Varieties of English 4
Africa, South and Southeast Asia

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Varieties of English 4

Africa, South and Southeast Asia

Edited by
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Abbreviations

AAVE	African American Vernacular English
AbE/C/P	(Australian) Aboriginal English / Creole / Pidgin
AfBahE	Afro-Bahamian English
AfkE	Afrikaans English
AmE	American English
AnBahE	Anglo-Bahamian English
AppE	Appalachian English
AusE/VE/C	Australian English/Vernacular English/Creoles
BahE	Bahamian English
Baj	Bajan (Barbadian Creole)
BelC	Belizean Creole
BIE	Bay Islands English (Honduras)
BrC	British Creole
BrE	British English (= EngE + ScE + WelE)
ButlE	Butler English (India)
CajE	Cajun English
CAmC	Central American Creoles (Belize, Miskito, Limón, etc.)
CamP/E	Cameroon Pidgin/English
CanE	Canadian English
CarE	Caribbean English
Car(E)C	Caribbean (English-lexicon) Creoles
CFE	Cape Flats English
ChcE	Chicano English
ChnP	Chinese Pidgin English
CollAmE	Colloquial American English
CollSgE	Colloquial Singapore English
EAfE	East African English
EMarC	Eastern Maroon Creole
EngE	English English
EModE	Early Modern English
ME	Middle English
OE	Old English
ESM	English in Singapore and Malaysia
FijE	Fiji English
GhE/P	Ghanaian English/Pidgin
GuyC	Guyanese Creole
HawC	Hawaii Creole

HKE	Hong Kong English
IndE	Indian English, Anglo-Indian
InlNE	Inland Northern (American) English
IrE	Irish English
JamC/E	Jamaican Creole / English
KenE	Kenyan English
KPE	Kru Pidgin English
LibC/E	Liberian Creole/English
LibSE	Liberian Settler English
LibVE	Liberian Vernacular English
LimC	Limonese Creole (Costa Rica)
LonVE	London Vernacular English
LnkE	Lankan English
MalE	Malaysian English
NEngE	New England English
NfldE	Newfoundland English
NigP/E	Nigerian Pidgin / English
NZE	New Zealand English
NYCE	New York City English
OzE	Ozarks English
PakE	Pakistani English
PanC	Panamanian Creole
PhilE	Philadelphia English
PhlE	Philippines English
RP	Received Pronunciation
SAfE	South African English
BlSAfE	Black South African English
CoSAfE	Coloured South African English
InSAfE	Indian South African English
WhSAfE	White South African English
SAmE	Southern American English
SAsE	South Asian English
SEAmE	South Eastern American English enclave dialects
ScE	Scottish English, Scots
ScStE	Scottish Standard English
SgE	Singapore English
SLVE	St. Lucian Vernacular English
SolP	Solomon Islands Pidgin
StAmE	Standard American English
StAusCE	Standard Australian Colloquial English

StAusFE	Standard Australian Formal English
StBrE	Standard British English
StE	Standard English
StGhE	Standard Ghanaian English
StHE	St. Helena English
StIndE	Standard Indian English
StJamE	Standard Jamaican English
SurC	Suriname Creoles
TanE	Tanzanian English
TobC	Tobagonian Creole
Trad-RP	Traditional Received Pronunciation
TrnC	Trinidadian Creole
T & TC	Trinidadian & mesolectal Tobagonian Creoles
TP	Tok Pisin, New Guinea Pidgin, Neomelanesian
WAfE/P	West African English/Pidgin
WelE	Welsh English
WMwE	Western and Midwestern American English
ZamE	Zambian English

More abbreviations

ESL	English as Second Language
EFL	English as Foreign Language
EIL	English as International Language
ENL	English as Native Language
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
P/C	Pidgins and Creoles

List of features: Phonology and phonetics

Edgar W. Schneider

Please indicate whether or to what extent the following features / variants occur in the variety that you have discussed by inserting A, B or C in the left-most column as follows:

A   occurs normally / is widespread
B   occurs sometimes / occasionally, with some speakers / groups, in some environments
C   does not normally occur.

If you have covered more than one variety, please give your set of responses for each of them, or give a summary assessment for a group of related varieties as specified.

Elements in parentheses (../..) are optional; ">" suggests a direction of movement.

Please note that the variants suggested for a single item (e.g. lexical set) are meant to be relatively exhaustive but not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Phonetic realization: vowels (lexical sets)

1.   KIT [ɪ]
2.   KIT raised / fronted, > [i]
3.   KIT centralized, > [ə]
4.   KIT with offglide, e.g. [ɪə/iə]
5.   DRESS half-close [e]
6.   DRESS raised, > [i]
7.   DRESS half-open [ɛ]
8.   DRESS backed, > [ʌ/ɐ]
9.   DRESS with centralizing offglide, e.g. [eə]
10.   DRESS with rising offglide, e.g. [eɪ]
11.   TRAP [æ]
12.   TRAP raised, > [ɛ/e]
13.   TRAP lowered, > [a]
14.   TRAP with offglide, e.g. [æə/æɛ/æɪ/ɛə]
15.   LOT rounded, e.g. [ɒ]
16.   LOT back unrounded, e.g. [ɑ]

17. LOT front unrounded, e.g. [a]
18. LOT with offglide, e.g. [ɒə]
19. STRUT [ʌ]
20. STRUT high back, > [ʊ]
21. STRUT central [ə/ɐ]
22. STRUT backed, > [ɔ]
23. FOOT [ʊ]
24. FOOT tensed [u]
25. FOOT back, lower, e.g. [ʌ]
26. BATH half-open front [æ]
27. BATH low front [a]
28. BATH low back [ɑ]
29. BATH long
30. BATH with offglide, e.g. [æə/æɪ/ɛə]
31. CLOTH rounded [ɔ/ɒ]
32. CLOTH back unrounded [ɑ]
33. CLOTH front unrounded [a]
34. NURSE central [ɜ:/ɚ]
35. NURSE raised / fronted / rounded, e.g. [ø]
36. NURSE mid front [ɛ/e(r)]
37. NURSE [ʌ(r)] (possibly lexically conditioned, e.g. WORD)
38. NURSE backed, e.g. [o/ɔ]
39. NURSE diphthongal, e.g. [əɪ/ɔɪ]
40. FLEECE [i:]
41. FLEECE with centralizing offglide, e.g. [iə]
42. FLEECE with mid/central onset and upglide, e.g. [əɪ/ei]
43. FLEECE with high onset and upglide, e.g. [ɪi]
44. FLEECE shortened, e.g. [i/ɪ]
45. FACE upgliding diphthong with half-close onset, e.g. [eɪ]
46. FACE upgliding diphthong with half-open or lower onset, e.g. [ɛɪ/æɪ]
47. FACE upgliding diphthong with low / backed onset, e.g. [a(:)ɪ/ʌɪ]
48. FACE upgliding diphthong with central onset, e.g. [əɪ]
49. FACE monophthong, e.g. [e:]
50. FACE ingliding diphthong, e.g. [ɪə/ɪɛ]
51. PALM low back [ɑ(:)]
52. PALM low front [a(:)]
53. PALM with offglide, e.g. [ɑə/ɒə]
54. THOUGHT [ɔ(:)]
55. THOUGHT low [a:/ɑ:]
56. THOUGHT with offglide, e.g. [ɔə/ʊə]

