hands of English firms which organised trade with the colony, the most important of these was the powerful East India Company founded in 1600 and which established bases later in the century at many of the sites which were to become major cities of India: Bombay, Calcutta, Madras. In these early days, Portuguese was an important language, being replaced in the following centuries by English with the missionary activity and the establishment of English educational institutions in India.

The Indian subcontinent is linguistically quite heterogeneous. Over 70% of the languages spoken in India are Indo-Aryan, i.e. of Indo-European origin, deriving ultimately from Sanskrit, the classical language of India on a par with Greek in Europe. About a quarter of languages are Dravidian, a separate language family found in the east and south of India. The country is largely of Hindu religion but has sizeable Muslim sections, particularly in the northern province of Kashmir.

India

India gained its independence in 1947 which led to the hiving off of Pakistan as the Islamic section of the country. Pakistan itself was divided into West and East Pakistan (former East Bengal), the latter attaining its freedom from its larger western counterpart in 1971 and becoming the state of Bangladesh.

Because of the size and linguistic complexity of India, English has had a special function as a means of communication. This has been officially encoded in the three language formula which in the sixties was suggested for education: the state language, Hindi and English were to be taught to allow local identity, national feeling and international access to be maintained.

Indian English - irrespective of where it derives from - has quite distinctive features, above all in its phonology. The alveolar consonants of English are realised as retroflex sounds - these segments are found in the linguistic area of India, i.e. in both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian parts of the country. Ambi-dental fricatives are realised as aspirated dental stops (much as in Irish English) and mid vowels tend not to be diphthongised, i.e. a word like *though* would be [do:] rather than [ðqu], *tin* would be [ðin] and not [tin].

The grammar of Indian English varies greatly depending on the background indigenous language and the degree of proficiency of the individual speaker. Substrate influence makes itself felt in morphology and syntax, this interference declining sharply with education and fluency in English.

South East Asia

From the Anglophone point of view this large area consists of Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong. The types of English spoken here again depend on degree of education and substrate influence. In Malaysia the native language Malay plays an important role, as do Indian languages and Chinese in Singapore and Chinese, in its particular southern forms, in Hong Kong.

Australia and New Zealand

Australia

Historical outline Australia, the southern land, has known three colonial periods. The first is the brief one of the Spanish, remarkable by simply involving the initial discovery of Australia by de Quirós in 1606. The Spanish did not however follow up the matter with an expedition.

Almost at the same time as the Spanish a Dutch expedition under Willem Jansz arrived at the Torres Strait at approximately the same time as Luis de Torres himself. In 1611 some Dutch ships sailing eastward from the Cape of Good Hope reached west Australia. In 1626-7 a further expedition came under Abel Tasman after whom the name of Tasmania, the large island off the south west coast of Australia is named (formerly Van Diemens Land). Tasman also explored New Zealand. An expedition in 1644 explored north Australia.

The British In 1688 William Dampier explored north east Australia; in 1699-1700 he explored further, both times writing an exhaustive account of his journeys. British involvement in Australia really got underway with James Cook who, in three major explorations in 1768-1770, 1772-1775 and 1776-1779, firmly established Australia as an object of colonial interest. In the last two decades of the 18th century some more explorations by the French and English were undertaken, colonisation began in earnest at this time.

Originally Australia was used as a release for the overcrowded British prisons, for example the First Fleet in 1787 sailed with 730 convicts on board, some 250 free persons also sailed. Britain established several penal colonies and by the first quarter of the 19th century most of coastal Australia had been settled by the British. By 1830 an estimated 58,000 convicts had been settled.

The Great Shift from 1830 to 1860 saw the rise of Australia with its agricultural and mining economy, the formation of four of Australia's six states and the beginning of the period of non-convict settlers (often political or religious dissidents from England). The economy centred mainly around the production of wool and grain on the one hand and the exploitation of Australia's mineral resources on the other hand (copper, nickel, etc.). For a time in the late 19th century gold and silver mining was important. The infrastructure of Australia was greatly improved by the construction of railways in the 1880's. In 1901 the Federation of Australia (consisting of the following states: Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, Southern Australia and the island Tasmania) was formed. Today Australia is independent but still a member of the British Commonwealth.

Australia has an area of 7,682,300 sq km and a population of 13.5 m. The capital is Canberra, the two largest cities, Sydney and Melbourne both have a population of nearly 3 m. The official language is English, a large variety of native languages are spoken in small quantities by the aborigines (native Australians).

The white population derives traditionally from Irish or English immigrants and is known as 'Anglo-Celtic'. In the present century immigration from other European countries took place, e.g. from Greece and Italy. Furthermore, Australia feels the proximity to major Asiatic neighbours like China.

The following description applies to General Australian English.

Main linguistic features

Phonology Long vowels and diphthongs differ considerably from British English but form a coherent system. Centralisation of vowel beginning *beat* /bqi/, *boot* /bqut/. Retraction or advancing of initial element: *high* /hvi/, *how* /æu/. Lowering of initial element: *say* /svi/, *so* /svu/. Short front vowels are noticeably raised: *man* [mɐn], *men* [men], something which is common to South African and New Zealand English.

Morphology Many compounds are formed with typical first elements, e.g. *bush* as in *bushfire*, *bushman* or the last element *cocky* as in *sheepcocky*. Many meanings are derived from the components which are used to form compounds, e.g. *outback* (from *out* and *back*); *weekender* (from 'to spend a weekend in a country house'); New Zealand has the form *bach* (from 'to live as a bachelor').

Lexis Many words are loans from aborigine languages, e.g. *boomerang, kangaroo, koala, gin* (slang for woman); in some instances AusE. has older forms not used in BrE., e.g. *couth* whereas BrE. only has *uncouth*.

English in New Zealand

New Zealand had been discovered by various south sea peoples in the pre-colonial period (by Tahitians around 950 and by Polynesians in the 13th century). The first European to discover New Zealand was Tasman in 1642. James Cook took possession of the country for Britain in 1769. Not until 1840 did New Zealand formally become a British colony with the seat of administration in Auckland, later in Wellington. Within the framework of the Westminster Statutes New Zealand achieved more or less complete independence in 1928 and 1931.

New Zealand consists of two main islands, a northern island comprising of seven administrative districts and a southern island comprising of six such districts. It has an area of 268,670 sq km and a population of 3.2 m. The capital is Wellington, while the largest city is Auckland with 800,000. The official language is English; there are also native languages spoken by the Maori (native New Zealanders) who represent less than 8% of the population of present-day New Zealand.

