Areality and the Anglophone World

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1. Introduction

The intention of the present volume is to unite the research of a range of scholars who have been working along similar lines for a number of years now. The factors which contribute to the unity of the volume will include the concern with features of non-standard English which show an areal distribution, i.e. which cluster geographically across the world. A specific focus will be whether these distributions constitute linguistic areas. For the present volume the notion of ‘linguistic area’ is given a somewhat broader definition than in work which is carried outside the field of English linguistics. The present volume will examine interacting varieties of English. These all belong to the overriding system of the English language but nonetheless they may show largely independent subsystems or sets of subsystems. The relationship of English to other languages with which it coincides spatially will also be considered. Here the possibility of contact-induced change is to form a central focus.

The desire to offer explanations for bundles of features which are found among the different varieties of English through the world is to underline the chapters and hence provide a unity of approach despite the obvious heterogeneity of the data which each author will use for the analysis he/she presents.

One clear motivation for the volume is to continue a progression which can be observed in variety studies over the past decade or so. Consider the following subareas of variety analysis can be seen as a trajectory beginning with a fairly particularistic account and continuing to a maximally general examination of cross-linguistic parallels.

1) Cross-variety variation

Looking at feature complexes across groups of varieties of English has been a prominent focus for many scholars in recent years. One need only think of such investigations as those by Liselotte Anderwald on negation, Bernd Kortmann on aspect and periphrastic do, or Peter Siemund on intensifiers and reflexives or Raymond Hickey on non-standard vernacular features which repeat themselves among the dialects of English transported overseas during the colonial period.

2) Typology and dialectology

The typological approach to linguistic analysis gained renewed impetus during the past few decades due to the work of general linguists active in this research paradigm. The work of scholars such as Bernard Comrie, Lyle Campbell, Ekkehard König and Martin Haspelmath has been seminal in this respect. The approach and
the methods of general linguistics have been applied to the study of non-standard forms of English by Anglicists, above all by Bernd Kortmann and Peter Siemund. The insights of these and related scholars are to inform the chapters of the present volume.

3) *Areal linguistics and linguistic areas*

The term ‘linguistic area’ is a useful conceptual aid and in the early days of research helped to heighten scholars awareness of shared structural features among languages in circumscribed geographical areas which are not necessarily related. However, the term came to dominate research (Campbell 2006) in that scholars often felt that a binary decision had to be made as to whether a given geographical area could be classified as a linguistic area or not. This concern can prove to be unfruitful. What can be more significant is research into the forces and mechanisms which lead to languages in a given area coming to share features. This approach would see the scholarly concern with discussing ‘areality’, how it emerges and continues to develop, and not with dispensing the label ‘linguistic area’ in any given study.

Certain developments in a language, and the community which speaks it, can be viewed as (i) *areality-enchancing* and other as as (ii) *areality-diminishing*.

For instance accommodation (Trudgill 1986) is *areality-enchancing* but dissociation (Hickey 2005, 2012) is *areality-diminishing*.

**strong areality indicators**

**low areality indicators**

deal with high-contact and low-contact scenarios.

strategies in areas: types of subordination, relativisation

*Areal linguistics and typology*

How do languages which stand in an areal relationship to each other compare with each other typologically?

*Areal linguistics and contact*

The relationship of areal linguistics to borrowing processes.

*Areal linguistics and universals*

Can one satisfactorily define linguistic universals and do these play a role in areal considerations?
Heine: statements about general properties and abstract features are typological. statements about form-meaning correspondences are indicative of genetic relationship (à la Greenberg).

3) Areal concentrations involving English

Linguistic areas have lost none of their topicality going on the recent publications dedicated to them or at least to the question of how many exist and where they are to be found, cf. Matras, McMahon and Vincent (eds, 2006). In those instances where English is in contact with at least one further language the issue of structural permeation between the different linguistic systems can be fruitfully examined using the techniques evolved by general linguists examining linguistic areas.

There is some older literature on linguistic areas involving English, particular with reference to varieties of English in Britain and Ireland. Heinrich Wagner’s 1959 study Das Verbum in der Sprachen der britischen Inseln is a seminal work which, while dated in its methodology and manner of analysis, is nonetheless a milestone in the typological examination of languages in the British Isles. This standpoint has been re-considered and re-assessed recently by scholars such as Markku Filppula and Raymond Hickey (see references).

Borders and areality

Is it true that phonological and lexical features are greater indicators of areality than morphological ones?

Lowland Scotland versus Northern English

Ulster versus the south of Ireland

Some features spread across the borders while others stop at borders

Areality and clustering

Angloversals

Syntactic

Range of the definite article

Phonetic

Cluster reduction
TRAP-BATH variation
GOOSE-fronting
2. Phonology

2.1. Consonants

1 Rhotacism
This term refers to the occurrence of /r/ in syllable codas, e.g. bore /bɔːr/. Within the anglophone world there are certain areas in which /r/ in the codas of syllables is not pronounced (Wells 1982: 218-22). In the British context, the areas which are nonrhotic, i.e. which do not have syllable-final /r/, are the Midlands, the East and the South-East of England (Upton and Widdowson 1996: 30f.). Traditionally, the South-West, the North-West and the far North-East are rhotic areas, though the situation is often blurred by the presence of supraregional, nonrhotic speakers.

Within the United States there are a few (recessive) nonrhotic regions, for instance in eastern New England, New York City and the Tidewater South (Fisher 2001: 75-7) as well as among African Americans. Otherwise American English shows a retroflex /r/ [ɾ] in syllable-codas, a feature which may have its roots in the many Scots-Irish settlers of the 18th century (see the discussion in Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 92-6).

In the anglophone Southern Hemisphere, varieties of English are nonrhotic (Wells 1982: 603, 606, 616), though there may be minor exceptions to this in southern New Zealand and in Afrikaans English. The nonrhotic character of this entire area is due to the fact that the accents of early-to-mid 19th century settlers from the South-East of England prevailed.

2 Realisation of /r/
The /r/ sound may be realised in a number of ways and there may be a difference between the word-final and pre-consonantal positions. For those varieties without syllable-final /r/ there may be a linking /r/ when a vowel follows the position where /r/ was present formerly, e.g. bear out [ber aut]. This is a sandhi phenomenon where the original /r/ became ambisyllabic with the following vowel-initial syllable and so was not lost. Intrusive /r/ refers to situations in which it is etymologically unjustified, e.g. draw out [drɔːr aut]. Loss of /r/ may be sensitive to stress (only lost in unstressed syllables, for instance). Rhotacised shwa across a syllable boundary is typical of forms of American English but not of other rhotic varieties such as Irish or Scottish English, e.g. [ə'mɛrɪkə] America instead of [ə'meɪnəka] (Wells 1982: 213-18).

3 Hyper-rhoticity
This term (used by Ihalainen 1994: 216) refers to an /r/ which is ‘induced by a final shwa’. It goes back at least to the eighteenth century and was remarked on by prescriptive writers like Sheridan (1781) and Walker (1791). It is found in words like fellow [fɛlə] and window [wɪndə], e.g. in southern/south-western English (Upton and Widdowson 1996: 28f.), where the final long vowel was reduced to /ə/ and then rhotacised. Non-rhotic varieties may show hyper-rhoticity even where there is no special reduction...
of the final syllable, e.g. in pronunciations like China [tʃainə] (Trudgill 1986: 74). There may also be an overgeneralisation in words like khaki [kaːrki], lager [lɑːɡər] (with rhotic varieties), or an intrusive /r/ in words like wash, because (in the Midland region of the United States, Pederson 2001: 272).

4 Vocalisation and deletion of /l/
In colloquial varieties of south-east British English the vocalisation of syllable-final /l/ is very common. Here one is dealing with a shift of a velarised [l] to a high back vowel [u] in colloquial speech, e.g. [mʊlk] > [muuk] (Wells 1982: 258f.). The vocalisation of /l/ shows a progression through a high back vowel to zero and a similar vocalisation, this time of a palatal /l/, occurred historically via /j/ in forms of Romance, e.g. French. Such vocalisation is a different process from the deletion of /l/ in forms of American English where it may be sensitive to the position in a word, only occurring before labials (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 72f.). However, in some of these cases the deletion of /l/ is due to the simplification of word-final consonant clusters (Mufwene 2001: 296) and not to the progression from a velarised lateral to a vowel.