57. GOAT with central onset, e.g. [əʊ/əʉ]
58. GOAT with back rounded onset, e.g. [oʊ/ou]
59. GOAT with low or back unrounded onset, e.g. [a(:)u/aʉ/ʌʊ/ʌʉ]
60. GOAT with relatively high back onset [ʊu]
61. GOAT ingliding, e.g. [ʊə/uɔ/ua]
62. GOAT monophthongal, e.g. [o(:)]
63. GOOSE [u:]
64. GOOSE fronted, > [ʉ(:)]
65. GOOSE gliding, e.g. [ʊu/ɪu/ə(:)ʉ]
66. PRICE upgliding diphthong, e.g. [aɪ/ɑɪ/ʌɪ]
67. PRICE monophthong [a:] before voiced C
68. PRICE monophthong [a:] in all environments
69. PRICE with raised / central onset, e.g. [əɪ/ɜɪ]
70. PRICE with backed onset, e.g. [ɔ(:)ɪ/ɒɪ]
71. PRICE with mid-front offglide, e.g. [ae/aɛ]
72. CHOICE [ɔɪ]
73. CHOICE with low onset [ɒɪ]
74. CHOICE with central onset [əɪ/əi]
75. MOUTH [aʊ/ɑʊ]
76. MOUTH with raised and backed onset, e.g. [ʌu/ɔʊ]
77. MOUTH with raised onset [əʊ] only before voiceless C
78. MOUTH with raised onset [əʊ] in all environments
79. MOUTH with fronted onset, e.g. [æʉ/æʊ/æo/ɛo]
80. MOUTH low monophthong, e.g. [a:]
81. MOUTH mid/high back monophthong, e.g. [o:]
82. NEAR [ɪə(r)]
83. NEAR without offglide, e.g. [ɪr]
84. NEAR with tensed / raised onset, e.g. [i(:)ə]
85. NEAR with half-closed onset [e(:/ə/r)/ea]
86. NEAR with half-open onset [ɛ(:/ə/r)]
87. NEAR high-front to low glide, e.g. [ia]
88. SQUARE with half-open onset [ɛə]
89. SQUARE with half-closed onset [eə/ea]
90. SQUARE with high front onset [ɪə]
91. SQUARE with relatively open onset, possibly rising [æə/æɪ]
92. SQUARE half-closed monophthong, [e(:/r)]
93. SQUARE half-open monophthong, [ɛ(:/r)]
94. START low back unrounded, e.g. [ɑ(:/r)]
95. START central, e.g. [ɐ(:/r)]
96. START low front, e.g. [a(:/r)]

97.   START front, raised, e.g. [æ(:/r)]
98.   START with offglide, e.g. [ɑə/ɒə)]
99.   NORTH half-open monophthong [ɔ(:/r)]
100. NORTH half-closed monophthong [o(:/r)]
101. NORTH [ɒ]
102. NORTH with offglide, e.g. [ɒə/oa]
103. FORCE half-open monophthong [ɔ(:/r)]
104. FORCE half-closed monophthong [o(:/r)]
105. FORCE ingliding, e.g. [ɔə(r)/oə(r)/oa]
106. FORCE with upglide, e.g.[oʊ(r)]
107. CURE [ʊə/ʊr]
108. CURE with tensed / raised onset, e.g. [u(:)ə/ur]
109. CURE lowered monophthong, e.g. [o:/ɔ:]
110. CURE with upglide, e.g. [oʊ(r)]
111. CURE low offglide, e.g. [ua/oa(r)]
112. happY relatively centralized, e.g. [ɪ]
113. happY central, e.g. [ə]
114. happY tensed / relatively high front, e.g. [i(:)]
115. happY mid front, e.g. [e/ɛ]
116. lettER [ə]
117. lettER (relatively) open, e.g. [a/ʌ]
118. horsES central [ə]
119. horsES high front [ɪ]
120. commA [ə]
121. commA (relatively) open, e.g. [a/ʌ]

Distribution: vowels

122. homophony of KIT and FLEECE
123. homophony of TRAP and BATH
124. homophony of *Mary* and *merry*
125. homophony of *Mary*, *merry* and *marry*
126. homophony of TRAP and DRESS before /l/
127. merger of KIT and DRESS before nasals (*pin* = *pen*)
128. homophony of DRESS and FACE
129. homophony of FOOT and GOOSE
130. homophony of LOT and THOUGHT
131. homophony of LOT and STRUT
132. homophony of NEAR and SQUARE

133. vowels nasalized before nasal consonants
134. vowel harmony / cross-syllable assimilation phenomena in some words
135. vowels short unless before /r/, voiced fricative, or in open syllable (SVLR)
136. commA/lettER (etc.): [ɑ/ɛ/i/ɔ/u], reflecting spelling

Phonetic realization and distribution: consonants

137. P/T/K-: weak or no aspiration of word-initial stops
138. -T-: lenisation / flapping / voicing of intervocalic /t/ (*writer = rider*)
139. -T: realization of word-final or intervocalic /t/ as glottal stop
140. K-: palatalization of velar stop word-initially: e.g. kj-/gj-in *can't/ garden*
141. B-: word-initial *bw-* for b-: e.g. *bw-* in *boy*
142. S-/F-: voiceless initial fricatives voiced: [z-/v-]
143. TH-: realization of word-initial voiced TH as stop, e.g. *dis*, 'this'
144. TH-: realization of word-initial voiceless TH as stop, e.g. *ting, 'thing'*
145. TH-: realization of word-initial voiced TH as affricate [dð]
146. TH-: realization of word-initial voiceless TH as affricate [tθ]
147. WH-: velar fricative onset retained, i.e. *which* is not homophonous with *witch*
148. CH: voiceless velar fricative [χ/x] exists
149. h-deletion (word-initial), e.g., *'eart* 'heart'
150. h-insertion (word-initial), e.g. *haxe* 'axe'
151. L-: palatal (clear) variant in syllable onsets
152. L-: velar variant in syllable onsets
153. –L: palatal variant in syllable codas
154. "jod"-dropping: no /j/ after alveolars before /u:/, e.g. in *news*, *tune*
155. deletion of word-initial /h/ in /hj-/ clusters, e.g. in *human*, *huge*
156. labialization of word-central voiced -TH-, e.g. [-v-] in *brother*
157. labialization of word-final / word-central voiceless –TH, e.g. [-f] in *mouth*, *nothing*
158. intervocalic /-v-/ > [b], e.g. in *river*
159. W: substitution of labiodental fricative /v/ for semi-vowel /w/
160. word-final consonant cluster deletion, monomorphemic
161. word-final consonant cluster deletion, bimorphemic
162. deletion of word-final single consonants
163. simplification of word-initial consonant clusters, e.g. in *splash*, *square*
164. non-rhotic (no postvocalic –r)

165. rhotic (postvocalic –r realized)
166. phonetic realization of /r/ as velar retroflex constriction
167. phonetic realization of /r/ as alveolar flap
168. phonetic realization of /r/ as apical trill
169. /r/ uvular
170. intrusive –r–, e.g. *idea*-r-*is*
171. post-vocalic –l vocalized
172. neutralization / confusion of liquids /l/ and /r/ in some words
173. realization of velar nasals with stop: -NG > [-ŋg]
174. velarization of some word-final nasals, e.g. /-ŋ/ in *down*

Prosodic features and intonation

175. deletion of word-initial unstressed syllables, e.g. '*bout,* '*cept*
176. stress not infrequently shifted from first to later syllable, e.g. *indiˈcate,
holiˈday*
177. (relatively) syllable-timed rather than stress-timed
178. HRT (High-Rising Terminal) contour: rise at end of statement
179. tone distinctions exist

List of features: Morphology and Syntax

Bernd Kortmann

The features in the catalogue are numbered from 1 to 76 (for easy reference in later parts of the chapter) and provided with the short definitions and illustrations. They include all usual suspects known from survey articles on grammatical properties of (individual groups of) non-standard varieties of English, with a slight bias towards features observed in L1 varieties. The 76 features fall into 11 groups corresponding to the following broad areas of morphosyntax: pronouns, noun phrase, tense and aspect, modal verbs, verb morphology, adverbs, negation, agreement, relativization, complementation, discourse organization and word order.