Main linguistic features Basically similar to Australian English. New Zealand has Maori loanwords which are obviously not found in Australian English, e.g. *tamarillo* for *tomato*. In the area of phonology one can note that front short vowels are raised considerably - even more than in Australian English - giving *man* /mɐn/, *men* /mɪn/ with a diphthongisation of /ɪ/: *pin* /pɪqn/.

The Pacific region

The term *Polynesia* (from Greek 'many islands') refers to all the islands in the south-west and west of the Pacific stretching from the north of Australia up to Hawaii. By *Melanesia* (from Greek

'black islands', i.e. those inhabited by dark people) one refers to a smaller group in the south-west.

This is an area which is characterised by pidgins rather than forms of English with clear historical continuity as in Australia and New Zealand; for more information on pidgins, see below. The term *Melanesian Pidgin English* is often used to refer to the pidgins of the region but it is more a linguistic than a general term and refers to the pidgins and creoles spoken in Papua New Guinea (*Tok Pisin*), on the Solomon Islands (*Pijin*) and on Vanuatu (*Bislama*). It is arguable whether these are mutually understandable, particularly as they have been exposed to different European lexifier languages, e.g. French on Vanuatu and German to limited extent on Papua New Guinea. More important, however, is the difference in substrate input at the various locations.

Hawaii

The archipelago of Hawaii with its main island of Honolulu has been the 50th state of the United States since 1959. The islands were first known as the *Sandwich Islands* after their discovery by James Cook in 1778. The official language is of course English and the influence of mainland American English is quite obvious; the influence of Hawaiian is restricted to a few lexical items. Before its annexation by Americans in 1898 the island was largely Hawaiian in population but today the number of speakers of the indigenous language is merely a few percent.

The ethnic composition of the islands now is somewhat more complex due to immigration from the Philippines, Japan and from China. The workers from the latter country were responsible for the formation of Hawaii Pidgin English on the plantations in the late 19th century in a similar fashion to the plantation pidgins and later creoles in other parts of the world, such as the southern United States and on various Anglophone Caribbean islands.

The spread of English

The case of English from Ireland

The concern of the present section is to show how the spread of English may well have taken place from Europe to overseas countries. For the purposes of illustration it is not British English which is used but Irish English as here the lines of historical development are present but not so well documented so that there is much room for interpretation of what historical data there is. This fact means that the case for the spread of Irish English is an exercise in linguistic argumentation - accounting for similarities in structure, for instance - rather than a straightforward case of historical reconstruction

The story begins at the beginning of the 17th century. To be precise at the end of the 16th when Sir Humphrey Gilbert, commissioned by Elizabeth I, discovered Newfoundland - incidentally some 600 years after Leif Eriksson had reached the island during the end of the Viking period. The time scale one is dealing with is thus some 400 years but in fact the formative period of the overseas varieties of English in the new world was the period of the 17th and 18th centuries. Then what the linguist terms extraterritorial varieties, that is those spoken outside of the mainland of England, obtained their shape and evolved as distinct forms of English independent of those from which they are ultimately derived. Many of these varieties also developed their own standard

language as public forms of English used in those countries which severed the colonial ties with England.

Any discussion of extraterritorial varieties necessitates a basic distinction between external and internal history. The external history of a variety concerns the emigration from and settlement outside of Europe, the social conditions which prevailed at the new location, the demographic contacts, the need for standardised English or lack of it, the formal control on the acquisition of English or again the lack of this. The internal history is concerned with the changes in the language brought to the extraterritorial locations, the degree of deviation from more standard forms of English, particularly in Britain, the mixture of dialects and the adaptation to groups speaking different languages within the same community and possibly the creation of new structures due to innovation among children acquiring English in environments with little linguistic input.

A review of the external history is called for at this point. Going on emigration patterns one can - very roughly - divide the overseas migration from Ireland into five possible scenarios as indicated below. The different types of population movement have led to different kinds of linguistic influence which will be discussed presently.

Scenarios for overseas emigration from Ireland

1)	*Population movement*	Seasonal migration for work
	Country/region involved	Canada, Newfoundland
	Type of influence	All linguistic levels affected
	Time scale	18th and early 19th century
2)	*Population movement*	Convicts and political prisoners
	Country/region involved	Australia
	Type of influence	Perhaps phonological / morphological
	Time scale	18th and 19th century
3)	*Population movement*	Largely rural population from south and west
	Country/region involved	East coast of the United States
	Type of influence	Very little if any
	Time scale	19th and early 20th century
4)	*Population movement*	Religious dissenters from northern Ireland
	Country/region involved	Appalachia
	Type of influence	Phonological / grammatical
	Time scale	Late 17th and 18th century
5)	*Population movement*	Indentured labourers from southern Ireland
	Country/region involved	Barbados and Montserrat, then the entire Caribbean
	Type of influence	Syntax / aspectual system
	Time scale	Mid-17th to 18th century

Newfoundland English

The first type of scenario is in a way the easiest to deal with as the influence of Irish English is most discernible. It is found in the English of the easternmost tip of Canada. Recall that the Maritime Provinces of eastern Canada have been settled since the early 17th century. These areas received their original inhabitants directly from England and Ireland, whereas the central region of Canada, the southern part of the state of Ontario, gained a not insignificant portion of its population from American Loyalists who fled from the east coast of the United States (chiefly New York and Pennsylvania) after the revolution of 1776. The drive west through Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta across to British Columbia followed a pattern of internal migration westwards as in the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries. Canada like the United States was fed in this newer period of population growth by a continuous supply of English-speaking immigrants via Grosse Ile at the entrance to the St. Lawrence river estuary, the Ellis Island of Canada so to speak. The influence of this later wave of immigration on Canadian English is not as evident as in the Maritime Provinces. Nonetheless one should mention one feature which Canadian English has in common with the English in the north of Ireland, what is known in linguistic literature as *Canadian Raising* where the diphthong before a voiceless consonant has a more central starting point than the corresponding voiced one.

house, lout [hqus, lqut] *houses, loud* [hauziz, laud]

The area in Canada of immediate relevance for a discussion of the impact of Irish English is Newfoundland. This island was settled first by immigrants from the west country of England as early as the beginning of the 17th century and later in the mid 18th century from Ireland. These two groups are still distinguishable linguistically. Newfoundland became a largely self-governing colony in 1855 and as late as 1949 joined Canada as its tenth province.