5 Diphthongisation before /l/
There is a long history in English of the diphthongisation of low and back vowels before a velarised /l/. The examples where the /l/ was followed by a velar stop became part of the standard, e.g. talk, walk, etc. (Dobson 1968: 533, Ekwall 1975: 63f.). Other instances, such as caull ‘call’, gowlde ‘gold’, did not survive in the standard. However, in some varieties this diphthongisation did survive, e.g. in Irish English and in Scotland (McClure 1994: 48). There may then be a lexical split between a form of a word with a standard and a local pronunciation, e.g. bold versus baul’ [baul] ‘with sneaking admiration’ (Irish English, Hickey in press).

6 Glottalisation of /t/
This may be sensitive to the position in a word, i.e. it may occur initially, medially, finally (or in a combination of these positions) or it may be confined to a pre-consonantal position. There may also be differences in what segments can be replaced by [ʔ], e.g. only /t/ — bottle [bɒʔl] — or also /p/ and /k/. The stop affected may also be deleted or pre-glottalisation may take place with the stop retained. Glottalisation is common in vernacular forms of southern English (Wells 1982: 260f.), for instance, and is also prevalent in Scotland (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 85) and Northern Ireland.

7 Tapping of voiceless alveolar stops
In intervocalic position /t/ may be realised as [ɾ] as in butter [bʌtər]. This may lead to words like writer and rider becoming (near-)homophones, especially in American English where the phenomenon is very common (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 47). The term ‘flap’ is also used for the [ɾ] sound.
8 **Aspiration and release of stops**

In British English final stops are released but not in all forms of American English. Furthermore, the degree of aspiration may vary when stops are released.

9 **Alveolarisation of velar nasals**

The shift of /ŋ/ → [ŋ] as in *walking* [wɔːkŋ], popularly known as “dropping one’s g’s”, is a very frequent occurrence in varieties of English. It is regarded as colloquial and tends not to occur in formal contexts. This shift in articulation may not be confined to verb forms only, i.e. nouns like *morning, building* may also show the alveolarisation. (Wells 1982: 262f.).

10 **Stops after velar nasals**

In many synchronic phonological analyses [ŋ] is regarded as deriving underlingly from /ŋg/ giving [ŋɡ] with nasal assimilation to the stop with the deletion of the latter as part of the derivation yielding [ŋ] as in *sing* [sɪŋ]. In some varieties the [ɡ] may be pronounced after velar nasals, for instance in North-West Midlands English (Upton and Widdowson 1996: 34f.), e.g. *sing* [sɪŋɡ].

11 **Fortition of ambi-dental fricatives**

There are varieties of English, as far apart as Irish English, Newfoundland English and Caribbean English in which the fricatives /θ, ð/ are realised as stops, i.e. [t, d] or [t, d]. There may be a significant distribution according to syllable position with more stop realisations in onsets (Irish English). Where this fortition exists, speakers may show a dental articulation when the stop is followed by /r/ as in *through* [truː]. In African American English the stop realisation seems to apply only to the voiced segment, e.g. *these* → *dese* (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 75).

12 **Shift in articulation of ambi-dental fricatives**

What is meant here is the use of [f] and/or [v] for /θ, ð/ which is a stereotypical feature of Cockney but also to be found in other varieties, such as African American English and Southern American white speech (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 324; Green 2002: 117-19; Thomas and Bailey 1998: 87). Also known as TH-fronting (Foulkes and Docherty 1999: 11).

13 **Yod deletion**

The pronunciation of /juː/ as /uː/ is frequently found (i) after sonorants, especially /l/ and /n/ as in *lute* /luːt/ and *news* /nuːz/ and (ii) also after alveolar stops as in *tune* /tuːn/, *student* /stuːdənt/ particularly in forms of American English (Wells 1982: 206-8, but see remarks in Fisher 2001: 78). The deletion may be confined to (i) as in Irish English.

14 **Loss of initial glides**
The initial yod of words like *year*, *yeast* and the initial /w/ of *woman*, *wool* may be lost in south-western counties of England (Wakelin 1984: 75). A different glide from that of standard English may be attested as in East Yorkshire forms like *yane (one)*, *yance (once)* and also found more generally in northern England and in Scotland.

15 **Palatal glide insertion**
A palatal glide after velars and before /a/ is well attested in English in the north of Ireland, cf. *car* [kjær], *gap* [gjæp]. This feature may well have been more widespread in early modern English (found in the Lower South of the United States, Montgomery 2001: 131) and have been transported to the Caribbean (see section on raising of short vowels below). See Harris (1987) and Holm (1994: 370).

16 **Lack of word-initial /h/**
The lack of an initial glottal fricative in words like *hat*, *hill*, *hide* is a widespread feature of urban British English (Wells 1982: 253-6) and would seem to have a long history although it is not generally attested in extraterritorial forms of English. Indeed there may be survivals of initial /h-/, which has been lost elsewhere, as in *hit* in Appalachian English and Outer Banks English (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 326) and is attested for Ulster Scots. Those varieties which have *h*-dropping may also show hypercorrection as in */hɒbˈvias/ for *obvious*. Furthermore, there may be variation in the use of initial *h* in *humour* and *herb* even in generally *h*-pronouncing varieties. See Trudgill (1990: 27f.).

17 **Distinction between <w> and <wh>**
Historically, words like *which* [ʍɪtʃ] and *witch* [wɪtʃ] were distinguished consistently, the merger being of late modern origin (Jespersen 1909: 374f.). In general, conservative forms of English, such as Scottish and Irish English, make a distinction in voice with these approximants (found recessively in American English also, Montgomery 2001: 143), but there are noticeable exceptions to this rule of thumb, e.g. Newfoundland English which has only the voiced approximant. See Hickey (1984) for a discussion of this feature in relation to syllable structure.

18 **Coalescence of /w/ and /v/**
A coalescence of labio-velars and labial fricatives is historically a stereotypical feature of Cockney and may be found in other varieties of English in the New World (in the Caribbean) and may have been present in the initial English input to Australia and New Zealand. The merger may have been to a bilabial approximant [β] which was later de-merged through contact with varieties without the merger (Trudgill, Schreier, Long and Williams 2002).

19 **Maintenance of /x/**
The velar fricative has been retained only in Scots (McClure 1994: 65) and in varieties of Ulster Scots (as with [ɪˈnɒx] for *enough*) which historically derive from the former. In general /x/ has been vocalised but there are
instances of a shift to /f/, found in laugh for instance, see Jespersen (1909: 286f.). This may result in doublets like dough and duff ‘steamed pudding’ (north of England).

§ 2.2. Vowels

GENERAL

1. Absence of phonemic vowel length
By and large all varieties of English exhibit a distinction in vowel length. But this is not always phonemic and, in varieties of Scots (McClure 1994: 50f.), Scottish English (McClure 1994: 80f.) or Ulster Scots (Harris 1984: 119-23), nonphonemic length or length-conditioning may be retained.

A related phenomenon is the loss of vowel length contrasts in a certain environment, e.g. before /l/ in varieties of English in the southern United States and in Texas where word pairs like field : filled, sell : sale, pull : pool may become homophones (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 71).

2. Lexical distribution of long and short low vowels
The low vowels show great variation across varieties of English. Some varieties may have little or no variation in length or quality here, as in southern Irish English. Others, notably Received Pronunciation, have a distinction between /æ/ and /a:/ as in grand /grænd/ and castle /kæzl/. Still others may have the length distinction but not necessarily the retracted realisation of the long vowel, e.g. Australian English (Bradley 1991 for further discussion) in contradistinction to New Zealand English which has a retracted vowel /a:/ in words of the BATH lexical set as in Southern British English. There may be evidence for separate lengthening of vowels before fricatives, as in pass, staff, bath and before clusters of a nasal and obstruent, as in dance, sample, grant (Wells 1982: 133-5).

3. The cot/caught merger
The vowels of these two words are not always distinguished, either in length and/or quality. The unrounding and centralisation of /o/ to /o/ then /a/ in American English (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 68f.) may have been influenced by Irish English speakers. Traditionally it is a feature of western Pennsylvania which had considerable Ulster Scots settlement (Montgomery 2001: 141f.), though as Lass (1987: 286) notes the merger is to the back vowel in Lowland Scots/Ulster Scots but to the central vowel in American English. The unrounding of /o/ is common in the far north of England as well Trudgill (1990: 19), cf. lang for long.

4. Distinctions among front vowels
In forms of British English the vowels in the words Mary, marry and merry are distinct with /e/, /æ, e/ or /ei, æ, e/ respectively. For varieties of American English, especially in the Midland region, Pederson (2001: 272); see maps in Kurath and McDavid (1961) for locations. The length
distinction before /r/ may not be retained so that Mary and merry become homophonous (as /meri/), indeed with the recent raising of /æ/ to /e/ there may be no distinction between any of the three words.