Pronouns, pronoun exchange, pronominal gender

1. *them* instead of demonstrative *those* (e.g. *in them days, one of them things*)
2. *me* instead of possessive *my* (e.g. *He's me brother, I've lost me bike*)
3. special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun (e.g. *youse, y'all, aay', yufela, you … together, all of you, you ones/'uns, you guys, you people*)
4. regularized reflexives-paradigm (e.g. *hisself, theirselves/theirself*)
5. object pronoun forms serving as base for reflexives (e.g. *meself*)
6. lack of number distinction in reflexives (e.g. plural *-self*)
7. *she/her* used for inanimate referents (e.g. *She was burning good* [about a house])
8. generic *he/his* for all genders (e.g. *My car, he's broken*)
9. *myself/meself* in a non-reflexive function (e.g. *my/me husband and myself*)
10. *me* instead of *I* in coordinate subjects (e.g. *Me and my brother/My brother and me were late for school*)
11. non-standard use of *us* (e.g. *Us George was a nice one*, *We like us town*, *Show us* 'me' *them boots, Us kids used to pinch the sweets like hell, Us'll do it*)
12. non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function (e.g. *You did get he out of bed in the middle of the night*)
13. non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function (e.g. *Us say 'er's dry*)

Noun phrase

14. absence of plural marking after measure nouns (e.g. *four pound*, *five year*)
15. group plurals (e.g. *That President has two Secretary of States*)
16. group genitives (e.g. *The man I met's girlfriend is a real beauty*)
17. irregular use of articles (e.g. *Take them to market*, *I had nice garden, about a three fields, I had the toothache*)
18. postnominal *for*-phrases to express possession (e.g. *The house for me*)
19. double comparatives and superlatives (e.g. *That is so much more easier to follow*)
20. regularized comparison strategies (e.g. in *He is the regularest kind a guy I know*, *in one of the most pretty sunsets*)

Verb phrase: Tense & aspect

21. wider range of uses of the Progressive (e.g. *I'm liking this, What are you wanting?*)
22. habitual *be* (e.g. *He be sick*)
23. habitual *do* (e.g. *He does catch fish pretty*)
24. non-standard habitual markers other than *be* and *do*
25. levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past (e.g. *Were you ever in London?, Some of us have been to New York years ago*)
26. *be* as perfect auxiliary (e.g. *They're not left school yet*)
27. *do* as a tense and aspect marker (e.g. *This man what do own this*)
28. completive/perfect *done* (e.g. *He done go fishing*, *You don ate what I has sent you?*)
29. past tense/anterior marker *been* (e.g. *I been cut the bread*)
30. loosening of sequence of tense rule (e.g. *I noticed the van I came in*)
31. *would* in if-clauses (e.g. *If I'd be you, …*)
32. *was sat/stood* with progressive meaning (e.g. *when you're stood* 'are standing' *there you can see the flames*)
33. *after*-Perfect (e.g. *She's after selling the boat*)

Verb phrase: Modal verbs

34. double modals (e.g. *I tell you what we might should do*)

35.   epistemic *mustn't* ('can't, it is concluded that… not'; e.g. *This mustn't be true*)

Verb phrase: Verb morphology

36.   levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigms (e.g. *catch-catched-catched*)
37.   levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: unmarked forms (frequent with e.g. *give* and *run*)
38.   levelling of preterite and past partiple verb forms: past form replacing the participle (e.g. *He had went*)
39.   levelling of preterite and past partiple verb forms: participle replacing the past form (e.g. *He gone to Mary*)
40.   zero past tense forms of regular verbs (e.g. *I walk* for *I walked*)
41.   *a*-prefixing on *ing*-forms (e.g. *They wasn't a-doin' nothin' wrong*)

Adverbs

42.   adverbs (other than degree modifiers) have same form as adjectives (e.g. *Come quick!*)
43.   degree modifier adverbs lack *-ly* (e.g. *That's real good*)

Negation

44.   multiple negation / negative concord (e.g. *He won't do no harm*)
45.   *ain't* as the negated form of *be* (e.g. *They're all in there, ain't they?*)
46.   *ain't* as the negated form of *have* (e.g. *I ain't had a look at them yet*)
47.   *ain't* as generic negator before a main verb (e.g. *Something I ain't know about*)
48.   invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense (e.g. *He don't like me*)
49.   *never* as preverbal past tense negator (e.g. *He never came* [= he didn't come])
50.   *no* as preverbal negator (e.g. *me no iit brekfus*)
51.   *was–weren't* split (e.g. *The boys was interested, but Mary weren't*)
52.   invariant non-concord tags, (e.g. *innit/in't it/isn't* in *They had them in their hair, innit?)*

Agreement

53. invariantpresenttenseformsduetozeromarkingforthethirdpersonsingular (e.g. *So he show up and say, What's up?*)
54. invariant present tense forms due to generalization of third person *-s* to all persons (e.g. *I sees the house*)
55. existential/presentational *there's, there is, there was* with plural subjects (e.g. *There's two men waiting in the hall*)
56. variant forms of dummy subjects in existential clauses (e.g. *they, it,* or zero for *there*)
57. deletion of *be* (e.g. *She ___ smart*)
58. deletion of auxiliary *have* (e.g. *I ___ eaten my lunch)*
59. *was/were* generalization (e.g. *You were hungry but he were thirsty*, or: *You was hungry but he was thirsty*)
60. Northern Subject Rule (e.g. *I sing* [vs. **I sings*], *Birds sings, I sing and dances*)

Relativization

61. relative particle *what* (e.g. *This is the man what painted my house*)
62. relative particle *that* or *what* in non-restrictive contexts (e.g. *My daughter, that/what lives in London,…*)
63. relative particle *as* (e.g. *He was a chap as got a living anyhow*)
64. relative particle *at* (e.g. *This is the man at painted my house*)
65. use of analytic *that his/that's, what his/what's, at's, as'* instead of *whose* (e.g. *The man what's wife has died*)
66. gapping or zero-relativization in subject position (e.g. *The man ___ lives there is a nice chap*)
67. resumptive / shadow pronouns (e.g. *This is the house which I painted it yesterday*)

Complementation

68. *say*-based complementizers
69. inverted word order in indirect questions (e.g. *I'm wondering what are you gonna do*)

70.   unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses (e.g. *We always had gutters in the winter time for to drain the water away*)
71.   *as what / than what* in comparative clauses (e.g. *It's harder than what you think it is*)
72.   serial verbs (e.g. *give* meaning 'to, for', as in *Karibuk giv mi*, 'Give the book to me')

Discourse organization and word order

73.   lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in *wh*-questions (e.g. *What you doing?*)
74.   lack of inversion in main clause *yes/no* questions (e.g. *You get the point?*)
75.   *like* as a focussing device (e.g. *How did you get away with that like? Like for one round five quid, that was like three quid, like two-fifty each*)
76.   *like* as a quotative particle (e.g. *And she was like "What do you mean?"*)

General introduction

Bernd Kortmann and Edgar W. Schneider

This book, together with its three companion volumes on other world regions, derives from the *Handbook of Varieties of English*, edited by Kortmann, Schneider et al. (2004). To make the material compiled in the *Handbook* more easily accessible and affordable, especially to student pockets, it has been decided to regroup the articles in such a way that all descriptive papers on any of the seven major anglophone world regions distinguished there are put together in a set of four paperback volumes, and accompanied by the CD-ROM which covers data and sources from all around the world. In this brief introduction we are briefly revisiting and summarizing the major design features of the *Handbook* and its contributions, i.e. information which, by implication, also characterizes the articles in the present volume.

The all-important design feature of the *Handbook* and of these offspring paperbacks is its focus on structure and on the solid description and documentation of data. The volumes, together with the CD-ROM, provide comprehensive up-to-date accounts of the salient phonological and grammatical properties of the varieties of English around the world. Reliable structural information in a somewhat standardized format and presented in an accessible way is a necessary prerequisite for any kind of study of language varieties, independent of the theoretical framework used for analysis. It is especially important for comparative studies of the phonological and morphosyntactic patterns across varieties of English, and the inclusion of this kind of data in typological studies (e.g. in the spirit of Kortmann 2004).