Newfoundland illustrates best the scenario of seasonal migration for work. Its fishing grounds were quickly recognized by the English and Irish and in the 18th century an active link between Ireland and Newfoundland developed whereby Irish men travelled for the summer months to engage in fishing (consider the Irish name for Newfoundland *Talamh an Éisc* which literally means 'Land of Fish'). The fact that the work was seasonal meant that a large portion of these people returned to Ireland for the winter months. In linguistic terms this resulted in continuous and active exposure of the Newfoundland population to Irish English. Later in the 19th century the links subsided with many of the workers remaining in Newfoundland. Indeed the capital of the island, St. John's, is named after a parish in the city of Waterford in the south-east of Ireland.

Among the features found in the English of this area which can be traced to Ireland is the use of *ye* for 'you'-pl (which, however, could also be dialectal English), the perfective construction with *after* and present participle and the use of an habitual with an inflected form of *be* and/or *do* plus *be*.

He is after eating his dinner.
'He has just eaten his dinner.'
She does be worrying about the children.
'She is constantly worrying about the children.'

The phonological items are equally genuine such as the use of dental stops for dental fricatives, syllable-final /r/, the weakening of word-final, post-vocalic /t/, the low degree of distinctiveness between /ai/ and />i/ (cf. *bile* vs. *boil*) if present at all and the use of an epenthetic vowel to break up a cluster of liquid and nasal. There are also reports of lexical items of putative Irish origin.

think, father [tink], [fa:dQ]	*night, butter* [naiθ], [bvθQ]
bile vs. *boil* [bail] vs. [b>il]	*film, helm* [filim], [helim]

At the present Newfoundland English would appear - despite its geographical isolation - to be losing the more marked of its Irish and English west country features under pressure from a general North American pronunciation as has been shown by sociolinguistic investigations (Clarke 1986). This factor of standardisation must be borne in mind not only for Newfoundland. For instance it would seem to have eliminated a particular pronunciation found in the Ottawa Valley which is seen by some (e.g. Woods 1991) to have arisen from Irish and Scottish settlers in the first half of the 19th century.

Australian English

The second scenario above is best illustrated by Australia. Demographically Australia today is 75% Anglo-Celtic, by which is meant of English or Irish extraction. The remaining 25% consists of more recent immigrant groups such as Greeks or Chinese and a very small number of aborigines. White settlement in Australia began in 1788 and in the eighty years up to 1868 convicts from England were transported there. It is important to grasp here that the term 'convict' covers a multitude of sins. Among these were true criminals who were expelled from England because of lack of prison space to house them. But a large portion of the population was Irish, this group consisting of individuals who for some reason, however slight, had fallen foul of British colonial justice and paid for this by being banished to the other side of the world.

Given the sizeable number of Irish among the original settlers of Australia one would expect an influence on the formation of Australian English commensurate with their numbers. However this is not the case. The features traceable to Irish input are few and tenuous. Take the realisation of unstressed high vowels as in *naked* British Eng: [neikid], Australian Eng: [neikɋd]. Then there is the use of *must* in the negative with what is called an epistemic sense (expressing. By this is meant that the verb says something about existence or presence rather than obligation.

He mustn't be in the office today.
'He can't be in the office today.'

Another candidate for Irish influence could be the retention of initial /h/. Bear in mind that this sound disappears regularly in British urban dialects and its continuing existence in Australian English could be due to Irish influence: *hat*, *humour*, *home* all with [h-].

The comparative lack of influence of Irish English on Australian English is something which requires explanation. The low prestige of the Irish sector of the early Australian community is one but should not be over-estimated seeing as how the English immigrants were no higher in terms of social status. It may be that given an equal low status for both ethnic groups of immigrants the lower prestige of Ireland versus England was decisive. A lack of influence further presupposes

that the Irish community was easily identifiable and so easily avoidable. It can be assumed that the speech of rural immigrants from Ireland in the later 18th and during the 19th century was a clearly identifiable contact variety of Irish English and so its features could be rejected by the remainder of the English-speaking Australian population whose own speech is, however, well reflected in present-day Australian English, just consider the realisation of long vowels and diphthongs which is clearly parallel to south-east England and London: *paint*, *pint* pronounced for Irish ears as if they were *pint*, *point* respectively.

[pæint] *paint*, *pint*		Australian English
	[p<int, paint]	
	pint, *point* [p>int]	Irish English

The view that saliently Irish features were rejected is in fact supported when one considers what features may be of Irish origin in Australian English. Take the use of negative epistemic *must* as *musn't* (for *can't*) again. Prescriptive consciousness of modals in English is slight, most probably because of the irregularity in the system: all of these verbs lack an infinitive and are defective in other ways such as not having a past form. It would have been easiest for a form from Irish English to enter the speech of those the Irish were in contact with in Australia in an area of English usage which displays little or no paradigmatic regularity.

Eastern United States

The next scenario above is typified by the emigration to America by large numbers of Irish in the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The pressure to emigrate grew during the course of the 18th century in Ireland due to the depletion of agricultural resources and the rapidly rising population of the country. By the early 19th century the situation in the countryside had become untenable: the holdings of farmers had become too small for the families to subsist on. Added to this came the calamity of potato blight which struck repeatedly, most viciously in the late 1840's leading directly to the Great Famine in which over a million died and another million left the country, chiefly to America and the Merseyside region in England.

Little if anything is known about the linguistic situation of these later immigrants. But the result of their immigration and integration into American society suggests that their main desire was to burn their bridges with their past of poverty and deprivation. It is this attitude to all things Irish which is the probable explanation for why there is no Irish-speaking diaspora outside of Ireland despite the millions who spread into the New World. Those Irish speakers who emigrated wished to forget everything of their bitter past and the Irish language was just such a reminder. Support for this view is found in the geographical distribution of the Irish in the United States. They are to be found chiefly in the cities of the north-east, New York and Boston being the most prominent sites. Settling in a city would seem to have been the best solution to the traumatised rural population of Ireland starting a new life in America.

To the abandonment of Irish can be linked the lack of influence of Irish English on the speech of New England. An obvious Irish accent would have been a reminder of a past better forgotten and regarded as contrary to the desire to integrate into American society. The latter factor was not always the case. For earlier forms of Irish English brought to America it did not appear to hold. However by the 19th century no external variety of English had any influence on American

English anymore. The only exception to this are minor pronunciation idiosyncrasies which may be attributable to an ethnic group. For instance Laferriere (1986) investigated the distribution of a high prestige /o/ and a lower prestige /ɔ/ vowel in words of the *-orC* type in three ethnic groups in Boston: Irish, Italians and Jews.

short	[$o:5t]	vs.	[$ɔ:5t]	(*-orC* words)
forty	[fo:ti]	vs.	[fɔ:ti]	

She found that the /ɔ/-pronunciation tended to be associated with a Boston 'Irish accent' but that this vowel was not stigmatised because of its lack of salience for speakers and its use to a greater or lesser extent by all ethnic sectors of the city.