5 Rounding/raising before nasals
In an area of the North-West Midlands stretching down the border with Wales this feature is found (Upton and Widdowson 1996: 34f.) as in [(h)n/ənd] for hand. Raising before nasals is a phenomenon with a high phonetic motivation so that viewing this as a transported feature would demand a strict historical connection (note that it also occurs in Scots). Furthermore, some dialects show a differential raising of low vowels, i.e. in some cases the raising is on a back trajectory and in others on a front one as with Belfast English which shows a raising of /æ/ to /e/ before velars but a retraction and partial raising to /ə, ə/ before nasals.

6 Retraction after /w/
A conditioned change in English of the early modern period (Ekwall 1975: 15) involved the retraction of low vowels after /w/ as in present-day standard English was, wash, what all with [−\-\-]. Conservative varieties of English, e.g. in the east coast of Ireland, may show [−a−] as a relic pronunciation in such words. This also hold for Scots (McClure 1994: 64).

7 Shortening of /u:/ before velars
In the history of English there has been a gradual replacement of long /u:/ by short /u/ in many words depending on the following consonant (Barber 1976: 313). Words with final alveolars were the first to experience this shortening, e.g. before /t/: foot, soot, before /d/: stood, hood, good. Before velars this also occurred, e.g. took, shook, look. In conservative varieties, such as forms of Irish and Scottish English, this change, which spread by lexical diffusion, may encompass a smaller set of words than in standard English, e.g. cook may occur with a long vowel, i.e. /ku:k/, as may book, i.e. /buk/.

8 Increasing loss of vowel variants
There are pronunciations which are recessive in parts of the anglophone world, especially among vowels. On the one hand this may involve the relative incidence of a vowel value, such as the use of /ɛ/, e:/ in the MEAT lexical set in Ireland or on the other hand the actual existence of a vowel value. An example of the latter is the well-known ‘New England short o’, phonetically [ə], which used to be found widely in the GOAT lexical set but which has been greatly reduced in occurrence (Avis 1961; Pederson 2001: 269).

LONG VOWELS

1 Reflexes of the Great Vowel Shift
a) Not all varieties of English have gone through the Great Vowel Shift
in its entirety. Specifically, the final stage for mid vowels which involved the raising of Middle English /e:/ and /e:/ to /i:/ may not have taken place, i.e. the words meat and mate may be homophones. For these varieties (on Scots, see McClure 1994: 49) the matter is more complex than it appears at first sight. Frequently, the unraised vowels are used in certain words to achieve a colloquial effect, as in many varieties of Irish English (Milroy and Harris 1980).

b) A still more conservative feature (also an aspect of the Great Voewl Shift) is the retention of unshifted long /u:/ in pronunciations like [tu:n] town /taun/ in forms of northern English and in Scotland (McClure 1994: 49). This feature appears not to have been transported overseas. The lack of diphthongisation may also apply to the high front vowel /i:/ (Trudgill 1990: 21f).

2 The Southern Shift
A well-known phenomenon — described by William Labov (see various discussions in Labov 1994) for varieties in southern England, Australia, New Zealand, the southern United States, etc. — involves a shift in the articulation of long vowels. According to this, long vowels are lowered and retracted, so that beet moves in the direction of [beit], bait in the direction of [bait] and bite in the direction of [bart].

3 Mid back vowels before /r/
Again for many conservative varieties, e.g. Scottish English (McClure 1994: 83), there may be a distinction among mid back vowels before /r/, e.g. the words morning and mourning may not be homophones, i.e. one has [ˈmɔːrnɪŋ] versus [ˈmoʊrnɪŋ]. By and large the varieties which retain this distinction tend to be conservative, e.g. eastern New England in the investigation by Kurath (1971c: 420), see further Pederson (2001: 268). It was also attested further south, in Charleston, South Carolina at the end of the 19th century (McDavid 1971 [1955]: 598). It is difficult to predict just what lexical items show which vowel. There is, however, a preponderance of French loanwords with the higher vowel, e.g. force, port, fort (Wells 1982: 160-2).

DIPHTHONGS

1 Realisation of /ai/ and /au/

a) A conditioned raising of diphthong onsets, such that /a/ is found when the following segment is voiceless, otherwise /a/, is a marked characteristic of Canadian English with the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ (Chambers 1973). This feature, with minor variations, is found in many other varieties, in the central Fens (East Anglia, Britain 1997), in Scots and Ulster Scots, in recent forms of Dublin English (Hickey 1999b) and is attested for coastal Virginia and South Carolina (Kurath and McDavid 1961).

b) The retraction of the onset for /ai/ is frequent across the anglophone world: [ɔi] is a common realisation in the Southern Hemisphere and
the retraction can also be accompanied by raising as with [ɔː] for /ai/ in Outer Banks, North Carolina (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 329 and this volume).

c) ‘Diphthong flattening’ is a term used to refer to the lack of an upward glide with the /ai/ and /au/ diphthongs in particular, i.e. wife tends to be realised as [warf, warf] in areas as far apart as the southern United States and South Africa (Lass 1987: 305f.; Wells 1982: 614).

d) The shift of the onset for /au/ to the front is commonly attested in vernacular forms of British English and historically is a noticeable feature of the south of England (Wells 1982: 303f. and 347f.).

e) For nonrhotic varieties the distinction between /ai/ and /au/ is not always clearly maintained before (historic) /r/, i.e. tyre [taiə(r)] and tower [tauə(r)] may not be pronounced differently (Wells 1982: 239).

2 The CHOICE lexical set
The diphthong found in this set is /ɔi/ in standard English (British and American). But up to the 18th century the pronunciation was often /ai/, i.e. boil and bile were homophones (Barber 1976: 304), and this was transported to many extraterritorial locations, including Ireland and the United States. In the latter there are dialectal survivals of the older /ai/ pronunciation (Montgomery 2001: 139).

3 Mid range monophthongs
The long mid vowels /e:/ and /o:/ underwent a diphthongisation to /ei/ and /ao/ respectively, cf. take [teik] and boat [bəʊt], in the development of standard British English (this also applies to /i:/ and /u:/ to a lesser extent). It is not necessarily reflected in other varieties of English, the more conservative of which, e.g. Irish English, may retain the original monophthongs or may only show a slight diphthongisation of the mid vowels (Hickey, in press).

4 Vowel breaking
New diphthongs have arisen through an off-glide as with /i/ → /ia/ in hit, hill, etc. in Midland United States and in northern Irish English, e.g. in Derry city (McCafferty 1999) and Jamaican English (Wells 1982: 576).

5 Front vowels as reflexes of back vowel input
For those varieties which have a long history there may be a development of original long back vowels to a front location. This is seen in Scots where Old English /æ:/ was fronted and then raised, giving /ei, e:/ in words like home, ghost (Aitken 1984: 95).

SHORT VOWELS

1 Reflexes of Early Modern /u/
Early modern /u/ was shifted to /ʌ/ in the south of Britain, but retained in the north though Scotland also has the shift (Lass 1987: 257; Aitken 1984: 98). This fact can probably explain why extraterritorial varieties of English do not show /u/, although they may have had Scottish and/or Ulster input, e.g. to 18th century American English. The phonetic value of the lowered vowel may vary greatly, e.g. /ʌ/ may be near to the present-day RP [ä] or more retracted, more like the (southern) Irish English [χ]. The lexical distribution of /ʌ/ may also differ with an extension beyond the normal distribution to pull, bush, could, should, etc. (recessively in northern Irish English).

2 **Vowel raising or palatal glides after velars**
   a) The phonetic values of short front vowels at the period of transportation in those regions of Britain which supplied the input is a matter of much debate. In particular there would seem to have been a raising of /æ/, at least in postvelar environments, cf. catch [ketʃ], which was carried to the Southern Hemisphere (Lass 1987: 304-6).
   b) In Caribbean varieties post-velar palatal glides, as in gjap [giaep], may occur which again may be a feature retained from an earlier English input (Harris 1987) where these glides were present in this phonotactic environment.

3 **Short vowels before /r/**
   The distinction between front and back short vowels before /r/, as in germ /dʒɜrm/ and burn /bɜrn/, has been generally lost in English, and not just in nonrhotic varieties. However, conservative varieties may retain the distinction (Lass 1987: 131f.; 259), at least in their vernacular forms, perhaps even showing a further distinction between mid and high front vowels as in fir [fɪr] and fern [fɜrn]. This is true of English in Scotland, see the discussion in McClure (1994: 82f.).