Of course, all of this structural information can be and has to be put in perspective by the conditions of uses of these varieties, i.e. their sociohistorical backgrounds, their current sociolinguistic settings (not infrequently in multilingual societies), and their associated political dimensions (like issues of normsetting, language policies, and pedagogical applications). Ultimately, all of the varieties under discussion here, certainly so the ones spoken outside of England but in a sense, looking way back in time, even the English dialects themselves, are products of colonization processes, predominantly the European colonial expansion in the modern age. A number of highly interesting questions, linguistically and culturally, might be asked in this context, including the central issue of why all of this has happened, whether there is an underlying

scheme that has continued to drive and motivate the evolution of new varieties of English (Schneider 2003, 2007). These linguistic and sociohistorical background issues will be briefly addressed in the regional introductions and in some of the individual chapters, but it should be made clear that it is the issue of structural description and comparison which is at the heart of this project.

The chapters in the four paperbacks are geared towards documenting and mapping the structural variation among (spontaneously spoken) non-standard varieties of English. Standard English is of course that variety, or set of closely related varieties, which enjoys the highest social prestige. It serves as a reference system and target norm in formal situations, in the language used by people taking on a public persona (including, for example, anchorpersons in the news media), and as a model in the teaching of English worldwide. Here, however, it is treated as is commonplace in modern descriptive linguistics, i.e. as a variety on a par with all other (regional, social, ethnic, or contact) varieties of English. Clearly, in terms of its structural properties it is not inherently superior to any of the non-standard varieties. Besides, the very notion of "Standard English" itself obviously refers to an abstraction. On the written level, it is under discussion to what extent a "common core" or a putatively homogeneous variety called "International English" actually exists: there is some degree of uniformity across the major national varieties, but once one looks into details of expression and preferences, there are also considerable differences. On the spoken level, there are reference accents like, for example, Received Pronunciation for British English, but their definition also builds upon abstractions from real individuals' performance. Thus, in the present context especially the grammar of (written) Standard English figures as no more than an implicit standard of comparison, in the sense that all chapters focus upon those phenomena in a given variety which are (more or less strikingly) different from this standard (these being perceived as not, note again, in any sense deficient or inferior to it).

The articles in this collection cover all main national standard varieties, distinctive regional, ethnic, and social varieties, major contact varieties (pidgins and creoles), as well as major varieties of English as a Second Language. The inclusion of second-language varieties and, especially, English-based pidgins and creoles may come as a surprise to some readers. Normally these varieties are addressed from different perspectives (such as, for example, language policy, language pedagogy, linguistic attitudes, language and identity (construction), substrate vs. superstrate influence), each standing in its own research tradition. Here they are primarily discussed from the point of view of their structural properties.

This will make possible comparisons with structural properties of, for example, other varieties of English spoken in the same region, or second-language or contact varieties in other parts of the English-speaking world. At the

same time the availability of solid structural descriptions may open new perspectives for a fruitful interaction between the different research traditions within which second-language and contact varieties are studied. The boundaries of what is considered and accepted as "varieties of English" has thus been drawn fairly widely. In accepting English-oriented pidgins and creoles in the present context, we adopt a trend of recent research to consider them as contact varieties closely related to, possibly to be categorized as varieties of, their respective superstrate languages (e.g. Mufwene 2001). Creoles, and also some pidgins, in many regions vary along a continuum from acrolectal forms, relatively close to English and used by the higher sociolinguistic strata in formal contexts, to basilects, "deep" varieties maximally different from English. Most of our contributions focus upon the mesolects, the middle ranges which in most creole-speaking societies are used most widely.

For other varieties, too, it may be asked why or why not they have been selected for inclusion in this collection. Among the considerations that led to the present selection, the following figured most prominently: amount and quality of existing data and research documentation for the individual varieties, intensity of ongoing research activities, availability of authors, and space constraints (leading, for example, to the exclusion of strictly local accents and dialects). More information on the selection of varieties will be given in the regional introductions.

While in the *Handbook* there is one volume each for phonology and grammar (i.e. morphology and syntax), this set of paperbacks has been arranged by the major world regions relevant for the discussion of varieties of English: the British Isles; the Americas and the Caribbean; Africa, South and Southeast Asia; and the Pacific and Australasia. Each of the volumes comprises all articles on the respective regions, both on phonology and on grammar, together with the regional introductions, which include accounts of the histories, the cultural and sociolinguistic situations, and the most important data sources for the relevant locations, ethnic groups and varieties, and the regional synopses, in which the editors summarize the most striking properties of the varieties of English spoken in the respective world regions. Global synopses offering the most noteworthy findings and tendencies on phonological and morphosyntactic variation in English from a global perspective are available in the two hardcover Handbooks and in the electronic online version. In addition, there is a list of "General references", all of them exclusively book publications, which are either globally relevant or central for for individual world regions.

What emerges from the synopses is that many of the features described for individual varieties or sets of varieties in this Handbook are not unique to these (sets of) varieties. This is true both for morphology and syntax and for phonology.

As a matter of fact, quite a number of morphosyntactic features described as salient properties of individual varieties may strike the reader as typical of other varieties, too, possibly even of the grammar of spoken English, in general. In a similar vein, it turns out that certain phonological processes (like the monophthongization of certain diphthongs, the fronting, backing or merging of some vowels, and some consonantal substitutions or suprasegmental processes) can be documented in quite a number of fairly disparate language varieties – not surprisingly, perhaps, given shared underlying principles like constraints of articulatory space or tendencies towards simplification and the reduction of contrasts.

The distributions of selected individual features, both morphosyntactic and phonological, across varieties world-wide is visualized by the interactive world maps on the accompanying CD-ROM. The lists of these features, which are also referred to in some contributions, especially the regional synopses, are appended to this introduction. On these maps, each of a set of selected features, for almost all of the varieties under discussion, is categorized as occurring regularly (marked as "A" and colour-coded in red), occasionally or only in certain specified environments (marked as "B" and represented by a yellow circle) or practically not at all ("C", black). These innovative maps, which are accompanied by statistical distribution data on the spread of selected variants, provide the reader with an immediate visual representation of regional distribution and diffusion patterns. Further information on the nature of the multimedia material accompanying these books is available on the CD itself. It includes audio samples of free conversations (some of them transcribed), a standard reading passage, and recordings of the spoken "lexical sets" which define and illustrate vocalic variation (Wells 1982).

The chapters are descriptive survey articles providing state-of-the-art reports on major issues in current research, with a common core in order to make the collection an interesting and useful tool especially from a comparative, i.e. cross-dialectal and cross-linguistic, point of view. All chapters aim primarily at a qualitative rather than quantitative perspective, i.e. whether or not a given feature occurs is more important than its frequency. Of course, for varieties where research has focused upon documenting frequency relationships between variants of variables, some information on relevant quantitative tendencies has been provided. Depending upon the research coverage in a given world region (which varies widely from one continent to another), some contributions build upon existing sociolinguistic, dialectological, or structural research; a small number of other chapters make systematic use of available computerized corpora; and in some cases and for some regions the chapters in this compilation provide the first-ever systematic qualitative survey of the phonological and grammatical properties of English as spoken there.

For almost all varieties of English covered there are companion chapters in the phonology and morphosyntax parts of each paperback volume. In these cases it is in the phonology chapter that the reader will find a concise introductory section on the historical and cultural background as well as the current sociolinguistic situation of the relevant variety or set of varieties spoken at this location.