Appalachian English

The fourth scenario in the division given above owes it existence to the fact that the Protestant non-conformists - known as dissenters - who originally came from Lowland Scotland to northern Ireland were not viewed as the equals of the more streamlined Church of England Protestants whose associations would naturally have been with England and not with Scotland which was the case with the Presbyterians of Ulster. Their position had been precarious from the beginning. It is true that they established a firm foothold on Irish soil and settled there permanently but they never intermingled with the local Catholic population and indeed the latter saw no reason to do so as it was the Scottish Protestants who robbed them of their birthright, the land of Ulster. There was something of the grim and gruff nature of the pioneer in the Ulster Scot and this did not win him the sympathy of the native Irish. Indeed in the rebellion of 1641 the natives attempted revenge for the dispossession of their lands which had taken place at the beginning of the century. Matters came to a head for the Ulster Scots when the Catholic James II ascended the throne in 1685. James' reign was brief as he was replaced by William of Orange after only three years on the throne. However, the predicament of the Ulster Scots was precarious, surrounded by hostile Irish and governed by a state unsympathetic to their form of Protestantism. The upshot of this was large-scale emigration to America in the later 17th and during the 18th century.

This movement of Ulster Scots across the Atlantic led to that distinctive variety of American English, Appalachian English. The mountainous area which covers parts of Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and both the Virginias, is relatively isolated and generally regarded as being poor and backward which of course furthered its position as something of a backwater. Linguistically this meant that Appalachian English has kept a clear linguistic profile which is of interest to the variety linguist.

Now recall that the Ulster Scots arrived on the east coast and moved first south and then into the mountainous hinterland as the countryside had already been settled by other ethnic groups such as the Palatinate Germans in Pennsylvania and competition for land was considerable. One should also add that the frontier environment would seem to have suited the Ulster Scot mentality and this led them to press on, through the Cumberland Gap into the flatter regions of the centre of the country. Here their linguistic characteristics would appear to have dissipated so it is to Appalachia that one must look to for clear traces of Ulster Scots speech.

The greatest evidence for Scots influence is in the verbal area. There are key structures which one can use as diagnostics of Appalachian English. Many of them have distinct parallels in

Ulster Scots though in some cases additional potential sources can be identified. The most obvious continuation of a Scots input to the English of this region is the use of double modals.

He might will come here after work.
He may could do afterwards.
He must would go there tomorrow.

These structures are clearly remnants of original Ulster Scots speech as they are unique among New World varieties of English. Furthermore double modals do not occur in the south of Ireland, an additional reason for seeing them as specific to the population of America derived from an Ulster Scots ancestry.

A further trait of Appalachian English which is paralleled in Ulster Scots is the use of what linguist's call positive *anymore*. The earlier view which scholars like Mencken held that this derives from German is no longer adhered to and an Ulster Scots source is as likely a candidate as any, seeing as how this frequently occurs there.

He might want to come here anymore.

Yet another grammatical feature of Appalachian English which would appear to stem from the Irish background is *a*-prefixing. This in turn has a double source in Irish English (in both north and south where it is found). The first is as a reduced form of the preposition *on* (still found in English in *asleep, alive*), that is the first sentence below could derive from a nominal phrase 'on walking' which is phonetically reduced to 'awalkin'.

He was a-walkin' along the road.
Twenty years agrowing.
Fiche bliain ag fás. [...ɡ fˀ:s]
[twenty year at growing]

But as the other examples above show there is an Irish (and Scots Gaelic) model for this. As so often it could be a case of two structures converging and the linguist in search of a neat monocausal explanation should take care to grasp this.

In Appalachian and general southern American English there exist non-standard structures which can definitely be excluded from an Ulster Scots source. For instance the use of a pre-verbal *done* as a sign of perfective aspect is definitely non-Irish and indeed the non-inflected pre-verbal nature could point to an aspectual type which arose during a previous period of creolisation, this fact also accounting for the existence of the structure in general southern American English: *They done left their farm.*

English in the Caribbean

The Caribbean, the fifth scenario from the table above, is an area with a very chequered history and one of the pieces in the mosaic of its background involves the Irish. In the early days of the settlement of the Caribbean islands by Europeans a contingent of Irish was among them. This can be directly traced to a decree by Oliver Cromwell the English warlord, who subdued Ireland in

the middle of the 17th century, and who sent Irish prisoners, taken after the Battle of Drogheda to the island of Barbados. The Irish went as indentured labourers, a social status just above that of slave which is reflected in the term 'Black Irish' used for them. The island of Montserrat also received Irish immigrants in a similar fashion.

Now at this time there was a fair degree of inter-island movement among the British colonies in the Caribbean, especially for males (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Holm 1988) so that there is a likelihood that they transported their form of English to other parts of the Caribbean.

The linguistic composition of the Caribbean is very complex and it would require far more than a section like this to do it even rudimentary justice. So it would appear appropriate to extract one typical feature of Anglophone Caribbean creoles and take a closer look at it, assuming that the arguments concerning it could be applied similarly to other aspects of creole grammar.

First of all the facts of the case: Caribbean creoles have a means of marking habitual aspect (an action which is repeated at regular intervals) which usually involves a form of the verbs *do* and *be*. Now there are two main views on where creoles get their unique structures from.

1) (British or Irish) English dialects, archaic and/or regional in type
2) African substrate input, i.e. the native languages of early slaves
3) Universals of linguistic development in the sociolinguistic environment of slavery with little or no linguistic continuity

Obviously forms of English are responsible for the appearance of derivatives of *do* and/or *be*. The *do* form is taken to stem from so-called 'periphrastic *do'* as in *I do call you a liar*, not to be confused with modern usage where *do* in the affirmative has emphatic character as in *I /do read books on linguistics* where the *do* is emphasised. This peaked in usage at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, above all in the west country of England (as evidenced by Shakespeare) and in Ireland, both sources of settlers in the Caribbean, the west country speakers coming from the hinterland of the port of Bristol.