4 **Lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/**
   Apart from orthographically adjusted instances like bark (< berke), dark (< derke), harken (< herken) or marsh (< mersh), the well-known case of clerk /klɑːk/ (Lass 1987: 277) and the names of many southern British counties (Ekwall 1975: 27), there are further instances of this lowering, such as serve /sɑːrv/, which are attested historically, e.g. for Irish English. In contemporary Irish English varieties this lowering before /t/ appears to have been abandoned by the introduction of more mainstream pronunciations, through the process of supraregionalisation. Other varieties of English, notably East Anglian, show a similar lowering ad preserve this in traditional dialect (Trudgill 2002: 37). Historically there is evidence of a much wider distribution of the lowering before /t/, e.g. in the South-West (Wakelin 1988: 628). Note that there are a few cases of this lowering after /t/ which are established in the standard, e.g. thresh and thrash; wreck and rack in the phrase to rack and ruin.
5 Vowel distinctiveness before /l/
The environment before /l/ has led in some instances to a removal of vowel distinctions as in sell and sale /sel/, fill and fee /fil/ in Texas and the south of the United States (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 329).

6 Short /æ/ before voiceless fricatives
A development of the early modern period is the southern British lengthening of /a/ before /f, θ, s/, as in staff /staːf/, bath /baːθ/, pass /paːs/ (Jespersen 1909: 297ff., Ekwall 1975: 25f.). This has not taken place in the north of England (Wells 1982: 203) or in some conservative forms outside of England, i.e. in eastern/south-eastern dialects of Irish English. In the United States a lengthened and possibly nasalised realisation of the low front vowel /æ/ is found, probably because the retraction in British English postdates the formative years of American English in the colonial period (Montgomery 2001: 140).

7 Short /ɔ/ before voiceless fricatives
Lengthening of /ɔ/ before /f, θ, s/ is a typically southern British feature (Upton and Widdowson 1996: 10f.), as in cross /krɔs/, often /oːθ/, cloth /kloth/. In most of these instances the pronunciation has been reversed in RP to a short vowel but the long vowel has been retained in many other varieties of English, e.g. Dublin English.

8 Raising of short mid vowels
The raising of /e/ to /i/ has led to a merger in many forms of English, e.g. south-west Irish English. Although it may previously have had a wider distribution it is now confined to a prenasal position and found in the souther of the United States as in pen, pin both [pɪn] (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 71; Montgomery 2001: 140).

9 General raising of short vowel
An unconditioned raising of front short vowels /æ, e, i/ can be traced to late 18th and early 19th century input to English colonies in the southern hemisphere (South Africa, Australia, New Zealand). This has been furthered at the new locations, particularly in New Zealand with a new arrangement in phonological space there, i.e. the high vowel /i/ has been centralised and is a marked feature separating New Zealand from Australian English (Wells 1982: 598f.). See Cox and Palethorpe (2001) for a reassessment of the Australian vowel system.

10 Fronting of /u/
A feature of Scottish origin to be found in northern Irish English is the fronting of /u/ to a mid high vowel [u] (Harris 1984: 118f.). In the case of /u/ one has slight shortening which leads to homophones like fool and full, both [fʊl] phonetically. Despite the significant Ulster emigration to the United States in the 18th century, there does not seem to be any traces of this
overseas.

11 **HAPPY tensing**

In RP there was, and still may be, a centralisation of /i/ to [ɪ] in word-final position. For very many other varieties this does not usually apply, i.e. they show a tense, noncentralised realisation of this vowel e.g. city [ˈstɪ] (Wells 1982: 257f).

### UNSTRESSED VOWELS

1 **Short vowels in unstressed syllables**

The realisation [a], instead of [ɪ], in unstressed syllables, as in horses, naked, is a significant feature of Australian and New Zealand English and may well be traced to Irish influence there (Trudgill 1986), particularly as it is not found in South African English which has had no significant Irish input (Branford 1994: 474-80).

2 **Reduction of unstressed final /o:/**

Final unstressed /o:/ has been shortened and centralised to /ɒ/, e.g. fellow [ˈfəɻ], yellow [ˈjəɻ], in varieties of Irish English and possibly in vernacular forms of extraterritorial English. This may pair up with (unstressed) rhotacised shwa in word-final position as in umbrella [ˈʌmbrelə]. See Hyper-rhoticity above.

3 **Deletion of unstressed syllables**

This may occur in style-shifting downwards, with increasing informality, e.g. because → ‘cause (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 325f.) or may have led to re-lexification of the reduced forms, e.g. Dublin English ructions ‘uproar’ ← insurrections (this may have spread from here to other varieties).

### 2.3. Processes

1 **Phonological simplification**

Apart from reductions in allegro speech, there may well be general simplification of consonant clusters of the kind regarded as indicative of African American English (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 323), e.g. desk → dess; task → tass. Final cluster simplification is also a general characteristic of Englishes in South-East Asia. For the position in Scots, see McClure (1994: 65).

2 **Vowel epenthesis**

For many varieties of English, including historical forms of British English, heavy syllable codas, consisting of two sonorants, have a shwa inserted which leads to re-syllabification with the first sonorant in the syllable onset and the second in the coda, e.g. film [ˈfɪlm], alarm [ˈɔːlərəm], worm [ˈwɔrm]. This process is common in Irish English (Hickey, in press) and
Scottish English.

3 **Disyllabification**

Words which contain a back rising diphthong in a closed syllable may be susceptible to disyllabification. This is found especially with past participles in New Zealand English as in *grown* [grəʊwən], *thrown* [θrəʊwən]. A similar phenomenon is recorded for Dublin English and affects high vowels as in *clean* [kliːn], *school* [skwɔːl] (Hickey 1999b).

4 **Consonant epenthesis**

Stop epenthesis, e.g. /d/ after a homorganic nasal, is attested in English historically in words like *sound* (from French *son*) and *thunder* (cf. German *Donner*) and may perhaps occur in varieties of contemporary English. An epenthetic /t/ is still found in forms of Appalachian English as in *clifft*, *acrosss* (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 324).

5 **Sandhi phenomena: Assimilation; final devoicing, etc.**

Final devoicing or assimilation to following voiceless consonants is found occasionally in contemporary varieties of English, e.g. in part of the central north in England, seen in the local pronunciation of the city of Bradford as [bratfəd] (Trudgill 1990: 67f.), but does not appear to be characteristic of extraterritorial English with the exception of Afrikaans English where it is a transfer phenomenon from Afrikaans pronunciation (Watermeyer 1996).

However, there is an assimilation of sibilants to stops before nasals, e.g. *wasn’t* [wɔdnt], which is attested in south-east Ireland (Hickey 2001) and American English of the Lower South (Troike 1986; Schilling-Estes 1995).

Initial voicing is a feature which is attested in traditional dialects in England from Kent across to Devon (Trudgill 1990: 29) and which has been transported to Newfoundland among the English-based community there (Clarke, this volume).

6 **Semanticisation of post-sonorant stop variation**

There are a large number of verbs in English which end in a sonorant, i.e. /l, n, r/. The past participle of such verbs may vary between a voiced and a voiceless stop with the former being used to indicate a process and the latter to indicate a state (and used attributively), e.g. *The milk was spilled*, but *Spilt milk*; *The house had burned for hours*, but *Burnt wood* (Lass 1987: 278).

7 **Cliticisation effects**

Reduction in the phonetic form of words is common in rapid speech. However, where these forms become established and are used in slower speech styles they can then be seen as characteristic of a variety. In this respect varieties of American English differ from those in Britain. The reductions frequently involve the attachment of grammatical elements to a lexical host (cliticisation), i.e. these elements become clitics, e.g. *canna* < *cannot*, *gonna* < *going to*. 
8 **Epenthesis**
Epenthesis consists of adding phonetic substance to a word for various reasons. Consonantal epenthesis involves the strengthening of a syllable coda, usually by adding a stop after a nasal or fricative as happened historically in English in such words as *sound* from Old French *son*. Vocalic epenthesis involves the insertion of a vowel into a (heavy) cluster of two sonorants to break up a syllable coda, e.g. *film* [film], *helm* [ʰɛl̩m] (Irish English, also Afrikaans English as a transfer from Afrikaans which has the process from Dutch).

9 **Metathesis**
Metathesis consists of a reversal of the linear order of segments in a word. There are many cases in the history of English from Germanic (Jespersen 1909: 25), particularly involving a short vowel and /r/ compare Engl. *burn* and German *brennen*. Many examples are to be found in present-day varieties, notably in Irish English, cf. *pattern* /pætrən/, *secretary* /sɛkərtəri/ (Hickey, in press). Perhaps the best known case of consonantal metathesis is that seen in *aks/ax* /æks/ for *ask*. In fact the metathesised form is very old and has survived in many varieties as far apart as southern Irish English and African American English (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 51).