In order to ensure a certain degree of comparability, the authors were given a set of core issues that they were asked to address (provided something interesting can be said about them in the respective variety). For the phonology chapters, this set included the following items:

– phonological systems
– phonetic realization(s) and (phonotactic) distributions of a selection of phonemes (to be selected according to salience in the variety in question)
– specific phonological processes at work in the relevant variety
– lexical distribution
– prosodic features (stress, rhythm)
– intonation patterns
– observations/generalizations on the basis of lexical sets à la Wells (1982) and Foulkes/Docherty (1999), a standard reading passage and/or samples of free conversation.

It is worth noting that for some of the contributions, notably the chapters on pidgins and creoles, the lexical sets were not sufficient or suitable to describe the variability found. In such cases authors were encouraged to expand the set of target words, or replace one of the items. The reading passage was also adjusted or substituted by some authors, for instance because it was felt to be culturally inappropriate.

This is the corresponding set for the morphology and syntax chapters:

– tense – aspect – modality systems
– auxiliaries
– negation
– relativization
– complementation
– other subordination phenomena (notably adverbial subordination)
– agreement
– noun phrase structure
– pronominal systems
– word order (and information structure: especially focus/topicalizing constructions)

– selected salient features of the morphological paradigms of, for example, auxiliaries and pronouns

Lexical variation was not our primary concern, given that it fails to lend itself to the systematic generalization and comparability that we are interested in in this project. However, authors were offered the opportunity to comment on highly salient features of the vocabulary of any given variety (briefly and within the overall space constraints) if this was considered rewarding. The reader may find such information on distinctive properties of the respective vocabularies in the morphology and syntax chapters. Especially for a student readership, short sets of exercises and study questions have been added at the end of all chapters in the four paperback volumes.

In the interest of combining guidance for readers, efficiency, and space constraints, but also the goal of comprehensiveness, bibliographic references are systematically divided between three different types of reference lists. As was stated above, in each paperback a "General references" list can be found which compiles a relatively large number of books which, taken together, are central to the field of world-wide varieties of English – "classic" publications, collective volumes, particularly important publications, and so on. It is understood that in the individual contributions all authors may refer to titles from this list without these being repeated in their respective source lists. Each of the individual chapters ends with a list of "Selected references" comprising, on average, only 15–20 references – including the most pertinent ones on the respective variety (or closely related varieties) beyond any others possibly included in the General references list, and possibly others cited in the respective article. In other words, the Selected references do not repeat any of the titles cited in the list of General references. Thirdly, a "Comprehensive bibliography", with further publications specifically on the phonology and morphosyntax of each of the varieties covered, for which no space limitations were imposed, is available on the CD-ROM. The idea behind this limitation of the number of references allowed to go with each article was to free the texts of too much technical apparatus and thus to increase their reader-friendliness for a target audience of non-specialists while at the same time combining basic guidance to the most important literature (in the General References list) with the possibility of providing comprehensive coverage of the writings available on any given region (in the Bibliographies on the CD-ROM). It must be noted, however, that at times this rule imposed limitations upon possible source credits allowed in the discussions, because to make the books self-contained authors were allowed to refer to titles from the General and the Select References lists only. In other words, it is possible that articles touch upon material drawn from publications

listed in the CD-ROM bibliographies without explicit credit, although every effort has been made to avoid this.

A publication project as huge as this one would have been impossible, indeed impossible even to think of, without the support of a great number of people devoted to their profession and to the subject of this Handbook. The editors would like thank the members of their editorial teams in Freiburg, Regensburg, and Cape Town. We are also much indebted to Elizabeth Traugott, for all the thought, support and feedback she gave to this project right from the very beginning of the planning stage, and to Jürgen Handke, who produced the rich audio-visual multimedia support on the CD. Furthermore, we have always benefitted from the support and interest invested into this project by Anke Beck and the people at Mouton de Gruyter. Finally, and most importantly, of course, the editors would like to thank the contributors and informants for having conformed to the rigid guidelines, deadlines and time frames that we set them for the various stages of (re)writing their chapters and providing the input material for the CD-ROM.

This collection truly represents an impressive product of scholarly collaboration of people from all around the globe. Right until the end it has been an exciting and wonderful experience for the editors (as well as, we would like to think, for the authors) to bring all these scholars and their work together, and we believe that this shows in the quality of the chapters and the material presented on the CD-ROM. We hope that, like the *Handbook*, it will be enjoyed, appreciated and esteemed by its readers, and treasured as the reference work and research tool it was designed as for anyone interested in and fascinated by variation in English!

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Introduction: varieties of English in Africa and South and Southeast Asia

Rajend Mesthrie

1. Historical spread and geographical coverage

The presence of English (and other European languages) in Africa and South and Southeast Asia (henceforth *Africa-Asia*) is due to several historical events: sporadic and subsequently sustained trade, the introduction of Christianity, slavery, formal British colonisation, and influence from the U.S. (in places like Liberia and the Philippines). Furthermore, after colonisation independent "new nations" were faced with few options but to adopt English as a working language of government, administration and higher education. These contacts have seen the development of several types of English:

> *ENL* (English as a Native language), spoken by British settlers and/or their descendants, as in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Hong Kong etc. (The variety may be adopted by other groups within a territory as well).

> *ESL* (English as a Second Language), spoken in territories like India and Nigeria, where access to English was sufficient to produce a stable second language (L2) used in formal domains like education and government. The ESL is also used for internal communication within the territory, especially as a lingua franca amongst educated speakers who do not share the same mother tongue.

> *Pidgin English*, a variety which arises outside of the educational system and is only partly derived from English, especially in its lexicon; though structurally it cannot really be considered an 'adoption' of English syntax. An example would be Pidgin English in Cameroon. A pidgin shows equally significant influence from both local languages and common or 'universal' processes of simplification and creation of grammatical structure. Some pidgins may turn into a creole (spoken as a first language). In Africa and Asia this is not common, since speakers frequently retain their home and community languages. Some scholars are of the opinion that West African varieties of pidgin have expanded into a creole without necessarily becoming a first language.

These three types are described in this volume. A fourth type *EFL* (English as a Foreign Language) is not considered, since it arises typically for international communication amongst a few bilingual people competent in English in a territory that had not come under the direct influence of British settlement and

colonial administration. In such a situation English is learnt in the education system as a "foreign language", but is not used as a medium of instruction. This is truer of some territories than others: China is clearly an EFL country; Eritrea less so, in terms of the greater use of English by fluent bilinguals in the domain of education.

British "Protectorates" like Lesotho and Egypt, which were subject to British influence without being formally colonised, also form an intermediate category somewhere between ESL and EFL. It would not be surprising if the current era of globalisation established English more firmly in EFL territories, producing more focussed varieties which could one day be studied in terms of the concepts and categories emphasised in ESL studies.

Finally, there are what I term "language shift Englishes" – varieties which started as ESLs, but which stabilise as an L1. They then develop casual registers often absent from ESLs (since a local language fulfils 'vernacular' functions). However, they retain a great many L2 features as well. Amongst the varieties of note here are Indian South African English and, elsewhere, Irish English.

Africa-Asia is distinguishable from the remaining regions covered in the companion volumes by the preponderance of ESL varieties, rather than the L1 English which dominates in the U.K., the U.S., Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In other words, indigenous African and Asian languages have survived the impact of colonisation better than their counterparts elsewhere.

Though English is seen as an important resource for international communication as well as for internal "High" functions (in formal domains like education and government), its hegemony in Africa-Asia is not complete. There are other languages of high status which may function as regional lingua francas, for example Swahili in East Africa, Hindi in North India and Malay in Singapore and Malaysia.

At the lower end of the social and educational spectrum it is noteworthy that Pidgin English is spreading rapidly in West Africa. According to Faraclas (this volume), Nigerian Pidgin is now the most widely spoken language in Nigeria, with well over half the population being able to converse in it.