Periphrastic *do* (unstressed, peaked about 1550 - 1625)
I do call you a liar.
Emphatic *do* (stressed, only form in modern standard)
I /do read books on linguistics

An example of this construction is the sentence given above, ***She does be worrying about the children***, which is typical of present-day Irish English and it is safe to assume that it was also present in the varieties of English transported to the Caribbean as it is impossible that Irish English had a less marked aspectual system in the 17th century than it has today.

Now one line of argument for the Caribbean creole and early African- American English use of a *do* / *be* derivative is that the form diffused from Irish English into these varieties. This is a line taken by John Rickford who has investigated how extensive and of what nature the contact between the Irish and Black populations of America was, beginning with the Caribbean (Barbados, Montserrat and to a lesser extent St. Kitts) which, as noted already, has an historically attested Irish population due to the Cromwellian deportations in the mid-17th century.

Rickford furthermore points out that there was considerable contact between Irish indentured servants and black slaves. He continues his outline of demographical developments by

sketching the emigration to America at a later stage (a shift northwards took place in the 18th century with the switch from earlier deportation to later emigration). He maintains that the use of *be* in African-American English and *does be* in Caribbean creoles may well reflect a differential influence of northern Irish English on the former and southern Irish English on the latter.

This scenario is quite plausible but there are one or two difficulties with it. The first is that the use of habitual *do* is not attested in Irish English until the beginning of the 19th century. However, it could be that it simply was not committed to writing as it was (and still is) stigmatised as definitely sub-standard English.

The second reservation concerns the sociolinguistic situation in which the children of slaves acquired English. Many authors, notably Derek Bickerton, have pointed out that the amount of English linguistic input for children of second and later generation slaves was minimal and that it was up to them to 'invent' structures (arguably going on a universal and innate blueprint, similar with Bickerton though not identical to that assumed for the principles and parameters model in recent generative linguistics, see section on pidgins and creoles below) in order to create a fully-fledged language in a situation of abrupt creolisation, i.e. the rise of a native language within a generation in surroundings in which this language was only available in fragments.

Now a general insight of creoles studies is that in a creolisation environment aspect has priority over tense in the verbal system. Aspectual structures have no internal temporal organisation and are assumed to be simpler (though this is begging the huge question of what simplicity is in such a context) and hence more basic in language.

The point of departure for abrupt creolisation was one where periphrastic *do* was present in the input but where it was grammatically redundant, i.e. it conveyed no grammatical information. Children in the process of abrupt creolisation can seize on such elements and re-functionalise them, here for the habitual aspect. In addition the position of periphrastic *do* in the verbal phrase would have facilitated this process of usurping an element in the linguistic input to realise an aspectual structure. That is, it occurred in pre-verbal position (before the main lexical verb). Again creoles favour the pre-verbal position for aspectual markers. The idea here is that any marking or inflection is done at the beginning of the verbal phrase and is then followed with the lexical verb which conveys the actual semantic content.

Note that this interpretation does not involve recourse to contact with speakers of Irish English for the initial users of Caribbean creole and it illustrates the type of argument found in linguistic literature on New World varieties of English between adherents of a contact hypothesis in creole genesis and those who would favour a more universal approach stressing the essential similarity between languages which arise in a situation of abrupt creolisation.

The complex of creolisation and its linguistic description is the subject matter of the following section.

Pidgins and creoles

What is a pidgin? Basically a pidgin is a restricted language which arises for the purposes of communication between two social groups of which one is in a more dominant position than the other. The less dominant group is the one which develops the pidgin. Historically pidgins arose in colonial situations where the representatives of the particular colonial power, soldiers, sailors, tradesmen, etc., came in contact with natives. The latter were more or less forced to develop some form of communication with the former. This resulted in a language on the basis of the colonial

language in question and the language or languages of the natives. Such a language represents a severely restricted form of the colonial one as it serves a definite purpose, namely simple communication with the colonists. In the course of several generations such a simplified language can become more complex, especially if it develops into the mother tongue of a group of speakers.

The interest of linguists in these languages has increased greatly in the last few decades. The main reason for this is that pidgins and creoles are young languages. In retracing their development it is possible to see how new languages can arise. Furthermore, the large number of shared features among widely dispersed pidgins and creoles leads to the conclusion that creoles at least show characteristics which are typical of language in the most general sense, the features of older languages such as complex morphology or intricate phonology arising due to the action of various forces over a long period of time after the birth of these languages. In type, creoles are the nearest one can get to an original language and can be shown to embody universals of structure in the clearest and most observable form.

The terms 'pidgin' and 'creole'

There are a number of views on the origin of the term *pidgin*, none of which has gained sole acceptance by the academic community.

1) Chinese corruption of the word *business*. As the word is used for any action or occupation (cf. *joss-pidgin* 'religion' and *chow-chow-pidgin* 'cooking') it should not be surprising that it be used for a language variety which arose for trading purposes.

2) Portuguese *ocupaçao* meaning 'trade, job, occupation'. This suggestion is interesting as the Portuguese were among the first traders to travel to the third world and influence natives with their language. Phonetically the shift from the original word to a form /pidgin/ is difficult to explain.

3) A form from the South American language Yayo '-pidian' meaning 'people' (claim put forward by Kleinecke, 1959). This form occurs in tribal names like 'Mapidian', 'Tarapidian', etc. This claim rests on a single occurrence of the word 'Pidians' in a text from 1606. But as several authors have pointed out this might be a spelling error for 'Indians' seeing as how the author has other misspellings in the text in question.

4) Hancock (1972) suggested that the term is derived from 'pequeno portugues' which is used in Angola for the broken Portuguese spoken by the illiterate. This view is semantically justified seeing that the word 'pequeno' is often used to mean 'offspring', in this case a language derived from another. Phonetically, the shift to /pidgin/ is not difficult to account for: /peke:no/ F /pege:n/ F /pigin/ F /pidgin/ (stages not attested, however).

5) Hebrew word 'pidjom' meaning 'barter'. This suggestion is phonetically and semantically plausible, hinges however on the distribution of a Jewish word outside of Europe and its acceptance as a general term for a trade language.

The term 'creole' There is less controversy on this issue than on the previous one. The term would seem to derive from French 'creole', it in its turn coming from Portuguese 'crioulo' (rather than

from Spanish ‘criollo’) which goes back to an Iberian stem meaning ‘to nurse, breed, bring up’. The present meaning is ‘native to a locality or country’. Originally it was used (17th century) to refer to those from European countries born in the colonies. The term then underwent a semantic shift to refer to customs and language of those in the colonies and later to any language derived from a pidgin based on a European language, typically English, French, Portuguese, Spanish or Dutch. Now the term refers to any language of this type, irrespective of what the input language has been.