### 2.4. Prosody

1 **Alternative word stress**
Apart from the obvious cases of differing word stress between American and British English, there are other cases, particularly those which apply to a whole group of words, e.g. final stress with verbs ending in /-eit/ such as *demonstrate*, *educate* (widely attested in Irish English as well as many overseas varieties). Different stress patterns can lead to differences in the segmental composition of a word, e.g. *inquiry* BrEng [ɪnˈkwairi], AmEng [ˈɪnkwəri] (Pederson 2001: 261).

2 **Sentence stress patterns**
In declarative and interrogative sentences there are different stress patterns such as the final rise in declaratives found in many varieties of Northern Irish English. This is a pattern which is becoming increasingly prevalent in mainstream forms of English and has been repeatedly noted for Australian and New Zealand English (Burchfield 1994: 10).

3 **Syllable-timing**
The use of approximately equal stress and length for all syllables is a feature of a number of languages, such as modern French (with slight end-stress). In the anglophone world it appears to be restricted, in native varieties, to English in Jamaica and may well be a retention from the speech of the original African population. It is also common in ‘New Englishes’, especially those found in South-East Asia (Hickey, South-East Asian Englishes, this volume).
3. Morphology

3.1. Noun plurals

1 Unmarked plurals
A very common feature of varieties of English and indeed of many other languages is the use of singular noun forms when accompanied by a numeral, usually indicating quantity or measurement e.g. It's seven year ago now. He's here five year now. See Miller (1993: 109f.) for a general discussion.

2 Unmarked genitive
This is a characteristic of African American English and can be seen in instances like John hat for John's hat. This is essentially due to the removal of redundant marking of the genitive which is sufficiently indicated by the position of the first noun immediately before the second (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 76).

3 Irregular plurals
By and large the differing plural forms of earlier English have been levelled to a single plural form in -s. There may be occasional survivals with common nouns, especially if these are themselves irregular in mainstream English, e.g. childer. There may also be regularised plurals where the words in questions are normally either unmarked for plural or irregularly so, e.g. sheeps, womans, or double plurals likes mice, mens (Wakelin 1984: 79).

4 Remnants of nasal plurals
Older weak plurals in -n can be still be found above all in Scots and Ulster Scots, e.g. with even < eyes (Burchfield 1994: 9) or /$in, $en/ for shoes in Scots (McClure 1994: 69).

5 Fricative voicing in the plural
The voicing of stem-final fricatives in plurals derives from a much earlier intervocalic voicing in Old English, e.g. wife : wives; knife : knives (Lass 1987: 124). Many varieties have regularised this alternation so that a word like roof may have a plural roofs rather than rooves.

3.2. Pronouns

1 Second person plural pronouns
Although standard English has lost the distinction between singular and plural for the second person, many varieties do have such a distinction. The formal distinction may be realised using the historically original forms thou and ye, though this is unusual outside of the north of England (on the
position in Scots, see McClure 1994: 69f.). Generally, extraterritorial varieties use you for the singular and some further form for the plural, e.g. *ye, yez, youse, y’all, you’uns*. These forms are common in Irish English, Scottish English (Miller 1993: 108) and Tyneside English (Beal 1993: 205). Varieties of English deriving from Atlantic creoles, including Gullah (Turner 1971: 134), often have *unu* (or something similar) which is a plural form from the original West African input (probably Ibo) to the Caribbean (Hickey 2003; Burchfield 1994: 10). The form *y’all* is particularly common in the American South (Butters 2001: 332; Montgomery 2001: 151) and — independently — in South African Indian English (Mesthrie 1996). A usage which is increasing in American English and spreading from there is *you guys* for a group of younger people, male or female.

2 Vestiges of second person singular
In a very few cases, all restricted to (northern) England, the original second person singular pronoun *thou* with the oblique form *thee* is still available. In the west Midlands and the South-West *thee* serves as a nominative form (Upton and Widdowson 1996: 66f). Passive knowledge of *thou/thee* is present with many speakers from religious contexts.

3 Use of objective forms for subject
It is common to find that the objective form of a pronoun is used in subject position, e.g. *us* occur for *we*, *him* for *he*, etc. as in *Us women have to put with an awful lot of bother and Him and his brother were at the pub last night*. More rarely, *her* — or *er* with deletion of initial /h-/ — is found for *she* (West Country English). Similar usages are also attested for the south-east of England, see Edwards (1993: 229).

4 Personal pronouns as demonstratives
In the third person plural, personal pronouns can be used as demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *Them boys out on the street*. The ubiquity of this usage (Trudgill 1990: 79; Wakelin 1984: 82) greatly reduces its value as a diagnostic.

5 Possessive pronouns
*/mâ/ for *my* /mâi/ is a very common pronunciation. In some cases other forms such as those with generalised */n/, *yourn, *hisn, *hern* are to be found, e.g. in Scottish English and the American Midland region (Montgomery 2001: 150). These forms with a final nasal are also common in traditional central English dialects (Trudgill 1990: 83f., Upton and Widdowson 1996: 70f.; Wakelin 1984: 79).

6 Reflexive pronouns
Analogue formations from possessive pronouns occur due to regularisation of the reflexive pronoun paradigm, e.g. *hismelf, theirselves*. See Miller (1993: 108) on Scottish English and Beal (1993: 206) on Tyneside English. Trudgill (1990: 82f.) discusses the issue in the context of English dialects.
7  *Emphatic use of reflexives*
This may be employed for special discourse purposes as in Irish English *Himself is gone to Dublin*, where the meaning is something like ‘boss’, ‘head’. See remarks in Harris (1993: 147).

8  *Personal pronouns as reflexives*
In some cases, e.g. Appalachian English, see Christian (1991), the slot of a reflexive is occupied by a simple personal pronoun as in *I washed me quickly*. This may well be a transported Scots Irish feature, also found in Pittsburgh (Montgomery 2001: 125).

9  *Residues of grammatical gender*
In English grammatical gender has long ceased to exist though masculine and feminine pronouns can be used for reference to inanimate objects. Occasionally there are dialect forms which are derived historically from gender-distinctive pronouns, e.g. /{(ə)n/ for ‘him/it’ in southwest England deriving from the masculine accusative of Old English hine (Wakelin 1984: 81).

## 3.3. Verb forms

1  *Zero inflection in present tense*
The lack of -s in the 3rd person singular is — in England — more or less confined to East Anglia (the *Survey of English Dialects* has this for Norfolk and Suffolk). It may conceivably be a convergence feature with input from the Low Countries (Trudgill 1998). It is also, of course, found in African American English where it is almost universal.

2  *The use of inflectional ‘-s’*
The employment of an -s suffix outside the 3rd person singular is a prominent characteristic of many varieties of English. These tend to vary in the extent to which the -s occurs (see Montgomery and Robinson 1996 on the possible origins in Scotland and transportation to the United States). At least three determining factors can be recognised and placed in a hierarchy. The ordering in terms of likelihood of occurrence varies greatly across the anglophone world. Parallels in a constraint hierarchy have been used, above all by Shana Poplack and Sali Tagliamonte, to demonstrate the historical relatedness of varieties.

1) Person and number of verb
2) Relative weight of subject (pronoun, noun, NP)
3) Syntactic distance of subject from verb

In some cases the above rules do not seem to cause different inflectional behaviour, e.g. in Tyneside singular concord is found with third person plurals, irrespective of the factors (1) - (3), see Beal (1993: 194). This also applies to forms of southern Irish English, particularly on the east coast, but in the north the bare plural pronoun does not use inflectional -s (Harris
1993: 155). Note that lack of concord can also apply to the past in the case of the auxiliaries have and be: They was going to buy the house.

The subject concord rule may have its source in the British Celtic spoken in Northumbria, i.e. it may have originally been a contact phenomenon (Klemola 2000). Further south different situations may obtain, e.g. generalised -s may be found as in the south-west (Ihalainen 1994: 214) or there may be no -s at all as in East Anglia (Trudgill 1998). In its northern form (Ihalainen 1994: 221f.) the subject concord rule was transported via Ulster Scots to the United States and continues in Appalachian English in a slightly altered form. Here the proximity constraint — see (3) above — has been lost but the type of subject constraint still applies (Montgomery 2001: 146). The concord rule also applies to Outer Banks English and is a legacy of transported Scots-Irish English (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 80).

3 Reduction in number of verb forms

a) This can occur for a number of reasons, e.g. through the generalisation of the preterite for the past participle: I haven’t went to the races this year (Irish English).

b) The use of the past participle as a preterite is very common in nonstandard varieties of English, above all with the verbs see and do: I done the work, I seen him. Indeed for the verb come there are many varieties for which there is just one form of this verb, i.e. come is preterite and past participle, e.g. They come to see us last week. For a general list of such reduced verb paradigms in Irish English, see Harris (1993: 153).