Africa's contacts with English pre-date those of the U.S. and the Caribbean. The earliest contacts were in the 1530s (Spencer 1971: 8), making early Modern English, with accents slightly older than Shakespeare's, the initial (if sporadic) input. In Asia the initial contacts with English go back to 1600 when Queen Elizabeth I granted a charter to the merchants of London who formed the East India Company.

The full force of English in Africa-Asia was not felt until formal colonisation in the nineteenth century (for example Singapore in 1819, India in 1858,

Nigeria 1884, Kenya 1886). A representative selection of the varieties spoken in these territories is given in this volume. The geographical coverage is that of West Africa, East Africa, South Africa, South Asia and South-east Asia. In addition we have taken on board the South Atlantic island of St. Helena, whose nearest mainland port is Cape Town.

2. Second language acquisition

Since the focus in the Africa-Asia section is mainly on ESLs, the dialectological approach has to be supplemented by insights from Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory. No ESL variety is uniform; rather it exists as a continuum of varying features, styles and abilities. The terms *basilect*, *mesolect* and *acrolect* are borrowed from Creole studies, where they denote first language varieties on a continuum. The terms *basilang*, *mesolang* and *acrolang* are sometimes used in connection with interlanguage studies, denoting the individual's level of competence in the L2, rather than a relatively focussed group norm (a new-comer in the L1 English metropolis might learn English as a L2 without being part of a group of L2 learners).

  Most writers in *New English* studies adopt the Creole-based terms, without serious misunderstandings. However, in principle, there is a need to distinguish between basilect and basilang, because there is a difference between the fluent norms of a basilect and the rudimentary knowledge of an L2 in a basilang. Since the ESL varieties described in this Handbook are relatively focused and stable the labels basilect, mesolect, acrolect will continue to be used.

  At one end of the New English continuum are varieties characteristic of beginning L2 learners or learners who have fossilised at an early stage and evince no need or desire to progress further in their interlanguage variety (basilectal speakers). If they are just beginning an acquaintance with the target language, they are strictly speaking basilang speakers. At the other end are speakers who, by virtue of their education, motivation, life-styles and contacts with L1 and educated L2 speakers of English may well become so fluent as to be near-native (or acrolectal) speakers of English.

  Situated between these endpoints is the vast majority of ESL users, who speak fluently but whose norms deviate significantly from those of L1 speakers as well as acrolectal ESL speakers. These are the mesolectal speakers, whose norms are the ones most writers in this section have chosen to focus on, since they represent a kind of average value of the ESL. They are not as strongly denigrated as more basilang varieties might be in terms of intelligibility and fluency. They also pose fewer problems about the reliability of data, since a

basilang speaker's command might not be fluent enough to decide what norms underlie his or her speech.

Mesolectal ESL varieties display a degree of levelling of the target language (Standard English) in for example tense forms, prepositions, word order and so on. Moreover, many of these features are carried over into the (unedited) written language of individuals. Finally, mesolectal varieties are more representative of the local ethos than acrolectal varieties. The latter are sometimes stigmatised as being affected or representing outside norms.

Phrases like "speaking through the nose" in Nigeria and Zimbabwe or *been tos* ('people who have been abroad') in India and Nigeria reflect this disaffection on the part of the general populace of the ESL acrolectal elite who might stray too close to the norms of Received Pronunciation (RP). Just as stigmatised is what is described in Ghanaian English terminology as *LAFA* ('Locally Acquired Foreign Accent') – see Huber's article on Ghanaian English Phonology in this volume.

The provisos mentioned by other editors in their introductions regarding the nature of dialectal description also hold for the present area. Where an item is described as a feature, it is not claimed to be unique to the variety concerned. Nor is it necessarily the only variant within the ESL being described. The influence of the standard in formal communication makes it likely that the equivalent standard feature is also in use (especially in syntax), and may even be more commonly employed than the item described as a feature.

Several concepts from Second Language Acquisition Studies are an essential part of New English studies, especially *input*, *Foreigner Talk* and *Teacher Talk*, *overgeneralization*, *analogy* and *transfer*. The robustness of the substrate languages in Africa and Asia makes the likelihood of their influence on ESL very great. Indeed, many researchers take substrate influence to be axiomatic in phonology and only slightly less so in syntax, pragmatics and lexis.

For syntax, however, there is reason to be cautious. In some areas it is possible that what is popularly believed to be interference, might be a survival from a non-standard dialect of British English or even a survival of a form that was once standard but was later jettisoned in the history of Standard English (see for example McCormick's account of Cape Flats English in this volume). This issue will be discussed in more detail in my synopsis at the end of the phonology part.

Many contributors use RP and Standard British English as points of comparison. However, it is important to keep in mind that this is rather a matter of convenience and that RP and Standard British English function as a kind of metalanguage in that respect. RP, especially, would have been, and continues to be, rather remote from the experiences of ESL learners. Especially for the

earliest periods in which English was introduced to what were to become the colonies, several non-standard varieties were part of the initial input.

The earliest teachers and providers of input were missionaries (frequently EFL users themselves), sailors, soldiers, hunters, tradesmen, divers and so forth. Teachers with certificates arrived on the scene later. The notion of a target language then should not be construed too literally: more often it was a varied, vexatious and moving target (see Mesthrie 2003).

It is necessary to tackle the prejudice against New Englishes, sometimes evident amongst their own speakers. Although prescriptive-minded critics would prefer to see many of the features identified in this section as errors to be eradicated, their presence must be seen within a broader context. An ESL exists within a local "linguistic ecology". It must therefore become referentially adequate to describe local topography, fauna, customs and so forth. It also has to blend in with the local linguistic ecology by being receptive to favoured turns of phrase, structural possibilities and habits of pronunciation. That is, for English to function "normally" in a country like India, it has to become Indian – a fact that the work of Kachru (e.g. 1983) constantly reminds us of.

3.   Resources

It is only recently that the study of ESLs has come to be seen as a productive sociolinguistic enterprise. Studies of individual varieties have often been based on written sources, both of published writers and of students' writings at school and university. Convenient though this means of accessing data is, for psycholinguistic veracity it is preferable to focus on the spoken word. Most authors in this volume have based their descriptions on speech samples or a combination of written (especially when summarising previous research) and spoken data. Corpus Linguistics is beginning to make its presence felt in this area. The most influential corpora are the ICE Corpora (*International Corpus of English*) originating at the University of London.

The ICE corpora in East Africa under the directorship of Josef Schmied and in South Africa under Chris Jeffery have yielded significant data and analyses. Schmied (this volume) describes the potential of the *World Wide Web* in gathering informal written data in the East African context. In India, the Kolhapur corpus is based on written Indian English. Other smaller-scale corpora are mentioned by individual authors.

4.   The chapters on phonology

Gut's chapter deals with the phonological features of L2 English in Nigeria. In such a vast territory with about 500 languages, it is likely that several Englishes coexist: Gut summarizes her own research as well as that of others according to region and the major regional languages – Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. She also summarizes her important investigations into suprasegmental phonology, with the analysis of tone being a major challenge for any student of English in Africa. Elugbe's article focuses on Pidgin English in Nigeria, one of the fastest growing languages in West Africa. This study offers the opportunity of examining whether the same features of L2 phonology of Nigerian English co-exist in the pidgin, including features of stress and tone. Huber describes the phonology of Ghanaian English, affording opportunities of comparing features of English in a country which prides itself on its education system and in the teaching of English with that of other West African varieties. Huber contributes a second chapter on Pidgin English in Ghana. This chapter again shows the overlap between pidgin and L2 English phonology in West Africa. Singler's article on Liberian Settler English phonology introduces the sound system of a variety whose origins lie in the speech of slaves who were returned from the American South in the 19th century to found the state of Liberia. Together with Krio, Liberian Settler English is important for its influence on pidgins that developed independently in West Africa. It is also important for historical studies of African American English, since the two varieties are so closely linked. The last two contributions on West Africa are Bobda's comprehensive examination of Cameroon English phonology and Menang's account of the phonology of Kamtok, the name he prefers for Cameroon Pidgin English. His focus is on the reductions to the English vowel system evident in the pidgin.