General features of pidgins

The essential characteristic of a pidgin is its structural simplicity. This has to do with the fact that pidgins are recent languages and so have not had time to go through a cycle which would lead them later to morphological complexity as, for instance, with the older Indo-European languages. The simplicity applies on a formal level, above all to the areas of phonology and morphology. However pidgins very often have more complex verbal systems than other languages, especially in the area of aspectual distinctions, a fact which has led many linguists to assume that these are somehow more primitive (in the sense of original) languages.

Phonology The phonology does not contain any difficult elements. If the input language has clusters for instance then these are simplified. Marked sounds such as /2/ and /3/ are usually replaced by non-marked equivalents, e.g. /t/ and /d/.

Morphology The morphology is always analytic in type. By this is meant that there is almost a one-to-one relationship between words and morphemes. For instance plural nouns which are formed in English by inflectional {S} are frequently generated by using a separate word along with the singular of the noun, e.g. for *boats* one finds analytic phrases such as *many boat*, *lot boat*, etc. Plurality can furthermore be expressed by *dem* (E ‘them’ in English-based pidgins) as with *dem boats* in Atlantic pidgins or be implicit, i.e. recognizable from the context.

Other elements of pidgin morphology are the existence of second person plural pronoun forms, frequently by using non-standard *yous*, *yes* or *ye*. This is an example of a distinction being introduced (or maintained from archaic or regional English input to the pidgin in question during the formative period) which is not present in English any more, thus implying that the English situation is a marked one, reversed by pidgins. Gender distinctions, if existent in the input language, are normally eliminated. Furthermore, agreement between subject and predicate is often done away with, both forms being unmarked, the context offering the necessary information on sentence roles.

Syntax The syntax of a pidgin is quite unsophisticated as one might expect. The normal word order is SVO (subject-verb-object), more unusual orders such as VSO (verb-subject-object), in simple declarative sentences, are practically unknown. Complex sentence types, e.g. such features as raising (*The car seems to be missing*) or multiple subordination do not occur.

Serialisation and reduplication These are two syntactic features which are very prominent in pidgins. By serialisation is meant that two or more verbs are used one after the other (in a series) to express some aspectual distinction, e.g. that an action has begun, as in *i go start bigin tich* ‘he

started teaching', lit. 'he went started began teach'. Such chains of verbs are one of the best indicators of pidgin origin for a particular language variety (e.g. for Afrikaans). Reduplication is a feature on the other hand which has been overestimated in its significance as a pidgin feature. It is to be found in a number of long-established languages - e.g. in Italian - and is thus a poor indication of pidgin origin.

Lexicon The lexicon of a pidgin is derived solely from the environment in which it is spoken. Because of this it is fairly limited to start with. However, as the lexicon is an open class, it expands easily so that there are few restrictions in principle which can be maintained as true generalisations.

Note that the lexicons of many pidgins share certain common elements. This fact has lead many linguists to assume that there was a common base for the development of all pidgins. While this is a very strong claim, it is nonetheless undeniable that the lexical similarities between pidgins cannot be accidental, e.g. a form of *saber* for 'know' and *pequeno* for 'little' or 'offspring' is to be found in all English-based pidgins and creoles. A certain number of nautical terms are also to be found in nearly all pidgins. For instance the term *gali* now means any kitchen (in West African pidgins) and the term *cargo* refers to any load.

Grammatical restructuring

The typical colonial situation has been one where native speakers develop a simplified form of the colonial language for basic communication purposes. There is however another kind of scenario for their development. This is where a single language (often an overseas variety of a colonial language) is *grammatically restructured*. This has happened to English in the Caribbean and West Africa, to French in Cameroon and on Haiti, in part also to Dutch in South Africa. Here the phonology and morphology of the language have been severely simplified and the language has become almost entirely analytical in its type (little morphology). Note carefully that this situation is different from the natural development of dialects in geographically separate areas. Dialects may appear to standard speakers to be linguistically inferior. This is, however, not the case and they are definitely not simplified forms of a standard language. Furthermore, it is quite unusual for dialects to represent a different language type from the standard form of the language to which they belong. Thus one can see that the restructuring which has occurred with many languages which are geographically widespread (Portuguese, Spanish, Arabic) is in kind different from dialect diversification.

One of the reasons why pidgins are linguistically interesting is that they are formed not just by simplifying the input language. If this were the case then a pidgin deriving from English would still contain many inflectional elements from the source language (plural formation, strong verbs and the like). The process of pidginisation is more dynamic than mere simplification, which is typical of many other interim situations, such as second language learning. The dynamics of pidginisation is to be seen in the re-interpretation of the structure of the input language. With English as base, many pidgins have reinterpreted English inflections and formed new semantic equivalents to them which were not present in the input varieties from which they arose.

The question arises immediately why this restructuring should take place in the first place. Secondly, there is a striking similarity in the type of restructuring which pidgins undergo. Irrespective of where they are spoken and indeed irrespective of the input languages, pidgins always restructure to an analytic language type. The only acceptable answer to this is that the

genesis of pidgins must be guided by structural universals of language. The situation with pidgins is the only one where one can see a new language arising. Assuming that a new language will have the characteristics which are typical for language in general, then it is not surprising for pidgins to show the same kind of analytical structure. The other different types of language, notably synthetic, agglutinative and polysynthetic languages, would then have arisen during the further development of natural languages over centuries. Various minor changes (such as contractions, assimilations, etc.) would lead to synthetic structures arising, as for instance has happened to the second person singular forms of Germanic verbs, e.g. *kommst* from *kommes þū* (an example of a shift from analytic to synthetic).

In linguistic literature the terms *pidginisation* and *creolisation* are used to refer to typological restructuring of a language particularly in a contact situation. These terms are not identical: it is essential to distinguish between mother tongue development (*creolisation*) and general restructuring (*pidginisation*) which precedes the former development chronologically.

Theories of origin

There are various theories about the origin of pidgins which have been proposed in the last hundred years or so. These can be presented as a basic group of five theories which show a degree of overlap; note that a mixture of origins is also a possibility which should also be considered.

1) *The baby-talk theory* At the end of the last century Charles Leland, when discussing China coast pidgin English, noted that there were many similarities with the speech of children such as the following features:

a) High percentage of content words with a correspondingly low number of function words
b) Little morphological marking
c) Word classes more flexible than in adult language (free conversion)
d) Contrasts in area of pronouns greatly reduced
e) Number of inflections minimised

Later linguists, notably Jespersen and Bloomfield, maintained that the characteristics of pidgins result from 'imperfect mastery of a language which in its initial stage, in the child with its first language and in the grown-up with a second language learnt by imperfect methods, leads to a superficial knowledge of the most indispensable word, with total disregard of grammar' (Jespersen, 1922:234).