4 Strong and weak verbs

Varieties of English may show more strong verb retentions than the standard might lead one to expect, e.g. dive : dove or they can have analogical extensions based on established patterns, e.g. bring : brung. The opposite may also occur, i.e. dialects can retain former weak verb forms which have been replaced in the standard. See Lass (1994) and Cheshire (1994) for further discussion.

5 Weak for strong verb forms

For the Germanic languages as a whole one can note an historical tendency to reduce the number of strong verb forms. In many instances, dialects can go beyond the standard with levelling of strong verb forms such as knowed for knew.

6 Distinctive verb forms

Forms of the preterite or past participle can occur which are not necessarily available in the standard, e.g. /bet/ for beat in Irish English, e.g. I was bet after all the work (Harris 1993: 153).

7 Negative forms of ‘be’

This is an area which exhibits great variation (see Cheshire 1991 for a typical discussion). Well-known nonstandard forms exist, e.g. ain’t as in They ain’t interested. Ain’t can also stand for have not as in I ain’t got no
money. Contraction of am and not to amn’t may be permissible, e.g. in Irish English, and the form aren’t can be used in the 1st or 2nd persons singular.

8 Past tense ‘be’ regularisation and polarity
The past be is often found as was or were in all contexts. But in Outer Banks, North Carolina a remorphologisation of the two possible past be stems is found. Was is used in positive contexts and were in negative ones, i.e. the distinction between was and were is now aligned for positive or negative polarity (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes, this volume; Wolfram and Thomas 2002: 69-77). Anderwald (2001: 17) offers a cognitive explanation for the remorphologisation according to polarity, i.e. it offers a redundant marking of negation via the verb form as well as the cliticised (and probably phonetically reduced) negator, /-n(t)/.

9 Copula/auxiliary deletion
This deletion is not just a prominent feature of African American English (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 335) but also of south-east Irish English. It may apply to the verb be in different functions: She a farmer’s daughter (copula), He gone home (auxiliary). On deletion in South African Indian English, see Mesthrie (1996: 92f.).

10 Inflectional paradigms of ‘do’
Some varieties of English have zero inflection on auxiliary forms of verbs. For instance, a distinction is found between an auxiliary do with no inflection and a lexical verb do with inflection, e.g. in Newfoundland, South-West England (Ihalainen 1991a), South-East Ireland.

11 Future negation
In some few varieties, notably Scottish English, the future is negated with an independent not rather than the clitic form of an auxiliary and not: She’ll not go home for She won’t go home (Miller 1993: 114-6).

12 Types of imperative
There is an imperative usage of let as in Let you get off now. Furthermore, a combination of do and be exists (in Irish English) for the imperative as in Don’t be complaining all the time (Hickey, Caribbean, this volume).

13 Expression of the passive voice
Especially in forms of Scottish and Irish English there is a passive with get: His car got stolen last week. I got told off.

14 Stative and ‘psych’-verbs
Continuous forms do not occur with these verbs in standard English but in some varieties they do occur in the present progressive (forms of South African English, Watermeyer 1996: 110) as in My mother was having her suspicions. He’s not knowing much French.

15 Phrasal verbs
Prepositional adverbs without verbs vary in their range across varieties of
English, while off is common (as in I’m off to town) out is not normally found, but does occur outside of the standard where it is restricted to set expressions like The truth must out.

16 **Auxiliary verbs**

The use of be as an auxiliary is still attested in different varieties, e.g. Irish English (Hickey, in press), as in I am finished the work for I have finished the work.

17 **Alternative auxiliaries**

Varieties may show the use of other verbs as auxiliaries. A typical instance would be come as a quasi-auxiliary as in He come talkin’ real fast and all confused. There may be a semantic differentiation here with come expressing disapproval (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 173; Mufwene 2001: 305).

18 **Confusion of verbs with complementary meanings**

Many varieties as far apart as Irish English and South African English (Watermeyer 1996: 120) do not always consistently distinguish between verb pairs like bring and take, rent and let, lend and borrow. In some cases one is dealing with a greater range for one of the verbs in a pair rather than true complementarity, e.g. learn which is often found for teach (also found in Shakespeare), e.g. He learned him his language. One could also mention here idiosyncratic meaning of verbs such as carry for take or special meanings of phrasal verbs such as give out ‘complain’ (Irish English).

19 **Do as ‘pro-verb’**

There would seem to be a greater range in British English than in American English for do as a ‘pro-verb’, e.g. You should have washed the dishes.

BE: Yes, I should have (done). AE: Yes, I should have. Lass (1987: 278f.).

20 **Verbs of necessity**

The car needs washed for The car needs to be washed, The car needs washing is frequently attested in northern Irish English and in Tyneside (Beal 1993: 200). It is also found in western Pennsylvania, probably as a relic of Ulster Scots speech from the 18th century (Montgomery 2001: 149).

### 3.3.1. ** Modals**

1 **Use of modals**

A clear distinction between will and shall is not always maintained. The modal will can stand for both shall and may as in Scottish and Irish English (Hickey, in press). Get may be used for compulsion: You’ve got to speak to her.

2 **Double modals**

In varieties which historically have had a Scots input, notably Appalachian English, sequences of two modals might be found, e.g. She might could come tomorrow (Montgomery 2001: 148, Feagin 1979). Here it might be
more the mechanism than the actual forms which were inherited. Such constructions are also found in African American English (see Martin and Wolfram 1998: 32-5). On the occurrence in Scottish English, see Miller (1993: 120ff.); for Scots, see McClure (1994: 72ff.). There are also attestations from Tyneside, see Beal (1993: 191).

3 Epistemic 'must' in negative
In standard English the epistemic must is negated using can. But in Irish, Scottish, northern English and Australian English musn’t can be used: She musn’t be Scottish for She can’t be Scottish. See also Miller (1993: 119) on Scotland and Beal (1993: 197) on Tyneside.

3.4. Adverbs

1 Unmarked adverbs
It is very common among varieties of English to simply use position in a sentence for the recognition of an adverb, i.e. the ending -ly is deleted as in He’s awful busy these days.

2 Order of adverbials
Deviation from the English order of place, manner, time as in She went this morning by bus to town (here: time, manner, place) is found in Afrikaans English (Watermeyer 1996: 117), probably due to first language interference.

3 Positive ‘anymore’
This may occur in the Midland area of the United States (and further out into the west, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 142; Eitner 1991) as in They go to Florida on their holidays anymore. It may well derive from the speech of 18th century Ulster Scots settlers whose predecessors had in turn picked this up from native speakers of Irish before emigration. Butters (2001: 331ff.) views positive anymore as an extension of the negative use and is doubtful of the proposed Scotch-Irish antecedent. However, he does not specify why this should have occurred in American English and not in other parts of the anglophone world.

4 Inchoative and counterfactual adverbials
Particularly in forms of southern American English there are additional adverbial constructions not found in British English. Two of these serve as good examples: (i) fixin’ to in the sense of ‘about to do something’, e.g. They’re fixin’ to leave town and (ii) liketa (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 45) in the sense of ‘almost’ e.g. We liketa drowned that day. See Feagin (1979) for further details.

5 ‘Done’ in adverbial function
Preverbal done is a means of expressing perfect aspect (see below) in southern United States speech and is more or less the equivalent of already as seen in a sentence like ... you’ve done spent your five dollars (see Feagin (1991) for further details). This structure is also found in African

### 4 Syntax

#### 4.1 Determiners, pronouns, etc.

1 **Use of articles**
   In varieties of English which historically have been in contact with Celtic languages the definite article is found in generic senses: *The life there is hard*; *He asked the both of them*. This usage may be extended to those varieties which in turn have been in contact with Celtic varieties of English (Irish, Harris (1993: 144f.), and Scottish English). A certain consensus also exists that the greater application of the definite article in forms of American English is a legacy of Irish influence (Montgomery 2001: 133; Butters 2001: 337). It is especially common in generic statements, e.g. *She has gone to the hospital, The child has got the measles*.

2 **Presupposed versus specific usage**
   Whereas standard English generally determines article usage along the parameter definite / indefinite, many varieties (South African Indian English, various Asian Englishes) use the criterion presupposed / asserted, combined with a notion of specificity (Mesthrie 1996: 91).

   *(The → ø) Food is lovely.* Presupposed + specific
   *At the stall I bought one soda water.* Asserted + specific
   *If they give us (a → ø) chance ...* Non-specific

3 **Use of genitive**
   Variation can occur with the genitive in a number of ways. The synthetic genitive may be used with inanimate objects as in *The car’s brakes gave going down the hill* (Lass 1987: 148). Uninflected genitives — as with the much older *Our Lady Chapel* — can occur in much rarer instances, e.g. *Bill car is outside the house* (found in African American English, see Green 2002: 102f. and Mufwene 2001: 295).