East Africa is represented by the article by Schmied, which focuses on the similarities between the English varieties spoken in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. South Africa presents special challenges to the descriptive linguist, since several types of English are encountered: ENL, ESL and language-shift varieties. The policy of apartheid created relatively rigid boundaries around people, their languages and dialects. It was accordingly felt that a description of the four major varieties according to ethnicity was preferable to any other forms of segmentation.

Bowerman describes White South Africa English, tracing its roots in Southern British dialects and describing subsequent influences arising either spontaneously or out of contact with Afrikaans. He also briefly points to its relation with other Southern Hemisphere Englishes in Australia and New Zealand. Van

Rooy outlines the main phonological features of Black South African English, now a major player in post-apartheid broadcasting, business etc. The article affords significant grounds of comparison with other varieties of English in Africa. Mesthrie provides a description of the phonology of Indian South African English, which had previously been studied mainly for its syntax. Finn provides a detailed description of the phonology of Cape Flats English, the variety spoken by people formerly classified "coloured" in Cape Town and its environs. His paper details the balance between (a) (British and South African) English dialect features, (b) second language interlanguage forms adapted, rather than deriving directly, from English-Afrikaans bilingualism and (c) some spontaneous innovations in the variety.

Wilson provides an overview of the phonology of St Helena English, a variety showing links to British dialects as well as to English-based Creoles.

Gargesh provides an overview of the phonology of Indian English, stressing that it has major regional varieties, especially in the North and South, corresponding to the respective Indic and Dravidian phonological systems. Mahboob and Ahmar describe Pakistani English, which shares many features with the northern varieties of Indian English.

Ahmar's contribution is followed by three articles on South-east Asian varieties. Lionel Wee describes the phonology of Singaporean English, while Baskaran covers Malaysian English, which has previously been linked with Singapore English on the basis of their common socio-political history. Tayo describes the phonology of Philippines English, which is targeted towards American rather than British English, the only such L2 (non-creole) variety in Africa-Asia.

5. The chapters on morphology and syntax

Each article in the phonology section has a counterpart in the morphology and syntax section, except for the Philippines. In addition there is an article on Butler English morphology and syntax, for which no corresponding account of the phonology exists. It would appear that more research is being done on the morphology and syntax of New Englishes than on the phonology.

Alo and Mesthrie summarise the existing research on Nigerian English, showing how it is fairly typical of African English (or more properly, sub-Saharan English). Faraclas offers a detailed overview of Nigerian Pidgin English, focussing to a large extent on its tense-aspect-modality system.

Huber and Dako examine educated Ghanaian English, which has much in common with other West African varieties, though there are noteworthy dif-

ferences in the area of the ordering of subordinate clauses of time and related constructions.

In his chapter on Ghanaian Pidgin English morphology and syntax, Huber argues that in some respects this variety appears to be a simplified version of other pidgins in the West African area, for example Nigerian Pidgin. Singler's chapter on Liberian Settler English describes the way in which this variety has retained older features of African American English, and can therefore be used to contribute significantly to the current debate on the origins of African American English. He also details the subsequent influence of local (non-Creole) varieties of English upon Liberian Settler English.

Mbangwana contributes an engaging account of the morphology and syntax of Cameroon English. Whilst a few features (e.g. invariant tags in tag questions) can be considered "garden variety" African English (and New English) structures, a number of the features he describes are not (e.g. an apparent predilection for *wh-* words to be retained in situ in main and subordinate clauses.) The reasons for this innovativeness in the Cameroon have still to be ascertained. Ayafor describes the morphology and syntax of Kamtok, the pidgin English of Cameroon. Unlike its ESL counterpart in Cameroon, as described by Mbagwana, Kamtok does appear to be similar to other varieties of West African Pidgin English. Schmied describes the syntax of East African English (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania). He outlines several general tendencies towards the modification of the grammar of Standard English, often in the direction of simplification.

With respect to the South African varieties, Bowerman outlines the main grammatical features of White South African English, pointing to ongoing debates about the relative significance of retentions from British dialect grammar over language contact with Afrikaans. Mesthrie's overview of Black South African English shows it to be in most respects similar to the "core" grammar of East and West African Englishes. Mesthrie also contributes a chapter on Indian South African English, showing that whilst the variety has much in common with its antecedent in India, it has innovated a great deal in the process of language shift in the South African environment. McCormick describes Cape Flats English, a variety which shows a fair degree of convergence between the grammars of English and Afrikaans.

Wilson and Mesthrie contribute an overview of St. Helena English, especially of its verb phrase component, which shows a convergence between a pidgin-like system and a more superstratal British English system.

Bhatt provides an overview of the grammar of Indian English, from the viewpoint of modern generative syntax. Hosali gives an overview of Butler English, the minimal pidgin (or fossilised early interlanguage) which origi-

nated between domestic servants and their masters in British India. Mahboob covers Pakistani English morphology and syntax, which again has a lot in common with the Northern varieties of Indian English as well as with the New Englishes generally.

Lionel Wee describes the morphology and syntax of Singaporean English, detailing some "positive" innovations, including the addition of new forms of the relative clause and passive. Baskaran describes Malaysian English and focuses on the extent to which substrate languages like Malay and Tamil may have played a role in engendering the typical features of Malayasian English morphology and syntax.

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Phonology

Nigerian English: phonology

Ulrike B. Gut

1.   Linguistic situation and status of English in Nigeria

In Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa with a surface area of 923,768 km² and a population of about 130 million, an estimated 505 languages are spoken (Grimes and Grimes 2000). Of the indigenous Nigerian languages, Igbo (spoken in the South-East), Yoruba (spoken in the South-West) and Hausa (spoken in the North) are the major languages with about 18 million speakers each. Many Nigerians are bilingual or multilingual with a command of several Nigerian and non-indigenous languages. The non-indigenous languages spoken in Nigeria include English, spoken throughout the country; Arabic, mainly spoken in the North in Islamic schools and in inter-ethnic communication; and French. English has often been called "the official language of the country" although there is no government statute or decree specifying this. No reliable numbers being available, estimates of how many Nigerians speak and use English vary from 4% to 20% (Jowitt 1997). It seems realistic to assume that currently about 20% of the population have at least some command of English and use it regularly in at least some aspects of their daily lives and that this number is increasing rapidly. Schaefer and Egbokhare (1999) found for the Emai speaking region of rural southern Nigeria that, especially in the younger generations, the use of English is on the increase. Whereas adults report a multi-language strategy of speaking both Emai and English independent of place (home, market, church…), teenagers report a single-language strategy with Emai spoken at home and English used in all other contexts. This is also true for children, who, in addition, increasingly speak English to their siblings and parents.

    In contrast to any of the indigenous languages, which serve as either native language or second language in the different regions of Nigeria, English has a geographical spread throughout the country. One reason why English is often regarded as the official language in Nigeria is probably because it is used in predominantly formal contexts such as government, education, literature, business, commerce and as a *lingua franca* in social interaction among the educated élite. For example, government records, administrative instructions and minutes, legislation, court records and proceedings, most advertisements,

business transactions and political manifestos and other documents are all in English. Furthermore, the majority of the national newspapers are published in English, as well as most radio and television programmes. Only a few of the Nigerian languages, mainly the majority languages, are used in official contexts. For example, the 1999 Constitution stipulates that "the business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English, and in Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made therefore". Equally, the language of the business of the House of Assembly in each State is English, "but the House may in addition to English conduct the business […] in one or more other languages spoken in the State as the House may by resolution approve". Some Nigerian languages, mainly the majority languages, are used in primary education and, to some extent, in official transactions, newspapers, television broadcasts and advertisements. The main role of the Nigerian languages is intra-ethnic and occasionally inter-ethnic communication (mainly Hausa in the North).