2) *Independent parallel development theory* This view maintains that the obvious similarities between the world's pidgins and creoles arose on independent but parallel lines due to the fact that they all are derived from languages of Indo-European stock and, in the case of the Atlantic varieties, due to their sharing a common West African substratum. Furthermore, scholars like Robert Hall specify that the similar social and physical conditions under which pidgins arose were responsible for the development of similar linguistic structures.

3) *Nautical jargon theory* As early as 1938 the American linguist John Reinecke noted the possible influence of nautical jargon on pidgins. It is obvious that on many of the original voyages

of discovery to the developing world many nationalities were represented among the crews of the ships. This fact led to the development of a core vocabulary of nautical items and a simplified grammar (at least as regards English). Later pidgins show many of these lexical items irrespective of where the language varieties are spoken. Thus the word *capsize* turns up with the meaning 'turn over' or 'spill' in both West Atlantic and Pacific pidgins. So do the words *heave*, *hoist*, *hail*, *galley*, *cargo*. One of the shortcomings of this otherwise attractive theory is that it does not help to account for the many structural affinities between pidgins which arose from different European languages.

4) *Monogenetic/relexification theory* According to this view all pidgins can be traced back to a single proto-pidgin, a 15th century Portuguese pidgin which was itself probably a relic of the medieval *lingua franca* (also known as *sabir* from the Portuguese word for 'know') which was the common means of communication among the Crusaders and traders in the Mediterranean area. *Lingua franca* survived longest on the North African coast and is attested from Algeria and Tunesia as late as the 19th century.

The theory maintains that when the Portuguese first sailed down the west coast of Africa in the 15th century they would have used their form of *lingua franca* (*sabir*). Afterwards in the 16th and 17th centuries when the Portuguese influence in Africa declined, the vocabulary of the then established pidgins would have been replaced by that of the new colonial language which was dominant in the area, say English or French. As the Portuguese were among the first traders in India and South East Asia a similar situation can be assumed to have obtained: the vocabulary of the original Portuguese pidgin was replaced by that of a later European language.

Note that with this theory the grammatical structure of pidgins would not have been effected by the switch in vocabulary (this is what is meant by the term *relexification*). Thus the obvious similarity in structure of all pidgins would go back to the grammar of the proto-pidgin coming from the Mediterranean area. What this theory does not explain is why the structure (analytic) should be of the type it is. Furthermore there are a number of marginal pidgins (Russenorsk, Eskimo Trade Jargon) which cannot conceivably be connected with Portuguese and which are nonetheless analytic in structure just as the pidgins based on the main European colonial languages are.

5) *Universalist theory* This is the most recent view on the origin of pidgins and has elements in common with the other theories. However the distinguishing mark of this theory is that it sees the similarities as due to universal tendencies among humans to create languages of a similar type, i.e. an analytic language with a simple phonology, an SVO syntax with little or no subordination or other sentence complexities, and with a lexicon which makes maximum use of polysemy (and devices such as reduplication) operating from a limited core vocabulary. To put it in technical terms, a creole will be expected to have unmarked values for linguistic parameters, e.g. with the parameter *pro*-drop, whereby the personal pronoun is not obligatory with verb forms (cf. Italian *capisco* 'I understand'), the unmarked setting is for no *pro*-drop to be allowed and indeed this is the situation in all pidgins and creoles, a positive value being something which can appear later with the rise of a rich morphology.

Developmental stages of pidgins/creoles

	Social situation	*Linguistic correlate*
1)	Marginal contact	Restricted pidgin
2)	Nativisation	Extended pidgin
3)	Mother tongue development	Creole
4)	Movement towards standard language (not necessarily input language)	Decreolisation

Pidgins are generally characterised as *restricted* and *extended*. In the life-cycle of pidgins one can note that they start off as restricted language varieties used in marginal contact situations for minimal trading purposes. From this original modest outset a pidgin may, assuming that there are social reasons for it to do so, develop into an extended type. The latter is characterised by the extension of the social functions of a pidgin. One very frequent scenario in the later development of a pidgin is where it is used as a means of communication not just among black and white speakers but among native speakers themselves who however have very different native languages. This is the major reason for the survival of pidgin English in West Africa. The function of pidgin English is thus as a *lingua franca*, i.e. a common means of communication between speakers who do not understand their respective native languages.

The process of pidginisation is very common in any situation in which a lingua franca is called for. Normally any such variety dies out very quickly once the situation which gave rise to it no longer obtains. If the situation does continue to exist then the pidgin is likely to survive. The steps from restricted to extended pidgin and further to creole are only taken by very few languages, particularly the major restructuring typical of pidgins is not normally carried out by any but a very small number of input varieties.

Reasons for creole development Creoles may arise in one of two basic situations. One is where speakers of pidgins are put in a situation in which they cannot use their respective mother tongues. This has arisen in the course of the slave trade (in the Caribbean and the southern United States) where speakers were deliberately kept in separate groups to avoid their plotting rebellion. They were then forced to maintain the pidgin which they had developed up to then and pass it on to future generations as their mother tongue thus forming the transition from a pidgin to a creole. A second situation is where a pidgin is regarded by a social group as a higher language variety and deliberately cultivated; this is the kind of situation which obtained in Cameroon and which does still to some extent on Papua New Guinea. The outcome of this kind of situation is that the children of such speakers which use pidgin for prestige reasons may end up using the pidgin as a first language, thus rendering it a creole with the attendant relinquishing of the native language of their parents and the expansion of all linguistic levels for the new creole to act as a fully-fledged language.

Catalogue of the main pidgins and creoles

The pidgins and creoles which have arisen in colonial history can be subdivided into two main groups: 1) an Atlantic and 2) a Pacific group. The Atlantic set consists of varieties in the broad area of West Africa on the east, and in the (Anglophone) Caribbean on the west of the ocean. The Pacific set consists of a cluster around the south-west of the ocean, specifically in Papua where the important pidgin *Tok Pisin* arose and became an officially recognised creole in this state, thus having enhanced social status. Other pidgins of the area are that on the Solomon Islands and on Vanuatu, the latter having been in contact with French in its history. The north centre of the Pacific is occupied by the Hawaii archipelago on which a plantation creole arose in the last century, but which has steadily lost ground to more standard forms of American English, especially since the declaration of Hawaii as the 50th state of the union in 1959.