4 **‘On’ to express relevance**
   To indicate that an action was relevant to someone many varieties use *on* plus a personal pronoun, e.g. *They broke the glass on me* (sometimes referred to as the ‘ethical dative’ or ‘dative of disadvantage’, see next item). This usage is very common in Irish English (Harris 1993: 172f., Hickey, in press) and an exact equivalent exists in Irish but the present-day occurrence is probably due to convergence with English dialect input which also provided a model for this.

5 **Dative of advantage**
   On a more positive note, some dialects show a kind of personal dative to
indicate relevance as in *I’m gonna buy me a new car in the summer* or *We had us a little party last night* (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 342). See Christian (1991) for a full discussion.

6 'Never' as simple past negative
For many varieties of English (Tyneside English, Beal (1993: 198), Irish English) it is possible to employ never as a past tense negative: *I never done the work* = *I didn’t do the work.*

‘Never’ with punctual time reference
There is also a use of never with reference to a single point in time as in *She never came home yesterday evening,* found particularly in Ireland (north and south, Hickey, in press, McCafferty, in press).

7 Intensifying adverbs
Intensifiers vary across the anglophone world, Irish English for instance allows the following: *They’re fierce cruel; I’m pure robbed.* Forms of American English show *right, plumb* in a similar function (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 338).

8 Comparative and superlative
1) The synthetic comparative may occur with adjectives of two or more syllables (*handsomer, painfuller*).
2) Equally, analytic forms are found with monosyllables: *more sick, more wet.*
3) Superlatives with -most may be permissible: *The bottommost book in the pile.*
4) Regularised comparatives may also be found: *That’s a badder horse, I would not bet on him.*
5) Finally, double comparison may be possible *That’s more worse than the first one.*

9 Prepositional usage
Prepositions (typically *at* or *on*) can be omitted with temporal expressions, e.g. *He had lunch one o’clock; We’re going there Tuesday.* In American English this usage may go back to German influence.

4.2. Clause structures

1 Negative concord
This label is more accurate and replaces the former term *multiple negation* (see Martin and Wolfram (1998: 17-27) and Mufwene (2001: 305f.) for a treatment of this complex in African American English). The principle operating here is as follows: if a verb form occurs in the negative then all other determiners which follow are also negative (Henry 1997: 103-5). When considering negation in any variety the following questions are relevant.

1) Is negative concord applicable, e.g. *They don’t do nothing for*
nobody?

2) Do negative determiners take a negative verb form, e.g. Nobody hasn’t enough money?

3) Are negative determiners found in negative questions (‘negative inversion’ sentences), e.g. Hasn’t nobody enough money?

4) Is negative concord restricted to a single clause, or can one have sentences like Isn’t there anything they mightn’t do?

2 Negative attraction
Some varieties, for instance forms of Irish English, north and south, appear to have a block on this process, that is, the following shift does not occur: Anyone won’t go → No-one will go; Anyone wasn’t interested in linguistics → No-one was interested in linguistics. This is also attested for Scottish English, e.g. All the hotels don’t take British guests. (Miller 1993: 116). On Tyneside, see Beal (1993: 198f).

3 Infinitive constructions
1) For to infinitives. Constructions which usually indicate purpose may require the use of for before the infinitive, e.g. He went to Dublin for to buy a car. This is also attested in Scottish and Tyneside English (Beal 1993: 200).

2) Infinitive without to. To can be omitted before the verb in some cases as in She asked him do it. They allowed him leave. (Hickey, in press).

4 Relative pronouns
There is a considerable range with relative pronouns in varieties of English. For instance as may be found as a relative pronoun: This is a boy as loves his mother (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 70). Relative clauses may be introduced by that in restrictive contexts, e.g. The man that you know is outside, and what may also occur as a relative pronoun with an animate referent, e.g. The man what was interested in linguistics as can which, e.g. The ladies which accompanied him had curly hair (Beal 1993: 207). Indeed in some varieties of American English (Montgomery 2001) and of Irish English that seems to function as a generalised relative pronoun. See Martin and Wolfram (1998: 31f.) and Tottie and Harvie (2001) for a discussion of that in relative clauses in African American English.

5 Relative pronoun with subject reference
Apart from the standard usage of zero pronoun with object reference, e.g. The woman — he knows has come, many varieties of English allow this type of structure when the referent is the subject as in The woman — lives here has come; That’s the woman — taught me. This is a well-established feature of London and Home County English (Edwards 1993: 228f.) and may well have been taken overseas.

6 Resumptive pronouns
By this is meant a pronoun which points back in the same sentence to a noun already mentioned and can be seen in a sentence like The books that they
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couldn't sell them. This type of structure is very common in vernaculars in the anglophone world (see Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 343 for American English).

7 Parataxis instead of hypotaxis
Here the reference is to the use of and to link clauses which are temporal or concessive by nature and which would normally require while or although: He went out and it raining. This structure is definitely Irish (Harris 1993: 165f., McCafferty, in press), with practically no attestations in British English, one well-known case in Shakespeare’s Coriolanus notwithstanding.

8 Temporal connectors
(i) Whenever in sense of ‘when’
A feature of Northern Irish English is the use of whenever is the sense of ‘when’, e.g. Whenever George VI was King (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 70). This is also attested for the American Midland region (Montgomery 2001: 150).
(ii) While in the sense of ‘until’
This is a feature of Northern English and seen in a sentence like Wait while six o’clock (Milroy and Milroy loc. cit.).

9 ‘From’ as temporal conjunction
A use of from in the sense of ‘since’ is found in Caribbean creole English, for instance From I was a child I do that, something which is quite archaic in British English (Holm 1994: 356).

10 ‘Do’ as conjunction
A usage which appears to be unique to East Anglian English is found in sentences like Don’t you take yours off, [because if you] do you’ll get rheumatism (Trudgill 1997: 751) where the elements in square brackets are not present but show how this structure probably arose. There would appear, however, to be a parallel in the speech of the Lower South of the United States, if sentences like And she come pull the covers back off that baby’s face, don’t that baby would have been dead can be interpreted as containing a grammaticalised conjunction do which can be paraphrased (in this instance) as ‘and if she hadn’t’ (Trudgill 1997: 754f.).

11 Lack of reverse concord with tags
It is possible to disregard the reverse concord requirement for tags, e.g. He’s gone now, is it? This is a feature of Tyneside English (Beal 1993: 202), for instance, and (independently) of South African English (McArthur 2002: 291).

12 Inversion maintained in indirect questions
Here the use of whether is less common, the indirect question maintaining the structure of the direct question as in: She asked her son did he clean up. This type of inversion is typical of Irish English, both northern and southern forms. On its occurrence in Scottish and Tyneside English, see Beal (1993:

13 Interrogative word order in subordinate clauses
As with the previous feature, the inverted order of the question is maintained, despite the difference in sentence type: How can I tell you how was it? It is reported as a feature of Afrikaans English due to fossilisation by second language learners who generalise main clause structure to subordinate clauses (Watermeyer 1996: 113).

4.3. Topicalisation devices

1 Clefting
This is a front-focussing structure which is characteristic of Irish English (Harris 1991: 196-201, 1993: 175f.) and which has definite parallels in Irish where 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). It may well have been exported overseas as a consequence of the spread of Irish English. In some varieties fronting can take place without clefting, simply by moving the topicalised element to the front, e.g. in South African Indian English, cf. Banana you want; Near to Margate that is (Mesthrie 1996: 90).

2 Sentence-final emphasisers
A notable feature of Irish English and some extraterritorial varieties is the use of a sentence-final element to add emphasis to what has gone before. The adverbs but, now or so are frequent in this position, e.g. He was a great runner, but. (= ‘though’, in Irish, Scottish and Tyneside English, Beal 1993: 211) They’re always cheating their customers, now. They’ll be selling off the other house, so. This type of emphasis is distinct from clefting, as here the entire sentence is stressed but with clefting an element of a sentence is extracted and shifted to the front for highlighting.

3 Sentence-final tags
Possibly a contact feature from Afrikaans in South African English is the use of sentence-final is it? as in He has to leave town - is it? (Burchfield 1994: 10).