Attitudes towards English in Nigeria are mixed: on the one hand, it is seen as ethnopolitically neutral and therefore preferable over any indigenous language in the country's decision-making processes; on the other hand, however, English is considered the language of the élite (Jowitt 1997). Furthermore it is regarded by some as the language of colonialism, which alienates Nigerians from their roots, with only the Nigerian languages being associated with cultural identity. At the same time, English is valued highly by many Nigerians as a potential for material and social gain. It is considered a symbol of modernisation and a means of success and mobility as it is used in international communication and is the language of science and technology, literature and art.

English was introduced in Nigeria with the establishment of trading contacts on the West African coast by the British in the sixteenth century. It served as a language of trade for communication between Englishmen and Nigerians in the various forts along the Nigerian coast. This contact resulted in a form of Nigerian Pidgin, which, in all probability, is the predecessor of present-day Nigerian English Pidgin (Bamgbose 1997), which developed and stabilized in the period between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century. Nigerian Pidgin English is most commonly used for inter-ethnic communication and, to a limited extent, in literature and art, official transactions and international communication.

The English took over power in Southern Nigeria in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1861, Lagos became a British Crown Colony, and in 1900, the area controlled by the British Niger company was proclaimed a British Protectorate. In 1842 and 1846 the first missionary stations were established in Badagry (near Lagos in the Southwest) and Calabar (in the Southeast) re-

spectively. The missionaries were mainly interested in spreading Christianity but also taught agriculture, crafts and hygiene. In order to easily reach the population, the language of instruction was usually the mother tongue of the natives. English began to be formally studied in Nigeria from the middle of the nineteenth century on. When the British government increasingly felt the need for Africans who were literate in English and would serve British colonial and trade interests (for instance as teachers, interpreters, minor government officials and clerks for local courts and the trading companies), in the 1880s, the missionary stations were ordered to teach English in their schools. Since the missionary schools were increasingly unable to meet the demands for educated Nigerians, the colonial government began to establish state schools. The first state school was in fact founded as a result of pressure from Muslims in Lagos in 1899, who had no access to missionary schools and felt they were at a disadvantage. Equally, in Northern Nigeria, Christian mission schools were not allowed in the Muslim areas, and government schools were established. The first European school opened in the North in Kano in 1909. In 1914, Lagos, the British Protectorate and the Northern parts of today's Nigeria was declared the British "Colony of Nigeria". Nigeria became independent in 1960 and declared herself a Republic in 1963.

In Nigerian education today, English plays a key role. The education system in Nigeria is structured in the 6-3-3-4 model with 6 years primary education, 3 years junior secondary level, 3 years senior secondary level and 4 years tertiary education at Universities. The 1998 National Policy on Education specifies that "the medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the language of the environment for the first three years. During this period, English shall be taught as a subject. From the fourth year, English shall progressively be used as a medium of instruction and the language of immediate environment and French shall be taught as subjects". Only in a few private schools in some urban areas are children taught in English from kindergarten. For the majority of Nigerian pupils, all subjects are taught in English from the fourth year of primary education on. This includes subjects such as English, mathematics, a major Nigerian language, science subjects, arts subjects and vocational subjects. All higher level textbooks, students' written assignments and examinations are in English. A good pass in English is required for transition from primary to Junior Secondary School, to Senior Secondary School and to University.

Received Pronunciation (RP) was for a long time the model held up in Nigerian schools and the model for examinations. The majority of the British who resided in Nigeria for a length of time and who filled the government posts created after the establishment of British rule in 1900 came from the upper or middle classes of British society, speaking RP. Their presence helped to

ensure that RP had some predominance and prestige in Nigeria. When, after independence, Nigerians took over the senior civil service posts from the British, Standard British English, spoken by the former rulers, was retained as the prestigious standard dialect. This attitude was shared by many politicians, academics, lawyers, journalists and other members of the élite who had close ties with the British and Britain. Recently, with increasing numbers of Nigerians returning from studies in the United States of America, American English is gaining prestige in Nigeria (Jowitt 1991).

There is no uniform accent of English spoken throughout Nigeria. In fact, the diversity of the different kinds of English in the country is so great that Nigerian English (NigE) is usually divided into several sub-varieties. Based on the observation that the native language of Nigerian speakers of English characteristically influences their accent in English, NigE sub-varieties corresponding to the different ethnic groups have been proposed (e.g. Jibril 1986; Jowitt 1991). The three major Nigerian languages have very different phonological systems: Hausa, for example, has five vowels which all have phonemic length contrast and a number of realizations that include centralized vowels. Igbo has eight vowels and a set of vowel harmony rules, whereas Yoruba has seven vowels with phonemic vowel length contrast. These differences are claimed to become apparent in the Hausa English, Igbo English and Yoruba English varieties of NigE (Jowitt 1991).

Since a continuum of degrees of competence in English is a characteristic of any country where the language functions as a second language, most descriptions of the sub-varieties of English spoken in Nigeria correlate levels of competence with the speaker's educational background. Banjo (1971) proposed four varieties with distinct linguistic features:

– Variety I is used by those Nigerians who picked up English as a result of the requirements of their occupation. They are possibly semi-literate people with only elementary school education. It is characterized by a high transfer-rate of phonological features from the mother tongue and is unacceptable even nationally.
– Variety II speakers are likely to have had at least primary school education. It features some transfer from the mother tongue and does not make 'vital phonemic distinctions'. This variety of English is accepted and understood nationally and internationally.
– Variety III is associated with University education and is recommended as the model for Nigerian Standard English. It is most widely accepted in Nigeria.
– Variety IV is equal to British English and is less accepted in Nigeria than Variety III as it sounds affected.

Udofot (2003) claims that Banjo's Variety IV is not a variety of NigE and that spoken NigE in the 1990s can be divided into at least three sub-varieties. These sub-varieties collectively show phonological differences from British Standard English in both segmental and prosodic terms and, in many cases, the speaker's education is correlated with the degree of proficiency.

– The Non-Standard variety has distinct segmental and non-segmental features such as a lack of fluency, an abundance of pauses, a restricted intonation system, a distinct speech rhythm and accent placement. It is spoken by primary and secondary school leavers, holders of NCE (Nigerian Certificate of Education), OND (Ordinary National Diploma) and some University graduates. It is the variety used by primary school teachers.
– The Standard variety has a distinct phoneme inventory and characteristic prosodic features in terms of speech rhythm, intonation and accent. It is spoken by university graduates and lecturers and other professionals as well as final-year undergraduates of English, secondary school teachers and holders of Higher National Diplomas.
– The Sophisticated variety is spoken by university lecturers in English and Linguistics, by graduates of English, the Humanities and Mass Communication, speakers who had some additional training in English phonology and those who spent some time in English native-speaking areas. It is different from British English in some phonemes and some aspects of speech rhythm, intonation and accentuation.

There is also a small minority of Nigerians who speak English with a (mostly British) native-like accent due to being born in Britain or a long period of residence there or special speech training, which is given to e.g. news readers. The native-like accent, however, does not have a high social prestige in Nigeria and is ridiculed as affected and arrogant. Jibril (1986) claims that the closeness of the various accents to RP is less correlated with social class or education and ethnicity than with speech training, as can be found with some newsreaders and journalists. Equally, Jowitt (1991) points out that education and ethnic background are less reliable indicators of the proficiency of a speaker than his or her opportunity to use the language.

Apart from differences in education, many reasons have been put forward for the varieties of English spoken throughout Nigeria, including historical, geographical and sociolinguistic ones. According to Awonusi (1986), the different paths of Western, Eastern and Northern Nigeria in terms of colonization, administration and education resulted in diverse accents. In Yorubaland in the West, the missionaries first employed Englishmen speaking RP as teachers