Base: English

Name	*Location*
Krio	Sierra Leone
Liberian	Liberia
West African Pidgin	West African coast
Creole English in Suriname	Suriname (former Dutch Guiana)
Sranan	Suriname (former Dutch Guiana)
Saramaccan	Suriname (former Dutch Guiana)
Ndjuka	Suriname (former Dutch Guiana)
Barbados	East Caribbean
Leeward Islands	East Caribbean
Dutch Windwards Islands	East Caribbean
Virgin Islands	Central East Caribbean
Commonwealth Windward Islands	East Caribbean
Trinidad and Tobago	South East Caribbean
Guyana	Guyana (north coast of South America)
Providencia and San Andrés	West Caribbean
Jamaica	West Central Caribbean
Miskito Coast	Nicaragua
Rama Cay	Nicaragua
Belize	Belize (Central America)
Cayman Islands	Cayman Islands (south of Cuba)
Bay islands	Coastal Honduras (central America)
Panama	Panama
Costa Rica	Costa Rica (central America)
British Caribbean Creole	Caribbean
Bahamas	Bahamas (north Caribbean)
Gullah	Sea Islands of S.Carolina and Georgia
Afro-Seminole	Brackettville (Texas)
African American English	United States
Samaná	Dominican Republic (central Caribbean)
American Indian English	United States
Chinese Pidgin English	South west coast of China
Hawaiian English	Hawaii (central Pacific)

Melanesian English	Melanesia (south Pacific)
Tok Pisin	Papua New Guinea
Solomon Islands Pidgin	South east Pacific
Vanuatu Bislama	South east Pacific
Australian Aboriginal Kriol	Northern Territory of Australia
Torres Strait Creole	North of Australia
Pitcairnese and Norfolk	Polynesia (south Pacific)

Base: Portuguese

Upper Guinea Creole Port.	Guinea-Bissau
Cape Verde Islands	Mid West Atlantic
Guinea-Bissau	Central West African Coast
Gulf of Guinea Portuguese	Gulf of Guinea
Sao Tomé	Gulf of Guinea
Angolar	Gulf of Guinea
Principe	Gulf of Guinea
Annobón	Republic of Equatorial Guinea
Indo-Portuguese	Coastal India and Sri Lanka
Malayo-Portuguese	Malaysia
Papia Kristang	South-West Malaysia
Macao (extinct)	City on south coast of China
Popular Brazilian Portuguese	Brazil

Base: Spanish

Restructured Spanish	New World; Caribbean
Palenquero	North Colombia
Papiamentu	Netherland Antilles
Philippine Creole Spanish	Phillipines

Base: Dutch

Negerhollands	Virgin Islands
Berbice Creole Dutch	Dutch Guyana
Skepi Creole Dutch	Dutch Guyana
New Amsterdam Dutch (extinct)	New York
Afrikaans	South Africa
Fly Taal	South Africa black townships

Base: French

West Africa (various varieties)	West African coast
Vietnam	Vietnam
New Caledonia	New Caledonia (south Pacific)
French Antillean creoles	Lesser Antilles (Caribbean)
Martinique	Martinique (Caribbean)
Guadeloupe	Guadeloupe (Caribbean)
Marie Galante	Marie Galante (Caribbean)
Les Saintes	Iles des Saintes (Caribbean)

St. Barthélemy	St. Barts (Caribbean)
St. Thomas	Virgin Islands
Antillean Creole French	Antilles
Dominica	Dominica (Caribbean)
St. Lucia	St. Lucia (Caribbean)
Grenada	Grenada (Caribbean)
Trinidad	Trinidad (Caribbean)
French Guiana	French Guiana
Guyanais Creole French	French Guiana
Karipuna Creole French	Brazil (near French Guiana)
Haiti	Haiti (Caribbean)
Louisiana	South United States
Réunionnais	Réunion (Indian Ocean)
Isle de France Creole French	South East Indian Ocean
Mauritius	Mauritius (Indian Ocean)
Rodrigues	Rodrigues (Indian Ocean)
Seychelles	Seychelles (Indian Ocean)
Chagos Archipelago	Central Indian Ocean

Base	*Name*	*Location*
Zulu (Nguni,Bantu phylum)	Fanakalo	South Africa
Kikongo (Bantu)	Kituba	Zaire
Bobangi and Boloki (Bantu)	Lingala	Zaire, Central African Rep.
Bulu and Yaunde (Bantu)	Pidgin A-70	Cameroon, Eq.Guinea, Gabon

Base	*Name*	*Location*
Sango	Restructed Sango	Central African Republic
Swahili	Restructured Swahili	Kenya and Tanzania
Arabic	Restructured Arabic	North Africa and Middle East
Arabic	Juba Arabic	Sudan

Base	*Name*	*Location*
Arabic	Nubi	Egypt, Sudan, E.African coast
Assamese	Naga Pidgin	North east India
Malay	Bazaar Malay	Malaysia
Malay	Baba Malay	West coast of Malaysia
Malay	Ambonese Malay	Eastern Indonesia

Base	*Name*	*Location*
Motu	Hiri Motu	Port Moresby (Papua, New G.)
Fiji	Pidgin Fijian	Polynesia (south Pacific)
Fiji	Pidgin Hindustani in Fiji	Polynesia (south Pacific)
Japan	Pidgin Japanese (extinct)	Japanese ports

Base	*Name*	*Location*
Various Ameridian languages	Chinook Jargon	North West coast of US
Eskimo	Eskimo Trade Jargon	Eastern Canada
Choctaw & Chickasaw	Mobilian Jargon (*)	Estuary of Mississippi

Lenape (Algonquian)	Delaware Jargon (*)	Mid-Atlantic coast of US
Carribean Amerindian	Ndjuka-Trio Pidgin	Suriname
Tupi (Ameridian)	Lingua Ceral (*)	Brazil
Southern Romance languages	Lingua Franca (*)	North African coast
Italian	Restructured Italian	Eritrea
German	Unserdeutsch (*)	New Britain (Melanesia)
German	Gastarbeiterdeutsch	Federal Republic of Germany
Russian and Norwegian	Russenorsk (*)	North Norway, Kola peninsula
Russian and Chinese	ChinesePidgin Russian	Near Lake Baikal; Mongolia
Basque	Pidgin Basque (*)	East coast of Canada
Irish and Romani	Shelta	Ireland

(* = extinct)