4.4. Tense

1 Narrative present
A common development in many varieties of British English was for the -s, which with the demise of inflections by the late Middle English period was left only on the 3rd person singular (then still -th), to be re-functionalised and generalised to other persons to indicate a narrative present, especially with the first person singular: They comes back from the pub and finds the house wrecked (Hickey 2001: 15). This usage shows partial overlap with the generalisation of -s to other persons and to the plural according to the factors of subject type, syntactic distance and subject weight (see 2.3
2  
**Present for present perfect**
In treatments of Irish English it is common to speak of ‘extended now’ (Harris 1993: 161) contexts in which it is normal to use the present where southern mainland English would have the present perfect: *I know her since she was a child.* This relative neglect of the present perfect should be seen in the context of augmented aspectual distinctions. There may well be a complementary relationship involved here: many aspectual distinctions imply fewer tense differences and vice versa.

3  
**Range of the progressive**
This also occurs with stative verbs (in South African English) as in *Who’s that car outside belonging to?* which is not possible in standard usage (see 2.3 above). The use of the progressive with stative verbs is also a characteristic of Asian and African Englishes.

4  
**Progressive with ‘busy’**
A particularly South African feature is the use of *busy* in progressive constructions. This use has a range far greater than that with active verbs found in other varieties of English, e.g. *I was so busy being amused* (Mesthrie 2002).

5  
**Tense subdivisions**
Varieties of English often have means to express degrees of anteriority. This is common in African American English which distinguishes between remote past (with stressed *been*, see remarks in Labov 1998: 124-34) and recent past: *I done go (= I have gone) versus I been go (= I had gone).* (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 334; Clarke, this volume).

### 4.5. Aspect

Aspect is understood here as referring to the manner in which an action is carried out or to the result of an action or its relation to the time of discourse. Typical aspectual distinctions are the following.

1) **ITERATIVE**  
2) **DURATIVE**  
3) **HABITUAL**  
4) **PERFECTIVE**

The distinction between (1) and (2) is available in standard English in the implicit contrast between simple and progressive forms of verbs: (1) *I greet the new students [at the beginning of every winter term]* versus (2) *The student is speaking [now].* The habitual is a combination of (1) and (2), it refers to an action which takes place repeatedly and lasts a certain length of time, e.g. *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 perfective may well contain a series of subdivisions. For instance, in Irish English (Harris 1993: 159-63; Hickey, in press) there are two main types of perfective.
1) **Immediate perfective**
   Michael is after spilling the beer. (after + V-ing)

2) **Resultative perfective**
   Brian has the novel read. (OV word order)

Some authors maintain that there is a third type, an accomplishment perfective, as would be illustrated by a sentence such as *Sheila has her children reared*. But this is the resultative perfective with an animate object and is no different syntactically or semantically from *Sheila has her washing done*.

1) **Habitual aspect**
   The expression of the habitual aspect (Harris 1993: 162ff., McCafferty, in press) is divided into two main types throughout the anglophone world: either a form of *do* or a form of *be* is found. There are various subtypes, e.g. *do* alone, inflected or not; *do + be* inflected or not; *be*, inflected or not.

   1) He does be working all night.
   2) He bees working all night.

   One view (Rickford 1986) maintains that the type illustrated in (1) above can ultimately be traced to southern Irish English and the type in (2) to northern Irish English. Furthermore, Rickford maintains that the structure found in (1) was carried to the Caribbean and that in (2) to the southern United States, spreading from there spread into African American English (but see Montgomery and Kirk 1996 for an opposing view, see also Hickey, Caribbean, this volume). In African American English the habitual is expressed by invariant *be* (see overview in Green 1998, Labov 1998:120-4).

2) **Durative aspect**
   *A*-prefixing has a source in English where the *a* is a reduced form of *on* much as in adverbs like *alive, asleep* (*on* life, *on* sleepe): *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 nonfinite verb form with nominal characteristics) *Bhí sí ag canadh* lit.: ‘was she at singing’; *Fiche bliain ag fás* lit.: ‘twenty years at growing’. The structure is not found in current Irish English and its attestation historically is meagre so that the English input is likely to be the source of the construction in Appalachian English (Montgomery 2001: 148); see Wolfram (1991) and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998: 334) as well.

3) **Immediate perfective**
   The immediate perfective with *after* is a calque on Irish *tar éis* (Harris 1993: 141, McCafferty, in press) which is used for precisely the same purpose (*Tá sí tar éis an gloonra a briseadh* ‘She is after breaking the glass’). It also exists in Newfoundland English where its source is definitely the Irish-based community there, although it has spread to the English-based community as well.
4 Resultative perfective

The use of an OV word order, where the verb form is a past participle, to indicate a resultative perfective aspect (Harris 1993: 160, McCafferty, in press) is fairly common throughout the anglophone world, e.g. *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* ‘I have the book read’). 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’. Note that in varieties with OV word order for the resultative perfect the causative interpretation for this order is not available, i.e. *He has the work done* does not mean ‘He gets someone to do the work’ unless an agent is specified, e.g. *He has the work done by his wife because he is too lazy*.

There are other means of expressing this kind of perfective. For instance, in forms of southern American English the past participle of *do* is used as an aspect marker as in *She done sold her car* ‘She has gone and sold her car’ (see ‘Done’ in adverbial function under 2.4 above).

5. Vocabulary

1 Archaic or regional vocabulary

The area of vocabulary is generally fairly straightforward as there is perhaps less dispute in this sphere about where items come from. One of the more obvious characteristics of extraterritorial varieties is that they frequently retain terms which have since been replaced in mainland English as the following selection of differences between American and British English shows (Lass 1987: 279f.).

| autumn/fall | cellar/basement | drive/ride |
| maize/corn  | pail/bucket     | porch/veranda |
| post/mail   | rubbish/garbage | tap/faucet   |

Current lexical items in a variety can derive from words no longer current in more mainstream varieties. This is especially the case in creoles, where later, more standard input may not have affected the vocabulary, e.g. Sranan where *wenke* ‘young woman’ stems from the archaic form *wench* (Holm 1994).

There are also cases where shifts of meaning or folk etymologies have arisen due to the misinterpretation of the original input. A good example for the latter is Newfoundland English *hangashore* ‘useless individual’ from Irish *ainniseoir* ‘mean person’ with an unetymological /h-/ (not uncommon, given /h-/ deletion in the West Country community on the island).

2 Vocabulary and dialect boundaries

The distinction between dialect areas can be reinforced by the use of
specific vocabulary items (and not just pronunciation and grammar). For instance, there are significant differences between vocabulary in northern and southern dialects in the United States: northern *pail, eaves(rough)* versus southern *bucket, gutter* respectively (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 108, Montgomery, this volume, Carver 1987: 11). Much of this work refers back to Kurath (1949) and initial studies such as Kurath (1928). See the discussion in Marckwardt (1971). The pronunciations of individual lexical items (as opposed to the members of lexical sets) have been used to delimit dialect areas as is the case with the well-known distinction between *greasy* largely with [-s-] in the northern and with [-z-] in the southern United States, see the discussions in Atwood (1971) and Hempl (1971).

3  Lack of morphemic analysis; new formations
If the internal structure of a word is not obvious to speakers at an overseas location then it may be treated as monomorphemic, e.g. *to married* ‘to marry’ in forms of Caribbean creole. Should an English word have been missing in the lexifying input to a creole then innovative combinations may arise, e.g. *hand-middle* ‘palm’ in Jamaican Creole (Holm 1994: 330).

4  Reallocation and extension
Reallocation is common where an English word came to have a different referent from that in British English. In Miskito Coast (Nicaragua) the word *lion* refers to a local cougar and *tiger* to a jaguar (Holm 1994: 362). Extensions can occur where an item achieves a broader scope much as in first language acquisition. For instance the word *tea* in many Caribbean creoles simply refers to any hot drink (Holm loc. cit.).

5  Borrowings
No discussion of vocabulary would be complete without reference to borrowing as a source of new lexical items. Borrowing in the history of English is responsible for thousands of loans from Latin, Scandinavian, French, to mention only the more important sources. In extraterritorial varieties, there are always borrowings to indicate the local flora and fauna, many of which have entered international forms of English, such as *kangaroo, kiwi, wildebeest, wigwam*, etc. The motivation for borrowings (or retentions from the source language in the case of language shift) may rest in folklore and customs, e.g. *fufu* ‘dish of boiled vegetables’ in the Caribbean. In other cases the borrowing does not fill a lexical gap, hence the reasons for borrowing are more attitudinal, as with Caribbean *nyam* ‘eat’. In still further cases a borrowing may fill a gap in the grammar of English as with the Bantu second person plural pronoun *unu* which is used in this function throughout the Caribbean and redresses the imbalance among second person pronouns in standard English (Hickey 2003).

99  Conclusion
Notes

1  xxx
2  xxx
3  xxx
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